

THE OPEN COURT

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51

VOLUME XXXII

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HARVARD

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

VOL. XXXII (No. 1)

JANUARY, 1918

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THE GOSPEL OF BUDDHA

By

DR. PAUL CARUS

Pocket Edition. Illustrated. Cloth, \$1.00; flexible leather, \$1.50

This edition is a photographic reproduction of the *edition de luxe* which was printed in Leipsic in 1913 and ready for shipment in time to be caught by the embargo Great Britain put on all articles exported from Germany. Luckily two copies of the above edition escaped, and these were used to make the photographic reproduction of this latest edition. While the Buddhist Bible could not in any way be considered a contraband of war yet the publishers were forced to hold back many hundred orders for the book on account of orders in council of Great Britain.

When the book was first published His Majesty, the King of Siam, sent the following communication through his private secretary: —

"Dear Sir: I am commanded by His Most Gracious Majesty, the King of Siam, to acknowledge, with many thanks, the receipt of your letter and the book, *The Gospel of Buddha*, which he esteems very much; and he expresses his sincerest thanks for the very hard and difficult task of compilation you have considerably undertaken in the interest of our religion. I avail myself of this favorable opportunity to wish the book every success."

His Royal Highness, Prince Chandradat Chudhadharn, official delegate of Siamese Buddhism to the Chicago Parliament of Religions, writes:

"As regards the contents of the book, and as far as I could see, it is one of the best Buddhist Scriptures ever published. Those who wish to know the life of Buddha and the spirit of his Dharma may be recommended to read this work which is so ably edited that it comprises almost all knowledge of Buddhism itself."

The book has been introduced as a reader in private Buddhist schools of Ceylon. Mrs. Marie H. Higgins, Principal of the Musaeus School and Orphanage for Buddhist Girls, Cinnamon Gardens, Ceylon, writes as follows:

"It is the best work I have read on Buddhism. This opinion is endorsed by all who read it here. I propose to make it a text-book of study for my girls."

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 S. MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS



HENRI DUNANT,
Founder of the Red Cross.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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HENRI DUNANT, FOUNDER OF THE RED CROSS.¹

BY PAUL GRÜNBERG.

WE can hardly conceive of modern warfare without the Red Cross. When millions are being helped by this great movement, it seems fitting to review the life of Henri Dunant, its founder. He can rightfully be counted among the greatest benefactors of the race.

Dunant was born in Geneva, Switzerland, on May 8, 1828. His family was well-to-do and noted for public spirit. His means permitted him to devote himself wholly to scientific studies during his youth; as he never married, he was free to sacrifice his life and fortune to humanitarian labors. At eighteen he showed his benevolent trend by visiting the poor and prison convicts. He showed an early fondness for good literature, especially biography. The *Life of John Williams*, missionary in the South Sea Islands, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, and the *Life of Florence Nightingale* moved him deeply. The example of this noble woman who labored so incessantly to improve sanitary conditions during the Crimean War (1854-55), inspired Dunant to go to the front during the Lombard War (1859). Not as an idle loiterer did he go, nor as a war reporter, but as a neutral tourist, to bind up wounds and relieve suffering, in the good Samaritan's spirit! The day of Solferino, June 24th, 1859, gave him abundant opportunity to witness the horrors of war. Impressions received on this day laid the foundations for his life-work.

When that memorable day broke, the French and Italians encountered the Austrians on the hill of Solferino, south of Lake Garda. About 300,000 stood in line, and after long and furious

¹ Translated from the German of Dr. Paul Grünberg, pastor of the New Church in Strasburg, Alsace, by Miss Frieda Martini.

struggles the Austrians were beaten. About 40,000 dead and wounded covered the battle-field. Dunant, "the man in white," as the soldiers called him because of his light tourist's costume, realized the inadequacy of the available personnel and quickly gathered a corps of voluntary helpers from among the peasant population of Castiglioni, the center of the French position. He persuaded them to help the Austrians also and not only their allies, as they had at first planned to do. "Tutti Fratelli," he said (all are brothers). After several sleepless nights and days of strenuous toil, he hastened to Brescia, to make himself useful in the military hospitals, procuring refreshments and surgical dressings from his own means.

The experiences of these frightful days of suffering strengthened Dunant's purpose to bring about an extensive, thorough-going improvement in the care of war sufferers. So he published a record of his observations in a book entitled *Un Souvenir de Solferino* (1862). This soon became widely known and was translated into several other languages. It contains true and graphic pictures of the scenes of horror on the battle-field, how the wounded are found and transported to emergency hospitals, how the most necessary operations are performed, and the wounds are dressed. All this is described not for sensational reasons, nor merely to tear off the mask from war's bloody face and make propaganda against it, but for more important reasons. We will quote from the book to show Dunant's definite and practical purpose:

"But why portray so many pictures of heart-rending woe and awaken painful feelings? In reply, let us ask another question: Why not organize voluntary relief societies whose aim should be to nurse sick and wounded warriors and relieve war-sufferers? If war can not as yet be abolished and men continue to invent new methods of destroying each other, with a persistence worthy of a better cause, why not utilize times of comparative peace to solve a question of such vital importance for humanity and Christianity?

"The activity of such societies would naturally be greatly restricted during peace, but in the event of hostilities breaking out, the organization would be complete and the helpers ready for action. They should collaborate with the military authorities, eventually working under their direction. Not only should they nurse and relieve the sick and wounded on the battle-fields, but continue their care in the military hospitals until complete convalescence. Sporadic cases of such benevolence have proved more or less ineffectual because they lacked the needed support and cooperation of others. Joint efforts, well directed, could accomplish wonders. How much

could have been done, had such volunteers been present at Castiglione, Brescia or Mantua on June 24-26! The military personnel of the field hospitals never suffices: recourse has to be taken to the untrained peasantry and the inhabitants of the neighboring towns.

"The next time military leaders of various nations meet in counsel, would it not be a fitting opportunity to set up an international, sacred principle, uniformly accepted and ratified? With this principle as a foundation, societies could be organized to relieve the wounded of the different nationalities. It is vitally important to make agreements before the outbreak of hostilities, for after that the contending parties would be too greatly at variance to come to any terms.

"Humanity and Christianity peremptorily demand these improvements. It is of the most stupendous importance to take up this work at once and actually organize such societies."

Dunant's thoughts as expressed in this booklet were new, great and epoch-making. No one had ever thought of training the civil population to help assuage the horrors of war, and the idea of general international agreements about medico-military matters was equally unheard of. Dunant's appeal struck home. In the words of the Genevese linguist Adolf Pictet: "Never has a work of genius taken hold of the public mind more than the book of our fellow citizen, Henri Dunant. It was an electric shock for philanthropy." Not only did Dunant express his thoughts clearly,—that alone would have been meritorious, but he placed the entire weight of his forceful personality and influence in the scale during the next few years, to crystallize his ideals into concrete action. The Red Cross and the Geneva Convention were to grow out of the seed-thought planted by Dunant.

Our hero fortunately found a society willing to attempt carrying out his plans; for once a prophet had honor in his own country. The Genevese Benevolent Society, with Gustave Moynier as president, enthusiastically took up his ideas and resolved to carry them out. A committee was chosen to develop the project, with Dunant as chairman. An International Benevolence Convention had been announced to meet in Berlin in September, 1863, and the committee considered this an appropriate occasion to make the scheme more widely known. For some reason the convention did not take place, but Dunant went to Berlin nevertheless, and attended the Fifth International Statistical Conference, which met there in September. Here a group of physicians compared the health and mortality

statistics among the civil and military populace. Dunant was given a chance to address the gathering and told of his wish to have the medico-military personnel of all nations treated as neutrals during war. He was listened to with interest, and the delegates expressed their hope that the coming conference at Geneva would serve its purpose in helping to lessen war's fearful sacrifices in life and health.

King William of Prussia and his queen sent their congratulations to Dunant; the crown-prince Frederick William, later Frederick III, had a long talk with him. Prince Carl of Prussia, grand-master of the knights of St. John, promised the help of his order. The Prussian Minister of War, General von Roon, became an enthusiastic advocate of Dunant's plans.

Next Dunant sent a circular letter, stating his plans, to all the ministers of war in Europe, requesting them to send official delegates to an international conference in Geneva. For a man in private life this was an unprecedented act. But nothing short of the participation of the various governments was necessary before an international adjustment of the all-important question could be thought of. Dunant had the courage of his convictions and was brave enough to stop at nothing which might help his beloved plan to succeed. A question of the weightiest importance was at stake; this simply could not continue to remain a matter of private and isolated voluntary effort on a small scale. He had visited several royal courts to arouse enthusiasm for the coming convention. The grace and ease of his manner, his aristocratic bearing, added weight to his influence with people in high standing. In Dresden he had a conversation with the King of Saxony and was graciously received. In this city he wrote to Napoleon III, another patron, telling of the cordial reception. Next he went to Vienna where Archduke Rainer received him in the absence of the emperor. Speaking of this event, Dunant writes: "After telling of my plan to call the helpless victims of war and their helpers neutral, and to have a 'humanity flag,' to be revered everywhere, his Imperial Highness thrice emphatically uttered his approval in French: 'What a grand idea!' The archduke promised that Austria would be represented by a delegate."

In these various ways Dunant had prepared the way for the conference, with his characteristic tenacious persistence, and from October 26-29, 1863, this important event took place. Fourteen governments had sent official delegates. Several others had officially declared their willingness to approve of whatever international agreements would be proposed at this convention. Thirty-six people were present in all, the Knights of St. John being also represented.

At this meeting a number of provisional articles were drawn up, the most important being:

1. Each country is to appoint a committee whose duty it is to assist the medico-military personnel with all available means during war.
2. During peace the central and local committees are to train a voluntary nursing staff, preparing the helpers especially for the exigencies arising during war; they should prepare supplies of surgical dressings and the like.
3. At the outbreak of any hostilities these national relief societies are to offer their help to the military authorities and collaborate with them in equipping hospitals and organizing groups of nurses, orderlies, doctors, etc.
4. In cooperation with the military authorities these committees are to send to the battle-fields voluntary workers, who, no matter what their nationality, are to wear a white arm-band with a red cross.
5. All ambulances, military hospitals and medico-military personnel are to be considered neutral and are all to have a uniform sign, the Red Cross. A flag with this sign is to be used by all different countries.

It seemed best to choose a red cross on a white back-ground, this being the reverse of the Swiss coat-of-arms, a white cross on a red back-ground. And so the Red Cross reminds one of its historic origin, Switzerland.

Before the conference adjourned, the following declaration was made: "Monsieur Dunant, whose persistent efforts brought about this international conference in the interest of humanity, and the Genevese Benevolent Society, who supported him so loyally, deserve the greatest merit and immortal honor. The world owes them a lasting debt of gratitude."

The committee which had paved the way for this conference developed into the permanent "Genevese International Committee," with the Swiss General Dufour as president and Dunant as secretary. Now another great problem awaited its solution by this benevolent body: not only how to direct and centralize the efforts of the various national committees, but to crown the work by an *International Agreement*, acceptable to all civilized nations. The Genevese Conference had not been authorized to do this. Its official delegates had simply exchanged views on the subject under discussion and had aimed at a temporary understanding of the general principles

to be acted upon. So in November 1863 the Committee asked all the European countries whether they would accept the terms of an international agreement as drawn up at the Conference in October of that same year. In June of the following summer, after the adequate negotiations, the Swiss parliament invited twentyfive countries to send their delegates to the *International Peace Congress* to be held at Geneva in August 1864. Sixteen states sent official representatives. Twelve states officially expressed their agreement with the terms of the contract, namely: Baden, Belgium, Denmark, Spain, France, Hesse-Darmstadt, Italy, the Netherlands, Portugal, Prussia, Wurtemberg and the Swiss Confederacy. The official document was drawn up in Geneva on August 22, fifty years before the outbreak of the present world war. It consisted of ten articles, which tallied in general with those agreed upon during the previous year. It is interesting, however, to compare them, showing the way in which the original ideas had developed; the most important ones are the following:

1. The military hospitals and ambulances are to be respected and protected by the fighting armies as neutral, so long as sick or wounded are found therein.
2. The personnel of such hospitals and ambulances, as well as army chaplains also share this protection, while attending to their duties.
6. The sick or wounded soldiers *of all nations* are all to be impartially protected and nursed.
7. A characteristic and uniform flag is to be accepted for these hospitals and ambulances; the neutralized personnel is allowed the use of an arm band, but this issue is left for the military authorities to decide. Both the flag and arm-band are to have a red cross on a white back-ground.

France was the first to endorse the terms of the agreement. Within four months twenty-two states had followed suit. To-day all civilized countries have national Red Cross Committees. At later congresses (Geneva 1868, Brussels 1874, Geneva 1907), other articles were added; experience had shown the imperfections of the original contract, but it certainly laid the foundation of all subsequent efforts along the lines referred to.

The Austro-Prussian war of 1866 offered the first bloody opportunity practically to apply the Red Cross principles, although Austria had not yet endorsed them at the beginning of the war. (This did not take place until after the battle of Königgrätz).

King William of Prussia had generously declared that from his side the Geneva rules would be obeyed as conscientiously as if *mutual* obligation existed. The end of this war brought high honor to Dunant. He writes: "It was in September, 1866, when Queen Augusta wished to do homage to the Red Cross by honoring its founder. She invited me to the celebrations held in honor of the troops victoriously returning from Bohemia. I accepted and the honor shown me far exceeded my merit. On the evening when the troops entered Berlin I was invited to a big reception at the royal palace. King William conversed with me for a long while and finally said: 'Well, Dunant, are you satisfied with me now? I have put your ideas into execution.' Then he continued in a voice loud enough for the whole court to hear: 'I was the first European monarch who supported your ideas without reserve and timidity when you came to Berlin in 1863. At that time I certainly did not expect that this would be necessary so soon.'

"And Queen Augusta, turning to me, said: 'Do you know that I wore the Red Cross arm band and consider this an honor?'"

Strange to say, this man who dealt with crowned heads and statesmen, who stood at the head of a movement of the most vital importance for humanity, was temporarily forgotten before he reached the age of fifty. He spent several years in London, reduced almost to penury, and earned his meager living by doing clerical work. Then he spent some time in Stuttgart with pastor Wagner who had translated his *Souvenir de Solferino*. In July, 1887, he moved to Heiden near Lake Constance, where a modest little pension, granted him by relatives, supported him. After a short stay at Lindenbühl in Trogen (1891-92) he returned to Heiden and remained there till his death. On April 30, 1892, he took up his abode in a quiet cell in the District Hospital which he did not leave again. The experiences which this far-traveled man went through in his lonely cell must have been painful indeed, more so because he was permanently kept away from his beloved home land. While the world was being blessed by the movement which he started, the man who had sacrificed life and fortune to his ideal disappeared from public notice in the gloom of lonely poverty. He eked out his existence as a journalist, praised by many, pitied by some, forgotten by most of his contemporaries.

In 1895, however, the editor of the *Züricher Nachrichten*, George Bamberger, rediscovered the neglected man. He visited him at Heiden and described his experiences there in a striking article, written for the Magazine *Ueber Land und Meer*. He pictured

Dunant's modest surroundings, the tiny room No. 12, so much like a prison cell, in which Dunant lived for three francs per day. Then he described the man himself:

"A fine appearing man, in spite of his three score years and ten, with his noble, expressive face, pure complexion, silvery white hair and beard. He combines patriarchal dignity with the ingrained gallantry of a man of the world. The poverty-stricken surroundings cannot hide the man's aristocratic and noble disposition. These impressions grow deeper the longer you converse with him. Every expression is to the point and well chosen. From humorous pleasantries he turns to deeper subjects, becoming almost inspired when the great movements were mentioned for which he had sacrificed so much. And with all that he is so unpretentious, with a childlike modesty characteristic of people who have forgotten themselves in their devotion to great causes. Do we not owe him a great, great deal? Does it not behoove us to make the last years of the founder of the Red Cross more pleasant and comfortable?"

This appeal had its desired effect. In 1897 the Russian dowager Czarina, Feodorowna, gave him a life pension. The twelfth International Physicians' Congress gave him a prize of five thousand francs. The Swiss Bundesrat awarded him the prize of the Binet-Fendt Memorial Fund. When the Nobel prize was awarded for the first time in December, 1907, the Norwegian Parliament urged dividing this amount between the Frenchman Passy and Dunant, "for the most meritorious endeavor to promote general brotherhood, for the abolition of standing armies and the setting up of an arbitration tribunal between the different states." For Dunant had not only been the "Red Cross man" but a zealous advocate of pacifism as well.

Such honors rejuvenated our hero for a time. He even considered the plan of visiting Moscow, where the International Peace Congress had elected him honorary president; of going from Moscow to Petersburg to thank the widowed empress personally for her pension; then from Petersburg to the Norwegian parliament. It was an alluring dream, but Dunant realized that his waning strength was not equal to the hardships and excitement of the trip.

Life became more and more lonely outwardly, but the satisfaction of having his life-dream realized gave him gratifying memories. He gradually gave up all social intercourse, dealing only with the physician and the head nurse. Prof. R. Müller of Stuttgart, author of the valuable book *History of the Red Cross and the*

Geneva Convention, was one of the few outside callers admitted to his room.

Once more before his death a bright ray of sunlight cheered the life of the aged man. On the eighth of May, 1908, he celebrated his eightieth birthday, and was overwhelmed with congratulations. The Swiss Bundesrat, the widowed Empress of Russia, the Czar, the crowned heads of Sweden and Norway, the Russian, German and Austrian Red Cross wired their congratulations. A year later our hero permitted a second edition of his *Souvenir de Solferino* to appear in print.

During 1910 his strength failed rapidly, but he remained bright and fully conscious to the very last. On October 30, he peacefully passed away. His remains were carried to the depot on the first of November, a dreary, stormy day. As quiet and unpretentious as his coming to Heiden had been years ago, so was his exit, for Dunant had always an aversion for a demonstrative demeanor; it had been his express desire that no "fuss" should be made about his departure, and the people of Heiden respected this wish, no matter how they would have liked to show him all kinds of honor. But the ladies of the Red Cross had insisted upon at least decorating the inside of his railroad coach appropriately. Cremation took place at Zürich at six in the evening, witnessed by a small number only. At the express wish of the deceased, no speeches were made. A simple slab of black marble under the window of his room in the hospital marks the spot where he spent his closing days. His imperishable monument is the work of the *Red Cross*.

HEBREW EDUCATION IN THE FAMILY AFTER THE EXILE.

BY FLETCHER H. SWIFT.

"Lo, children are a heritage of Jehovah:
And the fruit of the womb is his reward."

— Psalm cxxvii. 3.

"And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy
children.—Deuteronomy vi. 7.

HISTORICAL OUTLINE.

IN the year 597 B. C. Nebuchadnezzar captured Jerusalem and carried as captives to Babylon King Jehoiakim, his royal household, a large number of nobles and many artisans. Not many years had passed before Nebuchadnezzar was forced to send an army to

quell rebellious Judah. After a year and a half's siege Jerusalem fell, 586 B. C. The city and temple which had been spared in 597 were sacked and burned. About 23,000 Jews were deported to Babylon, and Judea was made a part of the Babylonian province; the Exile had begun.¹

The Jews in Babylon found themselves in the midst of a civilization far in advance of their own. Schools and libraries, some of them possessing thousands of works, were wide spread. A considerable knowledge of medicine, astronomy, mathematics, architecture, engineering, and an elaborate code of laws dealing with every phase of life, bore witness to Babylonian intellectual development. Such an environment was bound to stimulate literary activity. Further stimulus arose from the Jews' passionate desire to preserve their national laws, history, traditions and temple rites. Prior to the Exile, Jerusalem had been declared the sole lawful place of sacrifice. The priests now freed from their customary duties turned to instruction and writing, as did also the prophets. The result was a literary renaissance out of which came forth such original works as the prophecies of Ezekiel and the Second Isaiah; new editions of such already existing works as Amos, Hosea, Deuteronomy and Joshua; compilations of codes and detailed records of rites, customs and ceremonies.

The Exile lasted only forty-eight years:² in 538 B. C. Cyrus of Persia conquered Babylon. The Persian rulers permitted the restoration of the Jewish community at Jerusalem. The rebuilding of the temple followed (520-516 B. C.) an event of supreme importance to religion and religious education.

In 332 B. C. Alexander the Great of Greece defeated Darius, King of Persia, and then pushed his conquests south through Palestine and Egypt. Following Alexander's death in 323 B. C. Palestine became a bone of contention between the rival kingdoms of Egypt and Syria. For over a hundred and twenty years from 320 B. C. when Ptolemy I captured Jerusalem, Judah was in the possession now of Egypt, now of Syria. Finally in 198 B. C. the Seleucidae of Syria secured the supremacy, which they retained until the Maccabean revolt³ 167 B. C.

A part of Alexander's ambition had been to Hellenize the East. Wherever he had conquered he had planted colonies of Greeks and

¹ H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, p. 297.

² By Jewish writers frequently considered to have lasted until the dedication of the Second Temple 516 B. C., i. e., a total of seventy years.

³ Judas Maccabæus victorious in his first battle with the Syrians. The period is commonly dated 175-163 B. C.

had introduced the Greek language, Greek religion, Greek political institutions and Greek schools. His efforts to Hellenize Judah were continued by his successors, the Ptolemies of Egypt and the Seleucidae of Syria, who alike endeavored to wean or force the Jews away from their native religion, culture, institutions and education. The Seleucidae, not satisfied with the rapidity with which the Jews were becoming Hellenized, resorted to violent measures. A Greek altar was erected on the altar of burnt offering in the temple of Jerusalem. Possession of the books of the Law and Sabbath observance were punished by death. Altars to Greek gods were erected everywhere and the heads of families were called upon to worship at them under penalty of death.⁴

As a result of these oppressive measures the Jews rose in revolt in 167 B. C. under the leadership of an aged priest Mattathias and his five sons, the Hasmoneans. Within two years religious liberty was restored. Successive Jewish leaders, by political intrigue and by playing off one aspirant to the Syrian throne against another, succeeded in gaining concessions which ultimately restored to Judah a national independence that continued until the Romans took Jerusalem in 63 B. C.

The rule of the Romans was attended by disastrous consequences. Roman conquerors on their way through Palestine plundered the temple, levied extortionate tribute and carried thousands of Jews away as slaves. Local aspirants for power kept alive internal jealousies and strife. One of these, Herod, with the aid of Rome, captured Jerusalem in 37 B. C. and began his reign which continued till 4 B. C. His son, Archelaus, who succeeded to the throne of Samaria, Judea and Idumea, ruled in such outrageous fashion that after ten years the oppressed Jews appealed to Rome (6 A. D.). Augustus deposed Archelaus and placed Judea under the rule of a Roman procurator. Roman oppression and mismanagement resulted in continual efforts at revolt. These efforts culminated in the insurrection which began 66 A. D. and ended in 70 A. D. with the destruction of Jerusalem by the Roman Titus. Later came the dispersion throughout the Roman world of the remnant of miserable survivors. All hope of a national political existence was now at an end. The story of how in the centuries which followed, this wonderful people managed through their system of religious education to preserve their nationality belongs to medieval and modern history, and consequently has no place in the present account.

⁴ H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, pp. 444-445.. George Adam Smith, *Jerusalem . . . to 70 A. D.*, pp. 367-436.

GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

The six and a half centuries of contact with foreign powers outlined above were marked by many important changes. During this time the priesthood arose to a position of political power second only to that of the foreign rulers. Carefully organized, protected and assured a generous competence by laws regarded as coming from Yahweh, the priests grew in influence and numbers. Following vain post-Exilic efforts to perpetuate this kingship, the high priest became the head of the Jewish state, recognized as such, not only by the Jews themselves, but by their foreign masters. With the Jewish state a hierocracy, patriotism and piety were one. To be law abiding was to be religious, and to be religious one must be law abiding. The importance of this to the history of religious education can not be overestimated.

In contrast with the tendency fostered by the priesthood toward the creation of a caste-bound society, there were certain marked tendencies toward democracy, in part the outgrowth of the ideals and teachings of the prophets and in part the outgrowth of Greek influence. These include a growing autonomy for individual cities, and the reorganization of the senate or Sanhedrim.⁶

Prior to the Exile, the Hebrews as an independent people, often as conquerors, had borrowed freely such elements as they chose from foreign nations. The Hellenized peoples with whom they came in contact from the time of the Exile onward were for the most part their conquerors. The effects of Greek influence were twofold: the intellectual and esthetic aspects of life were extended and enriched, but this intellectual enrichment was accompanied by religious and moral decadence. "The rich Judæans soon copied the Greek customs, and callous to the promptings of shame and honor, they introduced singers, dancers and dissolute women at these festivals."⁶ Greek religious cults, including the orgiastic rites of Dionysus, were adopted by many faithless Jews. Skepticism, repudiation of Judaism and licentiousness followed.⁷ Amid these conditions there arose among the Jews distinct parties: one, eager for political preferment who sought to curry favor with their foreign masters by adopting Greek culture, institutions and religion;⁸ a second, endeavoring to exclude foreign innovations and to preserve

⁶ H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, pp. 417-418.

⁶ H. Graetz, *History of the Jews*, I, 428d.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 426-428.

⁸ Joseph, grandson of Simon the Just (d. 208 B. C.), is a notorious representative of this type. See H. Graetz, *History of the Jews*, I, 423-431.

unsullied the customs and institutions of the fathers; a third, representing a somewhat middle ground. It was the second of these three groups which fostered that attitude toward life commonly known as Judaism, which emphasized, often unduly, all rites and customs that marked the Jews as a peculiar and distinct people consecrated to the worship and service of Yahweh.

THE DIASPORA.⁹

From the time of the Babylonian Exile onward, various foreign conquerors deported as slaves large numbers of Jews. Other Jews left Palestine voluntarily to escape oppression, to avoid conflict or to avail themselves of opportunities in foreign lands. Thus there gradually arose outside of Palestine throughout the entire civilized world a vast multitude of Jewish communities.¹⁰ This movement which began with the Exile in the sixth century reached its climax in the Roman period.¹¹ Strabo writes, even in Sulla's time, "there is hardly a place in the world which has not admitted this people and is not possessed by it."¹² Through the diaspora, then, as well as through the settlement of aliens in Judea, Jewish customs, beliefs and institutions were constantly threatened by foreign innovations.

EDUCATION IN THE FAMILY.

The intensity of the Hebrew desire for children is revealed in such Old Testament narratives as those of the childless Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel and Hannah. The racial attitude is beautifully expressed in the well-known lines:

"Lo, children are a heritage of Jehovah:
And the fruit of the womb is his reward.
As arrows in the hand of a mighty man,
So are the children of youth,
Happy is the man that hath his quiver full of them."¹³

Throughout the entire history of the Hebrews the family was regarded as the fundamental educational institution. Parents were held responsible not only for the instruction of their children but for their conduct. In time the laws fixed thirteen as the age at which the boy became personally responsible for the law;¹⁴ up to this age

⁹ Diaspora is the term collectively applied to the body of Jews living in communities scattered throughout the world.

¹⁰ There is evidence that flourishing Jewish communities existed in Egypt at Daphne and Elephantine as early as the sixth century B. C.

¹¹ A recent English work of much interest is, D. Askwith, *The Toleration and Persecution of the Jews in the Roman Empire*.

¹² Strabo, fragment 6, cited by Josephus, *Antiq.*, XIV, 7, 2.

¹³ Psalm cxxvii. 3-5.

¹⁴ Babylonian Talmud, Tract Aoth, V. 24.

his father was held responsible not only for the boy's education but for his conduct. Even the rise of a system of elementary schools devoted to the task of daily religious instruction did not free the home of this its most important responsibility. It could not, for to parents direct from Yahweh came the command:

"And thou shalt teach them (the laws of Yahweh) diligently unto thy children,
And shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house,
And when thou walkest by the way,
And when thou risest up.

"And thou shalt bind them for a sign upon thy hand,
And they shall be for frontlets between thine eyes,
And thou shalt write them upon the door-posts of thy house,
And upon thy gates." (Deuteronomy vi. 7-9.)

The Mezuzah, tefillin and the zizit, show with what degree of exactness the Hebrews sought to carry out these commands.

"The ancient Hebrew family," writes Cornill, "was an absolute monarchy, with the father as absolute monarch at the head."¹⁵ The evidences of this authority are many. The wife and children were upon the same basis as slaves. A father could sell his daughters into marriage or slavery, though not to foreigners.¹⁶ Infanticide was not permitted, as far as our records show, but it is probable that in early times upon certain occasions fathers offered up their sons and daughters as living sacrifices.¹⁷ In historic times the modern Rousseauian theory that parents must win their authority over their children by convincing their offspring of the superiority of parental wisdom and goodness found no place in Hebrew thought. On the contrary, parents ruled by divine right:

"For the Lord hath given the father honor over the children
And hath confirmed the authority of the mother over the sons."¹⁸

The Deuteronomic law provided that if punishment failed to beget obedience in a wayward intemperate son, the father and mother should bring him before the elders of the city and say, "This our son is stubborn and rebellious, he will not obey our voice; he is a riotous liver and a drunkard."¹⁹ No provision was made in this law for any investigation nor for any defense by the accused child. The parents acted both as accusers and prosecutors, the elders

¹⁵ Carl H. Cornill, *The Culture of Ancient Israel*, p. 87.

¹⁶ Exodus, xxi. 7-11.

¹⁷ This inference seems justified from the Story of Abraham and Isaac, from that of Jephthah's daughter and from the evidence of the continuance of Moloch worship down to the reforms of Josiah 621 B. C.

¹⁸ Ecclesiasticus iii. 2.

¹⁹ Deuteronomy, xxi. 20.

were the judges.²⁰ If the parents' accusation was accepted by the elders of the city, thereupon "All the men of the city shall stone him (the guilty son) with stones that he die."²¹

It should be noted, however, that the Deuteronomic law, severe as it is and significant as it is for the light it throws upon the degree of authority granted parents, is even more significant as a sign of the attempt to put certain checks upon this authority. In earlier times there had been no check upon the parents' authority. The Deuteronomic law made it impossible for the parents to do with their child as they pleased. Their act must be reviewed by elders of the city as a court: thus a higher authority, not the parents, imposed the death penalty.

Many passages similar to Deuteronomy vi. 7-9 might be quoted in which the father is enjoined to instruct his son or his children in the divine laws,²² in particular rites such as Passover,²³ or in the significance of sacred monuments or landmarks.²⁴ Both parents were held responsible for the religious education of the children, but the chief responsibility fell upon the father as head of the household. The mother is frequently mentioned in the Scriptures as a teacher, but generally in conjunction with and subordinate to the father.²⁵ There is only one passage in which the mother is represented as acting independently in this capacity:²⁶ the first division of Proverbs xxxi is introduced with the title: "The Words of Lemuel, King of Massa,²⁷ which His Mother Taught Him."

Proverbs and the apocryphal book Ecclesiasticus, both designed as manuals for religious and moral instruction, represent child nature as irresponsible, wayward, foolish and rebellious. Fathers are warned against playing with their children and are advised to preserve an austere countenance toward both sons and daughters:

"Cocker thy child and he shall make thee afraid,
Play with him and he will bring thee to heaviness."²⁸

"Laugh not with him, lest thou have sorrow with him
And lest thou gnash thy teeth in the end."²⁹

"Hast thou daughters? Have a care to their body
And show not thyself cheerful toward them."³⁰

A child's will must be broken: "A horse not broken becometh

²⁰ Carl H. Cornill, *The Culture of Ancient Israel*, p. 79.

²¹ Deuteronomy, xxi. 21.

²² Deuteronomy iv. 9-10.

²³ Exodus xii. 26-27.

²⁴ Joshua iv. 21-22.

²⁵ Proverbs i. 8.

²⁶ Carl H. Cornill, *The Culture of Ancient Israel*, p. 92.

²⁷ Massa located beyond the limits of the Holy Land, near to Dumah, one of the original seats of the Ishmaelites. See Genesis xxv. 14 and 1. Chronicles i. 30.

²⁸ Ecclesiasticus xxx. 9.

²⁹ *Ibid.* xxx. 10.

³⁰ *Ibid.* vii. 24.

headstrong; a child left to himself becometh wilful."³¹ "Bow down his neck while he is young, and beat him on the sides while he is a child, lest he wax stubborn and be disobedient unto thee."³²

Commendations of corporal punishment abound:

"He that spareth his rod hateth his son.

But he that loveth him chasteneth him diligently."³³

"Chasten thy son, seeing there is hope. . . ."³⁴

"Withhold not correction from the child,

For if thou beat him with the rod he shall not die."³⁵

That all Hebrew fathers were not of the austere type pictured in these passages is evident from the necessity felt by the authors for repeated admonitions to parents to be severe, and from passages in other books. Jacob's love for Joseph and the paternal love depicted by Jesus in the parable of the Lost Son undoubtedly were typical of many fathers. Hebrew poets wishing to picture the pity of Yahweh for Israel do so by a reference to earthly fathers: "Like as a father pitieth his children, so Jehovah pitieth them that fear him."

PERIODS IN CHILD LIFE AND EDUCATION.

The early age at which the boy assumed adult responsibility made childhood distinctly a period for learning and training. This was recognized not only in practice but in pedagogical literature:

"Hast thou children? Instruct them and bow their neck from their youth."³⁶

"Train up a child in the way he should go,
And even when he is old he will not depart from it."³⁷

The Talmud distinguished five periods in child life and education,³⁸ but though frequently quoted this division does not apply to the pre-Talmudic period. Edersheim discovers in the Scriptures eight "ages of man," seven of which are distinct periods in childhood.³⁹ The priestly code provided rites to mark the opening and close of periods in child life. Probably many of these rites were in existence long before they were embodied in the Law. Some arose perhaps in nomadism, but their antiquity can not be determined. It must suffice to describe them.

³¹ *Ibid.* xxx. 8.

³² *Ibid.* xxx. 12.

³³ Proverbs xiii. 24.

³⁴ *Ibid.* xix. 18.

³⁵ *Ibid.* xxiii. 13.

³⁶ Ecclesiasticus vii. 23.

³⁷ Proverbs xxii. 6.

³⁸ Babylonian Talmud, *Tract Aboth* V, 24.

³⁹ Alfred Edersheim, *In the Days of Christ*, pp. 104-105, makes the following divisions: (1) newborn infant, m. *jelcd*; f. *jaldah*; (2) suckling, *joneh*; (3) and eating suckling, *olel*; (4) a weaned infant, *gamul*; (5) "one who clings," *taph*; (6) "one who has become firm and strong, m. *elem*; f. *almah*; (7) youth, *naar*; (8) "ripened one," *bachur*.

Upon birth the newborn infant was bathed in water, rubbed in salt, and wrapped in swaddling clothes.⁴⁰ If the child was the first born son he belonged to Yahweh and must be redeemed by an offering of five shekels.⁴¹ On the eighth day after birth every boy was circumcised⁴² and named, receiving his name from his father⁴³ or from his mother.⁴⁴ Peritz found that out of forty-four cases of naming children mentioned in the Old Testament, four were ascribed to God, fourteen to men and twenty-six to women.⁴⁵

A mother after the birth of a son was regarded as unclean for a period of seven plus thirty-three days; in the case of a daughter the numbers were doubled, making the period fourteen plus sixty-six days. During this period the mother was not allowed to touch any sacred thing or to enter any sacred place. She regained her ceremonial cleanness at the end of this time by making two offerings: (1) a burnt offering, a first-year lamb (in case the mother was poor, a pigeon or dove); (2) a sin offering, a pigeon or a turtle dove.⁴⁶

Mothers generally suckled their own children,⁴⁷ although nurses are sometimes mentioned.⁴⁸ Children were ordinarily weaned at the end of two or three years,⁴⁹ the completion of the weaning was sometimes celebrated with a feast.⁵⁰

The Talmud states that at thirteen one should assume the responsibility of the commandments, i. e., become responsible for the Law.⁵¹ The Scriptures give no positive information concerning any special system of education provided for adolescence, nevertheless in legends, traditions, customs and rites of later times there are many indications that even from tribal days adolescence was recognized as a period of peculiar social and religious significance, and that it was set aside as a time for definitely assuming political and religious obligations and was introduced with special religious ceremonies. It was when Jesus had reached the age of twelve that his parents felt the time had arrived for taking him to the temple in Jerusalem.⁵² Many a Jewish tradition and legend represents the

⁴⁰ Ezekiel xvi. 4; Luke ii. 7. ⁴¹ Exodus xxxiv. 12 ff; Numbers xviii. 15.

⁴² Genesis xvii. 12-14. ⁴³ *Ibid.* xvi. 15; xvii. 19; Luke i. 59; ii. 21.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* xxix. 32; 1 Samuel i. 20.

⁴⁵ I. J. Peritz, "Women in the Ancient Hebrew Cult," *Journal of Biblical Lit.*, XVII, pp. 130-131, note 36.

⁴⁶ Leviticus xii. 1-8.

⁴⁷ Genesis xxi. 7.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* xxiv. 59; 2 Kings xi. 2.

⁴⁹ Maccabees vii. 27; cf. 1 Samuel i. 22-24.

⁵⁰ H. A. White, "Birth," *Hasting's Bible Dictionary*, I, p. 301a.

⁵¹ *Babylonian Talmud*, "Tract Aboth," V, 24.

⁵² Luke ii. 42.

hero as having made his first great decision in life at the opening of adolescence. According to legend, it was at twelve that Moses left Pharaoh's daughter's house, and that the boy Samuel heard the voice of God in the night.⁵³

The rite of circumcision offers perhaps further evidence of immemorial recognition of the social and educational significance of adolescence. The earliest Biblical account of this rite⁵⁴ cannot be accepted as an explanation of its origin but only as an attempt to explain its origin as an infancy rite.⁵⁵ If, as is believed by some, circumcision was originally a tribal, not a family rite and formed part of the ceremonies by which youths were initiated into the tribe,⁵⁶ then the inference seems justified that in the earlier stages of their development, the Hebrews in common with other primitive peoples provided special rites for adolescence, and, in conjunction with these special rites, special training. Assumption of responsibility for the Law is to-day accompanied by changes in costume whereby the significance of adolescence is recognized. Two of these changes, the *zizit* and the phylacteries, will now be considered.

The early Hebrews appear to have worn as an outer garment a large piece of cloth of the shape of a Scotch plaid generally called *simlah*, to the four corners of which were attached blue and white tassels or twisted threads. The Deuteronomic law reads: "Twisted threads (Hebr. *zizit*, incorrectly translated "fringes") shalt thou make thee upon the four corners of thy mantle wherewith thou coverest thyself."⁵⁷ The custom seems to have been a very ancient one with magical or superstitious associations. In time it took on a spiritual significance, and the garment with twisted threads came to be chiefly a reminder of the obligation of the Jews to walk in the Law of Yahweh and to keep all his commandments.⁵⁸ Dispersion, persecution and changes in costume resulted in post-biblical times in substituting for the *simlah* an under-garment with twisted threads, known as the *tallit* which is still worn by orthodox Jews.

The *tefillin* (sing. *tefillah*), or phylacteries, are two ritualistic objects worn by males over thirteen years of age when praying. Each consists of a small parchment case with a loop attached through which a strap may be passed. By means of these straps the worshiper binds one *tefillah* on the forehead between his eyes,

⁵³ B. A. Hinsdale, *Jesus as a Teacher*, p. 16.

⁵⁴ Exodus iv. 24-26. ⁵⁵ H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, p. 67.

⁵⁶ Cheyne and Black, "Circumcision," *Biblical Encyclopædia*.

⁵⁷ Deuteronomy, xxii. 12.

⁵⁸ A. R. S. Kennedy, "Fringes," *Hasting's Bible Dictionary*, II, 68-70.

the other on the inner side of his left arm. The case of the head tefillah is divided into four compartments in each of which is one of the four following passages of Scripture: (1) Exodus xiii. 1-10; (2) Exodus xiii. 11-16; (3) Deuteronomy vi. 4-9; (4) Deuteronomy xi. 13-21. The same passages of Scripture are placed in the case of the arm tefillah which, however, consists of only one compartment.⁵⁹

The antiquity of the custom of wearing tefillin cannot be determined. The New Testament contains many references to them.⁶⁰ Tradition ascribes their origin to the command given in Exodus xiii. 16: "And it shall be a sign for thee upon thy hand and for frontlets between thine eyes." It is possible that the foundation of the custom may have been laid in tribal days in some custom of branding or tatooing members of the tribe to distinguish them or to protect them against magic. "Originally the sign was tatooed on the skin, the forehead (between the eyes) and the hand naturally being chosen for display. Later some visible object worn between the eyes or bound on the hand was substituted for the writing on the skin."⁶¹

From the time when entrance upon adolescence was first accepted as the period for assuming adult religious, political and social responsibilities, it is probable that the youth was ushered into his new rights and duties by some period of special preparation and by special religious ceremonies. It was apparently not until the fourteenth century⁶² that the present ceremonies connected with the bar mizwah became current, but there is every reason for believing that between the tribal ceremonies and those of the bar mizwah there was no break, only continuous development. In the absence of any description of earlier adolescent rites it may not be amiss to describe here those of the bar mizwah, remembering, however, that they belong to a much later time.

By bar mizwah⁶³ (tr. "son of command") is meant a male Jew who has reached the age (thirteen years) when he himself is responsible for fulfilling the Law. Some time before his thirteenth birthday the boy enters upon a period of special preparation and religious instruction. On the Sabbath following his birthday he

⁵⁹ William Rosenau, *Jewish Ceremonial Institutions and Customs*, pp. 59-60, gives a most excellent account, with illustrations of current practices.

⁶⁰ Matthew xxiii. 5.

⁶¹ Emil G. Hirsch, "Phylacteries, Critical View," *Jewish Encyc.*, X, 28c.

⁶² K. Kohler, "Bar Mizwah," *Jewish Encyc.*, II, 509b.

⁶³ W. Rosenau, *Jewish Ceremonial Institutions and Customs*, Chap. X, 149-154, contains a most excellent and clear account of present practice.

goes to the synagogue accompanied by his father. There in the presence of the congregation the father formally renounces his responsibility for his son's conduct in the following benediction:

"Blessed art thou ,O Lord, our God, King of the universe
That Thou hast set me free from the responsibility of this child."

The boy is called upon to read portions of the Scriptures. He may also lead in the benedictions and may even deliver the address following the close of the scripture lessons. A family festival with gifts may be held at home after the conclusion of the synagogue service.⁶⁴

Such ceremonies as those described above gave to each period in the child's life a distinctly religious significance. Every member of the family was impressed with the fact that the child belonged to Yahweh and that the parents were directly responsible to Yahweh for insuring to the child his religious education. Family pride, public opinion, religious beliefs and observances reinforced this sense of responsibility.

Prior to the rise of schools festivals, rites, the home and such religious and social institutions as existed at any particular period were the means through which recognition was given to the different periods in child life. After the rise of schools the transition from home to school marked a distinct change in the child's environment and occupations. But the school included little else than religion. The following outline represents approximately the educational periods in a boy's life after the rise of the elementary schools.

OUTLINE OF JEWISH BOYS' EDUCATION AFTER THE RISE OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

YEARS	PERIODS	INSTITUTIONS	TEACHERS	SUBJECTS AND ACTIVITIES
1—6	Infancy.	Family.	Parents and other members of the family.	Shema or national creed. Bible verses and proverbs Prayers, hymns, Bible stories
6—12	Childhood.	Elementary School.	Hazzan (Elementary teacher).	Memorized portions of Old Testament, especially the Pentateuch.
12—	Adolescence.	Scribe's School ⁶⁵	Soferim (Scribes).	Advanced religious and theological literature, written and oral

⁶⁴ William Rosenau, *Jewish Ceremonial Institutions and Customs*, X, 149-154. The practices given here are for the most part modern.

⁶⁵ Most boys finished attending school at twelve or thirteen and took up their trade or vocation. Some few went to higher schools to prepare to become scribes and rabbis.

INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION.

The industrial occupations which had arisen during the Native Period continued after the Exile. That every boy learned some handicraft seems evident from the fact that the most highly educated of all classes, the scribes, supported themselves if necessary by plying a trade. It was left for the Talmud to direct every father, regardless of his social position, to teach his son a trade.⁶⁶ But here as in many other instances it seems probable that the Talmud merely formulated as law what had been common practice for centuries, perhaps from time immemorial.

In absence of definite information, the question of how the boy learned his trade must be largely a matter of conjecture. It seems reasonable to assume that in most cases he followed his father's occupation and acquired his earliest training by assisting his father or elder brothers in shop or market place. As he grew older he would assist more and more until at length he would enter upon a regular apprenticeship. After elementary education had been made compulsory, the major part of this training would necessarily be postponed until the boy had finished his studies at the elementary school. Then, unless he continued his studies at some higher professional school for the sake of preparing to become a scribe or rabbi, he would take up serious preparation for some commercial or industrial occupation.

MUSIC.

The important place occupied by religious music in the temple service⁶⁷ could scarcely have failed to make it a prominent feature of the religious life of the home. Partly as the result of direct instruction but largely merely by hearing his elders chant or sing, the child during infancy would begin learning the religious songs of his race. Later on perhaps he would be taught some musical instrument.

DANCING.

Dancing which had occupied a prominent place in early Hebrew worship, came to be looked upon with increasing disfavor as a religious act. It continued, however, as a festive activity at weddings and other secular festivities. There is nothing to show that it found any place in the schools which apparently devoted all their energies

⁶⁶ *Babylonian Talmud*, "Tract Kiddushin," 30b.

⁶⁷ C. H. Cornill, *The Culture of Ancient Israel*, pp. 125-132. For vivid descriptions see 2 Chronicles xxix. 26-30 and Ecclesiasticus i. 15-21.

to the study of the sacred writings. Therefore it was probably for the most part learned at home.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION.

No sharp distinction can be made in post-Exilic Jewish education between the intellectual, moral, religious and civic elements. Practically all literature studied at home and in school was religious literature, but this literature contained not only religious teachings but moral teachings and laws. The most important task of parents was to teach their children religion and for many centuries this responsibility rested entirely upon the home. Even after the rise of the elementary schools the education of girls remained almost entirely within the family as did also that of boys up to about their seventh year. The religious ideal of this period may be summed up in the word holiness. Holiness meant "set apart unto Yahweh," i. e., consecrated. Prior to the prophets the term had been devoid of any ethical content but through their teachings it came to mean set apart through purity of heart and of conduct.

The religious education of the child really began with the rites of infancy already described by which he was marked as belonging to a race set apart unto Yahweh. As he grew older, this ideal was gradually built up within his consciousness by the words and actions of those about him. Even before the child could speak he began unconsciously to receive lessons in reverence and love of the Law. Long before he could understand language his attention was attracted by members of the family pausing before the doorway, touching reverently the Mezuzah, a small shining cylinder of wood or metal, kissing the hand that touched it and then passing on.⁶⁸ Later on he would learn that the Mezuzah was placed upon the doorpost in obedience to the divine command: "Thou shalt write them (the laws) upon the doorposts of thy house and upon thy gates."⁶⁹ Within the cylinder written on a small piece of parchment were two passages: Deuteronomy vi. 4-9 and xi. 13-20. About this time also the child must have begun to notice the phylacteries and the bright twisted threads hanging from the four corners of his father's simlah.

As soon as children began to speak their parents began teaching them Bible verses. Possibly in the childhood of Jesus or even

⁶⁸ "The antiquity of the Mezuzah is attested by Josephus (c. 37-100 A. D.) who speaks of its employment (*Ant.*, IV, p. 8, sec. 13) as an old and well-established custom." I. M. Casanowicz, "Mezuzah," *Jewish Encyclopædia*, VIII, 532a.

⁶⁹ Deuteronomy vi. 9.

earlier it was already the custom to begin this teaching with the first verse of the shema,⁷⁰ the national confession of faith: "Hear, O Israel, Yahweh is our God, Yahweh alone."⁷¹ Other verses from the Law, the Prophets, the Psalms and Proverbs would be learned one by one. Long before he started to school the boy would be taught the never-to-be-forgotten stories of the adventures, calamities and glories of his ancestors.

There was scarcely a question childish lips could frame for which the answer was not waiting in the sacred writings. The story of Adam and Eve⁷² answered the child's questions, "Who made me and what am I made of?"; "Why don't all people speak the same language?" was answered by the story of the Tower of Babel.⁷³ And when he asked who made the sea and the stars his father recited the majestic poem of creation: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth."⁷⁴ No matter what the question, in its last analysis and in its final effect upon the child the answer was always, "God." It was God who formed man out of the dust of the earth,—it was God who confused the tongues of men,—it was God who divided the waters from the land and placed the sun, moon and stars in the sky,—it was God who wrote the laws with his finger upon the tables of stone, and who had laid down the hundred regulations governing every day and hour. In this atmosphere, pervaded by a continuous sense of the reality, holiness, purity and dominion of Yahweh the religious consciousness of the child was awakened, stimulated and nurtured.

In the home, as in the temple and in the synagogue prayer was a conspicuous and important channel of religious expression. The life of every member of the family was a life of prayer. Before and after meals a prayer of thanksgiving was offered.⁷⁵ Besides this, prayers were offered three times each day, morning, afternoon and evening.⁷⁶ One of the first things taught to children was to pray.⁷⁷

FESTIVALS IN THE HOME.

Two different classes of festivals were observed in the home:

⁷⁰ Though the definite provision belongs to the Talmudic Period it is possible the custom was much older. *Babylonian Talmud*, "Succah," 42a.

⁷¹ Deuteronomy vi. 4.

⁷² Genesis ii. 7 ff.

⁷³ *Ibid.* xi. 1-9.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.* i. 1; ii. 3.

⁷⁵ Inference based upon such passages as Matthew xv. 36 and Acts xxvii. 35.

⁷⁶ Inference based upon such passages as Psalm lv. 17 and Daniel vi. 10.

⁷⁷ By Talmudic law the child was "to be enforced by the father so say the benediction after each meal and to invoke a blessing before tasting any kind of fruit." N. H. Imber, "Education and the Talmud," *Report of the Commissioner of Education*, 1894-95, II, 1814d.

(1) festivals celebrating some event of family life, such as the infancy festivals already described; (2) festivals celebrating some historical, religious or social event of national importance such as the Passover or the Feast of the Dedication. Some festivals such as the Sabbath,⁷⁸ originally seasons of rest, gradually became days of religious observance, study of the Law and training in ritual and religious customs.⁷⁹ Every religious festival offered parents an opportunity for giving impressive religious instruction. Many festivals were definitely set aside as seasons for instruction in national history and religion. Within the home the parents in obedience to divine commands explained to the children the origin of the festival and the meaning of each symbolic act. How far this tendency to make religious instruction an element of every festival was carried is well illustrated by Purim, the carnival of the Jewish year. Purim was originally merely a festival of merriment and is to this day marked chiefly by unbridled jollity. In time, however, the custom arose (which finally became a universal obligatory part of the day's observance) of reading or hearing the story of the book of Esther.

The Passover celebrated in the evening of the fourteenth day of the month of Abib, or Nisan, was followed immediately by the seven days Feast of Unleavened Bread which began on the fifteenth and continued through the twenty-first. During all this time only unleavened bread was eaten. In every household on Passover eve a lamb, a year old or a kid, free from all blemish, was roasted whole and eaten with bitter herbs. The manner in which the feast was celebrated aimed to recall vividly and dramatically the situation to which its origin was traced, namely the flight from Egypt: for the Law directed that those partaking of the feast should eat it in haste, standing and dressed ready to march, their loins girded, their shoes on their feet and staff in hand.⁸⁰ Perhaps no festival illustrates better than the Feast of the Passover the manner in which festivals were used as occasions for religious instruction and training.

"At a certain part of the service it was expressly ordained that the youngest at the paschal table should rise and formally ask what the meaning of this service was and how this night was distinguished from others: to which the father was to reply by relating in language suited to the child's capacity, the whole national history from the calling of Abraham down to the deliverance from Egypt and the giving of the Law."⁸¹

⁷⁸ T. G. Soares, *The Social Institutions and Ideals of the Bible*, pp. 168-170.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 170-171.

⁸⁰ Exodus xii. 11.

⁸¹ A. Edersheim, *In the Days of Christ*, p. 110; cf. Exodus xii. 26-27 and Exodus xiii. 8.

MORAL INSTRUCTION.

Through the prophets Yahweh had been revealed as a God of righteousness whose first demand of his worshipers was pure hearts and upright lives. Direct from Yahweh of Hosts came the command to truthfulness, mercy, honesty and purity. The moral responsibility of the individual was not merely to his family and the community but to Yahweh. Consequently there could be no separation between morality and religion. It was impossible to be religious unless one were first righteous.

In the Native Period moral education like every other type of education had been received almost entirely through training. Such training in no sense ceased after the Exile; nevertheless, the Jews became ever increasingly a people of the book, and written literature became more and more important as a channel of education in morals and manners as well as in religion.

No people has ever produced a body of literature so rich in moral teachings or so wide and so varied in its possible application. In the earlier writings and in those passages in the later ones designed for children, moral precepts are stated dogmatically. But in many portions of the later writings dogmatic precepts give way to principles. Consequently the Old Testament is equally well adapted for the primitive and the highly developed mind, for the moral instruction of the child and the meditation of the philosopher.

Absolute obedience to parents was regarded as the cardinal virtue of childhood and was presented as such in the earliest as well as in the latest writings:

"Honor thy father and thy mother that thy days may be long
In the land which Yahweh thy God giveth thee."⁸²

"He that feareth the Lord will honor his father
And will do service unto his parents, as to his masters."⁸³

"Honor thy father with thy whole heart
And forget not the sorrows of thy mother,
Remember thou wast begotten of them:
And how canst thou recompense them
The things they have done for thee?"⁸⁴

Children are specifically enjoined to respect the old age of their parents:

"My son, help thy father in his age
And grieve him not as long as he liveth."⁸⁵

⁸² Exodus xx. 12.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* vii. 27-28.

⁸³ Ecclesiasticus iii. 7.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* iii. 12.

"Hearken unto thy father in his age
And despise not thy mother when she is old."⁸⁶

The remaining moral virtues taught to the Jewish children were those which are known and honored to-day throughout Christendom. They were presented in part through proverbs, moral precepts, psalms and prayers, in part through biographies and historical narratives, in part through the symbolic rites, customs and festivals already described. It must suffice here to name briefly the more important of these virtues, bearing in mind that they "were taught line upon line, precept upon precept," in season and out of season.

- | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| 1. Obedience | 8. Chastity | 14. Patience |
| 2. Reverence | 9. Truthfulness | 15. Meekness |
| 3. Brotherly love | 10. Industry | 16. Loyalty |
| 4. Charity | 11. Thrift | 17. Diligence |
| 5. Compassion | 12. Prudence | 18. Perseverance |
| 6. Hospitality | 13. Patriotism | 19. Mercy |
| 7. Temperance | | |

MANNERS.

Manners were regarded as matters of religion and morality. This is well brought out in the command to the young to rise in the presence of the aged: "Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honor the face of the old man, and thou shalt fear thy God: I am Yahweh."⁸⁷ Here we have a command to perform an ordinary act of politeness made correlative with fearing God and followed by the most authoritative and binding of all divine utterances, "*I am Yahweh.*"

No description of any system of training in manners employed by the ancient Hebrews is available. However, the patriarchal organization of the home, the implicit obedience exacted of children, the respect required of them for all their elders, the emphasis placed by the Hebrews upon form in every aspect of life are sufficient reasons for believing that training in manners constituted a most important part of the education of children. The soundness of this inference is amply supported by many lessons in politeness contained in the Holy Scriptures. Some of these lessons are given in the form of narratives which relate in detail the conduct of some great national character. Genesis xviii gives, under the guise of the story of Abraham entertaining angels unawares, a beautiful lesson in hospitality and detailed instructions as to the proper manner of treating guests. Genesis xix gives a similar lesson in connection with

⁸⁶ Proverbs xxiii. 22; Ecclesiasticus iii. 1-16 is of marked interest.

⁸⁷ Psalm cxvi. 6.

the story of Lot. Elsewhere lessons in courtesy are given in the form of precepts and admonitions relating to the treatment of strangers, the aged, topics of conversation and conduct in general or upon particular occasions. These lessons vary in length from terse proverbs to comparatively long passages such as that on table manners in Ecclesiasticus.

Breeding expresses itself outwardly and concretely in acts, but the essence of good breeding is the spirit which prompts and pervades the acts. Simplicity, meekness, humility, gentleness and kindness, the earmarks of good breeding, and the foundations of all genuine courtesy are repeatedly presented as qualities which bring divine favor, care and reward. "Yahweh preserveth the simple."⁸⁸ "The meek shall inherit the land;"⁸⁹ "He will adorn the meek with salvation;"⁹⁰ "I (Yahweh) dwell in the high and holy place, with him also that is of a contrite and humble spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble and to revive the heart of the contrite;"⁹¹ "Now the man Moses was very meek, above all the men who were upon the face of the earth."⁹²

Boasting, ostentation and conceit, the most patent evidences of vulgarity, are condemned in narrative and in precept: "Let another man praise thee, and not thine own mouth: a stranger and not thine own lips;"⁹³ "Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom, neither let the mighty glory in his might, let not the rich glory in his riches;"⁹⁴ "Be not wise in thine own eyes; fear Yahweh, and depart from evil;"⁹⁵ "The way of the foolish is right in his own eyes, but he that is wise hearkeneth unto counsel."⁹⁶

Whispering and whisperers are to be shunned: "A whisperer separateth chief friends."⁹⁷ Loquacity is condemned and reserve in utterance commended: "In the multitude of words there wanteth not transgression, but he that refraineth his lips doeth wisely;"⁹⁸ "A fool's vexation is presently known: but a prudent man concealeth shame;"⁹⁹ "A fool uttereth all his anger but a wise man keepeth it back and stilleth it;"¹⁰⁰ "Death and life are in the power of the tongue; and they that love it shall eat the fruit thereof."¹⁰¹

Stinging and bitter retorts are to be avoided: "A soft answer turneth away wrath: but a grievous word stirreth up anger;"¹⁰²

⁸⁸ Psalm cxvi. 6.

⁸⁹ Psalm xxxvii. 11.

⁹⁰ Psalm cxlix. 4.

⁹¹ Isaiah lvii. 15.

⁹² Numbers xii. 3.

⁹³ Proverbs xxvii. 2.

⁹⁴ Jeremiah ix. 23.

⁹⁵ Proverbs iii. 7.

⁹⁶ Proverbs xii. 15.

⁹⁷ Proverbs xvi. 28.

⁹⁸ Proverbs x. 19.

⁹⁹ Proverbs xii. 16.

¹⁰⁰ Proverbs xxix. 11.

¹⁰¹ Proverbs xviii. 21.

¹⁰² Proverbs xv. 1.

"The north wind bringeth forth rain: so doth a backbiting tongue an angry countenance."¹⁰³

Nothing more readily betrays breeding than the character of conversation. The book of Proverbs contains numerous exhortations to proper conversation and denunciations of rash or perverse speech.

"A wholesome tongue is a tree of life:
But perverseness therein is a breaking of the spirit."¹⁰⁴

"A word fitly spoken
Is like apples of gold in network of silver."¹⁰⁵

"He that giveth answer before he heareth,
It is folly and shame unto him."¹⁰⁶

Wisdom, righteousness, and the laws of Yahweh are to be made the constant topics of conversation:

"And (thou) shalt talk of them, (the laws and words of Yahweh), when thou sittest in thy house."¹⁰⁷ "And ye shall teach them your children, talking of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up."¹⁰⁸

"And my tongue shall talk of Thy righteousness,
And of Thy praise all the day long."¹⁰⁹

"The mouth of the righteous talketh of wisdom,
And his tongue speaketh judgment."¹¹⁰

The inseparability of religion, morals and manners has been dwelt upon sufficiently to make it unnecessary to point out that the fact that the passages just quoted bear primarily upon religious instruction, does not to the slightest degree exclude them from the field of manners. If tact is the test of a thoroughbred, curiosity is equally the betrayer of the illbred. Curiosity is linked in the Scriptures with irreverence and disobedience. It was inevitable that the Hebrews should apply to commonplace experiences and situations the frightful warnings contained in the story of Lot's wife,¹¹¹ and in the story of the fifty thousand and seventy men of Beth-shemesh destroyed because they looked into the ark of Yahweh.¹¹²

Among the most important occasions for display of breeding are the times when one sits down to eat. Gluttony is branded as a disgrace to one's own self and a shaming of one's parents: "He that

¹⁰³ Proverbs xxv. 23.

¹⁰⁶ Proverbs xviii. 13.

¹⁰⁹ Psalm xxxv. 28.

¹⁰⁴ Proverbs xv. 4.

¹⁰⁷ Deuteronomy, vi. 7.

¹¹⁰ Psalm xxxvii. 30.

¹⁰⁵ Proverbs xxv. 11.

¹⁰⁸ Deuteronomy xi. 19.

¹¹¹ Genesis xix. 26.

is a companion of gluttonous men shameth his father.¹¹³ The principles, precepts and moral qualities presented and extolled in the Scriptures if applied to conduct at the table would have made any specific directions unnecessary. Nevertheless Ben Sira, like the authors of chivalric courtesy books, felt it incumbent upon him to give specific rules of table conduct which he did in the following interesting and, to the modern mind, curious passage:

"Eat, as it becometh a man, those things which are set before thee; and devour not lest thou be hated. Leave off first for manners' sake; and be not unsatiable lest thou offend. When thou sittest among many, reach not thine hand out first of all. A very little is sufficient for a man well nurtured. Sound sleep cometh of moderate eating: he riseth and his wits are with him."¹¹⁴

However important may be the command, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbor," it represents merely the beginning of Hebrew custom with respect to the treatment of neighbors. In the Levitical code, as well as in the teachings of Jesus,¹¹⁵ stranger and neighbor are to be treated with the same love that one bears toward his own flesh and blood: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thy self."¹¹⁶ Neighbors are to be treated with generosity when they come seeking to borrow: "Say not unto thy neighbor, 'Go and come again, and to-morrow I will give,' when thou hast it by thee."¹¹⁷

Hospitality is a religious obligation and brings divine rewards. Many details of a host's conduct are clearly and beautifully set forth in the two stories already referred to, of how Abraham¹¹⁸ and Lot¹¹⁹ entertained angels unawares. Abraham, sitting in his tent, beholds three men. He runs forth to meet them. He bows himself to the earth and then entreats them in terms of unsurpassable courtesy to be his guests. He orders water fetched that their feet may be washed. His wife Sarah makes fresh bread and a feast is prepared. When they depart, as a last act of hospitality, Abraham goes with them "to bring them on their way." The acts of hospitality performed by Lot as host are almost identical with those performed by Abraham. Abraham is rewarded by a promise of a son; Lot, by being saved from the destruction that overtakes the other inhabitants of Sodom.

¹¹² 1 Samuel vi. 19. ¹¹³ Proverbs xxviii. 7. ¹¹⁴ Ecclesiasticus xxxi. 16-21.

¹¹⁵ Luke x. 29-37.

¹¹⁶ Leviticus xix. 18.

¹¹⁷ Proverbs iii. 28.

¹¹⁸ Genesis xviii. 3-18

¹¹⁹ Genesis xix.

FADS IN PHILOSOPHY.

BY THE EDITOR.

FADS are now the fashion in the philosophical world. When the old dogmatism began to break down, people acquired the habit of evading philosophical problems of a religious nature by saying that the questions as to the existence of God, the nature of the soul, free will and immortality, lay beyond the scope of science, and this philosophy of nescience is commonly called in Huxley's term agnosticism. It is understood that those who call themselves agnostics are really infidels; as a rule they do not believe at all, but prefer the more modest and non-committal name of "not knowers," for it is more convenient not to take a definite standpoint in order to avoid controversy on a topic which they do not care to discuss. But agnosticism bears on its face the stamp of transition; it characterizes a stage which is transient. It is too obviously a mere make-shift to prevent its negativism from being replaced by some positive affirmation.

In the course of events agnosticism led to pragmatism which promised a new conception of truth, but this new conception is practically a denial of truth as an objective authority. It degrades truth to a mere subjectivism. Pragmatists contend that if an idea works within my own experience, if it serves my ends, it is to be accepted as true, at least for me and pragmatists assume that that is all there is to truth.

On this basis real science becomes obviously impossible, for science would be a consensus, not of those who know anything about the subject in question, but of the most powerful and most influential minds of the age. In the meantime those views of Continental Europe which are also anti-scientific, have reached both England and America, and among them Nietzsche's philosophy has been most prominent. Nietzsche preaches a contempt of science, proclaiming the sovereignty of the ego and the coming of the over-man. His view developed from Schopenhauer's pessimism by inversion, and it also is acceptable only to those who reject an objective norm of truth and believe that the will should exercise control irrespective as to what the truth may be. The will is deemed supreme and the intellect is its handmaid who has to adapt herself to the wishes of her master. It proclaims the principle of unmorality, which means

an absolute irresponsibility and the coming of the overman who is not a higher and nobler type of man, but a powerful ruler who would unscrupulously tread under foot his fellow beings and sacrifice them to his superior interests.

Nietzsche is very ingenious, and his books, especially *Thus Spake Zarathustra*, are very pleasant reading, but he has contributed nothing to the solution of any philosophical problem of the philosophy of science. His philosophy is purely a philosophy of attitude, and it is the attitude of noisy bluster which is apt to thrill immature minds with enthusiasm.

Very different, but in agreement with the principle that science is not a reliable nor desirable guide in life, are other recent tendencies which have produced a number of philosophies of a reactionary nature, basing themselves mainly on sentimentalism. It is noticeable that the representatives of this kind of thought are not so much thinkers and philosophers as prophets or leaders of certain tendencies, and do not take their stand upon investigation. Thus their success is mainly among the masses, who demand the satisfaction of certain individual needs and do not care for reliable scientific arguments, but wish to hear what will satisfy the needs of their longings. Most prominent among these leaders is Henri Bergson, and he is welcomed because he combines in his philosophy a certain liberalism with reactionary tendencies. He does not submit it to the traditional authorities in religion, yet clings to the antiquated principle underlying the outworn dogmatism, and so he revives some views long abandoned by science, such as belief in vitalism as well as a teleological interpretation of nature.

The most recent innovation in philosophy is more subtle and more ingenious than any of its predecessors. It is the proclamation of the principle of relativity with some bold paradoxical postulates, perplexing the unsophisticated masses but presenting a delightful spectacle to the trained mathematician who has here full opportunity to admire the acrobatic feats of an intellectual gymnastic of abstract reasoning accomplished in the mid-air of purely mathematical argumentation, which has little or no foundation in fact. The inner structure of the relativist expositions is logically and mathematically correct, but when applied to real facts their conclusions are bold assertions and lead positively to contradictions. The principle of relativity is proclaimed under a great show and with much pretense, and yet it seems to have been a mere fad that will soon be a matter of history.

We ask, "What next?" but we do not propose to answer this

question. We prefer to suggest that all these passing phases in recent times have been due to the lack of comprehension of the nature of science. Science is plodding on its way. Scientists use the thought-tools of science as if they were perfectly reliable, and most scientists do not care to investigate the philosophical problem of science. They leave its settlement to philosophy. They act as if there were a philosophy of science and as if science rested on a solid foundation, and we claim that it does. In our opinion the principles of science are reliable and the scientist may safely use his tools.

The philosophy of science that underlies scientific method and justifies its work is not a mere dream or assumption or hypothesis; it is well grounded on a rock; it is the rock of experience and the consistency of all experiences, which can be discovered on a close investigation; but the philosophical world has neglected a study of the philosophy of science and has preferred to give heed to the passing fads which have come and gone in a kaleidoscopic change.

The present age is an age of unrest. Much solid work has been done in all branches of life, in art, in science, in industry and in the social improvement of mankind. But we of the present generation seem to have lost our composure and equanimity. The mass of mankind seems unbalanced, and so there is a search for something startling, unheard-of and novel. We want to be original and prove that before us the world was absolutely wrong, that real life begins with us, that our predecessors have done nothing worth considering—we had best forget and ignore them; and the exponents of these tendencies propose new principles, new propositions, new postulates, new philosophies which are absolutely original, with the distinction quite common that what is absolutely original is absolutely erroneous.

We wonder whether the show is over and whether philosophical mankind will settle down in sober earnest to establish and accept the philosophy of science.

The philosophy of science is *the* philosophy, the only one, of which all scientists consciously or unconsciously are co-workers, and all who deny the possibility of its construction are its enemies.

The word philosophy may be taken either in a loose way or in the rigid sense of its meaning. It may denote the science of truth in general, the object of which is the foundation of science and its significance, or it may be contemplation of life, an attitude toward the world, an emotional disposition or a sentiment that sways us, the mood of our mind. In this latter sense every one has a philosophy of his own, yea this philosophy is not one and the same for-

ever. The philosophy of every one will change with the disposition of his character, with the changes in his destinies, with his age and with his surroundings. Philosophy in the strict sense, however, will not change. Philosophy in the strict sense is a systematized explanation of existence; and in this sense there is only one philosophy as there is only one truth, and this one philosophy is the philosophy of science.

Philosophy of science is objective, philosophy as a mood or attitude is subjective. The former exists in the singular only; it has no peer; the name of the latter is legion.

There is no quarrel between the two; they may exist peacefully side by side, just as mathematics will find no fault with a sonata or a picture or a poem. The many philosophies are like literary products, pieces of art, and why should they not exist? In the face of the same facts and living in the same world, in the world that alone has become and probably alone could become real, Leibniz proclaims his optimistic view that this world is the best possible because it can not be better, and Schopenhauer says it is the worst possible, because if it were a little worse it could not exist at all.

There need be no quarrel between the two kinds of philosophy except when any one of the philosophies of mood rebels against the authority of science and declares science to be an *ignis fatuus*, when it has no place for truth, the ideal of science, and does not admit the possibility of knowledge.

Strange that science exists and that we rely on science. Never in history has there been a religious faith which has justified trust in its authority or authoritative revelations as firmly and unequivocally as has science. We may become victims of error, we may make mistakes, we may be surprised one day that what we deemed to be true was not so, that we have misinterpreted facts or that our observations were faulty. But are there any scientists who believe that science did ever or will ever fail them, that a law of nature will change, that the constitution of the world, its lawdom, was ever different in the past or will ever be different in the future? If our trust in science is justified, science is established, and we claim that it is justified. If science rest on postulates, if the foundations of science are mere assumptions, if our trust in an approved hypothesis, our faith in science not well grounded—then we have no science, but what we call science is mere sciolism, mere pseudo-science and all our knowledge mere opinion.

THE CONSTITUTION ON THE DEFENSIVE.

BY HOMER HOYT.

I.

A WRITER¹ in the September number of *The Open Court* voices a kind of dissatisfaction with the Constitution of the United States that is receiving more attention now than ever before. It is characteristic of the thought of an age of rapid scientific progress to approach to the inner shrine which shields our most sacred institutions and to demand that those very articles of faith be subjected to the impartial testing of the scientific laboratory. No longer are we content to accept basic institutions upon faith alone. The value of the Constitution of the United States must be tested, not by its original purpose and results, not by its antiquity, and not by the benefits it confers upon a few, but by its present service to democracy. If the Constitution was designed to protect the special interests of an autocracy of wealth, and if its purpose throughout its long history has been to raise the few into power by the sacrifices of the many, then no reverence for its antiquity, and no sentimental regard for its patriotic origin should deter us from abolishing it. If the Constitution "has fostered corruption, graft and exploitation"² we should strip it of authority until it has no more power in our national counsels than the traditional scrap of paper, and the final sentence rendered against it should be all the more severe because it has so long imposed upon us by assuming the guise of a sacred and patriotic institution.

The attack on the Constitution does not stop with the charge of corruption. Ancillary to this main indictment is a charge which is sometimes made the basis of an independent indictment and sometimes the cause of the main indictment, but which invariably accompanies the cry of "corruption" and "special interests." This charge is made by the writer previously referred to when she says that the Constitution binds us to the customs and habits that existed in 1787. It is probable that she regards conservatism as an evil *per se* in this restless age of changing fashions and changing laws. It is certain that she regards the conservatism maintained by the Constitution as the chief means by which it produces an unjust result to-day, because the Constitution has thus perpetuated the in-

¹ Mrs. Lida Parce.

² Mrs. Lida Parce, "Democracy and the Constitution," *Open Court*, Sept., 1917, Vol. XXXI, p. 560.

justice which she thinks entered into its formulation. The issue is thus raised as to whether or not there is any merit in an iron law that never changes. We must also bring to the fore another issue that lies back of that, namely whether or not the Constitution is an iron law that never changes.

These charges against the Constitution cut deep and no swift or biased judgment should be passed. So serious an indictment must be considered in all its aspects. The Constitution is so deeply imbedded in our national life that it affects almost the whole range of our social relationships. In order to make a decision upon the charges against the Constitution, we must consider whether its good qualities outweigh the bad. This kind of an assay is no easy task, because we are not all agreed upon what constitutes pure social gold. Only a study of economic, political, psychological and sociological factors that are intertwined in the complex grouping we call society can throw light upon this problem. Manifestly it is by far too large a problem to be considered in the scope of this paper. The writer can only muster some facts within the circle of his acquaintanceship for the purpose of defending the Constitution at the points of attack.

II.

Upon three questions part of the battle between the defenders and challengers of the Constitution must be fought. These three questions are: First, whether or not the Constitution fosters graft and corruption; second, whether or not there is any value in the unchanging character of the Constitution; and third, whether or not the Constitution is in fact an unchanging organ of government. These three points of controversy by no means indicate the whole contour of the battle line, but they do seem to be strategic points. The writer would therefore like to direct the attention of the reader to the forces that may be mobilized to support the defenders of the Constitution.

It must be frankly admitted at the outset that there is a cause for the dissatisfaction which has thus been expressed against the Constitution. That cause is undoubtedly a tendency of recent decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States to strengthen the position of the propertied classes in their struggle with the laboring classes. The writer feels a strong sympathy with the movements for the minimum wage for women, for the shorter working day, for sanitary regulations in factories, for the abolition of the company store, and for the various measures designed to safeguard the interests of trade unions and thereby increase the bargaining power

of labor, but he does not believe that the most serious impediment to the enactment of these reforms is the Constitution of the United States. Admitting that there is an evil to be remedied, the writer believes that there is not sufficient evidence to hold the Constitution responsible for that evil. On the contrary it is submitted that the forces in the Constitution which are the most maligned are in fact productive of much good. This brings us directly to a consideration of the points of controversy.

We are told first that the Constitution serves special privileges and that it is a bulwark of vested wrongs. The charge is not specific, and the answer can therefore only meet the prevalent types of discontent which "special privilege" suggests.

The Constitution has always had a very special regard for the vested rights of property. It has shown its solicitude for the interests of the owners of property by throwing up bulwarks to protect them against the arbitrary forfeiture or seizure of private property without just compensation. The protection of the special interests of property however is not usually regarded as unworthy of a democracy unless there is discrimination in the treatment of various persons holding property. The Constitution guards the interests of the owner of the humble cottage as zealously as the lord of a mansion on Sheridan Road or Riverside Drive. The value to our civilization by the protection of property rights *per se* can best be seen by comparing conditions in countries with shifting constitutions like Mexico with the conditions that obtain in countries where the right of property is regarded as fundamental.

Perhaps the critics of the Constitution have another thing in mind, however, when they attack the Constitution for protecting special interests. Perhaps they refer to the conflict between the property interests of a few capitalists and the health, morals and general welfare of the many laborers. In spite of our ethical scheme of values in which we regard life as worth more than meat, and the welfare and happiness of a people worth more than material wealth, it is asserted that the Constitution places property above the health, morals and even the life of the individual laborer. In truth, however, there is ample authority in the Constitution for sacrificing property interests to the interests of morals, health and life, and this authority has been frequently exercised. Of course there must be a balancing not only between absolute property rights and absolute rights of health and happiness, but between various amounts of property rights and various amounts of health rights. A great property interest should not be destroyed to protect a very

small health right. The upper stories of a sky-scraper should not be torn off merely to decrease the danger of fire. It is significant, however, to note that the Supreme Court has refused to allow equal property interests to stand above equal health interests when it clearly saw the issue. It may be that the Supreme Court has not gone far enough. It is probable that the members of that body have not comprehended the connection between the health and happiness of workers and the measures designed to secure those results. They may not have made enough allowance for the increasing complexity of industrial society, whereby the result of legislation conducts itself through many channels before it reaches its intended destination. They may have overlooked the growing interdependency of the human family whereby the good or evil that is brought to bear against one man communicates itself by a series of widening circles to the whole of society. Many social workers are feeling that the property rights should give the right of way to the broader human rights on all occasions, and that property rights should be forced to yield not only when they conflict directly with the interest of health, morals and life, but also when they conflict with any legislation which indirectly or by roundabout means promotes health, morals and life. It is not the fault of the Constitution, however, that the judicial reaction toward social legislation has been rather narrow, because it is not unconstitutional to confiscate property when it is being used for a purpose that is detrimental to health and morals.

It is probable that the critics of the Constitution have still another conception in mind when they charge the Constitution with fostering special interests. They would hold the Constitution responsible for permitting if not actually encouraging the growing concentration of wealth into the hands of a few. Admitting that the establishment of an aristocracy of wealth is a serious evil under any form of government, it still remains to be seen whether the Constitution is the cause of the widening gulf between the rich and the poor. It is true that the Constitution has prevented and will continue to prevent the breaking up of large fortunes by confiscation. It has stood guard over the property of millionaires who have plundered the people when the people in turn would have plundered the millionaires. In thus protecting the vested interests of the few, not for the sake of the particular persons who happened to own the vested interests, but for the sake of the institution of private property, the Constitution has saved us from evils far worse than those which we sought to cure. It has saved us from the repetition

of the shock to credit that resulted from wild-cat banking and the repudiation of state bonds. It has saved us from the disorders and demoralization that followed the sudden forfeiture of crown lands in Russia. It has saved us from the panic and utter collapse of our whole financial structure that rests upon the security of property rights. It must be remembered too that this panic would be felt all the more severely because of the delicacy of the parts that bind our financial machinery together.

The Constitutional guaranty of property rights has been of great importance to our nation, because it is founded upon principles of justice to the individual. Property originally acquired wrongfully soon becomes divested of its evil character and it is then unjust to restore the *status quo* that existed before the wrong was committed. The gain of robbery, fraud and oppression soon mingles with the stream of property produced by honest effort and loses its identity completely. That part of the value of a share of stock that is due to railroad rebates cannot be distinguished from the part of value that is due to honest production. The purchaser of the stock on the market parts with money that is usually earned by honest effort, and to confiscate the value due to railroad rebates would be a monstrous injustice to him. The old saying that two wrongs cannot make a right applies here with great force. The cure for the evil of vested interests lies not in the confiscation of property, for that would be akin to burning down a house in order to disinfect it. The only just method is to prevent the proceeds of graft extortion and monopoly from ever becoming property in the first place by striking directly at the evil practices themselves. By prohibiting the evil practices of unfair competition, railroad rebates, price discrimination, franchise grabbing, legislative lobbying and all the other hydra-headed forms in which graft displays itself, we would prevent the canker of corruption from ever becoming a vested right of property. We would apply the policy of locking our barn before the horse is stolen, instead of leaving the door open and protecting ourselves after the catastrophe by stealing a horse from a malefactor of great wealth to replace the horse that was stolen from us.

Probably the critics of the Constitution have many other reasons not here adverted to for believing that it is a fortress of special privilege. If so, they owe it to their cause to reveal the secret of their discontent. Their specific proof has failed to disclose any basis for an indictment against the Constitution as a traitor to the general welfare.

III.

The second serious indictment against the Constitution is based on the assumption that it has not changed since the days of our grandfathers and proceeds to expound the evils of adopting the mummy of the eighteenth century as a model for the life of to-day. Without admitting the whole charge that the Constitution has not changed, the apologist for the Constitution insists that some elements of our modern life should be patterned after the days of old and that any considerable change in these elements is not desirable. The apologist refers particularly to the necessity of maintaining the stability of property rights.

There is every reason for maintaining stability of property rights. The chief incentive to thrift is the prospect of an assured income from property. The stimulus to the undertaking of a new enterprise consists in the probability of profit from the venture. The business man balances the risk against the prospective profit, and if the risk is great compared with the expected profit, he will not extend his plant or start a new business. The greatest of all possible risks is the risk of losing the whole of the principal as well as the interest through capricious changes in the laws of private property. Society progresses through the action of individuals striking out into new fields of endeavor, and hence it is to the interest of society to stimulate and not discourage individual initiative. The chief spur to progress is the knowledge that property rights will remain stable.

Even as it is economical so also is it just to maintain the stability of property rights. An individual who has labored long to acquire property would surely have a grievance if he was suddenly divested of his title because of a changed rule of law. The only way to assure a man that he will be allowed to enjoy what he has bargained and paid for is to make the laws governing the title to property as uniform and stable as possible.

Stability is a virtue in more ways than one. The stability of the Constitution is of inestimable importance in protecting the rights of a minority when they are threatened by the brute strength of a majority. When gusts of popular passion dominate the sentiment of one locality or even of one state, the objects of public disfavor can appeal to the broader principles of right and justice guaranteed by the Constitution. When even the whole nation becomes stirred with wrath and in a moment of forgetfulness would do something for which it would afterward be ashamed, the Constitution holds

up a warning hand. Thus a minority, whether it be composed of an unpopular race, an unpopular religion, or unpopular business interests, has found a refuge against the rage of the mob. The Constitution has brought to bear a force for the protection of life, liberty and property that the furious power of a temporary majority could not beat down. However much the majority has been momentarily exasperated by the steadiness with which the Constitution has resisted its purpose, in many cases its members have later honored the instrument that restrained them. When there was a real grievance against the Constitution, its very stability compelled a clear statement of the reason and necessity for its amendment. It did not give way to the first wild rush, and hence the Constitution has blocked hasty legislation, the mass of which has been a plague to this country. The Constitution has thus been more than a scrap of paper in the past when the changing current of public opinion has left its channel, and if our nation in the future is ever swept along by a powerful psychology that threatens to overturn individual rights, the Constitution will doubtless again prove to be a precious instrument.

IV.

Although the Constitution is essentially stable, it is by no means as hard to change as most of its critics believe. In addition to the process of external amendment there is a process of internal adaptation that is no less dynamic because it is not heralded by the clamor of debate and the roar of the cannon. Notwithstanding the common belief that the whole constitutional law of the United States is to be found in the original document itself, in fact our Constitution to-day consists of a library of bulky volumes. Not to mention the thousands of cases in the lower federal courts, the decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States alone fill 250 large books. The celebrated words and phrases of the Constitution have been so interlined, amended, interpreted, expanded, and annotated by the courts of the United States, that even a magician might be astounded to see so many twentieth-century products drawn out of an old beaver hat of the eighteenth century. The process of judicial interpretation is entirely different from the process of casting plastic material into an iron mold. The rules of the Constitution are not drawn tightly over each detail of conduct, but they are broad and loose, giving opportunity for fresh definition and specific application in thousands of concrete cases. The law laid down by the Constitution was confined to principles which centuries of experience had demonstrated to be universal in scope

and therefore least subject to change. Thus the constitutional phrase "Congress shall have power to regulate commerce" was framed in the days of the stage coach, yet it has been extended to meet the needs of the steamboat, the railroad, the telephone, the telegraph, the wireless and the aeroplane. It was conceived at a time when transportation was regarded as a private enterprise, it has lived to see transportation brought within the domain of public regulation, and it will be adequate for the needs of public ownership if that ever becomes necessary.

Some clauses in the Constitution are purposely elastic. Phrases like "due process of law" and "cruel and unusual punishment" adapt themselves to the views of each successive age. The right of every man to be tried according to "due process of law" does not require that he be tried according to the conceptions of due process that prevailed in the eighteenth century. On the contrary it guarantees to the citizen all the protection of modern notions of a fair hearing in addition to those essentials of a fair hearing that have existed since the days of the Magna Charta. Similarly with the constitutional prohibition of "cruel and unusual punishment." Manifestly what one age would regard as ordinary punishment, another would regard as cruel and unusual. The fundamental change in our theory of punishment as witnessed by the movements for prison reform and the psychological study of crime demonstrates that the social attitude on these matters progresses from one age to another. The Constitution accepts this fact of change and allows the average ethical standards of the time to judge whether a given kind of punishment is "cruel and unusual" or not.

In addition to all the elasticity provided for by the terms of the Constitution, there is a rule of interpretation which gives still greater leeway for progress. This rule was stated by Chief Justice Marshall in the famous case of *McCulloch vs. Maryland*. In referring to a situation not expressly covered by any language in the Constitution he said: "Let the end be legitimate, let it be within the scope of the Constitution, and all means which are appropriate, which are plainly adapted to that end, which are not prohibited, but are consistent with the letter and spirit of the Constitution, are constitutional." By this principle, which has been subsequently followed, the people are not hampered by obsolete machinery when they seek to attain an end that is clearly within the spirit of the Constitution. They can devise new methods for meeting new problems. The Constitution is thus a living instrument which is responsive to the needs and wishes of each successive age.

The same liberality of spirit is shown toward social legislation. The Constitution does not attempt to make each legislative act fit into an iron bed of Procrustes, but it only sets up broad limits beyond which the legislature may not stray. These limits are not absolutely rigid. There is a twilight zone or No-man's land where the legislative power meets the restraining hand of the Constitution. A broad interpretation of the Constitution would extend the legislative power over most of this disputed ground; a narrow interpretation of the Constitution would drive it back. The gains that might be made for social legislation on this border line would be sufficient to meet the needs of progress. That these gains have not been made is due to a conservative attitude on the part of the judges of the Supreme Court and not to the Constitution itself. The members of the Supreme Court who have felt the pressure of the public opinion of this age have been willing to grant as much power to the laboring masses as it would be wise to give at present. The judges who have declared social legislation unconstitutional because they did not appreciate its significance would probably emasculate an amendment to the Constitution covering the same subject-matter. The problem lies deeper than any form of words. It consists of the lack of understanding of modern industrial relationships. That problem cannot be solved by a recall of the Constitution nor even by a recall of judges, but as Roscoe Pound suggests only by a recall of law professors and much of the judicial thinking of the past generation.¹

The writer does not believe that the Constitution is without faults. There is need for some reforms. Such reforms, however, must be based not only upon a thorough analysis of our industrial situation, but also upon a thorough knowledge of the Constitution, because we cannot reform either unless we understand them thoroughly. Before we invoke the cumbersome process of amendment, we should also understand what is the most that could be accomplished without amendment. Before we relegate the Constitution to the limbo of historical documents, we should be sure that our new Magna Charta does not leave us as helpless as of old. The sudden uprooting of a long-cherished ideal would undoubtedly disturb our whole social structure and bring about a panic even in quarters where there was no cause for a panic. The element of *morale* is a factor in our national life that must be reckoned with.

¹ "Social Problems and the Courts," *American Journal of Sociology* (1912), Vol. XVIII, pp. 331-341. Also cited in W. H. Hamilton, *Current Economic Problems* (1915), pp. 651-653.

however, and it is folly to frighten people when nothing is to be gained by it. The substitution of new and untried maxims of government for those which have been defined by a process of court decision might very well complicate instead of simplifying our legal problems. Unless we are sure that we have something better we may well hesitate to throw overboard the results of one hundred and thirty years of judicial experience. In changing constitutions our motto should be "Safety first."

AN AUTONOMOUS UKRAINE.

BY AN UKRAINIAN.

WHEN in 1863 a Russian minister of state declared that "there never has been and never will be an Ukrainian language or nationality," he did not foresee the tragedy of the last Romanoff and the apparently accomplished disintegration of the empire of the Czars. In point of fact the very arrogance of his utterance was but a reflex of that will to conquer which has characterized the house of Romanoff from the time when it first took control of Great, or better, Muscovite Russia and added one subjected people after another as jewels to its crown. Among these was a former nation once of great power, later an object of contention between medieval Poland and Muscovy until in 1654 a political blunder on the part of its ruler, the Hetman Bogdan Chmielnicki, put this wealthy but politically weak state first under Muscovite tutelage but later under the conqueror's heel of the Czars, so that it preceded its enemy Poland which fell a victim over a century later.

For one hundred and fifty years the wrongs of Poland have aroused and obtained the sympathies of the non-Russian world, but rarely has the voice of justice been raised in behalf of a people whose only crime has been the misfortune of its undefended geographical situation between rapacious neighbors. The English world has forgotten the stirring *Mazeppa* of its greatest nineteenth-century poet, Lord Byron, and the present political situation will hardly allow any Englishman to take up the pen in defense of a nation whose rebellion seems to jeopardize the cause of the Entente by weakening the aggressive strength of Russia against her enemies of Central Europe. But putting aside the question of abstract justice, is such a stand even politically expedient? Cannot the aims of the new Ukrainian nation be utilized to the advantage of a strong Russia, so as to make her a potent force once more in the

cause of democracy? Would it not be better to conciliate an oppressed people and win their grateful cooperation than to wear away the strength of Great and Little Russia in civil war? The anomalous position of the western democracies in alliance with autocratic and despotic Czarism was immeasurably strengthened by the triumph of the people in Russia, which was acclaimed nowhere with more pronounced satisfaction than in the great Republic of North America, whose distinguished President has made himself the champion of the little nations. But the Ukraine is more than a little nation. Allow us, please, to state our claims.

In the first place, we do not ask for armed intervention. After asking the Great Russian government, or succession of governments, for an autonomy which was denied, our country set up the standard of independence and established a government and a state which we expect to maintain unless the interests of the Entente or of the Central Powers at the final peace congress should sacrifice us as was the fate of Poland after the fall of Napoleon. In the name of a people of 33,000,000 souls for whom the sacred bell of liberty is now pealing like the one which sounded for a new republic in 1776, we implore the present citizens of that great republic to take us into the family of nations.

Take your map and draw a line from Brest-Litowsk to Przemyśl and the Carpathians for the western boundary, from Brest-Litowsk along the Pripiet River to the Dnieper, roughly along parallel 50° 30' to a point one hundred miles east of the Don River, from thence to the mouth of the Don, leaving the Black and Azoff seas, the Dniester and the Carpathians to the south, and the included territory, which may be called Ukrainia, is equal in area to the states Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan, Indiana and Ohio, or as large as the German empire plus Illinois, certainly enough for a seventh or eighth power in Europe's future concert.

But what of the Ukrainian people? you ask. Are they not Russians, dialectically different from the Great Russians to be sure, but still Russians? No, we answer. Our language is as different from Great Russian as Portuguese is from Spanish, and Portugal has a long history as an independent nation. It is as remote from Polish as Spanish or Portuguese are from French, notwithstanding that the Pole claims for his fatherland all of Austrian Galicia, including and east of Przemyśl where the Ukrainians form 66 % of the population. In all the territory claimed by Ukrainians, they form on an average 72 % of the population, and the figure is 98 % for the large areas along the Dnieper. And yet this suggested state

does not include debatable areas on all its borders, where the percentage of Ukrainians is considerable, even large. It is a compact, homogeneous territory, possibly more uniformly Ukrainian than any state of the American Union is uniformly Anglo-American.

A brief historical survey of the projected state will be of interest. In the ninth century the princes of Kiev united most of the present Ukrainian-speaking lands under their scepter and probably owed their suggestive appellation, *Russij*, or the Red, to their blond Scandinavian inheritance, forming as striking a contrast to the blackhaired, dark Ukrainians as redbearded Frederick of Hohenstaufen did to the dark Italians who gave him the nickname *Barbarossa*. Their power increased steadily until they fell before the onslaughts of the Tatars in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Kiev losing its power and the Ukrainian rulers being succeeded by the princes of Halicz, a city which gave its name to what is now the Austrian crownland Galicia. The rise of Lithuania in the fourteenth century was followed by the absorption of independent Ukraina, but the new double state soon came under the yoke of Poland, and its eastern half did not regain independence until the middle of the seventeenth century, and then only as the result of a bloody revolution. Under the Ukrainian Hetman Bogdan Chmielnicki, the greatest Ukrainian general and statesman of modern times, the country came, to be sure, under Russian protectorate but with the retention of complete political independence including the control of its foreign policy and its army. It took but a year to disillusion the patriot ruler as to the crafty purposes of his "protector," and he concluded an alliance with Sweden and Siebenbürgen as a check against both Russia and Poland. Unfortunately death prevented the fruition of his great plan. His successor, Ivan Wyhowski, concluded a treaty of union with Poland and Lithuania in 1658, declared war on the Muscovite Czar and annihilated a large Russian army at Konotop. Russia now resorted to the use of money to create a party favorable to her interests which she finally supported with large forces of troops. Hetman Wyhowski was forced to abdicate in favor of a successor who renewed the alliance with the Czar. Ukraina endured this state of vassalage until the accession of Hetman Ivan Mazeppa whose administration, at first successful, met disaster at the battle of Poltava in 1709, which also ruined his ally Charles XII of Sweden. Czar Peter ravaged the Ukraine with fire and sword, crucified the Ukrainians by thousands, nailed them to rafts and sent them drifting down the rivers. This victory established for two centuries the ascendancy

of Muscovite Russia. Ukrainia became the spoils of Muscovite officials, and the last semblance of autonomy vanished in 1783 with the abolition of the military organization. Nevertheless the Ukrainians did not give up their agitation for freedom, but continued their efforts with obstinate determination. Peter the Great forbade them the use of their language, and every effort was made for two hundred years to relegate it to the position of a peasant patois under the claim that it was but a dialect of Great Russian, that the people themselves were but a branch of the Muscovites. At last in 1905 the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg answered the government's demand for a decision on the case with the judgment, of which the concluding sentence reads: "The arguments given above bring the Academy of Sciences to the conviction that to the Little Russian population is due the same right as to the Great Russian—to use their mother tongue publicly and in print." Their committee established the fact that the linguistic differences between the two languages are traceable back into the eleventh century. Little Russian is as distant from Great Russian as Holland Dutch is from German.

How great are the anthropological differences between Ukrainian and Muscovite can be illuminatingly seen in Prof. W. Z. Ripley's *Racial Geography of Europe*, in his chapter on the Slavs. These differences extend to social customs as well. In the Russian family the father is a despot, in the Ukrainian the wife is his equal. Socially, the Russian is communistic, especially in his attachment to community of land, but always ready to yield to the will of his superiors in everything, whereas the Ukrainian is individualistic and democratic. In family life the Muscovite is more backward and physically repulsive to the Ukrainian who is more inclined to cleanliness and good conditions of life. So far does this sentiment go that Ukrainians along the the frontiers painfully avoid all marriages with Great Russians. The Ukrainian is artistic and has furnished a large share of Russian musicians, artists and poets.

How irreconcilable is this racial antipathy, is demonstrated by the absolute failure of the Russian government to bring about a fusion of the two peoples after all its persecution and oppression of the resistant race, which is to-day more determined than ever to attain its freedom. This was realized in the session of the Russian Duma of the 24th of February, 1914, when Professor Milukoff, who later played such a prominent role in the dethronement of the Czar, made this admission: "The Ukrainian particularism intrudes into all the forms of life. The Russian army, the Russian school,

the Russian officials do nothing but arouse national friction and spur on the national feeling of the Ukrainians. In addition the Ukrainian movement is deeply democratic, it is, you may say, conducted by the people itself; for that reason it is impossible to crush it. But to fan it into flames and to turn it against ourselves is easily possible. . . ."

Ukraine means "borderland," and the name was originally applied to that part of the "steppes" along the southern Polish frontier to which the Little Russian peasants fled from the tyranny of Russian "boyars" or Polish nobles. In constant conflict with hostile neighbor, the Tatars, they formed roving bands of splendid horsemen accepting the Tatar appellation of Kazak, which the English spell Cossack. As Cossacks they have formed in recent times, along with those from the Don, in whom there is a more or less prevalent Mongolian strain, that redoubtable cavalry which has been the most faithful reliance of the Russian Czars. In Galicia they are called Ruthenians, but wherever they dwell they prefer to be called Ukrainians.

The Russian Czars have pursued a consistent policy of denationalization of the Cossack-Ukraine state from the edict of Peter the Great in 1720 which prohibited the use of Ukrainian in print, followed by the abolition of the office of Hetman later on, and the abolition of the separate military organization in 1783. But the sternest of measures did not stifle nationalist aspirations, and in 1831 the Czar yielded to a demand of the Ukrainian peasantry for the formation of Cossack corps after the old model. When it was seen that the renewed organizations were fanning the agitation for political freedom they were banished to service in the Caucasus and kept there for eighteen years. In the previous century the land had been divided into a number of governments of which Kiev and Cherson came so near to a revolt in 1855 that the agitation could only be put down by armed force.

In the forties the idea of Pan-Slavism led to the formation of the "Brotherhood of Cyrillus and Methodius" among our people, who now hoped for a grand federation of Slavic peoples, one of which should be an autonomous Ukraine. To this brotherhood belonged all of that class to whom we may be allowed to give the name of "intellectuals," including the poet and martyr, the illustrious Schevtchenko, who had returned from his exile in the Ural after 1847. Chapters of a secret organization sprang into life immediately all over the Black Earth Region, of which the most important was that of Kiev, which found able support in a similar union in the

capital. Their activities alarmed the Czar's government and brought down the Ukas of 1876 which prohibited the printed use of Ukrainian, dispersed the Ukrainian Scientific Society in Kiev and banished its most prominent members to Siberia, but it could not destroy the success of a movement, now become the passionate expression of a people's longing.

Disappointed in their realization that Russia had been using Pan-Slavism merely as a cunning cloak for Pan-Muscovitism the Little Russians commenced to see their hope only in absolute independence, and the new century saw a separatist movement of great proportions which culminated in the Peasant uprising of 1902, especially in the governments Charkov and Poltava, followed by the election of fifty-two Ukraine Nationalists to the first Russian Duma in 1916. The efforts of Stolypin, however, merely reduced this showing in the next Dumas, but the movement had caused the prosecution of about two hundred members of the Ukraine Revolutionary Organization in 1907, on the ground that five governments had organized the elections to the Duma with the aim to a separatist agitation. Though they were driven from the next Dumas, the work of the patriots went on just the same.

In 1904 Lithuanians and Poles had been granted the right of instruction in their own language, but not so the Ukrainians, although they obtained the permission to print newspapers and books, a concession which was soon so hampered by censor and public prosecutor that but little good came from it. Since instruction was given only in Russian, which was not understood, there were over fifty percent of Ukrainians unable to read or write before the war, and yet the twenty newspapers, of which the strongest was the *Rada*, appearing in Kiev, and the great circulation of Ukrainian books, demonstrate the devotion of the people to their mother-tongue. The Ukraine leaders used the occasion of the funeral of the composer Lissenko in 1913 to stage a great political manifestation in Kiev, which was attended by over 200,000 people from all the governments. For not preventing this the Governor of Kiev was punished by removal.

In 1905 the Ukrainians deluged Count Witte with petitions containing the certainly modest request for a single Ukrainian professorship in the university of their capital Kiev, and when the General Association of Elementary School-Teachers for all Russia met in St. Petersburg in 1914, the numerous Ukrainian representatives succeeded in getting the adoption of a resolution calling for the introduction of the native language into all Ukrainian schools.

Thereupon the assembly was officially dispersed, and Count Menschikoff wrote in the *Novoje Vremja* that the entire teaching body of the Ukraine was affected with nationalistic sentiments and would therefore have to be replaced by Russian teachers.

With such a history, it will cause no surprise if we admit that all opposition to Russian aggression has had to borrow the cloak of secrecy, helped by vigorous and resolute organization. The clergy, the industrials, the tradespeople, and the most of the nobility, who have but lately seen the light of duty and right, belong to the National Ukrainian Party, whose principal association is in Kiev with local branches in all the larger cities, of which the *Rada* is the official organ. This party has established a scientific Schevtschenko-Union which publishes a literary-scientific monthly magazine, and has founded educative clubs for the peasantry in all the larger towns, though these with few exceptions have been suppressed by the Russian government.

It may be noted that the lesser nobility are rather numerous east of the Dnieper—that the industrials are especially represented in the South, that even a whole railroad in Kuban is in the hands of Ukrainians, and finally that the clergy is strongly represented in Western Ukraina, especially in Podolia. The growth of nationalist sentiment among the younger clergy is due especially to secret societies in certain theological seminaries, where, however, many have been discovered in recent years and suppressed by the Russian ecclesiastical officials. Bishop Parfeny of Kamenetz in Podolia, who was secretly especially active was removed because of his nationalist sentiments, and his place assigned to a Pan-Russian.

The “intellectuals” are ably supported by the very numerous and strong agricultural societies, granges we might call them, or cooperatives, to whom they supply able leaders. These usually carry on their correspondence in Ukrainian and they also publish their local organs in that language. The Kiev Exhibition, or Fair, of 1913 brought them a consciousness of their power, and since then their opposition to the Great Russian societies, to whom their aims are no longer a secret, has been pronounced.

Finally, there is the Union of Industrial Laborers, who are organized as Social Democrats with their own press. They are strongly represented in Kiev and Jekaterinoslav, where the important iron works are.

In view of the organized potentiality of these various socio-political bodies, not to speak of the “Bond for the Liberation of Ukraina” operating across the border in the Austrian crownland

Galicia, it will be readily seen why the events of the last weeks have resulted in the establishment of a Republic of Ukrainia, even though it be but for a brief time. The republic is a reality, but can it last? This raises the question of its relation first of all to Great Russia, second to Europe in general. An Ukrainia independent of Russia must always be *en vedette*, ready to defend its liberties. It will by force of circumstances be driven into the arms of Germany and Austria. Will the rest of Europe tolerate this? Would such a solution not amount to holding a lighted fuse near a powder-keg? Is not Ukraine so valuable to Russia that she would always strive to get it back? Let us see.

The limits of the new republic would be practically conterminous with the "black earth belt" of Russia, a land literally flowing with milk and honey, the granary of Russia, indispensable to the subsistence of Great Russia's teeming millions, producing not less than one-third of all the agricultural produce for the 175,000,000 of 1914. This explains the persistence and weight of all Russian offensives along Eastern Galicia and Bukowina during this war.

In 1912 seventy percent of all Russian coal was raised from the Donec Basin in the heart of Eastern Ukrainia. The same figure applies to the production of pig iron, while the figure for iron and steel together is still sixty percent.

The sugar industry of Ukrainia produces eighty-eight percent of the Russian total, and the tobacco production is about the same.

For foreign export the surplus streams to the great Ukrainian Black Sea port of Odessa, from which it may pass to the outside world especially through the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles. Russia must either hold Ukrainia as a vassal state or at least control through a customs alliance, similar to the Zollverein which founded the union and the industrial greatness of the German federation. It is inconceivable that Russia would ever allow the only other alternative, that its former subjects should strengthen the economic alliance of Central Europe. Therefore, in the interest of justice to a numerous and capable but downtrodden people, in the name of that humanity which we hope has not disappeared as the result of this war, for the purpose of future peace and security, we urge our claims to such an autonomy within the Russian federation, which must replace the old Muscovite despotism of the departed Czars, as shall conserve the full rights of Great Russia while at the same time bringing freedom, nationalistic development and economic prosperity to a people who are destined to be second to none in the reconstruction of the new Europe.

WAR CHARMS AND KINDRED AMULETS.¹

BY W. AHRENS.

"*Je sais certainement que tu reviendras.*" A Bavarian aviation officer when driving over a battlefield read this legend on a golden amulet found on the body of a dead French soldier. An anxious mother or fond sweetheart must have bestowed the charm with her parting tears and blessings upon this scion of a noble house. It is said that talisman letters written in Arabic characters are often found on fallen Turcos, and it accords with the irony of a merciless fate that the deadly lead sometimes reaches the very spot where the protective letter is lying, piercing through it to the breast of the wearer. Since the diplomats and statesmen of the Entente Powers have chosen the ancient historic ground of France for the location of their ethnological exposition, a collector and antiquarian in this locality could make an interesting collection, or at least a varied one, on the battle-fields of to-day.

From times immemorial superstition has flourished in war-time, and the same is true again to-day, and on one side as much as on the other. For instance, in some localities in Saxony there is said to be a busy trade in "letters from heaven" (*Himmelsbriefe*) at prices ranging from twenty to twenty-five marks each, and even in the very first days of the war in 1914 the press took occasion properly to brand the recommendation of protective charms as a conscienceless exploitation of superstition and ignorance. All these tools of occultism and magic must have existed in secret for many years and decades hidden away in chests and shops. As soon as the fanfare of war sounded these also hastened to the colors to join the standards of every belligerent army. It has been the same in all European wars of the last century, not excepting the War of Liberation nor that of 1870-71. In the Crimean War every French soldier from the simplest *poilu* to General Canrobert carried his charm with him. In those days physicians found whole collections of the most various kinds of amulets combined in the closest intimacy on many a fallen Frenchman; next to a Christian charm a Turkish one and sometimes even a Hebrew one besides. Two French generals carried fragments of the holy cross with them, and Prince Napoleon, the well-known "Plon-Plon" who was in the

¹ Translated from *Das Weltall* of January, 1915, by Lydia G. Robinson.

forefront of the expedition, was likewise said to have carried a charm supposed to make him invulnerable.

The formula in which we invariably find this superstition expressed in all occult writings is "To make proof against blow, shot and thrust" (*hieb-, schuss- und stichfest machen*). An executioner in Passau, Kaspar Neithart by name, is said to have discovered this art three centuries ago, so it was called after him the "Passau art." It was defined as a secret art whose adepts "could not be wounded by rapier nor dagger, and who could receive musket balls in their sleeves and catch them with their hands," in the words of Bartholemew Anhorn in his *Magiologia*, a work of the year 1674. To tell the truth, the priority of Master Neithart may well be contested, as Gustave Freytag, among others, has justly observed in his *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit*. For this war superstition is much older; it was current in ancient Egypt, and in German antiquity Tacitus tells of tiny images representing boars which the Aestii carried with them as war charms.

In modern times during the seventeenth century this superstition reached its zenith in the long wars. Executioners and monks especially plied this trade and sold the famous "Passau slips" which the superstitious warrior either wore upon his person or even, for greater security, swallowed. For the most part the dealers found willing and grateful customers, and that duke who was so cautious as to try the efficacy of the highly commended amulet on the vender himself and thoroughly test its merits was probably almost the only skeptic of his time. In contrast to him Charles XII regarded himself as immune, and the old Duke of Dessau and Frederick the Great were surrounded by halos of invulnerability in the eyes of their soldiers.

The Croats were obliged to invent a special mode of death for a certain equerry of Bernhard of Weimar who likewise bore the reputation of being proof against shot or thrust. Since he could not be killed by gun or sword they buried him in the earth so that only his head showed above and then they bowled him to death. Nor did the people in those days stop with man but also turned their magic arts upon the animal that is preeminently the beast of war. Thus we hear of invulnerable horses and occasionally also of dogs, and one chronicler even tells about a herring that was immune, so that it could not be sliced and therefore could not fulfil the purpose of its existence.

Special salves (*Waffensalben*) were also used by soldiers to make them invulnerable, and "magic shirts" served and still serve

a similar purpose in the Orient. A magic shirt of this kind is preserved under glass in the municipal armory in Vienna. It was worn by no less a person than the Grand Vizier Kara Mustafa who laid siege to Vienna in 1683. Another Turkish dignitary, a certain Beg who had been taken prisoner at Warna in 1828, was of the firm conviction that he owed his rare good fortune in surviving this battle unwounded to the magic shirt he wore, and this same shirt is preserved to-day in the Neukloster monastery at Wiener-Neustadt. The famous Orientalist Josef von Hammer-Purgstall has described these two magic shirts in detail—by no means a simple task, especially in the case of the latter. This one is completely embroidered over with the longest and most strenuous formulas of conjuration, prayers, talismanic numbers and symbols, so that it represents a whole prayer book, a regular encyclopedia of talismanic utterances from the Koran, and benedictions whose mere repetition would fill an imposing pamphlet.

These magic shirts were made in Arabia and for the most part in Bagdad, and very definite prescriptions must be observed punctiliously in their manufacture if the talisman is really to serve as a positive protection. The shirt must be made from start to finish on one certain definite night in the year, to be determined by magicians and astrologers. It must be completed by sunrise from the spinning and weaving of the cotton to the embroidering of all the countless prayers, etc. Forty pure virgins must perform this entire labor, which is no slight task, and if afterwards the magic shirt should fail to afford its wearer the expected protection, this only proves that some one of the indispensable prescriptions and conditions for its manufacture has not been obeyed or carefully fulfilled.

Coins have also been utilized as war amulets to a large extent. In the 'Thirty Years' War the Mansfeld dollars with St. George and the Dragon, especially those of 1609 to 1611, were greatly in demand, and soldiers gladly paid twenty or thirty current dollars for one of them. A well-founded report relates how one officer succeeded in escaping with his life from an engagement only because he had carried a St. George dollar (*Görgentaler*) of this particular kind. Then, too, medals with the figure of the grim and warlike Mars and often covered with cabalistic names and symbols served warriors as amulets of offense and defense, and since this particular class of war amulet arouses a greater interest on account of its relation to astrology and often to arithmetic as well, we have here set ourselves the task of illustrating and explaining some of this sort of

medals. Figures 1 and 2 represent two such Mars amulets. The originals are to be found in the history of art department collection of Austria Hungary at Vienna in the division of coins and medals, which is probably the richest collection of amulets in the world.



Fig. 1.

Turning now to describe the two amulets the first thing that strikes us is the figure of an armed warrior with sword, helmet and shield. It is impossible to have any doubt about the personality of the warrior. He carries his visiting card with him, so to speak, in both instances. In Figure 1 at the left below the sword we recognize the well-known symbol which stands both for the planet and the planetary deity Mars and in Figure 2 we find the same symbol above the head of the warrior in the center of the star supposed to represent his planet, and then too between its rays we can even read the name MARS. The Hebrew word to be seen on either side of the war-god's head in Figure 1 reads "Camael," and



Fig. 2.

according to the strange teachings of the Cabala it denotes the tutelary angel of Mars, just as Gabriel for instance was the angel of the moon. The animals that we see on both amulets at the feet of Mars are a ram and a scorpion. These denote the two constellations of the zodiac which have a place on our Mars amulet, because Aries and Scorpio are regarded by astrology as the mansions of Mars, just as Leo was the mansion of the sun and Taurus and Libra

the mansions of Venus. The animal above Mars's head on Figure 1 may be similarly accounted for. It is a goat and belongs here because according to a strange teaching of astrology it is in this constellation of Capricorn that Mars attains his elevation, his so-called *ὑψωμα*. Most of the other strange names and signs to be seen in our Figure 1 have also some special reference to Mars. Here, to select at least one instance, we read in the letters around the edge of the obverse the word ANNABIL, and the same word is also found on the reverse. It is probably a corruption of Amabiel which in the writings of the Cabala was the name of one of the angels of the day of Mars, i. e., Tuesday (*mardi* = *Martis dies*). Likewise the magic squares to be found on the reverse of both of our amulets bear a special relation to Mars, since each contains the numbers from 1 to 25 in magic construction.

So everything on these two amulets refers to the god of war and is definitely dedicated to Mars and war. The first one is intended to be worn around the neck as is shown by the hole, and its possessor, some soldier or other, must have worn it in the confidence that this trinket inspired by Mars would give him the power to slaughter the enemy and yet to remain himself unharmed by any hostile "shots, blows or thrusts."

Through the traditionally close relation between Venus and Mars in Grecian antiquity the goddess of love also furnishes amulets of protection to fighting men. To be sure most Venus amulets are not thought of as war charms but as love charms. I shall here take



Fig. 3.

the liberty of presenting in Figure 3 a specimen of Venus amulets from the collection of medals in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. On the obverse we see the goddess of love pictured in the usual way with long streaming hair, though apparently covered with

a sort of veil, a long arrow in her right hand and in her left a flaming heart. At her feet we find a balance, Libra being one of the two mansions of Venus, as was incidentally mentioned above. The numerical square on the reverse is given in Hebrew characters, as is often the case in these charms. It is of course the planetary



Fig. 4.

seal belonging to Venus, that is, a magic square of 49 cells. Figure 4 translates it into our own numbers, each row, each column and each of the two diagonals all yield the sum 175.

Vienna and Paris, friend and foe, have furnished us the specimens of war charms which we have discussed and illustrated hitherto, so now in conclusion a neutral country offers an amulet which is very remarkable and certainly unique in its way. The royal collection of coins and medals in Copenhagen possesses an amulet of gilded silver which we reproduce in Figure 5. Its distinctiveness lies in the fact that its obverse and reverse sides are of entirely unrelated character and of absolutely different origin. On the obverse we see St. George mounted on a charger and before him the mangled form of his conquered foe. The picture shows the battle scene at the moment in which the knight is thrusting his lance down the dragon's mouth while poisonous fumes are issuing from the monster's yawning throat.

We have already mentioned certain sorts of Mansfeld St. George dollars that have been used as war amulets, and although our special picture of the knight is not found on any of the Mansfeld or Kremnitz coins, yet this St. George, together with the astrological and cabalistic character of the reverse side of the medals, leaves no doubt that we have here to deal with an actual amulet, and it is equally certain that it is a war amulet. The maker of the charm evidently wished to heighten the efficacy of the miracle-working trinket and so combined the St. George motive with a reverse borrowed from a certain astrological charm, as we

shall soon see. I was most kindly informed by Colonel von Kretschmar in Dresden, the owner of the richest collection of St. George coins and medals, that the representative of St. George on the obverse of our amulet was taken from one of the lead models for goldsmiths so plentiful in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and that this medal was in the old museum at Berlin as late as in



Fig. 5.

the seventies, although I cannot say anything about its further whereabouts except that it is not to be found in the collection of plaques in the Emperor Frederick Museum. So much for the obverse of our St. George amulet.

Its reverse, on the other hand, is taken from an astrological cabalistic amulet which we reproduce in Figure 6 for purposes of

comparison. To discover the nature of this medal we must first of all study its obverse which shows a crowned king sitting on a throne with his scepter in his right hand and in his left hand an image of the sun. This together with the symbol of the sun near



Fig. 6.

by at the right and the name Sol above at the left show that the king represents the sun-god in a favorite treatment. Many of the other names and symbols refer to the sun, but we will not enter into them more closely here, since this entire amulet is of only incidental interest to us on account of its connection with Figure 5.

Let us mention only one more point here in connection with an earlier observation. We have already said incidentally that Leo was selected by astrology as the mansion of the sun. This choice is exceptional in having—in contrast to the other decrees of astrology—a certain astronomical and meteorological justification, for in the dog days when we are most intensely conscious of the sun it actually stands in the constellation of Leo. So it is a matter of course that the lion should form an essential element of our medal. We see a lion below the sun-god's feet; the familiar sign of its constellation is to be found on both sides of the amulet; the name VERHIEL (on the obverse) denotes the angel that controls the lion. According to all these indications Figure 6 depicts a typical sun-amulet. Since gold was regarded by alchemists and astrologers as the metal sacred to the sun the strict rules of magic decreed that our sun should be produced only in gold, and indeed this particular amulet, which is by no means rare, is found in gold for instance in the royal Saxon coin cabinet in Dresden (two specimens), in the Germanic national museum at Nuremberg and also in two specimens in the Vienna collections mentioned above. The numerical square on the reverse is of course corresponding to the character of the whole, the typical *tabula solis*, the 36-celled magic square which in all its rows, columns

and diagonals yields the sum 111. Now this reverse, or possibly that of another closely related sun-amulet, has served as a model for the reverse of the Copenhagen war-charm in Figure 5, little as one can regard a sun-amulet as usable for war purposes. The only difference between the two reverse sides is that the two central columns of the numerical square are interchanged, a variation which in no wise disturbs its magical properties, that is, the equal summation of the various rows.

These are strange and curious doctrines at which we have briefly glanced: science and superstition bound together into a strange hybrid formation, arithmetic and astronomy in league with magic and astrology. Indeed these services which science and her representatives were compelled to render to superstition in past centuries and which are nevertheless only too easily comprehensible in the setting of a period in which scholars were often forced into such by-paths in the struggle with the material necessities of life—furnishes a picture in the history of civilization which is by no means a gratifying one. Even a Kepler was forced to complain of the unworthy dependence of astronomy upon her degenerate daughter, astrology. "Indeed this *Astrologia* is but a foolish daughter, but, good Lord! where would her mother, the highly reasonable *Astronomia*, be if she did not have her foolish daughter? The world is much more foolish, so foolish in fact that the sensible old mother must be talked over and deceived by her daughter's folly. And the *mathematicorum salaria* is so small that the mother would certainly suffer hunger if the daughter earned nothing."

Such astrological amulets as we have here described may not be found among soldiers to-day or only in isolated cases, but instead of them there are war charms of every other possible form. Generals of all times, even when themselves entirely devoid of superstition, have willingly given free rein to such follies, for the more firmly the soldier trusts in his secret remedies the greater bravado will he show in plunging into the tumult of battle. Of course in a war that is waged with the weapons of the most advanced technique not much success can be expected of soldiers whose courage is rooted in superstition and brutal savagery. Among modern soldiers, and particularly Germans, proficiency and valor rest upon a strict sense of duty, upon virile training and above all on a good education in military and other affairs, and it is exactly these things which must deliver them from all superstition.

THE BATTLE AMULET OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

BY WILLIAM THORNTON PARKER.

“THE symbolic tendencies of the North American Indians and especially the Indians of the Great Plains have been very highly developed.”

When we begin to study the influences which operate in the development of the Indian warrior we come at once upon that remarkable term well understood by the Indians and known as “Medicine.” It is impossible to make any investigations concerning the Indian warrior without coming in contact with the magic and the medicine which influences so deeply his military career. What the medicine man has to say about good or bad medicine is of the highest importance in initiating the beginning of hostilities, in postponing or preventing them altogether.

We are indebted to Dr. Harrington’s scientific and interesting work on the sacred bundles of the Sac and Fox Indians, that mentions “the use of objects which are supposed to have mysterious power in influencing the affairs of life among the tribes of the North American Indians. Sacred bundles, signs and symbols occupy a prominent position in the so-called ‘powerful’ agencies known as ‘medicine.’ Apparently the objects themselves ‘are endowed with a certain degree of supernatural power by which this can directly or indirectly influence the phenomena of life in the interest of the owner.’”

Dr. Harrington states that the sacred war bundle is one containing “charms, amulets, fetishes or often a collection containing objects of all these classes, together with sacred paints and offerings and ceremonial paraphernalia.” The Indians regard these emblems of mysterious power with the greatest reverence and even fear. They believe them to contain a consciousness of their own and to understand what is said to them. Harrington eloquently sums up the matter when he says, “Well may the Indian view these mysterious agencies with reverence and respect, for within them still lingers the spirit of yesterday, the days he loved, the days of freedom of forest and prairies and the glory of war.” All these mysteries the Indians believe were the direct gift of the Manitous, the Great Powers of the world, “The glorious powerful sun, the terrible thunders whose wings darken the sky, whose roar shakes the prairie

and whose dazzling fiery darts shatter the trees of the forest, the bold eagle, the swift hawk, the night-seeing owl, the sturdy buffalo, the tireless wolf, the sly weezel approaching his prey by stealth, and the snake slipping unseen through the grass."

The most superficial student of Indians, their manners and customs must be struck by the continual exhibition of devotion to native traditions. How can we find in any people a more fixed and determined loyalty to national methods and customs than among our North American Indians?

These facts were most emphatically brought to the notice of the writer in his personal experiences among the North American tribes. In 1879 the writer reported for duty at White Earth Indian reservation, Minnesota. The flags of revenge were still flying over the grave of the famous war chieftain "Hole-in-the-day" who had been murdered but whose death had not been avenged. Hole-in-the-day was a war chieftain of great influence and superior sagacity. One of his pictures in the possession of the writer represents him with his eagle-feather decorations, his gleaming tomahawk, and what is of greater interest, his arm-band amulet. Such arm-bands have been described as made of buckskin decorated with porcupine quills, with thongs at the four corners for tying the ends together about the arms. Where the buckskin joins the band there are four little packets of magic medicine and paint. At the point where the eagle feather is attached are two packets; such an amulet seems to be formed from the buffalo tail bent over to form a loop. While often worn on the belt these amulets could be used as arm-bands by simply passing the hand through the loop. Hole-in-the-day's arm-band was of fur worn on the left arm and was a remarkably fine specimen of decorated arm-band amulet of an Indian.

The grand medicine bag or "Me-Shaum" is a parcel or bundle which is decorated with knots, strings, stones etc., and also with hieroglyphical figures of their wars in ancient times. Here are some of the ordinances of the "Me-Shaum": to fast every morning in the wintery season; to fast ten days to obtain signal revenge upon an enemy; to invoke and sacrifice every time a man has killed a bear or choice game; that no woman shall come near the lodge at certain seasons or eat anything cooked in the same lodge; to give away property to the poor for the good of departed relatives to the land of the shades. If an Indian fulfils in his lifetime the requirements of the "Me-Shaum" he believes he will go to Chi-pah-munk or the Happyland, but if bad, he will fall into the waters of Mah-na-so-no-ah, or river of death. "The Happyland is far at the west and

abounds in everything that is pleasing to sight or taste." This is quoted from Dr. Harrington also.

These bundles and fetishes and sacred amulets must always be treated with respect, never opened except for a good cause, nor must they ever be allowed to touch the ground, and one of the strictest rules provides that no woman shall ever touch them or any part of them when open, or when in a periodic condition she shall not even approach them when closed. Should this be allowed it was believed that the powers of the medicine would be spoiled and that the woman would be likely to bleed to death.

Those who are followers of the theory of Lieutenant Totten of the U. S. Army and others, that our North American Indians are remnants of the lost tribes of Israel, will find in the laws of hygiene governing Indians and in those relating to the sacredness of medicine or magic, very much to confirm such theories. "Every precaution was taken to care for the medicine, the war bundles, the war amulets and every night they were hung on a lance thrust into the ground so they might not touch the earth. When the enemy came in view, and not until then, was it opened and distributed to the warriors who, stripping themselves, put on the medicine headbands and the protective amulets and painted themselves with the magic paint. With the shrilling of the war whistles and the sound of the rattles they joined in the war dance.

It is interesting in this connection to consider how early in life the Indian comes in contact with the mysteries of Indian medicine. "When a child is four years old it is then entitled to a name; dog feasts are prepared and ceremonial war whoops and prayers are employed. Some old man is asked to pray for a blessing; he prays for the child's name and for the one who gave him his name." Now the sun must know the child's name so in the morning they pray to him to take care of the child until he is gray. A man's life, they say, goes like the sun; it rises and sets to a certain height and then begins to decay; so they tell the sun they want this child to grow and live to old age until like the sun he finally goes down. Make this child live to old age and believe in the Indian teachings. Let him then live until he is like some one with four legs, meaning, that he walks with two canes, and until his hair turns from gray to white."

In Schreivogel's splendid painting "A Sharp Encounter," the mysterious symbol of the open hand is pictured on the left fore-quarter of the warrior's horse in the battle charge. This symbol of the open hand seems to express profound meaning to the Indian

leaders. Mee-shee-kee-gee-shig (whose name in English is "Dark-lowering-day-clouds-touching-all-around") was the war chief of the Chippewas and a personal friend of the writer. One evening, sitting smoking together, as an act of personal regard and as a token of his sincere concern, he drew for the writer a picture of an open hand and impressively stated that should trouble ever attend him he was to seek out the most influential Indian chief and show him this symbol and all possible protection would be afforded to him.

In the writer's collection of Indian books, numbering quite one hundred, he has failed to find any reference to this symbol of the open hand. A recent letter from the Bureau of Ethnology states, in answer referred to Mr. James Mooney of the bureau, the following information. "There is nothing secret or sacred about the Indian hand symbol. Painted on the breast, pony or tepee of an individual, it signifies among the Plains tribes that he has met an enemy in a hand-to-hand encounter.

"In the instance noted it may be that the Indian who drew the picture could claim such honor, and hence the picture served as his card of introduction."

With all respect to Mr. Mooney's opinion Mee-shee-kee-gee-shig who wore suspended from his skunkskin garters four eagle feathers, for Sioux he had killed in battle, was by no means the only warrior among the many valiant warriors of whom he was the war chief. We must look for a deeper meaning in the symbol of the open hand. As the writer had the honor of being initiated into the rights of grand medicine he witnessed much which reminded him of the Masonic ceremonies, and he fully realizes that powerful secret organizations existed among the Indian tribes and that the open hand symbol represented a very high and exclusive degree in Indian secrecy. Study the North American Indians from whatever point we may, they are a wonderful people, strong, keen and tremendously influenced by their belief in mysteries. The half of the Indian story has not been told and from before our very eyes are passing away traditions and customs more interesting than those of any other primitive people in the world.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE SOCIAL LEGISLATION OF THE PRIMITIVE SEMITES. By *Henry Schaeffer*. Yale University Press: New Haven, 1915. Pp. 245.

This book contains a survey of social conditions of the primitive Semites as known at present to Semitic scholars. It is a careful summary of the results of a large number of investigations made by European and American scholars,

and the work has been done with care and discrimination. It points out how the original and nomadic Semites lived under matriarchal conditions and how they necessarily and naturally changed to the recognition of paternal relationship and paternal rights. The Bible reader will be greatly benefited by a perusal of this book, because the Bible stories presuppose so much knowledge of prevailing social conditions that many references, transactions or settlements of differences are only understood if we acquire an insight into the prevalent notions of rights and privileges, of the position of women, of inheritance, of slavery, the interest paid on loans, etc. For instance the Sabbathical year is explained as an influence exerted on the conditions of the agricultural state of later times with regard to the original ownership of the land of the clan. To us who live under radically different conditions it is difficult to understand how in ancient times religious ideas could have so large a part in social troubles, the indebtedness to the poor, and the changes that took place in the readjustment of laws of property and the ownership of the soil. Dr. Schaeffer presents a clear picture of these social conditions, thus giving the American public a synopsis of this large field of historical investigation which demands a fair knowledge not only of the Biblical books in their original Hebrew, but also of the Hammurabi code, Arabic institutions, and all kindred fields of investigation. κ

JOHANN GOTTFRIED HERDER AS AN EDUCATOR. By *J. Mace Andress*. New York: Stechert, 1916. Pp. 316.

After introductory chapters dealing with the purpose of the book and the historical setting of its subject, six chapters are devoted to biographical material, after which Herder's relation to education and its methodology is taken up. Chapters are devoted to his views with regard to the teaching of religion, history, geography, one's native language and the classics. On the last subject Mr. Andress treats at some length of Herder's view of the value of the classics in its relation to the tendency to-day to minimize their importance. Herder did not think we should strive to be able to write in Latin and Greek, but to become sufficiently familiar with those languages to learn how the ancients thought and wrote. He says: "The man who takes the ancients as models may write letters or sermons or receipts, but he will never express himself in lame, slovenly, crude German." ρ

At Yale University a collection of rare prints has been made by William A. Speck, of Yale University Library, and the description of it has been published in *The Collections of Yale University*, No. 3, under the title *Goethiana*, by Dr. Carl F. Schreiber.

Besides some rare autographs of Goethe and title-pages of books, pictures representing Faust, the witch in the witches' kitchen in water color, and Mephistopheles, all three by A. Kretschmer, and facsimile letters of Goethe, etc., there is also a strange document which will prove of general interest to Americans. It is an American ten-dollar bill bearing a German inscription and issued by the Northampton bank of Northampton, Pennsylvania, in 1836. The town was populated by the Pennsylvania Germans and must have had a considerable portion of German inhabitants. The bill bears the portraits of Goethe, Klopstock, Haydn and Herschel.

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A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

HARVARD
DIVINITY SCHOOL

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

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Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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BIBLE-READING AND RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

FROM THE CATHOLIC POINT OF VIEW.

IRRELIGION and religious indifference are gaining day by day an increasingly firmer hold upon society here in America. The archbishop of Chicago has characterized the present situation very well in these words: "Money, pleasures, and material possessions are very often worshipped to-day as the only gods" (November 30, 1916). It seems to me that we are reverting to the Greek type of paganism, and that to guard our own society from this dreadful relapse is the most sacred duty of all religious men and women. Therefore all attempts to uplift the religious life of our people, no matter whence they originate, should be highly appreciated and recognized as worthy of all praise. To preserve and foster the religious life in people who cannot affiliate with any religious denomination, to create a true Science of Religion, is the commendable purpose of *The Open Court*.

Our public schools have been made non-sectarian by legislative act. There can be no question of promoting religious life in these schools at present, and in certain quarters Bible-reading has been recommended to remedy the defect—Bible-reading as it is practised by certain Protestant denominations. The question now arises whether Catholic pupils can take part in this reading without doing violence to their religious convictions.

The Catholic Church is not only catholic because it is destined for all ages, nations and civilizations and can be adapted to them, but also in the sense that it is destined to satisfy the deepest needs of the heart, mind, reason and will of all humanity. Therefore it is firmly convinced that it possesses the loftiest of all truth and ethics and the most perfect good. Accordingly, in the first place, the Catholic Church cannot be indifferent to the intellectual attitude of

the soul toward God and His Christ, because the revelation of God applies also to the intellectual side of human life.

Theology recognizes gladly and frankly that the concepts which express revealed, supernatural reality do not represent it in its own peculiar way but only by analogy. The analogy between revealed supernatural reality and the concepts which express it is not an attributive analogy but an *analogia proportionis*, and in certain cases only *proportionalitatis*, as P. Sertillanges calls it (*Agnosticisme et anthropomorphisme*). Hence it follows that the Catholic Church is fundamentally averse to every sort of pure and exclusive intellectualism, which degrades religion to an exclusive affair of pure reason, not considering the whole life of a religious soul. *Depositum custodi*, without modification, the Catholic Church regards as one of its main tasks, since it is a question of the preservation of a supernatural revelation communicated directly to it by God through individuals.

It is one of the important tasks of theology to explain in what manner and fashion the revelation still remains essentially the same and unaltered in spite of all the changes in human thought and concepts. Dogma is not a dead formula. It has its life, it develops and unfolds; and this is recognized to-day by all theologians. The only point at issue is the manner of the evolution. But all this does not alter in the least the conviction that the Catholic Church alone possesses the whole of the divine revelation and regards it as her most sacred duty to preserve it faithfully and without modification.

But the Catholic Church is likewise opposed to every sort of pure and exclusive voluntarism, which deprives the theoretic truth of all its static element and degrades the truth to an exclusive instrument of action. The same must be said of Pragmatism, a true-born child of Voluntarism. "The true is the name," says Professor W. James, "of whatever proves itself to be good in the way of belief, and good, too, for definite, assignable reasons" *Pragmatism*, 1907, p. 76); "an idea is true *so long as to believe it is profitable to our lives*" p. 75). This definition of truth is reiterated in various ways in the works of the late Professor James. "This attitude of pragmatism," as Dr. P. Carus precisely says on page 41 of his work *Truth on Trial* (Chicago, 1910), "is about the same as if somebody were to declare that in the realm of science astronomy and all different astrological systems are of equal value." "Believe what you wish," we hear so often, "so long as you live morally." This principle is the source of pure relativism, agnosticism and of all shades of intellectual indifferentism in the religious field. It is

not to be wondered, that these gentlemen wish to reduce the whole religious instruction to a system of colorless ethics, bereft of all religious motives.

The afore-said explains thoroughly the impossibility for Catholic pupils to participate not only in anti-Catholic religious instructions, but also prohibits their taking part in all purely rationalistic and exclusively ethical teaching, and this especially for the following reasons: (1) Every divinely revealed truth constitutes an essential component part of the Catholic doctrine, so-called *Depositum Fidei*. (2) Purely speculative reason is not the only and supreme judge in matters of faith. (3) All and every Catholic dogma is not only an exclusive, theoretical truth but also in the same degree a *regula agendi* or a practical truth. (4) Furthermore religious instruction is the particular function of the ecclesiastical office (Matt. xxviii, 19) and may not be exercised by any person without the canonical permission of the bishop. The preceding points show clearly and distinctly that the Catholic religion takes hold upon the whole of human life, and it becomes quite clear that the ideal school in the Catholic sense is the denominational one. For these reasons Catholics with the utmost appreciation and gratitude, make the best possible use of the freedom of instruction granted by our government. Their schools have not been created by any separatist efforts, or foolish contempt or condemnation of our present modern society, nor by repulsion and hostility toward modern civilization, nor a disparagement of the public schools—No! they had not their source in such evil sentiments, such ugly motives unworthy of human beings, but rather in the most profound religious convictions and love for religion.

Nevertheless, there are small towns and villages where Catholic children also must attend the public school because no Catholic school is available. Thus the question of reading the Bible in the schools is also of interest to us Catholics. Moreover, like all our fellow citizens, we have a deep interest in the religious education of our young people in the public schools, and it is an error to insist that because we maintain denominational schools wherever possible we do not have at heart the welfare of those of our children who are educated in the public schools. It is certain that no earnest Catholic thinks so,—we have not yet fallen so low morally, thank God! Hence the question of what can be done for the elevation and strengthening of religion in the souls of the public-school children also is very close to our hearts.

If I may be permitted I will set down briefly my own views

which, so far as my conscience confirms me do no violence to any of the Catholic convictions. It must be understood that I cherish all personal respect for the views of others which differ from my own.

1. If possible, the undenominational schools should be transformed into an interdenominational school; in this respect Germany's schools might serve as a model.

2. If this could not be realized I would like to propose the following means for the uplift of the general religious life, assuming that the school-children are not members of any pagan sect. They should be taught an objective and strictly positive history of all religions so that they will understand that religion is not a Sunday affair nor a private matter, but one of the most important and indispensable factors of life. The revelation of the reality of God should be brought home to the consciousness of the child not only in the manifestations of Nature but also in the life of human society, and his religious tendencies be thus aroused and fostered. In all sincerity and without injury to any religious conviction whatever, the attention of the child could here be drawn to the imperfections of all religions so that the pupil would recognize the *pleroma* of all divine revelation. These lessons would provide an excellent remedy for religious indifference.

3. Biblical history should be taught; that is, a real history of the Old and New Testaments, although of course presented in a strictly historical way. Here the young people's attention could be directed to the nobler figures of biblical history which might serve us to-day as examples of a pure, noble, religious, manly life, well pleasing to God.

4. A selection of Bible texts should be made from passages possessing the highest religious value and which would at the same time promote a truly religious life in the highest degree. The substance of such a reading book could consist of generally recognized speculative truths of religion and life and generally recognized principles of moral and religious life and conduct. I think it would be almost necessary that such a text-book should be recognized as valuable by the religious authorities of all faiths, and any sectarian presentation of the texts must of course be strictly avoided.

5. There must be no Protestant Bible-reading, because: (1) the Bible is not a children's reader; (2) not all parts of it possess equal religious value; (3) Protestant Bible-reading is founded upon an entirely false idea of inspiration which, *a posteriori* at least, has proved untrue; (4) furthermore the law of the Catholic Church prescribes that no Catholic layman may read any Bible whose text

has not been approved by the competent ecclesiastical authorities and accompanied with the required commentaries. (This rule does not apply to students of the Bible, for they are not affected by it.)

6. It would be desirable that the attention of the child be directed to the revelation of God in nature. It seems to me that in this way his religious life could be aroused without at the same time injuring any religious conviction. The children would then be obliged to receive denominational instruction from the official instructors of their several religious faiths.

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

BY C. E. SPARKS.

MAN is a trinity consisting of body, mind and spirit. To educate is to bring to the highest possible development each member of this trinity and to facilitate their cooperation in their mutual interdependence.

The true proportion should be maintained between the different parts of the threefold nature in order to secure well-rounded manhood and womanhood. To ignore any one of the elements means the development of a monstrosity instead of a real man or woman. Our ideal of manhood is the individual who has the bodily strength and physical development to meet successfully the requirements of strenuous modern life, whose keen intellect and well-trained mind fit him for a position of influence among his fellowmen, who has the moral fiber and spiritual power which enables him to stand firm against all temptations. The aim of education is to produce just such ideal manhood and womanhood.

Consequently the interest in moral training which once predominated in education is being revived. This revival of interest, however, is being characterized by a more definite understanding of the true relation which exists between the three elements of human nature.

Some have thought it possible to teach morals apart from religion. Such attempts have proven failures. Now it is almost universally recognized that there is such a vital relation between morals and religion that the two cannot be separated. Religion, however, does not mean sectarianism. Human beings are moral

beings. It is the sense of right and wrong that above all things else marks the difference between the human and the animal.

It has been found by experience that the one channel through which moral training can be carried on successfully is religion. The cultivation of the moral sense in children is accomplished by means of religious teaching. Religion is fundamental to any adequate well-balanced educational system.

The dominating note in religion is authority. The purpose of religion is to regulate properly the thoughts and actions of human beings. It seeks to accomplish this regulation by securing voluntary obedience to recognized authority. It presents an authority that is supreme but which permits the exercise of the will in the realm of morals. Government in all its aspects is founded upon the principle of authority. The relation of the individuals with each other must be regulated. Every person must be restrained by some authority so that he will respect the rights of his fellowmen. The highest authority is that recognized in religion. The precepts of religion are recognized as binding because they represent absolute right and justice. They represent absolute right and justice because they have their source in perfect love and wisdom. The laws of men may be defective because man is finite. The laws of God are perfect because He is infinite.

There are just two types of religion. All various shades of religious beliefs and practices may be classified under one of two heads. One type recognizes a personal intelligent being who is the creator of the universe and exercises a controlling influence over nature in all its various forms. The other type conceives of nature as sufficient in itself, that it is its own first cause. Consequently we are compelled to take one of two positions. Either we must recognize a personal intelligent creator who is above nature or we must conceive of nature as its own creator.

Religion that recognizes nature as its own creator and as sufficient in itself naturally takes the position that man is the highest being in the universe because he is the highest development of nature. Then these logical conclusions follow each other: Man is the highest authority; he is responsible to no one but himself; whatever the individual can do it is right to do; might makes right. These are the logical steps that lead from a religion that holds nature to be its own first cause to moral anarchy. For moral training such a system is absolutely ruled out. We are thrown back then upon that type of religion which recognizes an all wise and loving Creator who stands above and exercises authority over man

and nature. This is the type of religion which will cultivate and train the moral sense of right and wrong. In the discussion of religion in education it is this type alone that can receive consideration.

In moral training it is absolutely necessary to develop a *reverent* respect for authority. Moral training is fundamental to education, and the purpose of education is to develop men and women who shall be useful members of society. If we are to be useful members of society we must respect the rights of others. It is authority that determines the boundary line between our privileges and the privileges of others. A knowledge of the laws of God and a reverent respect for His authority makes it unnecessary for the rights of others to be enforced through the agency of the policeman's club. We are under obligation to obey God's law because His infinite love makes it absolutely just and His infinite wisdom makes it perfect.

Religious teaching comprehends three steps, instruction in ethical principles, securing assent to their binding authority, and influencing the will to put them into practice in actual life. Instruction in ethical principles is simply the teaching of God's moral law. The Bible is the text-book of ethics. Gathered about the Decalogue and the Sermon on the Mount are the lessons in morality drawn from concrete examples. Through the centuries these lessons have proven efficient in moulding the lives and characters of men and women.

The first step in religious teaching is such instruction in the Bible as will make the pupil familiar with the ethical principles contained therein and the manner of life which is the concrete expression of these principles.

The second step in religious teaching is securing assent to the binding authority of the ethical principles taught. The ethical principles are to be taught as having the authority of God himself and that they represent the mind of a loving and wise Creator. They have authority because they are from God.

The third step in religious teaching is influencing the will of the pupil to put the ethical principles of the Bible into practice in actual life. This means that the boys and girls become men and women who live lives of reverence toward God and His institutions, having filial respect for all in authority, having personal lives of spotless purity, being honest and truthful in all their relations with their fellowmen, and being clean and honorable in thought as well as in word and deed. Such results can be secured only by influencing the will. There must be a deliberate choice of the right

in place of the wrong. There must be put forth an active effort to control the appetites and passions and to resist the alluring influences of evil.

It is not a difficult matter to give instruction in ethical principles. The natural receptivity of the child mind makes it easy to produce ethical impressions that shall be lasting. Nor is it much more difficult to secure assent to the binding authority of these principles. There seems to be a natural inner consciousness in all human beings that recognizes right and wrong. Conscience is not difficult to awaken in any child. However to secure effectual action on the part of the will that shall persist through life is the great problem in moral training. It seems to be a law of human experience that "when we would do good evil is present with us." The natural tendency is to choose the evil instead of the good even when the good is recognized. It is the universal experience that children left to themselves in matters of morals turn out bad. Just let children alone and they will become law-breakers without any special effort to secure that result.

Religious teaching must arouse to action. Morality must be active not passive. Evil is intensely active and because of hereditary tendencies in human nature holds the vantage point in the effort to secure action on the part of the will. Good must put forth redoubled activity if it is to win out in the conflict for the possession of the human soul.

There is one most important instrumentality that offers its resources for the moral training of humanity and that is the Public School System. Our educational facilities open up a fruitful field for the development of character. If there is any one thing that is expected of our public schools it is that they give us useful, upright, honest moral citizens. Whatever else they may do if they do not develop upright character they are failures. They are to develop real manhood and womanhood, and this cannot be done without moral training, and moral training depends upon religion.

The public school is the institution to which the American people have delegated the responsibility of educating the youth of our land. It recognizes the privileges of parents, within certain limits, to provide for the education of their children at their own expense in accordance with their own conceptions and ideals. However the public school system has come to be recognized as a permanent institution of the American nation, and the people are demanding in no uncertain terms that it perform efficiently the work that has been entrusted to it.

The awakening consciousness of the American people is demanding that the public schools be engaged in complete education. The day is past when the people will be satisfied to have them places where instruction is given only in that which pertains to the intellect. The demand is insistent that the finished product shall be well-rounded manhood and womanhood. The public schools have been compelled to give attention to the physical welfare of the boys and girls and now there is an imperative call for the conserving of the moral as well. The special problem before the public school to-day is to guard against the dwarfing of the spiritual element of the pupil. It is here that neglect is most frequently manifested.

Religion is absolutely essential to true education. The moral nature demands it. The spirit cannot develop without it. Religious teaching must be provided for in some way if the boys and girls are to develop into true men and women. People are more and more demanding that this fact be recognized and that we have religion in the public schools and that religious instruction be included in the curriculum. We are beginning to realize that as a nation we cannot afford to neglect the most efficient means of providing for the moral training of the youth of our land. Such religious teaching if properly provided for will be one of the surest safeguards of the constitutional guarantee of religious liberty.

Sectarian bodies have the privilege of founding and maintaining sectarian schools, either elementary or advanced, in which they may provide for any form of religious instruction which they may desire. All parents and guardians are at liberty to send their children to such schools. This however is no just excuse for failure to provide religious instruction for those who prefer to send their children to the public schools. The guarantee of religious liberty does not require that the public schools be without religion. What it does require is that the schools shall not be dominated by sectarian influences. The fact that an insignificantly small number of parents do not want their children to have religious instruction of any kind is not a sufficient reason for depriving the bulk of the children of that privilege. It is more reasonable that the small number provide for the education of their children apart from the public schools than that the majority fail to have what they want.

That we should have religious instruction in the public schools is being almost universally conceded. It is also conceded that this instruction should be non-sectarian in so far as it is provided at public expense. It is these two concessions along with the policy of separation of Church and State that constitutes our problem.

All religious bodies are agreed upon the first step in moral training, that is, they agree upon the ethical principles that are to be included. They are also practically agreed upon the source from which these ethical principles are derived, namely the Bible. In the second and third steps in moral training they differentiate.

So long as religious teaching consists in simply giving instruction in the ethical principles that are at the foundation of moral training it is non-sectarian and no one raises a protest. So soon however as an effort is made to secure assent or to influence the will, some method or doctrine that is peculiar to some religious body is employed and the way is open for the accusation of sectarian teaching. Yet if instruction is merely given in ethical principles without securing assent to their binding authority and influencing the will to put them into practice very little has been accomplished in moral training. Herein lies our problem, to secure full moral training and yet steer clear of using the public schools for sectarian teaching.

It is the prerogative of parents and guardians to choose what methods shall be employed to secure the desired results in moral training in their children. This is the essential principle of religious liberty as applied to our educational system. Consequently any plan that may be devised for introducing religious teaching into the public schools must respect this right. The key to the solution of the problem is harmonious cooperation between the public schools on the one hand and the homes and the various religious bodies on the other.

All that any religious body has a right to expect of the public school is that the children of the families preferring that body be placed under its influence for religious training. Each religious organization is responsible for the development of the religious life of the children under its care. A harmonious cooperation between the public schools and the various religious bodies multiplies the opportunities and influence of each body among its own adherents and guards its privileges from being transgressed by others.

The initiative for introducing religious teaching into the public schools should come from those in charge. It will come with greater force and be more readily accepted by all concerned when coming from that source. The jealousy of the religious bodies toward each other has a tendency to arouse suspicion toward any proposal emanating from any one of them. There is always some feeling that the body making the proposal has some ulterior motive. Those in charge of the schools are naturally supposed to be interested in

promoting the greatest efficiency of the schools. Consequently their motives for introducing religious teachings are less likely to be regarded with suspicion. In fact the time is at hand when public opinion will compel those in charge of the schools to take such steps.

So many excellent plans have already been devised for introducing religious teaching into the public schools, and some of them have been put into actual practice with such gratifying results, that it is hardly to be expected that anything new can be suggested. Whatever is now presented will doubtless be found contained in some of the various plans that have been proposed or are already in operation.

The plans that are now in operation in various places like the North Dakota Plan, the Colorado Plan, the Gary Plan and others were devised to meet local conditions but all contain points that are worthy of wider application. What we now need is a plan that meets the needs of the whole American nation and is flexible enough to be adapted to the varying conditions as they prevail in different communities and can be put into operation in harmony with existing laws in various states. A plan that depends upon new legislation loses a large part of its usefulness because legislation comes slowly in most states, especially in matters that involve religion. A plan that will meet our present day needs must be one that can be put into immediate operation.

It is a fact that in some states of the Union religious teaching and use of the Bible in the public schools have been discountenanced by laws and court decisions, but it can scarcely be said that instruction in the ethical principles involved in religion has been prohibited. There is not a single state where, if the various religious organizations can be brought to cooperate with the schools, a plan for religious instruction can not be put into operation. Even in Illinois the supreme court decision does not prohibit the giving of literary credit for Bible study carried on outside the schools. In some states new legislation along the line of religious teaching in the public schools is doubtless desirable, but the surest way to secure such legislation is to make use of the privileges that already exist in this matter.

Any specific provision for introducing religious teaching into the public schools must be tentative. Such an undertaking is fraught with so many problems and difficulties that it can scarcely be expected that a perfect working plan can be developed without a period of experimentation. All the features must be tested and the impractical eliminated and the good improved and developed.

A Tentative Plan.

The first point in this tentative plan that is now presented is the introduction of Bible study into the curriculum of the public school. Efforts should be put forth to secure instruction adapted to all grades. In a few states, on account of existing laws and court decisions, it may be impracticable to have this instruction given during school hours and by public school teachers. However there is nowhere a bar in the way of providing a syllabus of Bible study to be carried on outside of school hours under the direction of representatives of the various religious organizations and credit given for the same by the school. Religious teaching in accordance with this method may be carried on in connection with the public schools in any state. In most states it is possible to introduce Bible study directly into the schools. This is much preferable.

The first difficulty to be encountered in introducing Bible study into the public schools is in the fact that some religious bodies use a different version of the Bible from others. In the places where the Bible has been barred from the public schools it has been on the ground that any particular version is sectarian. This difficulty may be met by the use of Bible selections which meet the approval of all religious bodies. In some cases it might even be feasible to have the different versions given in parallel columns. There is a sufficient amount of material in the Bible which all accept and interpret in common to present clearly the great fundamental ethical principles of religion. From this common material it is not difficult to prepare graded selections based upon psychological and pedagogical principles suited for all grades of the school. A capable committee of educators could prepare such selections and secure the approval of the various religious bodies. Probably a national committee could perform this task most satisfactorily. Wherever practicable this Bible material should be introduced and taught as apart of the regular school curriculum. Where Bible selections even are barred from the schools arrangements could be made to have this material taught by representatives of the religious bodies outside the school and after satisfactory examinations have been passed credit given the pupils on their school work. To be sure parents may have the right by written request to have their children exempt from religious instruction, but those who are exempt should be required to do an equal amount of work in the secular branches.

The instruction should be designed to give geographical, historical and literary knowledge and above all to inculcate ethical

and moral principles. This much the teacher and the school may do without violating the American principle of religious liberty. Knowledge is essential to moral training and the imparting of such knowledge can not be classed as sectarian teaching.

The foregoing, however, is but the first step in moral training. To be effective this must be followed by the other two steps. This end may be attained by cooperation of the schools with the various religious bodies represented in the community and yet the schools kept free from engaging in sectarian teaching. In each community arrangements may be made with the pastors or some one selected by each organization to take up for a definite period of time, preferably a part of the school hours, the instruction of the children from the families that prefer that particular organization. The place and time for such instruction can be arranged to suit the conditions of each community. Those parents or guardians who insist on withdrawing their children from religious instruction could have them pursue the regular school work during this period.

A correlation of the work of the school and the religious bodies could doubtless be secured by cooperation in the preparation of syllabi of study and a system of examinations. Full credit for all work done should be given by the school and regular examinations upon lists of questions prepared by a capable committee and approved by the accredited representatives of all religious bodies would tend to unify the work.

The details of such a plan as this would necessarily be worked out to meet the conditions prevailing in each community. The school authorities by conferring with parents and the religious organizations could easily make arrangements for the work.

This plan promises to solve the problem of the three steps in moral training without violating the principles of religious liberty or using the schools for sectarian teaching. It provides for religious teaching in the public schools and yet keeps Church and State absolutely separate. The school performs its duty by inculcating the ethical principles of morality but leaves it to each individual religious body to employ its own particular method in securing assent to the binding authority of these principles and influencing the will to put them into practice in actual life. Religious liberty is jealously guarded yet none are deprived of the privilege of the religious teaching and moral training so necessary for the development of manhood and womanhood. All parents and guardians have the privilege of choosing the religious organization that shall exert its influence upon their children.

This plan can be put into operation in any state without new legislation. State laws on education are elastic enough to provide for what public opinion demands. The introduction of religious teaching is in the hands of the school authorities of each community. All that is needed is the necessary stimulus.

All school authorities should be anxious to make their schools as efficient as possible. No school has reached a satisfactory standard of efficiency that does not produce the best possible type of manhood and womanhood. There is no adequate moral training apart from religion. Religious liberty cannot be held inviolate and satisfactory religious teaching carried on without cooperation between the schools and all religious organizations. Hence school authorities should be anxious to cooperate with religious organizations in religious teaching. When such cooperation is secured the opposition to religious teaching in the public schools will become negligible because each religious organization stands as the guardian of its own rights and privileges. This cooperation establishes the mutual confidence and respect between the home and the Church on one hand and the school on the other that is necessary for the efficiency of all.

When school authorities can approach the people of a community with a plan for religious teaching that guarantees fair treatment to all there is little difficulty in securing harmonious cooperation. With harmonious cooperation, centered about the public school, of all the agencies that are striving for the moral uplift of the community the school multiplies its influence for good and wins the confidence and support of all. The public school system is a permanent and powerful factor in our national life, yet it should neglect no opportunity to increase its influence.

A united campaign by those who are interested in the moral welfare of the nation and the efficiency of the public schools for the introducing of religious teaching will soon bring results. Public sentiment needs only to be crystallized. School authorities need to be aroused. Religious bodies need to be awakened to the vast possibilities that are comprehended in religious teaching in the public schools. Agitation will bring about the adoption of some satisfactory plan to this end.

A widespread discussion of principles and theories will tend to clarify the situation. Exchange of thoughts and ideas and comparison of the various plans that are already in operation or being formulated will help to evolve the final plan that shall be the solution of the problem. The ultimate test of all theories and plans

must be practical experience. The trying out of the plans will eliminate the impractical and visionary and determine what is useful and good. At last the best features of all plans may be brought together and a really practical system of religious teaching in the public schools can be established.

KOREAN LITERATURE.

BY J. S. GALE.

SOME of the greatest thoughts that dominate Korean Literature have come from the misty ages of the past. How long ago who can say? We are informed by credible historians that a mysterious being called Tan-goon, a *shin-in*, god-man or angel, descended from heaven and alighted on the top of the Ever White Mountains where he taught the people their first lessons in religion. The date given is contemporary with Yo of China, 2333 B. C.

Whoever he may have been, or whatever he may have taught, must remain a mystery, but echoes of this strange being are heard all down through the ages. Many writers have recorded the story of Tan-goon. The opening pages of the *Tong-gook Tong gam*, the greatest history of the early kingdoms of Korea, written about 1450 A. D., tell of his doings. The earliest contribution to Korean thought seems to have come from him, reminding the world that God lives, that he had a son, and that righteousness should rule in the earth.

A temple erected in his honor in Pyengyang, in 1429, still stands to-day. A huge altar, also, on the top of Mari Mountain not far from Chemulpo, date unknown, tells of his greatness in the distant past. Poets and historians, Koreans and Chinese, have sung his praises.

A second set of thoughts entered Korea more than a thousand years later, in 1122 B. C. This is indeed the most noted period in the history of the Far East as far as religion is concerned. Kings Moon and Moo of China came to the throne, "at the bidding of God," so reads the record. Moon had a brother called Choo-kong, who was a great prophet and teacher of righteousness. This group usurped the throne and inaugurated an era of justice, but Keui-ja, one of their associates, refused to swear allegiance, claiming that he would have to stand by the old king, good or bad. In this act he set the pace for all loyal ministers of East Asia who swear to serve only one master till death. Knowing Keui-ja's desire, the

King gave him Korea, or the East Kingdom, as his portion, and hither this great minister came.

He left an indelible impress upon the hearts of this people and all their future history.

In Pyengyang there was a temple erected to his worship in 1325 A. D. that still stands. A stone recording his life and acts was set up just before it, but was destroyed in the Japanese War of 1592. A new stone was erected in the last year of Shakespeare's life, and on it I find the following sentences:

"Keui-ja came, and his teaching was to us what the teaching of Pok-heui-si was to ancient China. What was this again but the plan and purpose of God?

"God's not permitting Keui-ja to be killed," (at the fall of the Eun Kingdom) "was because He reserved him to preach religion to us, and to bring our people under the laws of civilization. Even though Keui-ja had desired death at that time he could not have found it; and even though King Moon had determined not to send him to Korea he could not have helped it."

An appreciation of the over-ruling sovereignty of God is something as indelibly impressed on the Korean mind as it is on that of the Scotch Presbyterian. It came in with the pre-Confucian teachings of the East, and has had a mighty influence on the poets and thinkers of the peninsula ever since.

Following this for long centuries there is a blank. What Korea was busying herself about when Confucius and Buddha lived, no one can say. Page after page of time goes by all white and unrecorded.

About 220 B. C. we hear of the landing of bands of Chinamen, who had made their escape from the arduous labors of the Great Wall, and come to Korea to set up a kingdom on the east side of the peninsula, which they called Chin Han. Other kingdoms later came into being, called Ma Han and Pyun Han, three Hans in all, and so time dragged uneventfully on till the Christian era.

Fifty eight years before it, just about the time when Cæsar was attempting his conquest of Britain, the Kingdom of Silla in the south-east corner of the Korean peninsula was established. A few years later one called Ko-ku-ryu was likewise set up in the north, and another in the south-west called Paik-je.

Here we had three kingdoms occupying the peninsula when the greatest event in its history took place, namely the incoming of Buddhism. In 372 A. D. it entered the north kingdom.

The wonderful story of the Buddha and his upward pilgrimage from a world of sorrow and sin to one of eternal bliss, conquered

all hearts. The Koreans took to it as a thirsty man to water, and while they did not cast aside the great thoughts passed on to them by Tan-goon and Keui-ja, Buddha ruled supreme.

We are told that black men from India came preaching this religion. This was Korea's first introduction to alien races, a grateful and appreciated introduction. Their visits continued all the way from 400 to 1400 A. D., as Chi-jong, one of the most noteworthy of the men from beyond the Himalayas, died in 1363.

The most interesting monument in existence to-day bearing witness to this fact, is the cave-temple situated near the old capital of Silla, Kyung-joo. The writer once crossed the hill to pay it a visit. As he reached the highest point of the pass, away to the east lay the Sea of Japan, with the mottled hummocks of smaller ridges lying between him and the shore. A short distance down the hill he came to the cave-temple. Entering by a narrow way he found himself in a large hall with the Buddha seated in the middle and many figures in bas-relief on the walls about. One was Kwannon. Others were stately and graceful women quite unlike any types seen in the peninsula or China; others again, seemed to represent these far-off men of India—who wear strange half Shylock faces, types of the visitors, doubtless, who came preaching the good news of the Buddha 1500 years ago.

The present Prime Minister and former Governor General of Chosen, had plaster casts made of them and placed in the museum of Seoul in 1915.

Buddhism besides being a religious cult, introduced Korea to the outside world and brought in its train arts and industries that made of this people a great and highly enlightened nation.

With the middle of the seventh century we find Korea disturbed by internal troubles. The three kingdoms were fighting against each other with no likelihood of victory for any of them. The great Tangs were on the throne of China and Korea had already come to acknowledge them as the suzerain state.

A young prince of Silla, by name Kim Yoo-sin, disturbed by the unsettled condition of his native land, went to the hills to pray about it. We are told in the *History of the Three Kingdoms* (written in 1145 A. D.) that while he fasted and prayed to God and the Buddha, an angel came to him and told him what to do. He was to seek help of the Tangs. Thither he went, to the great capital Mak-yang, where his mission was accepted and an army sent to take Silla's part.

The result was that in 668 A. D. all the country was made

subject to Silla and placed under the suzerainty of the Middle Kingdom.

An old pagoda erected at that time, commemorating the event, stands near the town of Kong-joo. Its long inscription down the face is one of the early literary remains extant.

From 700 to 900 A. D. there are no books to mark the progress of events, and yet it was evidently a period of great literary activity. Many monumental remains still stand that tell of master Buddhists who lived through these two centuries. Some of these stones are eight feet high and four feet wide and have as many as two thousand characters inscribed on them, so that they constitute a careful and concise biography.

Here are extracts from one erected in 916 A. D.

"A Life of the Teacher of two Kings of Silla, called by the State Master Nang-kong. . . .

"His religious name was Haing-juk, Walking in Silence. . . .

"His mother's name was Sul. In a dream of the night she met a priest who said to her, 'From a past existence I have longed to be your son.'

"Even after waking she was still moved by the wonder she had seen which she told to her husband. Immediately she put away all flesh foods and cherished with the utmost reverence the object of her conception, and so on the thirtieth day of the twelfth moon of the sixth year of T'ai-wha (832 A. D.) her child was born.

"His appearance and general behavior differed from that of ordinary mortals, for from the days of his childhood he played with delight at the service of the Buddha. He would gather together sand and make pagodas; and bring spices and make perfume. From his earliest years he loved to seek out his teacher and study before him, forgetting all about eating and sleeping. When he had attained to a thoughtful age he loved to choose great subjects and write essays thereon. When once his faith was established in the golden words of the Buddha, his thoughts left the dusty world and he said to his father, 'I would like to give myself up to religion and make some return to my parents for all the kindness they have shown me.' The father, recalling the fact that he had been a priest in a former existence, realized that his dreams had come true. He offered no objection, but gave a loving consent. So he cut his hair, dyed his clothes, dressed in black and went forth to the hardships and labors of the religious life. He went here and there in his search for the 'sea of knowledge'. . . . finding among the 'scattered flowers' beautiful thought and pearls of the faith.

"His teacher said to his other pupils, 'Prince Sak-ka-mo-ni was most earnest in his search for truth, and An-ja loved best of all to learn from the Master (Confucius). I used to take these things as mere sayings but now I have found a man who combines both. Blue-eyed and red-bearded priests of whatever excellence cannot compare with him. (Men of India?)

"In the ninth year of Tai-chong (855 A.D.) at the Kwan-tai Altar, in the Pok-chun Monastery, he received his confirmation orders, and so from that time on with his pilgrim bag and staff, he went to live in the grass hut of the religionist. His love for the faith was very great, and he longed to enter into the hidden recesses, where he might attain the desires of the heart."

"(He visited the capital of China) and on the birthday of the Emperor was received in audience. His Majesty's chief desire was to be a blessing to the state and to advance the deep things of religion.

"He asked of the Master, 'What is your purpose in coming thus across the Great Sea?'

"The Master replied, 'Your humble servant has been so blessed as to see the capital of this great empire, and to hear religion spoken favorably of within its precincts. To-day I bathe in the boundless favor of this holy of holies. My desire is to follow in the footsteps of the Sages, . . . bring greater light to my people, and leave the mark of the Buddha on the hearts of my fellow countrymen.'

"The Emperor, delighted with what he said, loved him dearly and showered rich favors upon him."

"In the seventh moon of autumn the Master, longing for the beauty of nature, retired to his temple in Mam-san. Here he lived in touch with the Four Great Hill Peaks, and near the South Seas. The waters of the streams that rushed by were like the rivers of the Golden Valley, the hill peaks, too, fought battles for supremacy like the Chaga peaks of China, a worthy place for a great master of religion to dwell in.

"In the second moon of the following year (916 A.D.) he realized that he was unwell and that sickness had overtaken him. On the twelfth day he arose early in the morning and said to his disciples, 'Life has its appointed limits, I am about to die. Forget not the truth, be diligent in its practice, I pray you, be diligent.'

"He sat as the Buddha, with his feet crossed on the couch, and so passed away. His age was eighty-five. For sixty-one years he had been a learner of the truth.

"At his death the clouds gathered dark upon the mountains and the thunder rolled. The people beneath the hill looked up and saw halos of glory while the colors of the rainbow filled the upper air. In the midst of it they saw something that ascended like a golden shaft.

"The Master's will had been submissive and so God had given him something better than a flowery pavilion to shelter him; and because he was a master of the Law, a spiritual coffin bore him into the heights. His disciples were left broken-hearted as though they had lost their all."

"For years he had been a distinguished guest of the state, serving two kings and two courts. . . . He made the royal house to stand secure so that demon enemies came forth and bowed submission. . . . His departure from earth was like the fairy's ascent to the heights of heaven. . . . There was no limit to his wisdom and his spiritual insight was most perfect."

"His disciples made request that a stone be erected to his memory and so His Majesty undertook the grateful task and prepared this memorial to do him honor. He gave him a special name, calling him Nang-kong, *Light of the Heavens*, and his pagoda, Paik-wul Soo-oon, *White Moon amid the Clouds*.

"A wise and gifted teacher he,
Born in Silla by the sea.
Bright as sun and moon are bright,
Great as space and void are free. . . .

"Written by his disciple, Member of the Hallim, Secretary of War, etc. Ch'oi In-yun. (916 A. D.)"

This is an example of the kind of men and thoughts that ruled Korea in the earliest days of her literature.

While the priest Hang-kong lived there lived also a man who is called the father of Korean literature, Ch'oi Ch'i-wun (858-951 A. D.) whose collected works are the earliest productions we have. What did he write about? On examination we find congratulations to the Emperor, to the King, to special friends; prayers to the Buddha; Taoist sacrificial memorials; much about nature, home life etc.

Here are a few samples:

The Tides.

" Like a rushing storm of snow or driving sleet, on you come,

a thousand rollers from the deep, thou tide. Over the track so deeply worn again you come and go. As I see how you never fail to keep the appointed time, I am ashamed to think how wasteful my days have been, and how I spend in idle dissipation the precious hours.

"Your impact on the shore is like reverberating thunder, or as if the cloud-topped hills were falling. When I behold your speed I think of Chong-kak and his wish to ride the winds; and when I see your all-prevailing majesty I think of the sleeping dragon that has awakened."

The Swallow.

"She goes with the fading summer and comes with returning spring, faithful and true is she, regular as the warm breezes or the chilly rains of autumn. We are old friends, she and I. You know that I readily consent to your occupying a place in my spacious home, but you have more than once soiled the painted rafters, are you not ashamed? You have left hawks and uncanny birds far off in the islands of the sea, and have come to join your friends, the herons and ibis of the streams and sunny shallows. Your rank is equal to that of the gold finch I should think, but when it comes to bringing finger-rings in your bill as gifts to your master you fail me."

The Sea-Gull.

"So free are you to ride the running white-caps of the sea rising and falling with the rolling waters. When you lightly shake your feathery skirts and mount aloft you are indeed the fairy of the deep. Up you soar and down you sweep serenely free. No taint have you of man or of the dusty world. Your practised flight must have been learned in the abodes of the genii. Enticements of the rice and millet fields have no power to woo you, but the spirit of the winds and moon are your delight. I think of Chang-ja who dreamed of the fairy butterfly. Surely I too dream as I behold you."

Tea.

"To-day a gift of tea comes to me from the general of the forces by the hand of one of his trusty aides. Very many thanks. Tea was first grown in Ch'ok and brought to great excellence of cultivation. It was one of the rareties in the garden of the Soo Kingdom (589-618). The practice of picking the leaves began then, and its clear and grateful flavors from that time were known. Its

especially fine qualities are manifest when its delicate leaves are steeped in a golden kettle. The fragrance of its breath ascends from the white goblets into which it is poured. If it were not to the quiet abode of the genii that I am invited to make my respectful obeisance, or to those high angels whose wings have grown, how could ever such a gift of the gods come to a common *literatus* like me? I need not a sight of the plum forest to quench my thirst, nor any day-lilies to drive away my care. Very many thanks and much grateful appreciation.

By Night.

Ch'oi Ch'ung (986-1068 A. D.).

"The light I saw when I awoke,
Was from the torch that has no smoke.
The hill whose shade came through the wall,
Has paid an unembodied call.
The music of the pine tree's wings
Comes from a harp that has no strings.
I saw and heard, the sight and song,
But cannot pass its joys along."

Kim Poo-sik (1075-1151 A.D.) is the earliest historian of Korea. He it is who wrote the *Sam-gook Sa* or *History of the Three Kingdoms*, one of the most highly prized books to-day.

Two selections from his pen are given herewith that furnish the reader with a slight glimpse of the far-off world of the days of William the Conqueror. Kim Poo-sik was not only a noted *literatus* but a great general. He was a man of immense height who quite overawed the world by his commanding stature.

The King's Prayer to the Buddha.

(Written by Kim Poo-sik.)

"This is my prayer: May the indescribable blessing of the Buddha, and his love that is beyond tongue to tell, come upon these forsaken souls in Hades, so that they may awaken from the misery of their lot. May their resentful voices be heard no more on earth, but may they enter the regions of eternal quiet. If this burden be lifted from me I shall be blessed indeed, and this distressing sickness will give place to joy. May the nation be blessed likewise and a great festival of the Buddha result."

The Dumb Cock.

"The closing of the year speeds on. Long nights and shorter days they weary me. It is not on account of lack of candle light

that I do not read, but because I'm ill and my soul is distressed. I toss about for sleep that fails to come. A hundred thoughts are tangled in my brain. The rooster bird sits silent on his perch. I wait. Sooner or later he will surely flap his wings and crow. I toss the quilts aside and sit me up, and through the window chink come rays of light. I fling the door wide out and look abroad, and there off to the west the night-stars shine. I call my boy, 'Wake up. What ails that cock that he does not crow? Is he dead, or does he live? Has some one served him up for fare, or has some weasel bandit done him ill? Why are his eyes tight shut and head bent low, with not a sound forthcoming from his bill?'

"This is the cock-crow hour and yet he sleeps. I ask 'Are you not breaking God's most primal law? The dog who fails to see the thief and bark; the cat who fails to chase the rat, deserve the direst punishment. Yet, death itself would not be too severe.' Still, Sages have a word to say: Love forbids that one should kill. I am moved to let you live. Be warned, however, and show repentance."

Other writers follow, the best of all being Yi Koo-bo (1168-1241 A.D.). He was not a Buddhist but a Confucianist, and yet all through his writings is to be found a note of respect for the sincere religion of the Buddha.

He was an original character with a lively imagination, and a gift of expression possessed by no succeeding writer.

Here are a few samples of what he wrote:

The Body.

"Thou Creator of all visible things art hidden away in the shadows invisible. Who can say what Thou art like? Thou it is who hast given me my body, but who is it that puts sickness upon me? The Sage is a master to rule and make use of things, and never was intended to be a slave; but for me I am the servant of the conditions that are about me. I cannot even move or stand as I would wish. I have been created by Thee, and now have come to this place of weariness and helplessness. My body, as composed of the Four Elements was not always here, where has it come from? Like a floating cloud it appears for a moment and then vanishes away. Whither it tends I know not. As I look into the mists and darkness of it, all I can say is, it is vanity. Why didst Thou bring me forth into being to make me old and compel me to die? Here I am ushered in among eternal laws and compelled to make the best of it. Nothing remains for me but to accept and to be jostled by

them as they please. Alas, Thou Creator, what concern can my little affairs have for Thee?"

On Flies.

"I have ever hated the way in which the fly continually annoys and bothers people. The thing that I dislike most of all is to have him sit on the rims of my ears and settle squabbles with his neighbor. When I am ill and see him about me, I am afflicted with a double illness over and above my original complaint. In seeing the multitude of his breed swarming about, I cannot but make my complaint to God.

*A Prayer to God offered by the King
and Minister of Korea, asking for help
against an invasion of the Kitan Tartars.*

BY YI KYOO-BO.

"We, the King and Officers of the State, having burned incense, bathed and done the necessary acts of purification for soul and body, bow our heads in pain and distress to make our prayer to God and the angels of heaven. We know there is no partiality shown in the matter of dispensing blessing and misfortune, and that it depends on man himself. Because of our evil ways God has brought death and war upon our state by an invasion of the Tartars, who have, without cause, encroached upon our territory, devastated the outlying lands and murdered our people. More and more are they encircling us till now the very capital itself is threatened. Like tigers are they after flesh, so that those ravished and destroyed by them cover the roadways. In vain are all our thoughts of ways and means to defend ourselves, and we do not know what to do to meet the urgency of the situation. All we can do is to clasp our bowing knees, look helplessly up and sigh.

"These Tartars are our debtors really, and have received many favors from us, and heretofore we have never had any cause to dislike them. Of a sudden has their fierce dread flood broken in upon us. This cannot be by accident but must, we know, be due wholly to our sins. But the past is the past, and our desire it to do right from now on. Grant that we may not sin. Thus it is that we ask our lives from God. If Thou, God, dost not wholly intend to destroy our nation, wilt Thou not in the end have mercy? This will be to us a lesson and so I write out this prayer as we make our promise to Thee. Be pleased, oh God, to look upon us."

To his Portrait and the Artist.

"'Tis God who gave this body that I wear,
 The artist's hand sends me along through space.
 Old as I am I live again in you,
 I love to have you for companion dear.
 He took me as I was, an old dry tree,
 And sitting down reformed and pictured me.
 I find it is my likeness true to life,
 And yet my ills have all been spelled away.
 What power against my deep defects had he
 That thus he paints me sound, without a flaw?
 Sometimes a handsome, stately, gifted lord
 Has but a beast's heart underneath his chin;
 Sometimes a cluttered most ill-favored waif
 Is gifted high above his fellow-man.
 I am so glad there's nothing on my head,
 For rank and office I sincerely loathe.
 You have put thought and sense into my eye,
 And not the dust-begrimed look I wear.
 My hair and beard are lesser white as well;
 I'm not so old as I had thought to be.
 By nature I am given o'er much to drink,
 And yet my hand is free, no glass is seen.
 I doubt you wish to point me to the law,
 That I a mad old drunkard may not be.
 You write a verse as well, which verse I claim
 Is equal to the matchless picture drawn."

The Angel's Letter.

"On a certain month and a certain day a minister in the Palace of God sent a golden messenger to earth with a letter to a certain Yi Kyoo-bo of Korea. It read: 'To His Excellency who dwells amid the noise and confusion of the mortal world, with all its discomforts. We bow and ask the state of your honored health. We think of you and long for you as no words can express, for we too serve on the hight hand of God and await His commands. You, our exalted teacher, were formerly a literary attendant of the Almighty, took his commands and recorded them, so that when spring came it was you who dispensed the soft and balmy airs, that brought forth the buds and leaves. In winter too, you scattered frost and wind, and sternly put to death the glory of the summer. Sometimes you sent wild thunder, wind and rain, sleet and snow, clouds and mist. All the things that God commanded for the earth were written by your hand. Not a jot did you fail to fulfil his service, so that God was pleased and thought of how he might reward you.

He asked a way of us and we said in reply, 'Let him lay down for a little the office of secretary of heaven and go as a great scholar among men, to wait in the presence of a mortal king and serve as his literary guide. Let him be in the palace halls of mankind, share in the government of men, and make the world bright and happy by his presence. Let his name be sounded abroad and known throughout the world, and, after that, bid him back to heaven to take his place among the angels. We think that in so doing You will fitly reward his many faithful services.'

"God was pleased at this and gave immediate commands that it be carried out. He showered upon you unheard-of gifts and graces, and clothed you with the commanding presence of the Superior Man, so that you might have a hundred chariots in your train, and ten thousand horses to follow after. He sent you forth and had you born into the earth in that nation that first catches the light of the morning as it rises from the Poosang Mountains. Now, several years have passed, and we have not heard of your special rank; or of your having won a name. Nothing startling has been done by you, and no great book written. Not a sound has reached the ears of God. We were anxious about this and so were about to send a messenger to find out, when, unexpectedly, there came one from earth to us of whom we made inquiry.

"He replied, 'The man called Kyoo-bo is in greatest straits, most far removed from any sort of honor. He is given over to drink and madness; goes here and there about the hills and by the graves writing verses; but no seal of state hangs from his belt, nor wreath adorns his brow. He is like a dragon that has lost its pool, or a dog in the house of mourning; an ill-fated lonely literatus, he, and yet all from the highest to the lowest know his name. Whether it be that he is so extravagant that he has not been used, or because they have have not chosen him I do not know.'

"Before he had finished this, however, we gave a great start and struck our hands in wonder saying, 'His earth companions are evidently haters of the good, and jealous of the wise. We must take note.'

"Thus it was we wrote a memorial embodying what had been told and God regarded it as right. He has prepared a great lock and key for these offenders, and now meditates setting matters straight. Little by little your wings will unfold, and your footsteps will take their upward way toward the heights. Far will you enter into the halls of fame. To the Chamber of the Ministry, though not equal to heaven, you will proceed. How glorious your way

will be! Now indeed you will drink your fill of heart's best joy, and the splendor of its dusty way. We, friends of yours, who are in heaven, impatient wait your high return. The harp that ought to dispense sweet music has dust upon its strings, and sad, awaits your coming. Your halls are silent as they mourn your absence, longing once again to open wide their gates. God has made ready sweetmeats of red dew, and butter of the golden mists of morning on which He feeds His angel hosts so freely. Make haste to fulfil your office among men and come back to heaven. First, however, you must attain to greatness of name and merit, wealth and honor. What we urge upon you is, be diligent, be diligent. We bow with this and present our grateful honor."

This is a piece of imaginative work, unusual to say the least. It was evidently written as a protest against his own adverse fortunes from a political point of view.

Yi Kyoo-bo writes on a wide variety of subjects. He touches nature again and again. Here is a translation of one of his poems on the family life:

On the Death of a Little Daughter.

"My little girl with face like shining snow,
 So bright and wise was never seen before.
 At two she talked both sweet and clear,
 Better than parrot's tongue was ever heard.
 At three, retiring, bashful, timid, she
 Kept modestly inside the outer gates.
 This year she had been four
 And learned her first wee lessons with the pen.
 What shall I do, alas, since she is gone?
 A flash of light she came and fled away,
 A little fledging of the springtime, she;
 My little pigeon of this troubled nest.
 I know of God and so can calmly wait,
 But what will help the mother's tears to dry?
 I look out toward the distant fields,
 The ears shoot forth upon the stalks of grain,
 Yet wind and hail sometimes await unseen.
 When once they strike the world has fallen full low.
 'Tis God who gives us life;
 'Tis God who takes our life away.
 How can both death and life continue so?
 These changes seem like deathly phantoms drear.
 We hang on turnings of the wheel of fate,
 No answer comes, we are just what we are."

Here is one of his little quartettes that touches nature:

The Cherry.

"How wonderful God's work!
 So delicately mixed his sweet and bitter!
 And yet your beautiful rounded shape
 And rosy hue invite the robber bird."

As time passes on other masters follow, one Yi Che-hyun, specially noted. He lacks the versatility of Yi Kyoo-bo but in power of expression even surpasses him.

He was sent in the year 1314 as a young envoy to China to the court of the Mongol emperors. A memorial was presented about that time that Korea be made a province of China proper. Yi Che-hyun, startled at this, wrote so powerful and persuasive a rejoinder that the emperor cancelled the memorial and let Korea stand.

He traveled much in China, and so I give one of the selections that he wrote there:

The Whangho River.

"Down comes the rolling Whangho from the west, with sources in the fabled peaks of Kol-yoon. The envoy of great Han built him a raft and went to see its fountain-head. From the heart of the hills it rushes forth, a thousand measures downward to the sea. He found it was the Milky Way that pours its torrents eastward and comes sweeping toward us. By nine great circles it outspans the earth even to the farthest limits of the eye.

"It is like a battle fierce between the Hans and Chos; the crash of ten thousand horse in an onset on the plain. Slantwise it comes rolling in big battalions, ever ceaseless. When it mounts and overflows the fields and meadows, people's hearts forsake them from pale fear. By the opening gates of the mountains its way is cloven eastward. The fierce strokes of its blade cut a thundering pathway toward the sea.

"When I was young I played upon the bosom of the deep and wished to ride the fabled Moni. Now I would fain drink from the waters of this Western river. As fair they seem to me as the mystic lakes of dreamland that beckon to my thirsty soul. I would launch forth by boat from its sandy shallows. As I sit high and look upon it my soul and spirit are overwhelmed with awe. The fishy breezes kiss my startled gaze; great waves mount high in view like castled walls. The tall masts in the distance jostle the mountain tops. The sailor shouts his shrilly cry while sweat outlines his

tightened chin. Though the day darkens far he still must go before he lights upon the gentle village of the plain. I am not Maing Myung-si who set fire to his boats in order to settle accounts with the people of Chin; nor am I the man who threw his jewels into its boiling deep. Still, I like them, and my soul has longed to see this stately river. If the iron ox that stands upon the shore had wits to prompt his sleepy soul he would laugh at such as me and say, 'What brought you here through wind and weather and all the dangers of the way?'"

Before Yi Che-hyun has passed away from the world there was born into Korea's circle of literati a most famous man to be, called Yi Saik who dates from 1328 to 1396 A.D. He is regarded as the greatest of Korea's authors, and yet the writer must confess that his investigation of his works has not led to that conclusion. A most voluminous writer he is, his complete works, numbering some fifty volumes, cannot be bought for less than thirty dollars. The charm of best originality seems lacking. He is a great master of the laws of Confucian composition, and from that point of view his works are faultless.

Two short examples translated herewith give only the thought, the real power of his Chinese composition is not evident.

Concerning Himself.

"This form of mine is small and poorly built, so passers think me but a mere hunchback. My eyes defective are, and ears, too dull to hear. When some one speaks I look around to see who it is, and act much like a frightened deer that haunts the busy mart.

"Even though some one were found to be my friend, he soon would change his mind and cast me off. Though I should show mine inner heart and soul to prove I was a grateful man, he'd run the faster. So my friendships end. Although my face may shine and lips speak sweetest things, to voice my heart, I still would be the northern cart that finds itself within the southern kingdom. Who is there then to fit my arrow-head or wing my shaft for me? Who comfort lends or listens to my woe?

"Away into unfathomed depths have gone the friends once loved and trusted, like trees that hide within the evening mist. If I regard myself I am as lonely as a single lock of hair upon a bullock's back. Whose teeth will ever part to speak his grateful word in my behalf? And yet just wherein have I sinned, or how departed from the rightful way? My wish and my desire stand

firm toward the truth. Where have my deeds been sordid, low or mixed with cunning? I am a straight and honest man, why then this doubt and disregard of me? My wish is one to teach all men the way. Why is my learning held of no account? In study my desire is full attainment. Where are the flaws? What have I failed to do? I hold the plummet line of rectitude.

"My failure, faults, and lack of round success are due to the one wish I had that good would rule. I may have failed, how far I cannot know, yet why expect success from him who's but a beast, whose name is counted over on the finger-tips, as though he were a bandit chief?

"Faults lie with you, my critics, you must change. God who sees full well and knows me he will count me clear. The law required, with all its feet and inches I have kept. No matter who, if he confess his faults, his past is buried evermore. To say I'm right and good, what joy is that? To jeer and treat me with contempt what care? Let me but so conduct myself that I be not an agent of the dark. To keep God's law this be my all in all."

Japan and the Japanese.

(Written on the departure of Chung Mong-joo as special envoy, 1377 A. D.)

"There is a king who dwells off toward the east, proud in his own esteem. He claims the belt he wears is righteousness, his robe the kindest sheen. Stern his appearance but gentle is his speech. How wags the world he holds his even poise, strong to endure. He recks not of this little life, and death he counts an honor. Not even Pook-goong could stand a match to him. His land recalls the warlike states of Choo. Fearful he is enough to scare one's locks straight stiff, or make one's soul jump from his skin. Be it distress that overtakes, he will accept no pity from another. A single look askance and he takes vengeance on the same. He counts not father, brother, son, if they oppose his way; his wife and daughters he regards as slaves, not even dogs or swine are they. His thought is in a name. 'Tis better death than lose one's honor, and he who soils his office mars the state. He'd make his people a refined, steel-hardened race. Though they regard it thus why should we blame? What runs its fullest source is bound to change, and change within a morning. Then we shall see what gentle habits will possess his world.

"Alas, we Chosenese know not to change, their boats and carts go everywhere while I have never crossed the threshold of my door. Theirs is the Sunrise Kingdom linked to the fairy world. All things

that live and grow abound on every side. The sun that shines upon its level plains lights up its world with splendor. How comes it that the evil-hearted rise from such a land, and like mad dogs bound forth on all who pass? Their wicked name has gone throughout the earth and all the world dislikes them. The thoughtful, learned, and good, regard this eastern state with deep despair. The end will be a whole world roused to war. And then her fate? We two stand side by side. Let's think how China's states went down. Cho lost her monkey and the fell result enveloped all the forest. Now we enter upon friendly relations but as we have no heart in it they will be sure to fail. Deceit is all they spell. You, a spiritually enlightened man, are trusted with a great commission. Full powers have you in hand, go forth. Be careful of the food you have to eat and hold your imagination well in hand. Keep sound in body and see to your office with right diligence and care. I am unable to write all my heart would say. Thoughts unexpressed rise still within my soul."

The Korean viewed the Japanese in those days much as the Englishman viewed the Frenchman. Beneath his highly contemptuous manner, however, there was also a high regard. So it has been. So it is to-day. Koreans enjoy a safety of life and property as never before, have a door of opportunity open to them that they never could have erected themselves, and they give promise of not only forming an honorable part of the great Empire of Japan but of contributing something original to this illustrious nation.

Chung Mong-joo who went as envoy to Japan in 1377 A. D. is also regarded as one of Korea's foremost literary men. He is the model, too, of the faithful courtier like Keui-ja, for he refused in 1392 to swear allegiance to the new dynasty, and died a martyr. His blood marks are pointed out in all sincerity to-day on the stone bridge in Songdo where he fell. Perhaps the fact that he lived up to this golden rule of the Far East, *Serve only one Master*, makes his writings more valuable than they would otherwise be. He went several times to Nanking on messages from his king and was once shipwrecked on the way. He is regarded by both Chinese and Japanese as a great master of the pen.

In Nanking.

BY CHUNG MONG-JOO.

"I, Chung Mong-joo, in 1386, fourth moon, with my commission from my king was in Nanking in the Assembly Hall. On the

twenty-third day the Emperor, while seated in the Gate of Divine Worship, sent a palace maid-in-waiting with a command saying that His Imperial Majesty desired me to come. I went and he talked with me face to face. What he said was most gracious. He ordered the yearly tribute paid by Korea, gold, silver, horses, cotton goods etc. to be entirely remitted. Greatly moved by this I wrote the accompanying song:

"A palace-maid at noon passed the command,
And had me called before the Dragon Throne.
To hear his gracious words it seemed to me that God was near;
Unbounded favors from his hand reach out beyond the sea.
I did not realize that in my joy my eyes were filmed with tears.
All I can say is May His Gracious Majesty live on forever.
From this day forth we thrive, land of the Han, how blessed.
We plough and dig our wells and sing our songs of peace."

In Japan.

BY CHUNG MONG-JOO.

(1377 A. D.)

"A thousand years have stood these islands of the deep,
By 'raft' I came and long I linger here;
Priests from the hills are asking for a song;
My host, too, sends me drink to cheer the day.
I am so glad we can be friend and kind to one another,
Because of race let's not be mean in mind or jealous.
Who then can say one is not happy on a foreign soil?
Daily we go by chair to see the plums in blossom."

"Raft" is a reference to the supposed means of conveyance by which Chang Gon went all the way to Rome and to the Milky Way.

In the next century, the fifteenth, a greater number of writers appear, historians, as well, like Su Ku-jung who wrote the *Mirror of the Eastern Kingdom*, the best history we have of the early days of his people. All through it he shows himself a man of level head who draws a definite line between mere superstition and facts for history to record.

And yet it was a day of superstition, for one of his contemporaries, Sung Hyun, writes endless stories like the following:

Odd Story of a Priestess.

"Minister Hong, once on a journey was overtaken by rain and went into a side way where was a house in which he found a young priestess about eighteen years of age. She was very pretty and possessed of great dignity. Hong asked her how it came that she

was here by herself in this lonely place, when she replied, "We are three of us, but my two companions have gone to town to obtain supplies."

"By flattery and persuasive words he promised, on condition that she yield herself to him, to make her his secondary wife on such and such a day of the year. The priestess all too readily believed him and awaited the day, but he never came, and the appointed season passed without sound of footfall or shadow of any kind. She fell ill and died.

"Later Hong was sent south as provincial governor of Kyung-sang Province. While there he one day saw a lizard run across his room and pass over his bed quilt. He ordered his secretary to throw it out, and not only did he so but he killed it as well. The next day a snake made its appearance and crawled stealthily into the room. The secretary had this killed also, but another snake came the day following.

"The governor began questioning the manner of this visitation and thought of the priestess. Still he trusted in his power and position to keep safe from all such trivial evils, so he had them killed as they came and gave orders accordingly. Every day snakes came, and as day followed day they grew larger in size and more evil in their manner, until at last great constrictors came pouring in upon him. He had his soldiers marshalled with swords and spears to ward them off and yet somehow they managed to break through. The soldiers slashed at them with their sabres; fires were built into which the snakes were flung and yet they increased in numbers and grew. In the hope of placating this enemy the governor caught one of them and put it in a jar letting it loose at night to crawl about as it pleased over his bed and returning it once more to its place when the day dawned. Wherever he went, about the town or on a journey, he had a man carry the snake along in the jar. Little by little the governor's mind weakened under the strain of it, his form grew thin and shortly afterward he died."

This unsavory thread of superstition runs all through the writings of East Asia and shares a large part in the mental fabric of the race to-day. The law of reason that governs modern thought is more and more making its influence felt through the newspaper and the modern book, and this old world is bound to disappear. The fairy part of it we would still see live; but the snakes and devils may well go.

As time passed on and the rumor became fixed that Koryu met

its fate in 1392 through the evil influence of the Buddha, Confucianism became more and more the state religion and the literati were the scribes and Pharisees who taught and explained its sacred books. While many of them were merely creatures of the letter, some again were devoutly religious and apparently most attractive characters. One named Yi I, or Yool-gok as he is familiarly called, lived from 1536 to 1584. His name to-day is recorded in the Confucian Temple No. 52 on the east side of the Master, and is revered by his people as no other.

The Flowery Rock Pavilion.

BY YI I.

"Autumn has come to my home in the woods, how many things I would like to write about. The long line of river goes by us on its way from heaven. The red leaves, tinted by the frost look upward toward the sun. The hills kiss the round circle of the lonely moon. The streamlets catch the breezes that come a thousand *li*. Why are the geese going north I wonder. Their voices are lost in the evening clouds."

God's Way.

BY YI I.

"God's way is difficult to know and difficult to explain. The sun and moon are fixed in the heavens. The days and nights go by, some longer, some shorter. Who made them so, I wonder. Sometimes these lights are seen together in the heavens; sometimes again they are eclipsed and narrowed down. What causes this? Five of the stars pass us on the celestial warp, while the rest swing by on the wings of the woof. Can you say definitely why these things are so? When do propitious stars appear, and when, again such wild uncanny things as comets? Some say that the soul of creation has gone out and formed the stars. Is there any proof of this?

"When the winds spring up where do they come from, and whither do they go? Sometimes though it blows the branches of the trees do not even sing; at other times trees are torn from their roots and houses are carried away. There is the gentle maiden wind, and then there is the fierce typhoon. On what law do these two depend?

"Where do the clouds come from and how again do they dissipate into the five original colors? What law do they follow? Though like smoke, they are not smoke. Piled up they stand and swiftly they sail by. What causes this?

"The mists, too, what impels them to rise? Sometimes they are red and sometimes blue. Does this signify aught? At times heavy yellow mists shut out all the points of the compass, and again a smothering fog will darken the very sun at noon.

"Who has charge of the thunder and the sharp strokes of lightning? The blinding flashes that accompany them and their roarings that shake the earth? What does it mean? Sometimes they strike men dead. What law directs this I wonder?

The frosts kill the tender leaves, while the dew makes all fresh and green again. Can you guess the law by which these are governed?

"Rain comes forth from the clouds as it falls, but again there are dark clouds that have no rain. What makes this difference? In the days of Sillong rains came when the people wished them, and desisted when their hopes were fulfilled. In the Golden Age they fell just thirty-six times, definitely fixed. Was it because God was specially favorable to those people? When soldiers rise in defense of the right rain comes; rain comes too, when prisoners are set free. What do you suppose could cause this?

Flowers and blossoms have five petals, but the flakes of snow have six. Who could have decided this?

"Now hail is not white frost nor is it snow. By what power has it become congealed? Some of its stones are big as horses' heads, and some again are only as large as chickens' eggs. Sometimes they deal out death to man and beast. At what time do these things happen? Did God give to each particular thing its own sphere of action when he made it?

"There are times when the elements seem to battle with each other as when rain and snow compete. Is this due to something wrong in nature, or in man's way?

"What shall we do to do away with eclipses altogether, and have the stars keep their appointed course? So that thunder will not startle the world; that frosts may not come in summer; that snows may not afflict us, nor hailstones deal out death; that no wild typhoons may blow; that no floods prevail; that all nature run sweetly and smooth, and so that heaven and earth will work in accord to the blessing of mankind? Where shall we find such a doctrine? All you literati who are deeply learned, I should think that some of you could tell me. Open your hearts now and let me know."

To prove that literary talent was not confined to the halls of the

rich we have a number of authors who rose from the lowest social stratum to shine high in the firmament. One, son of a slave, called Song Ik-p'il was born in 1534 and died in 1599. His works were re-published in 1762 and are regarded to-day as among Korea's best, almost sacred writings.

On Being Satisfied.

BY SONG IK-P'IL.

"How is it that the good man always has enough, and why the evil man should always lack? The reason is that when I count my lacks as best I have enough; but worry goes with poverty and worrying souls are always poor. If I take what comes as good and count it best, what lack have I. But to complain against Almighty God and then my fellow men means grieving o'er my lacks. If I ask only what I have I'm never poor; but if I grasp at what I have not how can I ever have enough? One glass of water, even that may satisfy, while thousands spent in richest fare may leave me poor in soul. From ancient days all gladness rests in being satisfied, while all the ills of life are found in selfishness and greed. The Emperor Chin-see's son who lived within the Mang-heui Palace was heard to say, 'Though I live out my life, 'tis all too short,' and so his worries came. The ruler of the Tangs we're told cast lots to meet his love beyond the veil because his heart was cheerless here, and yet we poorest of the poor when we wish only what we have how rich we are. How poor are kings and princes who reach out for more, while he who's poor may be the richest. Riches and poverty lie within the soul, they never rest in outward things. I now am seventy and my house has nothing, so that men point at me and exclaim 'How poor.' But when I see the shafts of light tip all the hill tops in the morning my soul is satisfied with richest treasure; and in the evening, when I behold the round disk of the moon that lights the world and shines across the water, how rich my eyes! In spring the plum-trees bloom, in autumn the chrysanthemum. The flowers that go call to the flowers that come. How rich my joy! Within the Sacred Books what deep delight! As I foregather with the great who've gone, how rich! My virtues I'll admit are poor, but when I see my hair grow white, my years how rich! My joys attend unbroken all my days. I have them all. All these most rich and satisfying things are mine. I can stand up and gaze above, and bend and look below, the joy is mine. How rich God's gifts! My soul is satisfied."

The times of Shakespeare were the most prolific days of Korea's long period of literature. Suddenly a great tragedy befell the land in the war of Hideyoshi in 1592. This filled the mind of the new generation with its horror as one can easily see through the literature that followed.

Kim Man-choong, the author of the *Cloud Dream of the Nine* was born in 1617, the year after Shakespeare died. The echoes of the terrible war were not only sounded in his ears as a little boy, for his father and mother had seen it, but when he was nineteen years of age the Manchos came pouring in and extorted a humiliating treaty from Korea. By the side of the river, just out of Seoul, a tall stone with Chinese writing on one side, and Manchoo script on the other, told how Korea was brought under the imperial heel. The stone stood till 1894 when some of the youthful patriots of that day knocked it over, and it still lies on its face.

It would seem as though the spirit of destruction had entered society in the fateful seventeenth century, for the four political parties fought each other not as Whigs and Tories, who talk a bit, and then take afternoon tea together, but with knife and deadly potion. Song Si-yul, the greatest literary light of Kim's day, had to drink the hemlock when he was eighty-two and so depart this life. These were the days of Samuel Pepys, the Plague and the Great Fire of London. It would seem as though the spirit of trouble had abounded even to East Asia.

Here are some of the echoes of that period as seen in the shorter poems:

Avarice.

BY SOO-KWANG.

(1563-1628 A.D.)

"Busy all my days with head and hand,
And now at last a mountain high I have of treasure;
But when I come to die, the problem's how to carry it.
My greedy name is all that's left behind me."

Temptation.

BY KIM CHANG-HYUP.

(1651-1708 A.D.)

"So many tempters lay siege to the soul,
Who would not lose his way?
For though the axe cuts deep the fateful tree,
The roots shoot forth anew.
By early morning light awake, my friend,
And try thy soul and see."

Queen In-mok was one of the famous literary women of this age. She was a broken-hearted mother of royalty who spent her exile days writing out with silver ink on black paper the sacred Mita Book of the Buddha. This relic is preserved as a special treasure in the Yoo jum Monastery of the Diamond Mountains where the writer had a chance to look it through in October of this year (1917).

Here is one of her poems :

The Worn-Out Laborer.

BY QUEEN IN-MOK.

(About 1608 A.D.)

"The weary ox grown old with toil through years of labor,
With neck sore chafed and skin worn through in holes would fain go sleep.
Now ploughing's done and harrow days are over and spring rains fall,
Why does his master still lay on the goad and give him pain?"

An Ode.

BY YOON CHEUNG.

(1629-1715 A.D.)

"Little there is that I can do in life,
I leave it all to God and go my way.
When brack and fern thick clothe the hills with green,
Why should I sweat to till and dig the soil?
And when wild hemp and creeping plants enclose the way,
What need I furthermore of fence or wall?
Although the breeze no contract written has,
Yet still it comes unfailingly to cheer;
And though the moon has sworn no oath of brotherhood,
It nightly shines its beams upon my way.
If any come to jar my ears with earthly woe
Tell him no word of me or where I am.
Within my mystic walls I sit supreme,
And dream of ancients, honored, revered, glorified."

Since Kim's day famous authors have lived, many of them, and literature has held unquestioned sway till the year 1894 when by order of the new régime the government examinations were discontinued. With this edict all incentive for the study of the classics disappeared, and the old school system ceased to be. It is twenty-three years since this edict was promulgated, and a young man must have been at least twenty-two or twenty-three at that time to have had even a reasonable grounding. The result is seen to-day in the fact that Korea has no good classic scholars of less than forty-five years of age.

This tragic death of native literature that followed the fateful edict is seen in the fact that a famous father of the old school may have a famous son, yes, a graduate of Tokyo University, who still cannot any more read what his father has written than the ordinary graduate at home can read Herodotus or Livy at sight; and the father, learned though he be, can no more understand what his son reads or studies, than a hermit from the hills of India can read a modern newspaper. So they sit, this father and this son, separated by a gulf of a thousand years pitiful to see.

Nevertheless the poems, the literary notes, the graceful letters, the inscriptions, the biographies, the memorials, the sacrificial prayers, the stories, the fairy tales of old Korea will remain, a proof of the graceful and interesting civilization of this ancient people.

A JEWISH TRANSLATION OF THE OLD TESTAMENT.

BY THE EDITOR.

A NEW Bible translation has been published, and this time it is a version of the Old Testament prepared by Jewish scholars.¹ The work is apparently well done, but the reviewer would like also to have seen short notes and explanations of the meaning of certain passages and in some cases the literal meaning of the text according to its historical significance, where the new rendering varies from the familiar ones.

The Old Testament is a Hebrew document as every one knows, but it forms an important portion of Christian Scriptures, and as such it first became known to the Gentile world. Since the rise of Christianity the Bible has been translated again and again. Two or more centuries before the Christian era the Hebrew Holy Scriptures (the Old Testament) were translated into Greek by seventy rabbis who are supposed to have rendered the text verbatim in such perfect agreement that this was believed to indicate that their translations were inspired and should be regarded as revealed. Therefore this version is called the Septuagint and is usually expressed by the symbol LXX (the Seventy). At the beginning of the Christian era a translation was made for the use of the Roman Church by Jerome, who mainly relied on the work of a converted

¹ *The Holy Scriptures According to the Masoretic Text.* A new translation with the aid of previous versions and with constant consultation of Jewish authorities. Philadelphia, 1917.

Jewish scholar. Wycliff's translation into English in 1382 was the first translation from the Vulgate into a vernacular. Among later versions Luther's German translation is famous, and also in England the familiar King James translation known as the Authorized Version, which later on was followed by the so-called Revised Version.

Of course the Jews were reluctant to use Christian translations for their own services because the Christian interpretation naturally did not accord with Jewish views. In Germany a German translation made by German Jews is commonly called Mendelssohn's Version, after the chief editor. German Judaism then formed decidedly the leading body of the Jews, and so it is natural that the Jews found expression for their Holy Scriptures in the German language. But recently the significance of Judaism has extended into English speaking countries, and at present there are perhaps more Jews in English speaking nations than even in Germany or any other countries, except in Russia, so the need of an English translation by Jewish scholarship has grown more and more insistent, and here before us is the result.

The editors have made good use of prior translations, including all the Christian versions, but in addition to the popular translations they have taken every care to incorporate in their new version the full use of Hebrew learning without being afraid of the results of Higher Criticism which in some church circles have been denounced as anti-religious.

It would have been desirable to have brief pertinent marginal notes concerning those passages in the text which have been either wrongly interpreted by translators or where a definitely un-Jewish version has become habitual. But such tactics are not in the line of our translators. They have given their best scholarship without controversy, and have avoided even the mere appearance of controversy. A discussion of variant readings would perhaps best find expression in an independent little book on such passages, and perhaps it will follow in course of time.

At any rate this new translation of Jewish Scriptures is a welcome addition to Biblical scholarship and will no doubt find due recognition everywhere, not only in the circles of scholars to whom the Bible is a valuable portion of the world's literature, but also in the homes of Christian orthodoxy, and there is no doubt that it will be of great benefit to the synagogue service and Jewish home life.

As I have just intimated, it seems to me that some such addi-

tional little notes as appear for instance in the German Hirschberg edition of Luther's Bible would not have been inappropriate. Take for instance the passage in Job xix. 25 where we read: "I know that my redeemer liveth." Our Jewish version has unnecessarily followed the Christian versions by adopting the word "redeemer" as it is used in the English version, while we read in the Hebrew text the word *ga'ali* (גָּאֲלִי), i. e., "my blood avenger." The root form *go'el* does not mean "redeemer," but is a Hebrew term denoting the nearest of kin, or the one upon whom in case of murder the duty of blood revenge would fall, and a better translation would be "avenger." At any rate a little note with regard to the meaning of *go'el* would be pertinent, whereas the preservation of the Christian interpretation of the passage seems to us actually out of place, at least from a Jewish standpoint. Even Christian higher critics would regard as misleading a translation which could interpret the word as a synonym of "Saviour" or "Messiah."

There is one interesting passage which evidently presented a problem. It has been interpreted as promising the kingdom to Judah until the Messiah should come and is contained in the blessing of Jacob in Genesis xlix. 10. The Authorized Version of this verse reads: "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah, nor a lawgiver from between his feet until Shiloh come." This is the only passage where the word Shiloh mystifies us. We must assume that it cannot mean anything except the definite city where the tabernacle was erected and where the entire congregation was wont to assemble. The better rendering is "as long as they [people or pilgrims] come to Shiloh," and in this sense the new version translates it:

"The sceptre shall not depart from Judah,
Nor the ruler's staff from between his feet,
As long as men come to Shiloh."

In whatever minor details we might disagree with the translators of this new version, we recognize its high merits unreservedly and express our confidence that it will rank on not less than equal ground of authority with prior translations.

SOME FRENCH BOOKS ON THE ALSACE-LORRAINE QUESTION.

BY THEODORE STANTON.

WHEN the day comes for opening up the peace negotiations, the Alsace-Lorraine question is sure to be one of the most complicated problems to solve. "It has come to the fore as never before," wrote me recently Professor Jacques Flach, of the College of France, himself an Alsatian and one of the best French authorities on the subject. At the present moment, France demands as unanimously the return of the "Lost Provinces" as does Germany their retention. In the meantime it may be interesting and instructive to get glimpses of the French points of view as presented in some of the numerous books and pamphlets concerning the matter with which the French presses have been teeming ever since the outbreak of the war. This article may be more a bibliography than a historic, political or legal examination of the subject, but may have its value nevertheless.

Eugène Rambert (Lausanne: Payot, 6 fr.), by M. Virgile Rossel, at present a federal judge at Lausanne, formerly President of Switzerland, and the author of able histories and literary works, is in itself an exceedingly interesting biography, and in several places has a direct bearing on the Alsace-Lorraine question. The subject of this biography, Eugène Rambert, who died in 1886, was a well-known Swiss miscellaneous writer of marked talent who exerted a wide influence in his own country and even beyond its borders. The volume contains a long chapter on the war of 1870-71, where of course Alsace-Lorraine is subjected to the observations of this very intelligent publicist, whose conclusions are penetrating, impartial and pronounced. At first M. Rambert assumed a rather neutral stand; but little by little he began to take sides with France, and there he finally remained firmly to the day of his death. "Alsace, German, will never be other than one of Germany's march-lands," he wrote in 1871. These words appeared in his *Le Journal d'un Neutre*, which was published during 1871 in several numbers of the Swiss periodical *La Bibliothèque Universelle*. This Journal has never come out in volume form and should be read by those who would catch the true spirit of that year so momentous in European politics. It frequently refers to the Alsace-Lorraine affair,

then a burning one, and points out several of the weaknesses of the German contention. M. Rossel takes the same view as M. Rambert and does not hesitate to declare that "the retention of Alsace by Germany would be a loss to Europe; a whole fecund work of intellectual conciliation and penetration would be suspended for centuries."

Les Grandes Heures (Paris: Perrin, 2 v., 3 fr. 50 each), by M. Henri Lavedan, of the French Academy, is a collection of newspaper articles all having to do with the war. The short one entitled "Alsace" was penned in the glow of enthusiasm occasioned at the very beginning of the conflict when the French armies penetrated into Alsace for a short distance along a narrow strip, where they have been ever since and where the schools, post offices, courts, etc., have already been organized on French lines as they were before the war of 1870. M. Lavedan's little article well expresses the intense feeling of patriotism which "this inroad into the enemy's temporary country" occasioned in August 1914 and which is still alive in every French breast. This fact that France is installed again in Alsace and has been there for over three years and a half is a factor in the present problem that cannot be overlooked.

L'Alsace Française (Paris: Perrin, 3 fr. 50) is by the distinguished French littérateur Edouard Schuré, who is Alsatian by birth. The subtitle of the book is "Dreams and Combats," and the motto is: "The soul of France is reflected in the eyes of Alsace as is the soul of Europe reflected in the eyes of France." These quotations show the spirit which pervades the book, and though these essays were written at different times, there is a unity about them, for they all relate to some aspect of Alsace, which in fact is the constant theme of most of M. Schuré's writings. The closing third of the book is described by the author as "a sketch of the psychic development of Alsace, in its relation to France, during the past centuries down to the present war." We have here well presented the French view of the whole Alsace question expressed in the fine style which characterizes all of M. Schuré's work.

I make here the following extract from a letter of his to me:

"During my long life, I have taken no part in politics. Art, poetry and philosophy have been the chief subject of my literary career. In 1871 I protested, in a pamphlet entitled *L'Alsace et les Prétensions Prussiennes*, against the annexation of Alsace to Germany. My pamphlet made some little stir at the time. Because of its irreducible attachment to France, Alsace-Lorraine has become a gage and a symbol of the highest importance. For Germany it

symbolizes the promise of security on the part of the new empire of the Hohenzollerns and its right to conquer by military force any French territory which it may wish to annex. For France it is a question of national honor and concerns at one and the same time the integrity of our people and our national conscience. For the world at large the liberation of Alsace-Lorraine, that is to say the voluntary return of these two provinces to France, like the restitution of Belgium, Italia Irredenta, Servia, and the rest of abused Europe, will mean that this Old World is at last a federation based on the recognition of the rights of free peoples and the idea of a society of nations. The generous and magnificent manner in which the New World has come to the support of this idea is a sure sign of its final acceptance everywhere."

Returning to the same subject a month later, M. Schuré again wrote me:

"If we gain a decisive victory over Germany, which seems to me certain with the aid of our allies and especially now that we have the United States with us, I think France will be satisfied with regaining her two lost provinces, which, in their immense majority have remained inflexibly and invariably faithful to her. I would oppose the annexation of other German territory whose inhabitants are attached to the Fatherland. It would be contrary to the principle of free nationalities, which is determined above all things by the wishes of the people immediately concerned. But I hold that France will have the right to demand, as guaranteeing her security for the future, that a determined zone be neutralized in the matter of things military, where Germany will not have the right to hold or send armies. The inhabitants of this region would thus continue to be a part of Germany as regards their economic and intellectual life, but Germany would not be permitted to use their territory as a camp where could be prepared an attack on France. The future international congress could regulate the details of the matter."

By the way, M. Edouard Schuré is a French writer who should be more widely known in America, as he shares many of our views on government, art, religion and philosophy, and has written with talent on all these subjects. A good acquaintance with the man and his books on ethics, history, criticism, and his novels, dramas and poetry, can be obtained from a volume entitled, *Edouard Schuré: son Œuvre et sa Pensée* (Paris: Perrin, 3 fr. 50), by M. Robert Veyssié, the poet, and Prof. Alphonse Roux, the art historian and critic, now serving as a lieutenant at the front, both

ardent followers of M. Schuré. The volume contains his portrait which represents him as a large powerful man physically as well as mentally, with a big head covered with heavy locks and having a high broad forehead.

Quelques Aspects du Vertige Mondial (Paris: Flammarion, 3 fr. 50), by Pierre Loti, of the French Academy, contains a chapter on Alsace, as he found it in August 1914, when he accompanied President Poincaré on a two days' visit to the newly conquered lands, and in July 1915 when he was there again. Written in Loti's best style, this account of these two brief sojourns in "this sacred region" offers another good example of the deep patriotic feeling which Alsace always awakens in the French breast of to-day.

L'Anéantissement de la Nationalité Alsacienne-Lorraine (Paris: Plon, 25 centimes), by V. W. Friedel, is one of the severest criticisms of the German régime in the Lost Provinces that I have seen. The preface is by M. Jules Siegfried, the well-known deputy, who is a native of Alsace and who points out a possibility—"when peace comes the German plan is that these provinces shall cease to be an Imperial Territory, *Reichsland*, and shall be simply annexed to Prussia"—which is now widely circulated in France and has done much to strengthen the demand that Alsace-Lorraine be unconditionally surrendered.

"Annales d'Alsace" (Paris: *Bibliothèque d'Alsace-Lorraine*, 75 centimes each) is a series of a dozen illustrated pamphlets whose aim is to awaken among the inhabitants of those regions the old love for France. The one by Baron Albert de Dietrich, "Rouget de Lisle et Frédéric de Dietrich," is especially interesting, as it is the history of the creation of the famous French national air, "La Marseillaise," first sung in the drawing-room of the mayor of Strasbourg, Frédéric de Dietrich, who, notwithstanding his noble patriotism, was beheaded during the Terror. He was the great great grandfather of the author of this pamphlet, who, by the way, is also related to Lafayette.

Le Messenger de Lorraine (Nancy: Berger-Levrault, 1 fr.) aims to do for Lorraine what the foregoing series is to do for Alsace,—revive the slumbering, where it is slumbering, affection for France. It is an annual, and the first number, that for 1917, appeared at the beginning of last year. I have not yet seen the second number, that for the present year. It is well illustrated, contains some excellent prose and poetry, and counts among its collaborators M. Maurice Barrès, one of the most famous of Lor-

rainers and one of the most uncompromising leaders in the demand for the unconditional return of Alsace-Lorraine.

La Guerre et le Progrès (Paris: Payot, 3 fr. 50), by M. Jules Sageret, is an able presentation of the philosophy of the present conflict and like almost every serious French book on current events, finally comes round to the inevitable Alsace-Lorraine problem. This is the way he sums up the matter: "With these provinces in the power of Germany, both France and Alsace-Lorraine are dissatisfied. But with them in the possession of France, only Germany is dissatisfied. In the latter case, there will of course be a ruffling of pride and some national humiliation. Yet, however keen this feeling may be, it is much less likely to last than grievances caused by an annexation accomplished against the wishes of those annexed."

M. Sageret, by the way, is a brilliant graduate of the great Paris civil engineering school, l'Ecole Centrale, and specialized in electrical engineering until nearly thirty, when he turned toward literature, "for which I always had a strong bent," he once said to me. Since then he has produced a half dozen novels and as many more volumes of criticism. In a letter accompanying his new book he writes me:

"The question is often asked whether the Allies should treat with the Kaiser when the time comes for peace. On this point I quite agree with President Wilson, who has brought out very clearly the real meaning of this war, and his conclusions must be accepted. It is a war of principles,—the principle of nationality based on the free consent of peoples, opposed to the principle of the sovereignty of the State; and consequently, the principle of democracy over against the principle of authority. The future peace should be no mercantile peace, for there can be no bargaining over the clauses which are to make up the document which is to bring about a stable and pacific organization of the world. The reign of the old kind of diplomacy, steeped in trickery, must be ended. But this can be secured only through the sincere co-operation of the German people who of their own accord rid themselves of the Hohenzollerns. This they will not be able to do unless our victory is complete. Therefore we must go on fighting with vigor, decision and tenacity, in which effort we feel sure the United States are bringing us a support as fresh as it is large."

This slogan that the future peace negotiators must ignore the Kaiser was perhaps first sounded, at least in France, by the well-known politician and writer M. Joseph Reinach, who repeats it

several times in the eleventh and latest volume of his remarkable series, *Les Commentaires de Polybe* (Paris: Fasquelle, 3 fr. 50 each volume). Nor does this volume or its predecessors neglect the Alsace-Lorraine problem. "Between the Vosges and the Rhine is another Poland," M. Reinach says. He even seems to advocate "the return of France to the Rhine," which M. Schuré, as we saw above, and the vast majority of Frenchmen, do not demand. None of the daily commentaries on this war by leading French writers—there are many and very brilliant ones—equal perhaps these short, crisp, vigorous *Figaro* articles of this modern Polybius; and among these terse paragraphs of M. Joseph Reinach certainly the best are those devoted to the Alsace-Lorraine question.

A most lamentable thing about this Alsace-Lorraine business is that a practically dead issue has suddenly been brought to life again in its most intense form. When August 1914 came it had, in France, entered upon its final slumber. Many of the old generation of Frenchmen of 1870, who had naturally kept alive the spirit of revenge, had passed away, and among these was that fiery ultra patriot, Paul Déroulède. The younger generations did not at all feel called upon to go to war in order to regain the Lost Provinces. In fact a growing sentiment toward a rapprochement between France and Germany was well under way. All this is admirably brought out in *L'Alsace-Lorraine* (Paris: Ollendorff, 3 fr. 50), by M. Maxime Leroy, published a few weeks before the cloud burst. M. Leroy is the author of a half dozen books on French public questions, and presents in this one a strong clear picture of the problem as it stood at the beginning of the fatal year 1914. The spirit in which he handles the subject is revealed in the sub-title of this book—"Porte de France, Porte d'Allemagne," the reference being to the two city gates of the Alsatian town of Phalsbourg, "one looking toward the east and the other toward the west, one being called the French Gate and the other the German Gate. . . . And you are led to wish that the whole *Reichsland* might become one vast city with two gates opening out onto the two civilizations so long enemies, so that the ideas of both might circulate freely from one to the other. . . . No more war!"

And if one would see how all this peaceful regulation of the Alsace-Lorraine imbroglio has been nipped in the bud, glance over a pamphlet published some two years later by this same author, *Le Statut Civil et Administratif des Alsaciens-Lorrains pendant la Guerre* (Paris: Bureaux des Lois Nouvelles, 25 centimes); and a second pamphlet, *Almanach de la Paix par le Droit* (Paris: Plon,

25 centimes), where there is an article by M. Leroy that is very significant.

Two other pamphlets should be noted,—*Pourquoi nous nous battons*, by Prof. Ernest Lavisse, of the French Academy, the well-known historian; and *La Question d'Alsace-Lorraine*, by M. Lavisse and Prof. Christian Pfister, of the Sorbonne. Both may be obtained for a few sous from the Paris publisher, Armand Colin. They offer the best brief statement of the question which I have seen.

In *Un Poète Alsacien* (Nancy: Berger-Levrault, 75 centimes), M. Armbruster, of the Paris bar, gives us a sketch of one of those typical intellectual Alsations who have always remained faithful to France,—the late Georges Spetz, who has sung in verse the praises of both lands,—

"O ma belle et noble patric,
O mon Alsace, ô mon pays."

And the caricaturists have also come to the support of the movement. *De l'Arrière au Front* (Paris: Fasquelle, 3 fr. 50) is by the famous artist in this line, "Henriot,"—M. Henry Naigrot, editor of *Charivari*, and the author of many volumes and stories. It is a little volume of some six or seven hundred sketches where the legend is often as witty as the drawing and which contains several amusing skits at the expense of the Germans, often with Alsace-Lorraine as the subject.

Zislin, the clever caricaturist of Mulhouse, long ago brought his sharp pencil to the aid of the Alsatian cause. Imprisoned for his bold actions, he escaped when the war broke out and joined the French army. Some sixty or more of his best sketches have been collected and the first part—there will be four—has just appeared under the title *L'Album Zislin* (Nancy: Berger-Levrault, 3 fr. 50 each part). Zislin has thoroughly succeeded in catching the Teutonic foibles and characteristics, and his skits are as cutting and funny as they are artistic.

There has recently been founded in Paris a "Ligue Républicaine de Défense Nationale," whose secretary general is the well-known writer Mme. Th. Harlor, 77 rue Blanche, who says in a recent letter to me: "Our aim is to combat the infamous propaganda of the enemy, who, underhandedly, is trying to accomplish in all the allied countries what is succeeding so well in Russia. Our membership is made up wholly of republicans because we think this will be significant, as before the war we French republicans all advocated

the noble ideas of pacifism. One of our ways of advancing the cause is the issuing of tracts, and the third on our list will be one devoted to the Alsace-Lorraine question."

I might continue this list of books and pamphlets almost indefinitely. But I think I have mentioned a sufficient number in different fields of literature and art to show what the whole must be. The lesson which they teach and which should be borne in mind when peace comes, lest the governments repeat the same mistake made by Germany in 1871, is well expressed in this sentence, the name of whose author I have forgotten: "Nations are the work of God, but States are made by men."

PARIS, FRANCE.

TWO CHINESE CITIES.

BY A. M. REESE.

AFTER a voyage (unusually calm for the China Sea) of four days from Singapore, the S. S. "Bülów" slowly steamed among the islands at the entrance and came to anchor just after sunset in the beautiful harbor of Hongkong. There is really no *city* of Hongkong, though letters so directed will reach their destination, and even the residents of the city in whose harbor we were anchored would have spoken of living in Hongkong. The name "Hongkong" belongs to the small island, ten miles long by three wide, that lies about a mile from the mainland of China. Along the north or land side of this island lies the city of Victoria, with a population of 350,000, commonly known by the name of the entire island, Hongkong.

Practically the whole island is occupied by mountains of a maximum height of about 1800 feet, so that the town has only a narrow strip of level ground along the beach and extends in scattered fashion to the very top of the ridge.

As we came to anchor the twinkling lights of the streets and houses were just beginning to appear, and in a little while, when the short tropical twilight had changed to darkness, the shore line was a mass of lights which gradually became more scattered toward the hill-tops, where often a single light marked the location of some isolated residence. Across the harbor another smaller group of lights showed the position of Kowloon, a small seaport on the mainland and the southern terminus of the Kowloon and Canton Railroad. On the water between the two towns, really one great

harbor, were thousands of lights, indicating the position of invisible steamships, junks, tugs, launches and sampans. Most of these lights were stationary, showing that the vessels to which they belonged were at anchor, but some of them were in motion, and hardly had we come slowly to a standstill and dropped anchor before we were besieged by a swarm of launches and sampans all clamoring for passengers to take ashore.

As is customary in the East, steamers usually anchor in the harbor at Hongkong at some distance from shore, so that the larger hotels, as well as Cook's Agency, have private launches to take passengers ashore. Since it was rather late to see anything of the town most of the cabin passengers preferred to remain on board



VIEW ON "THE PEAK"; GOVERNOR'S RESIDENCE IN THE LEFT BACKGROUND.

for the night, and the view of the lights of the harbor and town as seen from the ship was well worth enjoying for one evening.

The next morning we were able to see the meaning of the lights of the night before. The business part of the town, with its crowded Chinese sections and its fine municipal and office buildings, lies as a narrow strip along the shore, while struggling up the mountain side are the residences, churches, schools, etc. of the English and wealthy Chinese residents. On this mountain side is also a most beautiful and interesting botanical garden. On the highest point of "The Peak," as the main peak of the range is called, is a weather observatory and signal station, and from this

point one of the most beautiful views in the world may be obtained; to the south, the open China Sea, with numberless green islands extending almost to the horizon; to the north, the mainland of China, fringed with low mountains; between the mainland and the island the long, narrow strait forming the harbors of Victoria and Kowloon; at the foot of the mountain the densely crowded business streets; and extending up the almost precipitous northern slopes of the mountain the beautiful, often palatial homes of the wealthy residents. Winding along the mountain sides a number of fine roads and paths give access to these homes, but to reach



CHINESE JUNKS IN THE HARBOR OF CANTON.

the higher levels, especially, there may be seen the cable tramway, going so straight up the side of the mountain that it is almost alarming to look forward or back from the open cars. The homes nearer the foot of the mountain are usually reached by means of sedan chairs carried by two, three or even four coolies, while in the level business section the usual means of travel are the electric cars and the ever-ready rickshas. Horses are practically unknown except for racing purposes; carts are pulled by Chinese coolies instead of by horses, and merchandise is carried by coolies in baskets or bales on the shoulders. It is an interesting though

unpleasant sight to see strings of Chinese men and women toiling up the steep sides of the mountain, carrying stones, cement, window frames, timbers, and all other material used in building the palaces in which the wealthy people live. For a day of this back-breaking labor they are paid about what one of their rich employers would give for one of his best cigars. Every stick, stone and nail in all of these houses has been carried up all these hundreds of feet on the backs of men and women, chiefly the latter.

In a beautiful little level valley between the bases of two of the mountains is the play ground of Hongkong, known as "Happy Valley"; here are tennis courts, a golf course, etc. overlooked on either side, rather incongruously, by a Chinese and a Christian burial ground.

Having visited the various points of interest about Hongkong, which is really a part of the British Empire (ceded by the Chinese in 1841) though a vast majority of its residents are Chinese, I decided to have a look at a real Chinese city, Canton, located about ninety miles up the Canton River. As Canton happened to be in the throes of a revolution at that time, people were flocking by the thousands from there to Hongkong. Cook's Agency was warning people to keep away, and Hongkong papers had as headlines "Serious Outlook in Canton"; but I did not expect ever to have another chance to visit this typical Chinese city, so I boarded one of the boats of the French line that left Hongkong late in the evening for the run up the river. I learned later that one of these boats had been "shot up" a few days before by the revolutionists, and that a number of the passengers had been killed. However we were not molested, and reached Canton about eight the next morning.

After daylight we were able to get an idea of the country on either bank of the muddy river; it was low and marshy, every acre being planted in rice. Occasionally, on a slight elevation, would be seen a pagoda-shaped temple, standing lonely among the rice fields, where doubtless it had stood for many centuries.

At frequent intervals we passed small native boats, some of them with sails and loaded with goods, most of them rowed by one or more oars. It was to be noticed that when there was only one oar it was being worked vigorously by a woman, while a man sat comfortably in the stern and steered. These people were evidently going from the crowded villages in which they lived to work in the rice fields.

At Canton the river, which is there only a few hundred yards

wide, was jammed with craft of all kinds, including one or two small war vessels and hundreds, probably thousands, of *sampans*.



SAMPANS IN THE HARBOR OF CANTON.

The latter carry passengers and small quantities of freight; they are roofed over more or less completely and serve as the homes of

the owners' families, all the members of which take a hand in the rowing.

The foreign (mostly English and French) quarter of Canton is known as "the Shameen" (meaning sand-bank), a small island in the river connected with the city proper by a couple of bridges. It has beautifully shaded streets and fine houses, and is utterly different from the Chinese Canton. At the Shameen's one hotel, which charges the modest rate of from four to eight dollars per



A WIDE STREET IN CANTON.

day for very ordinary service, I was told that conditions were "very uncertain" and that nobody was allowed to enter the walled city after 9 P. M. without a pass.

A guide having thrust his services upon me before I could get off the boat, we left the Shameen, crossed one of the bridges and plunged into the network of streets where, without a guide, a stranger would be lost in a few minutes.

In a few of the streets outside of the walled city rickshas are the usual means of travel, but inside the walls most of the streets are too narrow for rickshas to pass one another, and paving of large flagstones is too rough for wheels, so that the sedan chair is the only means of locomotion except one's own legs. My self-appointed guide said he would get chairs for seven dollars per day (\$3.00 in American money) but I told him I expected to walk and that if he wanted to go with me he would have to do likewise; he immediately professed to think that walking was the only way to go, so we agreed to see the town afoot. After we had walked pretty briskly for three or four hours he inquired meekly, "Can you walk this way all day?" People in the tropics are not usually fond of walking, but Ping Nam was "game" and made no further remarks about my method of locomotion. Some of the less frequented streets where there were no sun-screens overhead were very hot, but in the busy streets the sun was almost excluded by bamboo screens and by the walls of the houses on each side, so that the heat was not nearly so oppressive as might be expected in so terribly congested a city. Many of these streets were so narrow that a tall man could touch the houses on each side with outstretched hands.

On each side were stores of all sorts with open fronts with gay signs and with gayly colored goods on display, making a picture of wonderful fascination and everchanging interest.

Although we wandered for hour after hour through a perfect wilderness of such streets we saw not a single white person; it seemed as though I were the only Caucasian among the more than a million Asiatics, though this, of course, was not actually the case.

In the busier streets the crowds filled the space from wall to wall, so that when a string of coolies came along, bearing burdens in the usual manner from a stick over the shoulder and humming the cheerful though monotonous "get-out-of-the-way" tune, we had to step aside, close against or into some store to let them pass; and when an occasional chair came along it swept the entire traffic aside as a taxi might in a crowded alley of an American city.

In spite of the density of the population the people all seemed happy and contented; even the little children with faces covered with sores, as was often the case, appeared cheerful, and ran and played like other children.

In the stores the people could be watched at work of all kinds, from blacksmithy to finest filigree silver work inlaid with the tiny colored feathers of the brightly colored kingfisher; and from rough

carpenter work to the finest ivory carving for which the Chinese are famous. Of course the amount they pay for some of this work of extreme skill is ridiculously small, yet their living expenses are so small that they are doubtless in better circumstances than many of the workers in our larger cities.

The silk-weavers, working at their primitive looms in crowded rooms, excite one's sympathy more than most of the other workers, though they too seemed to be quite cheerful over their monotonous tasks.

Through these crowded streets we wandered, the sight of a



COURT OF AN ANCESTRAL TEMPLE IN CANTON.

white man and a camera exciting some interest, though not a great deal. Canton is said to have been the scene of more outrages of one sort or another than any other city in the world, but in spite of the fact that a revolution was supposed to be in progress we saw no signs of disorder. There were soldiers and armed policemen everywhere, and groups of people were frequently seen reading with interest proclamations posted at various places; what the nature of the proclamations was I was, of course, not able of myself to learn, and Ping Nam did not seem to care to enlighten me, possibly thinking he might scare me out of town and thus lose his job.

Occasionally stopping to watch some skilful artisan at work or to make some small purchase, we went from place to place visiting temples and other objects of especial interest. Some of these temples are centuries old, others are comparatively new. Some are comparatively plain, others like the modern Chun-ka-chi ancestral temple, which is said to have cost \$750,000 "gold," are wonderfully ornate, with highly colored carvings and cement mouldings. Others are of interest chiefly because of the hideous images they contain; one of these has hundreds of these idols and is hence known as the "Temple of the Five Hundred Genii."



ENTRANCE OF THE "TEMPLE OF THE FIVE HUNDRED GENII,"
CANTON.

After visiting several of these temples and the picturesque flowery pagoda we set out for the famous water clock that is said to have been built more than thirteen hundred years ago. It is now located in a dark little room in the top of an old house and is reached by a winding flight of outside stone stairs. It consists of four large jars of water, one above the other, so that the water may run slowly, at a definite rate, from the upper to the lower jars, and gradually raise, in the lowest jar, a float with an attached vertical scale that tells the time. In the window visible from the street

below signs are placed at intervals that tell the time indicated by the clock.

From the water clock we visited the ancient "City of the Dead," a small cemetery just outside one of the old city gates. These gates, some of which are large and imposing, pierce the dilapidated wall at intervals. The wall, about six miles in circumference, is surrounded by the remains of a moat, now chiefly useful as an addition to the picturesque landscape and as a breeding place for mosquitoes. The top of a city gate, reached by a winding stone stairway from



THE FLOWERY PAGODA, CANTON.

within, is a convenient place from which to view the densely crowded roofs of the adjacent part of the city.

From the "City of the Dead" we made for the fairly wide street along the river front; here we took rickshas, much to the relief of my tired guide, to say nothing of my tired self, and were soon at the Canton terminus of the K. & C. R. R. The station was thronged with people waiting for the Kowloon express.

The road-bed of the K. & C. R. R. is excellent, and the cars and engine, all of English make, made a very respectable appearance.

For nearly half of the distance to Kowloon I had my section

of the one first-class car to myself, as I was the only Caucasian on the train; then an English civil engineer and his family came aboard and shared my compartment for the rest of the way. The second- and third-class cars, of which there were half a dozen or more, were crowded with natives, with boxes and bundles of all sorts and sizes.



A CITY GATE AND PARTS OF THE WALL AND MOAT, AS SEEN FROM THE "CITY OF THE DEAD," CANTON.

After making the run of about ninety miles in something less than three hours we reached the ferry at Kowloon, and in a quarter of an hour more we were again in Hongkong, as different from Canton as though it were on the other side of the world instead of being only three hours away.

MISCELLANEOUS.

JOHANN JOACHIM WINCKELMANN.

Our frontispiece reproduces an etching of Angelika Kauffmann's portrait of the founder of scientific archeology and father of modern art criticism, whose lifework has been reviewed for *The Monist* of January 1918 by Prof.

Walter Woodburn Hyde. "Winckelmann's greatness as a scholar is indubitably attested by the scientific work which he left behind him, as well as by the influence which he exerted not only over his immediate contemporaries, but over the whole world of learning and culture since; his greatness as a man is no less clearly discernible in the infinite capacity which he possessed for overcoming the almost insuperable difficulties of his early career until he reached his life's ambition. He was of very lowly origin, the only son of a poor cobbler of Stendal in the mark of Brandenburg, in an environment whose ideals were out of harmony with his very nature, where he never saw a genuine monument of ancient art until he had passed his thirtieth year." By one of those incomprehensible acts of fate he was cut off in his fiftieth year by the murderous hand of an Italian thief.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

MOHAMMED AND ISLAM. By *Ignaz Goldziher, Ph. D.*, Translated from the German by *Kate Chambers Seelye, Ph. D.* New Haven: Yale University Press. Pp. 360. Price, \$3.00 net.

Professor Nöldeke, now over eighty years of age, still active in his work as professor of Semitics, has praised Prof. Ignaz Goldziher as a scholar "without rival in the domain of Mohammedan poetry and philosophy," and the venerable professor voices thereby the opinion of all prominent Semitists and Arabic scholars. Professor Goldziher, of the University of Budapest, is not only distinguished by an unusual knowledge of Arabic literature and of Orientalistic matters generally but also by good judgment and an extraordinary ability to present subjects of his specialty with great clearness and force. The English-speaking world should therefore be grateful for the translation of his latest book on *Mohammed and Islam* by Kate Chambers Seelye. It is a summary of previous works of his on Mohammed's religion and other studies of the history of Islam. Prof. Morris Jastrow, of Pennsylvania, in his introduction to Miss Seelye's translation, characterizes the book as follows:

"The general aim of the work may be set down as an endeavor to set forth in detail the factors involved in the development of the rather simple and relatively few ideas launched by Mohammed, into an *elaborate and complicated system of theology*, at once legal and speculative and at the same time practical. The part played in this development through military conquests of the followers of Mohammed during the first two or three generations after his death is shown by Professor Goldziher in the manner in which regulations for government and for religious practices are evolved, theoretically on the basis of the utterances in the Koran, but practically in response to the necessity of maintaining a strong hold on the followers of Islam, more particularly in the conquered lands outside of Arabia. A conflict ensued between the worldly minded elements concerned with problems of taxation and strengthening governmental control, and the pious adherents whose absorption in the tenets and ideals of Mohammed's teachings was as complete as it was sincere. Professor Goldziher shows how this conflict led to the rise of innumerable 'traditions' regarding Mohammed's sayings and doings, as the pattern to hold good for all times, and although these 'traditions,' growing into an extensive *Hadith* (i. e., 'tradition') literature, have turned out on a critical examination to be for the larger part entirely spurious, they have a value as showing the increasing em-

phasis laid on the Prophet's personality as the ultimate authority. It is to Professor Goldziher's researches that we owe largely the present view taken of the *Hadith* literature by Arabic scholars, and the place to be assigned to it in the development of both Mohammedan law and dogma. In this volume the learned author sums up his studies within this field, and adds much to reinforce his former conclusions of the manner in which this curious system of carrying back to a fictitious source the religious practices, political methods and theological doctrines arose with the growth of the little religious community, founded by Mohammed, into a world religion in close affiliation with widely extended political ambitions. Mohammedan law and Mohammedan dogmatism became a pivot around which the entire history of Islam has revolved down to our own days. The two chapters, in which this legal and dogmatic development of the religion are set forth, will give the reader entirely new points of view regarding the history of Islam, and prepare for the exposition that follows of ascetic and mystic movements within Mohammedanism and which still hold a strong sway in Mohammedan lands.

"In the fifth chapter Professor Goldziher touches upon the most intricate of all problems connected with Mohammedanism, the formation of the numerous sects in Islam. The difficult theme is set forth in a remarkably illuminating manner. The author picks out the salient features of the two chief divisions of Mohammedanism—Sunna (or Orthodoxy) and Shi'ism—and then sets forth in logical sequence the almost endless ramifications of Sunnite and Shi'ite doctrines. For all who would seek to penetrate to the core of the great religion which still sways the lives of a very large proportion of mankind, some two hundred millions, Professor Goldziher's volume will be an indispensable guide."

Sectarian zeal has played as important a part in the history of Islam as in Christianity, and the hatred of the sects has been perhaps more bitter than in any other religion. Concerning the efforts of having all Islam unified into pan-Islamism, Professor Goldziher concludes his valuable book as follows:

"The movement so much spoken of in the last decade, and which under the name of pan-Islamism is sometimes regarded as a danger, and at times a specter, has given rise in Mohammedan circles to the idea of a possible union for the sects. Apart from pan-Islamic tendencies, and as a consequence, rather, of modern cultural efforts, such suggestions of unity have also arisen in Russian Islamic provinces, concomitant with many indications of a healthy progress within the Islamic population. Sunnites take part in the service in Shi'itic mosques, and in Astrakan listen to the preacher who declares: 'There is in reality only one Islam: it was only the unfortunate influence of the philosophers and of Greek customs which brought about the schism through the controversies of the commentators of the time of the "Abbasides."' In the same service the Imam unites the praise of Hasan and Husein, the martyrs of the Shi'ites, with that of the caliphs whose names the genuine Shi'ite was wont to accompany with curses and with thoughts of fanatical hatred.

"On August 23, 1906, a Moslem congress in Kasan took up the question of the religious instruction for the young. The conclusion was reached that only one and the same text-book should be used for Sunnis and Shi'ites, and that the teachers might be chosen equally from either of the two sects. The common religious instruction of Shi'ite and Sunni youth has since then been practically carried out. Similar signs of an approach between the two opposing sects have manifested themselves still more recently within the domain of

social life in Mesopotamia with the approval of the Shi'itic authorities of Nejef.

"Such signs, however, are for the present isolated phenomena, and in view of other phenomena, it is still doubtful whether this marked tendency will extend to larger circles."

Concerning the start of Islam Professor Goldziher's views may be presented in the following paragraphs extracted from his first chapter on "Mohammed and Islam":

"The revelations which Mohammed announced on Meccan soil had, as yet, indicated no new religion. Religious feelings were aroused in a small group only. A conception of the world marked by the idea of resignation to God was fostered, but was, as yet, far removed from strict definition.

"The year 622 marks the first epoch in the history of Islam. Ridiculed by his countrymen and tribesmen, Mohammed flees to the northern city of Yathrib, whose people coming from a southern stock, showed themselves more receptive to religious influences. Here also, owing to the large colony of Jews, the ideas which Mohammed advanced were more familiar, or at least appeared less strange. Because of the help which people of this town gave to the prophet and his followers, whom they sheltered, Yathrib became Medina, "the City" (of the prophet), by which name it has ever since been known. Here Mohammed is still further inspired by the Holy Spirit, and the majority of the Suras of the Koran bear the mark of this new home. But even though, in his new relations, he does not cease to fulfil and practice his calling as a 'warner,' his message takes a new direction. It is no longer merely an eschatological visionary who speaks. The new relations make him a warrior, a conqueror, a statesman, an organizer of the new and constantly growing community. Islam, as an institution, here received its shape; here were sown the first seeds of its social, legal, and political regulation.

"It was really in Medina that Islam was born. The true features of its historical life were formed here. Whenever, therefore, the need of religious reconstruction appeared in Islam, its followers appealed to the Sunna (traditional custom) of that Medina in which Mohammed and his companions first began to bring into concrete form the laws regulating the relations of life, according to his conceptions of Islam.

"The Hijra (flight to Medina) accordingly is not only an important date in the history of Islam, because of the change it wrought in the outward fortunes of the community; marks, not only the time in which the little group of the prophet's followers, having found a secure haven, began to take aggressive measures and wage a war against the enemy, which in 630 resulted in the conquest of Mecca and subsequently in the subjection of Arabia; but it also marks an epoch in the religious formation of Islam.

"The Medina period brings about, moreover, a radical change in Mohammed's apperception of his own character. In Mecca Mohammed felt himself a prophet, and classed himself and his mission in the rank of the Biblical 'Messengers,' in order like them to warn and to save his fellow-men from destruction. In Medina, under changed external relations, his aims also take a different trend. In this environment, differing so greatly from that of Mecca, other views in regard to his calling as a prophet became prominent. He wishes now to be considered as having come to restore and reestablish the vitiated and misrepresented religion of Abraham. His announcements are

interwoven with Abrahamic traditions. He asserts that the worship he is instituting, although formerly organized by Abraham, had in the course of time been vitiated and heathenized. He wishes to reinstate in the Abrahamic sense the *dīn*, or religion of the one God, as he had come, above all, to legitimize (*musaddik*) what God had made known in former revelations."

K

THE NEW PURCHASE, or Seven and a Half Years in the Far West. By *Robert Carlton (Baynard Rush Hall)*. Edited by *James Albert Woodburn*. Princeton: University Press, 1916. Pp. 522. Price \$2.00 net.

The occasion of this reprint is the near approach of Indiana's centennial. The author spent more than seven years in the northern part of Indiana, known locally as the "New Purchase" with reference to the treaty made by the United States government with the Indians in 1818. He was the first professor of Indiana Seminary at Bloomington which was later to become the state university. A number of years after his return to the East in 1843 Mr. Hall wrote this large volume under a pseudonym, and it has been conceded to be the best history of early pioneer life in Indiana that is known. It is written almost in the form of fiction, but there is a key which identifies all the characters with their actual prototypes. Whether each incident as related actually occurred cannot be said with certainty, but the consensus of contemporary opinion seems to be that it is exceedingly true to life in every detail. At any rate its rich humor makes it captivating reading for a new generation to whom pioneer life means romance instead of stern reality, and if Dickens could have read it the experiences of Martin Chuzzlewit and Mark Tapley in the central west (which appeared at about the same time) would probably have been related with a more sympathetic touch. In the present volume Professor Hall's *New Purchase* appears redressed in a handsome and dignified form with a portrait of the author as a frontispiece.

P

SOME ASPECTS OF BRITISH RULE IN INDIA. By *Sudhindra Bose, Ph. D.*, Lecturer on Oriental Politics in the State University of Iowa. Issued by the University of Iowa in its bulletin *Studies in the Social Sciences*, Vol. V, No. 1, 1916. Pp. 149. Price 80 cents.

The book is divided into eight chapters to each of which are added many notes and references and at the end a bibliography. The chapters are on the following subjects: I. India before the advent of the English; II. India under the Moghals and the East India Company; III. The political constitution of India; IV. Judicial administration in India; V. Indian commerce and industry; VI. Agriculture and famine in India; VII. The place of India in the Empire; VIII. The Indian renaissance.

The strength of the work is its calm and scientific statement of facts supported by extensive reference to sources and verbatim citations from them in accord with the nature of a scientific university publication. In the preface the author says: "The usual point of view of the English rulers of India is that all is well in India. It may be frankly stated that this idea is generally accepted outside of India. In these pages the writer makes an attempt to present some aspects of British rule in India from the angle of the ruled. I may add that I am fully aware and duly appreciative of the many solid advan-

tages of English rule, and if I have not dwelt on those aspects of Indian administration it is because I have considered it more important just now to point out certain evils and suggest constructive reforms. The policy of repression which characterizes the modern régime is, I believe, doing much harm. For the sake of the Empire responsible English statesmanship should give earnest consideration to the betterment of conditions in India."

From this standpoint every chapter is written, showing in each case the many grievances of the ruled and their just demands.

As the book is not a political pamphlet in the common sense of the word, but belongs to a series of studies in the social sciences published by a university, and hence is of a calm scientific character, the work in my opinion is especially adapted to give interested readers a thorough and unbiased insight into the subject. I can assure any reader that in spite of its calm and scientific character the book is not in the least dry but makes very interesting reading. Especially interesting is the seventh chapter, showing the anomalous position of the East Indian, a British subject and himself of the Aryan race, in other parts of the British empire. Outside of India he is oppressed and treated with ignominy in spite of the fact that India is constantly referred to by many English writers as "our magnificent dependency," "the brightest jewel in the British crown," "the keystone of the arch" of British empire, as "necessary to our existence," and that without India Great Britain would be reduced to a "hopeless insularity."

A. KAMPMEIER.

PROJECTIVE ORNAMENT. By *Claude Bragdon*. Rochester: Manas Press, 1915.

It is not only professional decorators and artists who have realized the "esthetic poverty into which the modern world has fallen." The mere lay observer who uses his eyes cannot help remarking the sameness in the aspect of the architecture and ornament which confront society to-day. Mr. Bragdon has branched out in new directions to seek for new decorative motives and schemes in the world of mechanics and mathematics, for as he says, designers have hitherto been "reduced either to dig in the boneyard of dead civilizations, or to develop a purely personal style and method," which is often greatly to be deplored. Any one who turns through this little book with its geometrical designs will surely admit that Mr. Bragdon's search has been amply rewarded. One source whence he has drawn suggestions for new designs is the realm of numerical magic squares, for by following the numbers in consecutive order some very interesting designs are evolved. The carefully prepared design decorations and illustrations on almost every page are evidence of the practical character of the book, for they show many dignified possibilities for as yet unused varieties in design. The frontispiece is a design in color by Mr. Frederic L. Trautmann, and the Oriental tones in it help wonderfully to bring out Mr. Bragdon's idea of projective ornament.

P

We have just learned with deep regret of the death of Prof. L. H. Mills of the University of Oxford, England, the great authority on the religion of ancient Persia, at the advanced age of eighty-one. In our next number we shall bring a tribute to his labors which include several volumes published by the Open Court Publishing Company.

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THE GOSPEL OF BUDDHA

By

DR. PAUL CARUS

Pocket Edition. Illustrated. Cloth, \$1.00; flexible leather, \$1.50

This edition is a photographic reproduction of the *edition de luxe* which was printed in Leipsic in 1913 and ready for shipment in time to be caught by the embargo Great Britain put on all articles exported from Germany. Luckily two copies of the above edition escaped, and these were used to make the photographic reproduction of this latest edition. While the Buddhist Bible could not in any way be considered a contraband of war yet the publishers were forced to hold back many hundred orders for the book on account of orders in council of Great Britain.

When the book was first published His Majesty, the King of Siam, sent the following communication through his private secretary:

"Dear Sir: I am commanded by His Most Gracious Majesty, the King of Siam, to acknowledge, with many thanks, the receipt of your letter and the book, *The Gospel of Buddha*, which he esteems very much; and he expresses his sincerest thanks for the very hard and difficult task of compilation you have considerably undertaken in the interest of our religion. I avail myself of this favorable opportunity to wish the book every success."

His Royal Highness, Prince Chandradat Chudhadharn, official delegate of Siamese Buddhism to the Chicago Parliament of Religions, writes:

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The book has been introduced as a reader in private Buddhist schools of Ceylon. Mrs. Marie H. Higgins, Principal of the Musaeus School and Orphanage for Buddhist Girls, Cinnamon Gardens, Ceylon, writes as follows:

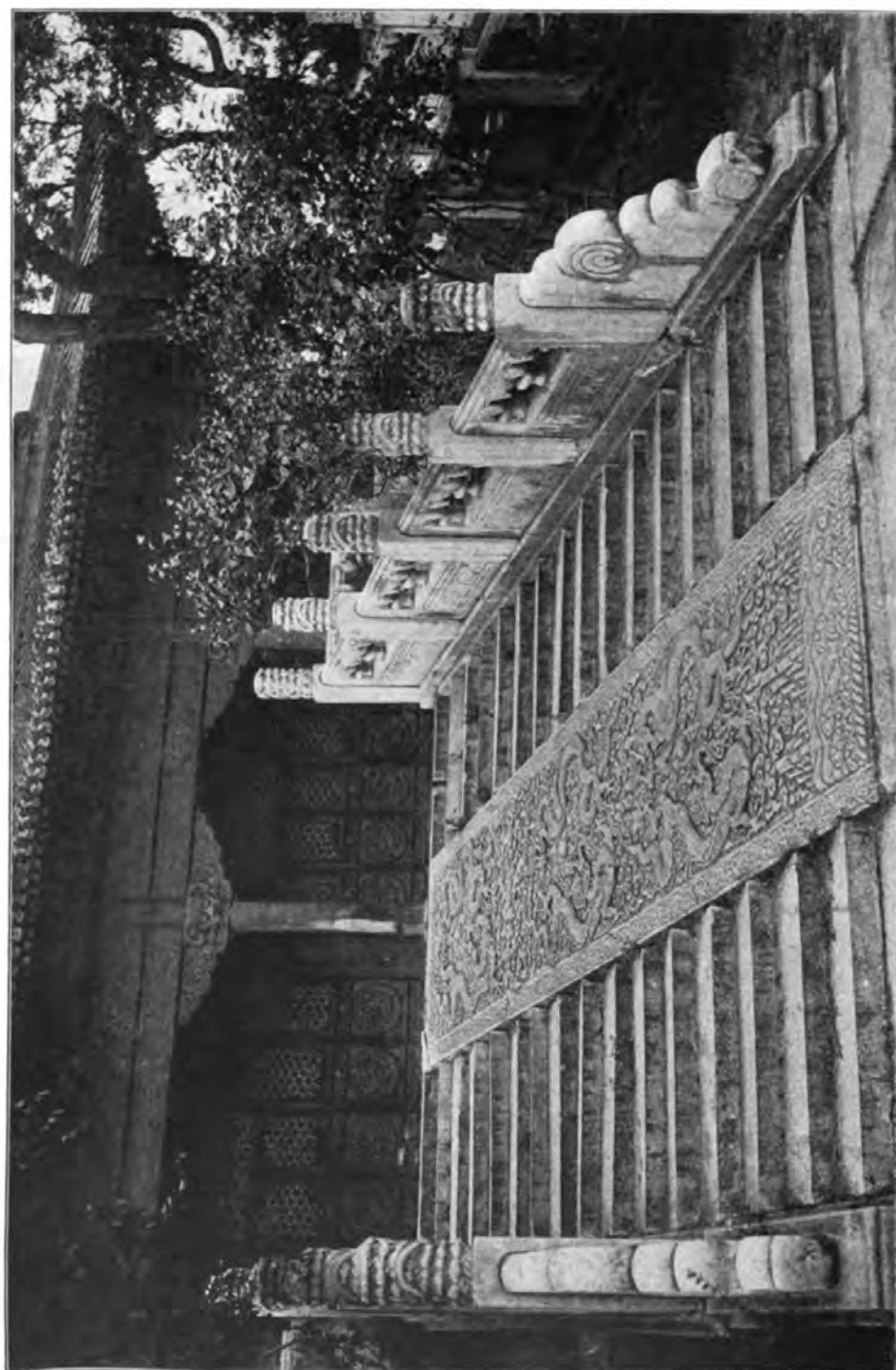
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VOL. XXXII (No. 3)

MARCH, 1918

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VOLTAIRE AND ENGLISH LIBERTY.

BY FLORENCE DONNELL WHITE.

THE story of past relations between England and France is varied and significant. In the light of present events, it is particularly interesting to recall how large a part was played by English influence in the period which was to produce that gigantic struggle for liberty, the French Revolution. For Frenchman of the early eighteenth century England was, intellectually, an undiscovered country. It was Voltaire, in whose character modesty had small part, who claimed the glory of having made known to his fellow-citizens the land across the channel. And indeed it would be difficult to overestimate the importance of the years Voltaire spent in England while still a young man, and the influence of his published impressions of English institutions, philosophy, science and literature, the famous *Lettres anglaises* or *Lettres philosophiques*.

Some four years ago an eminent French scholar, now at the front, spoke of a letter of Voltaire's, written from a town near London, as containing the warmest praise of England that has ever come from the pen of a Frenchman.¹ Throughout his long life Voltaire retained a vital interest in things English although he never revisited English shores. He had, it is true, gone to the country under circumstances calculated to give him a somewhat exaggerated idea of the liberty and the manifold privileges enjoyed by its citizens. He had thrown himself upon their hospitality as an outcast from Paris. He had had a trivial quarrel with a nobleman, had been beaten by hirelings of his adversary and had, to his surprise, been deserted by the persons of rank who had previously been his warmest friends and admirers. In a contemporary journal we read: "The poor beaten Voltaire shows himself as often as possible at court

¹ Lucien Foulet, *Correspondance de Voltaire (1726-1729)*, Paris, 1913, p. xii.

and in the city, but no one pities him and those people he believed to be his friends have turned their backs on him.”² Government authorities had, as a simple way of avoiding further difficulties, first imprisoned and then exiled him. The bourgeois poet was in a position to feel keenly the injustice of the French social order and the lack of liberty prevailing in his own country.

He chose England as the place of his exile partly because he wished to publish there his epic poem, the *Henriade*, which he had not been allowed to bring out in Paris. He had had this idea in mind for some time. In October, 1725, he had written King George I of England: “I have spoken in my work the *Henriade* with liberty and truth. You, Sire, are the protector of both liberty and truth; and I dare flatter myself that you will grant me your royal protection that I may have printed in your kingdom a work which is sure to interest you since it is a eulogy of virtue. It is in order to learn to depict virtue better that I am eagerly seeking the honor of coming to London to present to you the profound respect and the gratitude with which I have the honor of being, Sire, your majesty’s very humble, very obedient and very grateful Servant.”

Possessed of the idea that England was the land of freedom, and smarting from his recent experiences in France, Voltaire crossed the Channel in May, 1726. Always a keen observer, with sharp intellectual curiosity, he was particularly in the frame of mind to draw comparisons between France and England and to appreciate to the utmost liberty in any form. The extent of this appreciation becomes evident when we bring together from various sources, some of which have only recently become accessible, passages in which Voltaire expressed, either while he was still on English soil or shortly after, his impressions of England.

Concerning the early months of his residence there we know little beyond the fact that in the summer he made a secret and hasty trip back to Paris and upon his return established himself at Wandsworth, a village not far from London, in the home of an English merchant whom he had known in France. There he spent two or three months in retirement, leading, to quote his own words, “an obscure and charming life. . . . without going to London, and quite given over to the pleasures of indolence and of friendship,”—“the bitterness” of his life soothed, he says, by “the true and generous affection of this man.”³ There he read English literature, Shake-

² Translated from Foulet, *Corr.*, p. 219.

³ Cf. Foulet, *Corr.*, pp. 59-60.

spere, Addison, Pope, Swift and the like. The story of his varying opinions regarding Shakespeare is a long and complicated one—puzzled astonishment gave way to admiration, to be followed in its turn by violent and lasting dislike. A few years after his return to France, he spoke of him with real appreciation. He had at first, he said, been unable to understand why such absurd dramatic monstrosities as Shakespeare's plays should be more popular than any others in London play-houses. He had, however, come to realize that the English were right and that the marvelous beauties of Shakespeare's dramas were the more remarkable because of their very defects, as a bright light shines brighter in a dark night. In his essay on epic poetry, written while he was in England, Voltaire paid Addison the compliment of borrowing largely from the *Spectator*, without acknowledgment, and spoke of him, moreover, as "the best Critic as well as the best Writer of his Age." Again, soon after his arrival in England, with his easy use of superlatives, he wrote a friend regarding "Mr. Pope, the best poet of England and at present of all the world. I hope," he adds, "you are acquainted enough with the English tongue to be sensible of all the charms of his works. For my part, I look on his poem call'd the *Essay upon criticism* as superior to the *Art of poetry* of Horace; and his *Rape of the lock, la boucle de cheveux*, [that is a comical one⁴], is in my opinion above the *Lutrin* of Despreaux; I never saw so amiable an imagination, so gentle graces, so great variety, so much wit, and so refined knowledge of the world as in this little performance." Swift he considered the English Rabelais, and he thoroughly enjoyed his work. At the end of the year 1727 he wrote Swift: "Pray forgive an admirer of you who owes to your writings the love he bears to your language." To the study of this language Voltaire applied himself with assiduity. It would seem, however, that he did not speak it easily, for he writes a friend early in 1727: "Remember that there is no other way to get the true English pronuntiation than to come over into England," and at the end of that year refers to English as a language "which he cannot pronounce at all and which he hardly understands in conversation." Light is thrown on one of the means he chose for improving his English in a note to be found in the *General History of the Stage* written by Chetwood of the Drury Lane Theater. "The noted author about twenty years past resided in London," we read. "His acquaintance with the *Laureat* brought him frequently to the theatre where (he confess'd) he improved in the English Orthography more in a week

⁴ The brackets are Voltaire's.

than he should otherwise have done by labour'd study in a month. I furnished him every evening with the play of the night which he took with him into the Orchestra (his accustomed seat). In four or five months he not only conversed in elegant English but wrote it with exact propriety."⁵

In October or November, 1726, Voltaire moved to London, and early in the year 1727 he was presented at the court of George I. He remained in England, in London and at various country houses, somewhat over two years.⁶

In a long letter or sketch probably written in 1728 and evidently intended as an introduction to his *Lettres philosophiques* but not published until after his death, Voltaire gives a highly colored account of his experiences on landing in England. This account was so clearly written for picturesque effect that it has little serious value, but it is not without spice and interest. Voltaire first speaks of the difficulties experienced by a foreigner who wishes to give an idea of the country he is visiting and quotes, in that connection, from the work of an Englishman named Dennis who, having spent two weeks in France, undertook to describe that nation and began by saying: "I am going to give you a good and impartial description of the French people and, to begin with, I will tell you that I hate them with a mortal hatred."⁷ Voltaire goes on to say that a French ambassador in England, quite unlike an English ambassador in France, usually does not know a word of English, has not the slightest notion of the works written in that tongue and therefore cannot give his countrymen any accurate information regarding the country. Despite all the difficulties, one might hope to learn somewhat more, he says, from a Frenchman visiting England as a private citizen who—and here he seems to outline his own course of procedure while in the country—"had sufficient leisure and obstinacy to learn to speak English, who talked freely with Whigs and Tories, who dined with a Bishop and supped with a Quaker, went Saturday to the Synagogue and Sunday to Saint Paul's, heard a sermon in the morning and saw a comedy after dinner, who went from the court to the exchange and above all was not in the least rebuffed by the coldness, the scornful and icy manner which English ladies assume in the beginning of an acquaintance and which some of them never lay aside." "When I landed near London," he con-

⁵ Page 46, note.

⁶ Cf. Foulet, *Corr.*, pp. 270 ff.

⁷ These extracts as well as those quoted later from the *Lettres philosophiques* are translated from Lanson's edition.

tinues, "it was in the middle of the spring, the sky was as cloudless as it is on the loveliest days in the south of France, there was a gentle and fresh west wind which made all nature serene and the people joyful." Certain curious festivities he witnessed on his arrival called to his mind the Olympian games, but, he adds: "the beauty of the Thames, the great numbers of vessels, the vast size of the city of London soon made me blush at having dared to compare Elis to England." Certain court ladies whom he met that evening surprised him, for "they had not at all the lively manner of people who have been enjoying themselves. They were stiff and cold, they drank tea, made a great noise with their fans and didn't say a word or else talked all at once slandering their neighbors. Some were playing cards and others reading papers." The morning after his arrival he met, in an ill-kept coffee-house, some of the gentlemen he had seen the day before and found them singularly solemn and uncommunicative. He tried to recall whether he could have offended them by hinting that French cooks were better than English, that Paris was a pleasanter city than London, that the time passed more agreeably at Versailles than at Saint James or by some other equally insulting remark. Finally he asked why they were all so sad and some one explained to him sullenly that the wind was blowing from the east. At that very moment a messenger ran in, bringing the news that a beautiful young girl, a friend of them all, had just cut her throat (reference is often made in French literature to the supposed frequency of suicide in England). The news was received with perfect calm. Voltaire asked why so shocking a thing should have occurred and was simply told, by way of explanation, that an east wind was blowing. He goes on to say: "I left the coffee-house at once and went to the court, possessed of that fine notion that a court is always gay. Everything there was sad and mournful, even the ladies in waiting. They were talking in melancholy fashion of the east wind. I was tempted to laugh but the climate was already having its effect on me and I was astonished to find I could not laugh. A famous court physician to whom I confided my surprise told me that there was nothing astonishing in that, that I would find things far worse in November and March; that then people hanged themselves by the dozen, that nearly everybody was really ill then and that a profound melancholy lay over the whole nation, 'for that' he said, 'is when the east wind blows most constantly. That wind is the ruin of our island. Even the animals suffer from it and all seem cast down. The men who are robust enough to keep in good health in that accursed weather

at least lose their good temper. Every one looks severe then and is capable of doing almost any desperate act. It was, indeed, when an east wind was blowing that Charles I was beheaded and, James II dethroned. . . . If you have some favor to ask at court,' he added in a whisper, 'be sure to wait till the wind blows from the west or the south.' " Thus does a Frenchman accuse the English of being changeable! Again in the same letter, Voltaire speaks of talking with a boatman on the Thames who proudly boasted of the liberty prevailing in his country and swore by high Heaven that he would rather be a boatman on the Thames than an archbishop in France. The next day he saw the same man in prison because of the law forcing sailors to serve on his majesty's ships—a law which, Voltaire tells us, was repealed shortly after. Instead of rejoicing, as did a fellow Frenchman who was with him, that the English, who so loudly reproach the French with their servitude, were sometimes slaves themselves, Voltaire experienced, he would have us believe, a more humane feeling. He was distressed that there was not more liberty on earth. The underlying idea of this letter—the contradictions to be found in the character of this changeable English nation—finds definite expression in the last sentence: "The Spanish say of a man, he was brave yesterday. That is about the way one should judge nations and especially as regards the English nation one ought to say, 'That is what they were like that particular year or that month.' "

More serious in tone and far more significant are the scattered passages to be found in a note-book of Voltaire's, in his private letters, in his *Essay on Epic Poetry* and in the *Lettres philosophiques*, passages which bear upon England, particularly English tolerance and English liberty in matters social and intellectual and which often contrast, openly or by implication, France and England. The contents of the small note-book were published for the first time and without comment in the *English Review* of February, 1914. From dates contained in it, it appears that these notes were, in part at least, jotted down in the early months of Voltaire's stay in England, the summer of 1726. Wishing to become thoroughly familiar with the English language, Voltaire began at once the practice of writing it. The result in this little book is curious but for the most part intelligible. Some of the entries may be quoted in the order in which they chance to occur. "England is meeting of all religions, as the royal exchange is the rendez-vous of all foreigners. . . . Theatre in England is boundless. . . . English tongue, barren and barbarous in its origin is now plentiful and sweet, like

a garden full of exotic plants. In England every body is public spirited. In France every body is concerned in his own interest only. The English is full of taunts, French all in manners, compliments, sweet words, and curious of engaging outside, overflowing in words, obsequious with pride, and very much self concerned under the appearance of a pleasant modesty. The English is sparing of words, openly proud and unconcerned he gives the most quick birth he can to his taunts, for fear of losing his time. . . . We arrive to the same work by different ways, a chartusian friar kneels and prostrates himself all along before me, a quaker speaks to me always covered, both do so to follow the gospel, in the most rigorous sense. . . . Malborough despised French because he had conquered 'em, Law despised 'em also because he had cheated them. . . . Seldom brothers agree together, 'tis for this reason sovereigns of Europe are styled brothers to each other. they pursue, they deceive, they betray, they hate one another like true brothers, and after having fought with the utmost fury, and having laid waste respectively their kingdoms, they take a solemn mourning upon the death of one of another. . . . They say Cromwell was nothing less than an enthusiast, he was so far from being a fanatic that he ruled all who were so. . . . A man was burnt alive in Paris for saying he was the Pope's son. . . . M. Lock's reasonableness of christian religion is really a new religion. One of the french prophets having boasted that at any appointed day, he would raise a dead body from his grave, the government sent guards to the place appointed to keep off the rabble, and to keep all things in quiet that the play could be acted without disturbance. . . . A king in England a necessary thing to preserve the spirit of liberty, as a post to a fence to exert himself."

The correspondence of Voltaire belonging to the period of his residence in England may be expected to throw light on his opinion of the people among whom he was living. In a French letter dated August 12, 1726, and addressed to his intimate friend, Thiériot, Voltaire speaks of England as a country where there are no distinctions between men but those of merit, a country where people think freely and nobly without being restrained by any servile fear. "If I followed my inclination," he says, "I should establish myself in that country with the sole idea of learning to think."⁸ In the letter of October 26, 1726, Voltaire gives his correspondent (Thiériot, no doubt,) details of what he calls "his for ever cursed fortune," although he also speaks of "my star that among all its

⁸ All extracts from Voltaire's letters are quoted or translated from Foulet's edition.

direful influences pours allways on me some kind refreshment" and expresses appreciation of the great goodness of his English friends. Debating as to whether he shall try, for publishing his epic, "the way of subscriptions by the favour of the court," Voltaire voices the sentiments which have been characterized as the warmest praise a Frenchman ever gave to England. "I am weary of courts, my Thiriot," he writes, "all that is king or belongs to a king, frights my republican philosophy, I won't drink the least draught of slavery in the land of liberty. . . . I fear, I hope nothing from your country [i. e., France]. All that I wish for, is to see you one day in London. I am entertaining myself with this pleasant hope; if it is but a dream, let me enjoy it, don't undeceive me, let me believe I shall have the pleasure to see you in London, [drawing up]⁹ the strong spirit of this unaccountable nation; you will translate their thoughts better when you live among em. You will see a nation fond of their liberty, learned, witty, despising life and death, a nation of philosophers; not but that there are some fools in England, every country has its madmen, it may be French folly is pleasanter than English madness, but by God English wisdom and English honesty is above yours. One day I will acquaint you with the character of this strange people, but tis time to put an end to my English talkativeness." If Voltaire is somewhat more cautious in later letters from England, it is no doubt because, when the first heat of his angry resentment is past, he realizes in what serious difficulties he would be involved if such sentiments from his pen fell into the hands of French government officials. Indeed, at one time he tells Thiériot that in writing him he uses English as a sort of cypher in order that he may not be "understood by many over-curious people." Other and later letters, if usually somewhat more restrained, contain passages which are full of interest. February 13, 1727, Voltaire tells his friend of changes which he has made in the *Henriade*. At a certain point in the poem as it was to appear in London and thereafter, he has added a flattering description of England, including some lines on the English government. From this passage and from the explanatory note which Voltaire appended after his return to France, it is evident that he was conversant with the principles underlying the English constitution, although he has been accused of showing no keen interest in it.¹⁰ In an English letter to Thiériot written in March of the same year there occurs a passage, interesting in that it shows Voltaire could

⁹ The brackets are Voltaire's.

¹⁰ Cf. Foulet, *Corr.*, p. 84, n. 2.

criticise English literature adversely. "It was," he says, "indeed a very hard task for me to find that damn'd book which under the title of *Improvement of Humane Reason* is an example of nonsense from one end to the other, and which besides is a tedious nonsense and consequently very distasteful to the French nation who dislikes madness itself when madness is languishing and flat. The book is scarce, because it is bad, it being the fate of all the wretch'd books never to be printed again. So I spent almost a fortnight in the search of it till at last I had the misfortune to find it." In the English dedicatory letter to the Queen of England, published in the first London edition of the *Henriade* in 1728, occur the sentences: "Your Majesty will find in this book, bold impartial truths, morality unstained with superstition, a spirit of liberty, equally abhorrent of rebellion and of tyranny, the rights of kings always asserted and those of mankind never laid aside. The same spirit in which it is written, gave me the confidence to offer it to the virtuous consort of a king who among so many crowned heads enjoys almost alone, the inestimable honour of ruling a free nation, a king who makes his power consist in being beloved, and his glory in being just." Writing in English in April, 1728, to an unknown correspondent regarding the essays which he himself had recently published in London, Voltaire says: "But I dare not send any thing of that kind into France before I have settled my affairs in that country. . . . I think I am not to let the French court know that I think and write like a free Englishman. I heartily wish to see you and my friends, but I had rather to see them in England than in France. You, who are a perfect Briton, you should cross the Channel and come to us. I assure you again that a man of your temper would not dislike a country where one obeys to the laws only and to one's whims. Reason is free here and walks her own way. Hypochondriacs especially are welcome. No manner of living appears strange. We have men who walk six miles a day for their health, feed upon roots, never taste flesh, wear a coat in winter thinner than your ladies do in the hottest days: all this is accounted a particular reason but taxed with folly by nobody." Again in the same month, with reference to the ban laid upon the *Henriade* in France, Voltaire writes Thiériot: "I have already. . . . intreated him [the lieutenant of police in France] to seize all the copies which might steal into France till I have leave from the government to publish the book. I have assured him I would never send into France any thing without the consent of the ministry." In the same letter he writes regarding his essay published in Eng-

lish: "That little pamphlet could not succeed in France without being dressed in quite another manner. . . . The style besides is after the English fashion; so many similies, so many things which appear but easy and familiar here would seem too low to your wits in Paris." In June he returns to the subject of the *Henriade*. "Now I want to know when and where I could print secretly the *Henriade*? It must be in France, in some country town. I question whether Rouen is a proper place; for methinks the bookish inquisition is so rigorous that it has frightened all the book-sellers in those parts."

Writing in July to Dr. Towne who proposes translating the *Henriade* into English, Voltaire says: "You do me the greatest honour I could ever boast of, in bestowing an Englis dress upon my French child. I receive the best reward of all my labours if you go on in the generous design of translating my undeserving work into a language which gives life and strength to all the subjects it touches. The *Henriade* has at least in itself a spirit of liberty which is not very common in France; the language of a free nation as yours is the only one that can vigorously express what I have but faintly drawn in my native tongue: the work will grow under your hands worthy of the British nation, and that tree transplanted in your soil and grafted by you will bear a new and better sort of fruit." In August he speaks of a French version he is making of his English essay as a very curious work for those who, he says, "although born in France, wish to have some idea of the taste of other nations." Again apropos of the *Henriade* he writes in French: "You tell me that bigots, people who cannot be trusted or have very little sense, have found fault with me because I have dared. . . . represent God as a being full of goodness and indulgent as regards the follies of mankind. Those rascallions may make God a tyrant as much as they please; I shall none the less consider him as good and wise as those gentlemen are idiotic and wicked."

We may now turn from Voltaire's private letters to his *Essay on Epic Poetry*. Voltaire's definite purpose in going to England and his chief interest while there was the publication in London of the *Henriade*. The first London edition of the poem dates from the month of March, 1728. Near the end of the preceding year, as a clever piece of advertising, Voltaire had published in London a small book containing two essays written in English, the first of which, the *Essay upon the Civil Wars in France*, gave the historical setting of the *Henriade*, while the second, the *Essay on Epic Poetry*, treated in a fashion flattering to the English the class of poetry to which the *Henriade* belonged. The second of these essays was

soon translated into French and published in Paris without the knowledge of Voltaire, who himself published a fundamentally revised French version of it several years later. The English version has been until recently very rare.

This essay, as it appeared in English, contained various comparisons between France and England. A few sentences detach themselves with particular clearness, as expressing the contrast between liberty and tolerance on the one hand, lack of liberty and intolerance on the other. These sentences were either omitted or entirely altered by the French translator and again by Voltaire in his own French version of the essay. They are as follows. "I am apt to think that every Language has its own particular Genius, flowing chiefly from the Genius of the Nation, and partly from its own Nature. On the one Side, more or less Liberty in the Government, and in Religion. . . all these Means have a great Share in determining the Nature of a Language, in making it extensive or stinted, strong or weak, sublime or low. . . . The Force of that Idiom [English] is wonderfully heighten'd by the Nature of the Government, which allows the *English* to speak in Publick, and by the Liberty of Conscience, which makes them more conversant in the Scripture. . . . To this happy Freedom, that the *British* Nation enjoys in every thing, are owing many excellent Versions of the ancient Poets. . . . For it is with our Heroick Poetry, as with our Trade, we come up to the *English* in neither, for want of being a free Nation. Slavery is generally an Obstacle to Abundance. . . . We have discarded a Multitude of old energetic Expressions, the Loss of which has weakened the Stock of the *French* Tongue, as the compelling our Protestants away [the allusion is, of course, to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes] hath thinned the Nation. The *English* have naturalized many of our antiquated Words, as they have done our Countrymen, and so they have increased their Language, as well as their People, at our Expence." In the course of this essay Voltaire stresses the advantage one nation may derive from a tolerant acquaintance with the customs and the ideas of others. He recommends to Frenchmen the study of English, saying: "I look upon the *English* Language as a learned one, which deserves to be the Object of our Application in *France*, as the *French* Tongue is thought a kind of Accomplishment in *England*." This sentence is doubly interesting in light of the scorn previously felt in France for the English language, and it is significant to connect with it references in Voltaire's correspondence to friends of his who had undertaken the study of English since he had been

in England as well as the testimony of certain contemporaries. For example, in the preface of his translation of Swift's *Gulliver*, the Abbé Desfontaines speaks in 1727 of the English language "which is beginning to be fashionable in Paris and which numerous distinguished and worthy persons have recently learned."

It remains for us to consider the work in which Voltaire summed up his various impressions of England and which, under the title *Lettres philosophiques*, was published in 1734 in Amsterdam, the necessary official permission for publishing it in Paris having naturally enough been refused. It had already appeared in an English translation in London in 1733. This work, more commonly known as *Lettres anglaises*, and recognized as a powerful factor in the intellectual life of the eighteenth century, is familiar to many more people than the material we have considered up to this point and differs from that material also in that it found its way immediately to the French public. It contained somewhat informal essays in which the author discussed various aspects of English life and English thought, religion, politics, philosophy, science and literature. It has been called the first bomb thrown against the old régime in France. Observations concerning England are made to serve as so many attacks, direct or indirect, upon the very structure of French society.

A few quotations will serve to show the harmony between the opinions Voltaire expresses in the *Lettres philosophiques* and those we have already brought together from other and less familiar sources. "This is the country of sects. An Englishman, as a free man, goes to Heaven by whatever road he chooses.... The fruit of the wars in England has been liberty. The English nation is the only one on earth which has succeeded in controlling the power of its kings by resisting them and which, through constant effort, has finally established that wise sort of government in which the ruler, all-powerful so far as doing good is concerned, finds his hands tied if he wishes to do evil, in which the nobles are great without being insolent and without having vassals, and the common people share in the government without causing any confusion.... This country is not only jealous of its own liberty, it is jealous of that of others.... The civil wars in France have been longer, more cruel and more prolific of crime than those in England, but of all those civil wars not one has had a wise liberty as a goal.... The common people, the most numerous and even the most virtuous and consequently the most respectable part of humanity.... The strength of these petty brigands was broken in France by the

legitimate power of our kings, in England by the legitimate power of the kings and of the people. . . . A man because he is noble or a priest is by no means exempt from paying certain taxes here. . . . The peasant's feet are not bruised with wooden shoes, he eats white bread, he is well-dressed, he doesn't hesitate to increase the amount of his live-stock or to put tiles on his roof for fear his taxes will be raised the following year. . . . Commerce which has enriched English citizens has helped make them free and that very freedom has increased commerce in its turn, thence the greatness of the state. In France any one who wishes may be a marquis and any one who comes to Paris from the most remote corner of a province with money to spend and a name in *ac* or *ille* may talk about "a man like me, a man of my stamp," and thoroughly despise a merchant; the merchant himself hears his profession so often spoken of with scorn that he is foolish enough to blush for it; nevertheless I do not know which is the more useful to a state, a well-powdered nobleman who knows precisely at what hour the king gets up and goes to bed and who assumes grand airs playing the role of slave in the ante-chamber of a minister, or a merchant who enriches his country, gives from his office orders to Surat and Cairo and contributes to the happiness of the world. . . . [Newton's] great good fortune was not only to be born in a free country. . . . The poetical genius of the English is thus far like a bushy tree, planted by nature, sending out hap-hazard a thousand branches and growing irregular and powerful. It dies if you try to force its nature and prune it after the manner of trees in Marly garden. . . . In England people in general think and letters are more honored than in France. This advantage is a necessary consequence of the form of their government. It seems to me that the English have. . . . philosophers who should be the teachers of mankind. . . . Addison in France would have belonged to some academy and might have obtained, through the influence of some woman a pension of twelve hundred *livres*. In England he was Secretary of State."

THE SOCIAL BASES OF JUDAISM.

BY H. OSCHEROWITZ.

THE history of Israel offers a picture of manifold social development. When the Jewish tribes had settled in Canaan, Israel had reached the stage of social unity. At that time there existed no single social need. Conditions harmful to the life of a people

had not yet developed. The early position of the Jews gave rise to but few social conflicts. The Jews could boast of no world empire, as could the Egyptians and Babylonians; there were no oppressed classes in Israel, no rulers who could enjoy the luxuries produced by the toil of their slaves.

The foundations of the social life in Israel were well laid. The reverence which was shown to the elders and the ancestors was at the bottom of Jewish national power. Thus we can see in ancient Israel a natural political unity, resting upon ties of blood. While all of the modern states in their present form are overwhelmingly a product of historical occurrences, of migration and of conquests, Israel alone can boast of the natural ties of common descent which hold her people intact. The original ties of blood-relationship taken in and by themselves do not justify Israel's existence as a nation, for in the Book of Genesis itself we find the story of the common ancestry of all peoples and of all nations of the earth.

National existence is founded primarily on the free and supreme will of God. The Jewish state also has absorbed the principle of nationality, the natural laws of state formation into its basis of existence. The Jew, however, does not regard nature in itself, but the supernatural divine will as the main factor in the formation of his nation.

Israel is not a state resting upon a voluntary contract relationship between its members, but rather an organism created by a divine being. The Jews do not compose their nation through their collective voluntary agreement, but they are the component parts of an organism without which they as Jews are non-existent. If Israel is an organism created by divine power, then there must be certain intervening parts combining the individual elements into a single entity. These intermediaries in themselves must consequently be living organisms with individual existence. We may look upon the state as a body composed of separate component parts in the form of tribes, of families or homes.

The tribes in particular owned individualities whose existence was dear to the hearts of the entire people (Judges xxi. 6-17), and the possession of which was sacred to them (Judges xxi. 3). The tribes are in turn separable into families. Outside of this classification we have to reckon with another category, the several houses of ancient lineage composed of several degrees of kinship, called *Mischpachaus* or *Alaphim*. These patriarchal houses or families in turn do not consist of separate atoms in any peculiar order, but may be said to comprise the separate families, in the narrow sense of the

term. The family, again, is not a voluntary union, but rests ultimately upon matrimony as its basis. Marriage ties, however, are regarded as natural and moral bonds woven by God in his divine providence. Here we are confronted by the same moral element which even in modern society is recognized as a wholesome foundation of the political organism. In a concentric mode of life a social unity inevitably arises. The social organism is divisible into individual integral parts. This decomposition in the case of ancient Israel was not based upon an external, politically practical theory, but proceeded along an internal natural order. Let us then turn to the narrower social question. Besides these natural demarcations in ancient Israel were there not others of an artificial character? Were there further social differentiations within the above-mentioned categories? These questions can only be answered by an unconditional "No."

Every man in Israel occupied the same social position as his fellow-man. There were no hereditary family privileges and distinctions, and likewise no professional class enjoyed social advantages superior to those of all the rest. Israel's political and social order was wholesome throughout, comprising all the members of society and suppressing all revolutionary tendencies in the embryo. In this order, personal liberty and dignity were guaranteed by the state to every individual. Israel regards itself as a people of brethren. Liberty, equality and fraternity, with a retention of the natural differentiation and excluding all unnatural leveling or democratization that is the condition whose creation and perpetuation was the goal of the Old Testament law.

There existed in Israel not even the least gradation of rank particularly with reference to the rights and duties of citizenship. We know here of no division of the people into nobles and common people, patricians and plebeians. Even the power which goes hand in hand with the right of private property was from the very beginning carefully guarded and held in check by means of an adequate legal code. In order to prevent the growth in property rights of a few individual families it was enacted that the "sale of real property" should consist of a lease for a maximum period of forty-nine years, and that after the term fixed by the lease had expired the original owner should again come into absolute possession of his property; and that the sum paid on the account should be accounted as rent for the duration of the lease. Only the Eternal possessed an absolute title to the property and absolute control over the affairs of the state in Israel. Throughout the entire evolution of Jewish

law-making runs the principle, that the land is the common heritage of all the people; the belief that all were entitled to utilize this gift of the Almighty. On this point the Scriptures are unmistakable: "The land shall not be sold for ever: for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me" (Leviticus xxv. 23).

In the year of the Jubilee all returned to the land which formerly was possessed by their families.

"And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof; it shall be a Jubilee unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family" (Leviticus xxv. 10). These are the precepts as laid down in the law of Moses.

A sale of the land and unconditional transfer of real estate, using these terms in the modern sense, was thus absolutely forbidden. Every sale of land was in its very essence only a sale of the products of the land for a term extending to the next Jubilee year. The price was of course proportionate to the number of years remaining between the year of the sale and the return of the Jubilee, when all obligations hitherto incurred were automatically invalidated.

Even within the Jubilee period the vender reserved for himself the right to regain possession of his land. When any one in his family regained the means to redeem the land thus sold, he could exercise that privilege. In that case the buyer of the land had to be content with the refund of the purchasing price paid from which could be deducted the full value of the harvest which the possessor had reaped during the period of his possession. But, on the other hand, in order to guard the legitimate interests of the purchaser, the redemption of the land could not take place until the latter had reaped two full harvests.

This statute of the Mosaic law is expressed in these words: "And in all the land of your possession ye shall grant a redemption for the land. If thy brother be waxen poor, and hath sold away some of his possession, and if any of his kin come to redeem it, then shall he redeem that which his brother sold. And if the man have none to redeem it, and himself be able to redeem it, then let him count the years of the sale thereof, and restore the surplus unto the man to whom he sold it, that he may return unto his possession" (Leviticus xxv. 24-28).

The poor laws of Israel show in every respect the tendency to arouse and to cultivate even in the poor a feeling of self-respect and individual liberty, and to guard these virtues from the depressing and paralyzing effect of humility and slavish abnegation. Since the

feeling of inferiority almost inevitably develops in a society in which one class is economically dependent upon another, and since those unfortunates who had to sell their property anticipated a return to their lands during the next Jubilee year, it was essential to cultivate this positive self-feeling. This made Israel a society of free men instead of slaves. Those parts of the harvest, therefore, which were set aside for the poor did not bear the stamp of alms, but were symbolical of a legitimate right of the poor.

In order to make it impossible for shiftlessness and squandrous habits on the part of an individual to condemn his family to eternal poverty, it was decreed that even those lands which had been given to others as gifts should return to the original owner in the year of the Jubilee.

Of great social and economic significance was also the institution of the "Sabbath Year," which recurred every seven years. During that year it was forbidden to sow the fields or to prune the vineyard (Leviticus xxv. 3-7). "That which groweth of its own accord of thy harvest thou shalt not reap, neither gather the grapes of thy vine undressed: for it is a year of rest unto the land. And the Sabbath of the land shall be meat for you; for thee, and for thy servant, and for thy maid, and for thy hired servant, and for thy stranger that sojourneth with thee" (Leviticus xxv. 5-6).

Thus the fields were to lie idle every seventh year, both to increase the fertility of the soil and to be a benefice to the poor and needy.

Lest in the seventh year there be hunger or famine throughout the land, special provisions were observed to prevent want. The land was divided into districts. The Sabbath year did not occur simultaneously in all the districts, but it was so arranged that only a part of the entire number of districts should observe the Sabbath year at any given time.

The impelling motive prompting all of the land-reform laws was to protect all of the members of the nation forever from want and misery. The state considered it its duty to guarantee the individual's inherent and legitimate rights to the products of the natural source of production: the land.

Although, on the one hand, the Sabbath year prevented the owners from extracting the maximum of products from the soil and thereby decreased the accumulated stores somewhat, on the other hand, a permanent right of redemption and the ultimate restoration of the land to its original owner during the Jubilee year, made it possible for any individual in the long run to add to his real estate.

The well-to-do could of course rent a considerable area of land for a number of years, but they could never obtain a title to the land which was so possessed by them. In ancient Israel the law made the permanent concentration of the land in a few hands impossible. Captains of industry, speculators and princes of commerce were prevented from converting their quickly acquired capital into real estate and thus the creation of a landed aristocracy was forestalled. One other very important regulation was affected by these measures. The moneyed classes were not allowed to exploit their poorer fellow men by getting hold of the latter's property at sacrifice prices at times when money was scarce. The building up of great estates that pass from father to son was thereby made impossible—as long at least as the people held to the precepts of their sacred laws.

When, therefore, "The Joining of Houses," which, at least in the urban communities, did not constitute a direct breach of the letter of the law, is regarded as a violation of the spirit of the law, we are not surprised to hear the prophet exclaim: "Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field till there be no room (Isaiah v. 8) in order that they alone may possess the lands of the earth who use force" (Mishna ii. 2).

In our own day it has become one of the chief problems of political economy to further the acquisition and tenure of individual property rights in real estate for the sake of national welfare, and to devise ways and means of furthering the interests of large-scale land owners. The Old Testament which tried to work in a directly opposite direction, was perhaps not able to avoid poverty entirely, but at least offered effective resistance to those who wished to accumulate great stores of wealth.

The beneficial effects of the ancient Jewish agrarian system consisted in the fact that on the one hand there was no propertyless proletariat and on the other hand no plutocratic group able to manipulate the affairs of the entire people. It is of course not altogether an established fact that the Biblical laws were always carried out to the letter, but this much is certain, that the basic principles of this agrarian legislation were enforced over a period extending far beyond the division of the Jewish kingdom. For how could we otherwise explain the fact that during this period, which extended over several centuries, we find evidence of not a single case of concentration of power in a few families and the oppression of other family groups.

In connection with these social regulations, there existed certain

other statutes concerning money lending, interest, bonding, and pawning. Since agriculture was the main source of wealth in ancient Israel, the necessity for loans was not great. Only in cases of emergency did one borrow from another and then only under the regulations of the law. It was illegal to speculate for gain or to practise usury. The taking of interest for the use of capital which is nowadays regarded as a matter of course business practice, was absolutely prohibited. When a debtor was unable to repay his creditor the borrowed capital he could contract himself into bondage. At the bottom of this provision lay the tendency to prevent idleness and to offer the industrious an opportunity to gain their livelihood to be freed again in the Sabbath year. In the meanwhile the weak were guarded from the ill effects of unemployment. This arrangement constituted a sort of unemployed insurance which even to-day is an unsolved problem of no mean importance in the majority of our modern states.

The credit laws, though often misused, had the purpose of not only preventing complete poverty but also to ameliorate the condition of the poor and impoverished.

This then brings us to the poor laws of ancient Israel which command the attention even of modern reformers. In ancient Israel as well as in modern times the care of the poor rested upon legal enactment. In the former, however, the law was divine law, while in the latter the poor laws were laid down by men. While in our day the precepts of the law are enforced by police power, in the days of the Old Testament God was the one who avenged the violations of His law. Instead of the police, morality makes for the enforcement of the poor laws in the ancient Jewish state. In our society the case of the poor rests upon the state or some particular organization, while in ancient Israel every individual bore his share. The care of the poor in our day may be more systematic and formal, but in the Old Testament days there is room for individual action whereby the deed is lifted into an ethical sphere. While in our times the poor receive aid, only under certain formal conditions, in ancient days every needy person was entitled to support. Our system guards of course against abuse, but the ancient system not only provided for individual cases of extreme need, but also did much toward preventing extreme poverty and want. Furthermore, in ancient Israel the poor were spared from the offensive inquisitorial methods, which are so common to-day, but they were also free from the embarrassment due to the publication of poor lists, which is an objectionable part of our present-day method.

The relationship between rich and poor was in many other respects relatively exemplary. The creditor was subject to a courteous restraint in the face of his debtors. He was not allowed to enter the dwelling of the debtor, but had to await at the outside the pawn which the debtor might bring to him. Above all, however, the creditor was prohibited from extorting as security those chattels regarded as the barest necessities of life; for instance: handmill, millstone, necessary clothing, etc. (Exodus xxii. 24-26; Deuteronomy, xxiv. 10-13). This was a legal provision which certainly has left its mark upon the laws of to-day.

When the law permitted, as has already been stated, a debtor to sell himself into slavery or bondage for a certain period, the reason underlying it was to caution against the careless creation of debts. But when the relationship of master and slave had once arisen between creditor and debtor, the law commanded of the former a "brotherly treatment" of the slave.

Theoretically one may speak of "omnipotent competition," as the liberator of the workingman from the yoke of the employer; in practice, however, we often find that the converse is the case. The lack of mobility on the part of the worker, the static conditions of the industrial establishments, the well-meant and in itself praiseworthy provision on the part of many industrial establishments of furnishing their employees dwelling places—naturally however, for only as long a period as they are connected with that particular mine or factory—all these conditions may lead to the establishment of ties between the employee and his place of work which are as firm and indestructible as were the bonds between master and slave of Old-Testament days, though the latter were much more beneficent and moral than are the bonds existing to-day.

The Old Testament serf, not to speak of the thralls among other peoples of antiquity, was in many respects better off than is the modern laborer. All shared in the labor, in the life and in the rest which the day brought. The slave partook of the same pleasures, of the same festivities, of the same fate as did his master. When decrepitude or accident overtook the worker, the employer could not simply repudiate the contract which bound him to what had become a human wreck, he could not leave a faithful worker who had served him for years stoically to his fate without offering adequate compensation.

The occupation of the people, as it found expression in the laws of the land, was by no means predominantly active trading or commerce. This is shown by the subnormal development of the

ancient Hebrew money and banking system, which is so manifest as to make it indeed difficult to determine the money-values and standards of those days.

The Scriptural law seems to have held industry in higher regard than commerce. The craftsmen "Bezalel and Aholiab who knew how to work all manner of work for the service of the sanctuary" (Exodus xxxi, 2, 6) were regarded as "wise hearted men, in whom the Lord put wisdom and understanding" (Exodus xxxi. 6). As is well known, however, it is not only the skilled artist who is called to exercise his talents in the service of the sanctuary, but also the unskilled common workman. Consequently industry, of the higher as well as that of the lower type, forms a substantial element in the economic life of ancient Israel.

The Biblical law does not regard financial enterprise in as high and favorable a light as it held agricultural undertakings. The latter were ever preferred to the former, as a wholesome economic basis for society. The Old Testament perceives in an extended financially organized society certain inevitable moral and social evils. True, the Jewish law does not put a ban on commerce and industry, but it also does not select them as the main levers in the economic machine, but rather assigns them a position of secondary importance.

When we recognize the fact that the laws of ancient Israel directed or rather narrowed the occupation of the people to agriculture, it is easy to understand why the law was so careful to conserve the right of individual land ownership and why the national welfare was considered inextricably interwoven with national promotion of agriculture. The Scriptural law wished to restrict the egotism, the feverish gain spirit, which even to-day is promoted by men of integrity and reputation in the name of liberty and democracy. Under the Hebraic law, it was just as *impossible* to hoard up great wealth, to produce and acquire the many luxuries of to-day, as the demand for these luxuries in our day is *unjustifiable*. Then again the laws of Israel prevented the excessive and lamentable poverty which to-day in spite of our increased national wealth is so evident in our industrial centers.

The legal regulations with reference to the treatment of domestic animals were extremely humanitarian. Just as carefully as the Mosaic law guarded the welfare of the worker, so did it accord its aid to animals. It did not nullify man's privilege of utilizing the service of domestic animals—yea, the law even allowed their killing for sacrificial purposes. But in other respects the law prescribed tender treatment within certain limits. It may well be said that the

law made Israel a great "Humanitarian Society." The provisions of the law were quite detailed and were promoted with tender forbearance toward animals.

The Sabbath or rest day was accorded to the animals as well as to man. If the rest day is necessary for man on every seventh day, how much more is it necessary for the domestic animal which has none of the liberties of man, and which cannot choose a period of rest according to its own desire. This was the principle underlying the Mosaic law.

In case of accident, the law made aid to the animal imperative. When an animal lost its way, it was to be brought back to its master. Even the ties of blood-relationship among animals were sacredly guarded. When therefore a new-born calf was to be offered as a sacrifice, the calf had to remain for seven days with its mother. The law forbade the slaughtering of an animal on the same day with its young (Leviticus xxii. 28). In the fact that the law prohibited the taking of a mother with her young out of the nest, we can see that the law's protection was not limited to domesticated animals. In this category we may also place the law which forbade the hitching together of an animal with an animal of another species. Thus it was wrong to hitch horse and mule to the same plow. There was one law, however, which received special emphasis in Biblical days, and that was the provision which aimed to guard against the shortening of rations of animals. As the law reads: "Thou shalt not tie the mouth of the laboring ox."¹ These and similar laws show that the Mosaic law regards animals not only tenderly but also looks upon them as a kind of slaves or fellow-servants with human beings. The community of life is enlarged to a community of law. God showed the same mercy to the animals as to men, as is shown by the voice of God as it calls out to the prophet Jonah: "And should not I spare Nineveh, that great city, wherein are more than six score thousand persons that cannot discern between their right hand and their left hand; and also much cattle?" (Jonah iv. 11).

It is indeed of great interest to know that in their care for the public health the ancient Hebrews were an ideal people. Moses was the first man to enact hygienic laws, and to this day he remains unexcelled in that field. Not only did he give the first impetus to theoretical hygiene, but in practice we meet his spirit in the work of hygienic reform in our own public life. According to the

¹ Deuteronomy xxv. 4: "Thou shalt not muzzle the ox when he treadeth out the corn."

Scriptural conception, religion, morality, and hygiene are congruous. The bodily health of the individual is held in the same esteem as his spiritual soundness, as his religious constitution. One is inseparable from the other. The strict observance of sanitary measures was best secured by making religion and political law identical. "Ye shall be holy: for I the Lord your God am holy" (Leviticus xix. 2). Holy is God alone. To his holiness, corresponds purity of heart, and in the effort to gain purity of heart, external bodily cleanliness. The old Israelitic law forbade gluttony and intemperance. The use of the flesh of diseased animals or animals which had been killed by beasts of prey, as well as the meat which had not been thoroughly drained of blood was prohibited.

Even at the time of Noah it was illegal to eat meat from a living animal. All kinds of vegetable foods were permitted; as was the meat of herbivorous animals whose digestive organs were best adapted to the assimilation of such food; all kinds of fishes with scales and fins which were capable of a high degree of locomotion, while cartilaginous fishes, which decay rapidly, were not included in the diet. Likewise, the many diseases arising from the consumption of clams, and reptiles, poisoning contracted from eating oysters all argue for the ancient Hebrew law which excluded these delicacies from the table. The ancient Jews were careful in pointing out the dangers of immoderate use of meat as food and especially in calling attention to the presence of trichinas in pork. The use of pork according to Virchow makes men stupid and lazy, while it also makes for a lower degree of intelligence. The spread and contagion of diseases from animals to men, and the decomposition of particles of blood which might remain in the cadaver of the animal are counteracted by the regulation prescribing the "Shchito" and other hygienic measures which rid the flesh of the animal blood in as thorough a manner as is practically possible. By this method two other beneficial results are achieved:

1. The meat keeps fresh for a much longer period.
2. The meat becomes more easily digestible.

In close connection with the food regulations are the measures aiming at bodily cleanliness, through clothing specifications and hygienic and curative baths.

Of great social-hygienic significance is the Sabbath, mention of which has already been made. The Sabbath day not only gave the workers a much-needed day of rest, but also was the source of physical, mental and spiritual recuperation which made the work of the coming week more endurable.

The entire life in Israel was hygienically regulated. Agriculture and the handicrafts were throughout the period of the independence of the Hebrew state the two principal fields of endeavor. All hygienic measures which were taken by the Hebrews were for the benefit and the observance of the entire population and not merely for certain classes as was the case among other nations of antiquity. "A right and a law," this rigid Biblical maxim was also pertinent to the field of hygiene.

The security of the individual, the upholding of the rights of life and property are considered as the prime functions of the Mosaic law. To this end every effort is made to curb egotism, the fundamental cause of all crime. In the law which says: Be ye holy even as is your God, the death sentence is pronounced on all those conditions and practices which might stain moral and spiritual purity and from this axiom we deduce the postulate: "Love thy neighbor as thyself" without the popular appendix to this age-old motto: No one is nearer to you than you yourself.

Just as the moralist subordinates all specific rules to the general, fundamental laws of love, so does the jurist subordinate all technicalities to the universal law of justice and equality. The Biblical law knew no pariahs, no classes, no personalities, no discrimination. All shared equally in the benefits of the common law. Even the stranger is on a basis of equality with the native citizens. "Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger as for one of your own country: for I am the Lord your God" (Leviticus xxiv. 22). The women, who among all other peoples of antiquity were held in contempt, the prisoners of war, who elsewhere are the involuntary victims of the victor, the slaves, the poor and the beggars, yea, even the criminal, all are equal before the law. All are watched over with equal care by the scrutinous eye of Justice. The privileges of classes and professions, which were taken for granted among other nations, are scorned by the law of the Hebrews. Before the law at least the individual is secure and his right respected.

As a corollary to these rights of the individual, expressed in diverse places and ways, stand the laws which prohibit and punish any violation or infringement of these rights, of life, liberty and property. They are stated with equal emphasis and expressed in terms of equal rigidity as are the positive laws upon which they are based.

The Mosaic law is especially hostile to the giving of any kind of shelter or protection to criminals whose guilt is known. He against whom there was sufficient evidence to convict him of premeditated murder, could even be led away from the altar to receive

his punishment, or to hear his judgment. In like manner might be treated who swore falsely against his fellow man. He who was guilty of unpremeditated murder was given asylum in some refuge city, but was nevertheless not altogether freed from punishment. Cases of less serious nature such as personal injury through assault and battery were punished by correspondingly severe penalties, in order to make their occurrence less frequent. Kidnapping, which was of frequent occurrence in the world of antiquity, was punishable with death. Encroachment upon rights of property, theft and other crimes were adequately dealt with by the law.

The laws enacted for the protection of the helpless were of great significance. Thus it was prohibited to curse a deaf person, to place an obstruction in the path of a blind person, to denounce any one publicly without giving him adequate notice.

Another group of laws is directed against manslaughter and other less serious cases of neglect and carelessness.

Lastly all measures which pertained to the support and continued existence of the state, the organs of public order, the bodies and officers in the legislative branch of the government, the police, the judiciary and the executive,—all were provided for in a way which did not seriously impair the material welfare of the individual.

The chief power was of course in the hands of Moses. He fills the post of law-giver and regent without remuneration. Later the leadership of the people was confided to a king. That this king should receive his means of support from the people was already regarded by Samuel as a royal right. It is, however, expressly stated that the king does not possess the right of usurping the property rights of his subjects. The manner in which the king was to receive his compensation was strictly indicated by legal provisions, viz., from the people in the form of personal property.

The judicial powers were in the hands of Judges who were elders serving without pay. The police force and executive officials were usually public officers who served also without pay.

In the ancient Hebrew state we do not find any evidence of a school budget. The teachers served voluntarily and without stipend. Public schools were unknown. Whatever the children were supposed to be informed on outside of their practical life's work, namely, the history of their people, the parents were supposed to supply in connection with their religious usages, especially during the numerous holidays. It was one of the duties of the priests to teach the laws unto the people. For this the priests received one-tenth of the crops, but otherwise they served without pay. At the

time of Samuel we see the rise of prophet schools, where a prophet functions as the teacher of young men in the Scriptures, in religious song and often in reading and writing. Out of this group of educated people certain ones might at times have been called into the public service.

About the only public work of which we have knowledge is the building of the tabernacle together with the construction of the sacred vessels and vestments, and the building of roads. The cost of these works and their upkeep was covered by voluntary contribution. In such matters the Mosaic law has few prescriptions, but leaves all to the discretion of the individuals. Many a matter which nowadays is regulated by governmental means was left to private or communal generosity in the days of Moses. Only for religious purposes is ever a single tax levied. This tax called "The Half Shekel" was collected from every male; as the name implies, it consisted of a half shekel per capita. Besides this, the payment of the annual tithe was prescribed by law.

The assessment for the annual tithe which was used for the support of the tribe of Levy, who performed the religious services for the whole people, was determined by the size of the actual income. Every one was rated according to his declaration concerning his financial—or rather agricultural—ability to pay. A modern economist looking at the economic conditions of Israel from the modern point of view, would indeed be tempted to believe that he were looking at a land of dreams.

From this ancient order we may well draw many practical suggestions of great significance, not only we as individuals but also our society as a whole, our modern governments.

I shall close with the words of Kübel:

"Oh happy people! That which is regarded as the greatest achievement of modern times, that which was accomplished in the Occident only after streams of blood had washed away all opposition, after countless crimes had been committed and after enormous sacrifices had been made, that, all that was possessed and enjoyed by the ancient Israelites three thousand years ago. And what lay at the foundation of this liberty, what secured this liberty to that ancient people? Not self-invented theories, not the "good common sense" of the masses, but the law, this same law, which has so often been denounced as barbaric and antediluvian."

CEREMONY CELEBRATED UNDER THE CHINESE REPUBLIC IN HONOR OF CONFUCIUS.

BY THE EDITOR.

TWICE a year the moral teacher of China is worshiped in his temples all over China, and especially in Peking by the chief executive of the country, formerly the emperor, now the president of the republic. We are in receipt of a letter from the Hon. Paul S. Reinsch, American ambassador to China, in which he communicates an interesting account of this ceremony as reported in the *Peking Daily News* of September 24, 1917.

The moral teacher of China is K'ung Fu Tze, or simply K'ung Tze, whom the Jesuits called Confucius, a name under which he has become known to all western countries, and he is worshiped in a similar spirit as the Buddhists worship the Gautama Buddha, the Enlightened One, the Christians worship Jesus Christ, as the Messiah of Israel and the Saviour of all mankind, and the adherents of Islam look reverently up to their prophet Mohammed.

The Confucian worship at Peking, and simultaneously all over China, is performed during the spring and the autumn equinoxes, on days which, according to the Chinese views, are considered auspicious.

Other ceremonies of a similar kind take place during the winter solstice, which means about Christmas, for the literati worship heaven during the winter solstice, while the summer solstice is reserved for the earth; and by heaven and earth is not understood the visible heaven and the visible earth, but the principle which represents light and lordliness and the opposite principle which represents respectively, fertility and heaviness.

We will describe here the ceremony of Confucius according to the report given by Mr. J. A. van Aalst, formerly of the Chinese imperial customs service, of Shanghai, published in 1884 in a special series II, 6, of a collection called *Chinese Imperial Maritime Customs*, under the title "Chinese Music," sold by Messrs. Kelly and Walsh, Shanghai, Yokohama, and in London by P. S. King and Son, Canada Building, King Street, Westminster, Southwest. So far as I know this is the best source of information concerning Chinese music, and especially the ritual of Confucian worship.

Mr. van Aalst says:

"Confucius is now worshiped all over China by those who belong to the lettered class. In every prefecture and sub-prefecture there is a temple devoted to him where ceremonies are performed



STATUE OF CONFUCIUS IN CONFUCIUS TEMPLE.

with great pomp twice a year. The Confucian temple at Peking is a spacious and magnificent building, covered with a double roof of yellow glazed tiles, which is sustained by massive wooden pillars. Access to the temple is gained by passing through three great gates

and traversing as many wide courts, where weeds are growing luxuriantly. Before the temple there is a broad, elevated, marble terrace reached by a flight of steps, and guarded by handsome balustrades of elaborately carved marble. The temple has three



STATUE OF YEN-H'WAI, OR YEN-TZU.

great doors, which are wide open at the time of worshipping. Within, on the north side of the great hall and facing south stands the shrine with the tablet bearing the words: The Most Holy Ancient Sage Confucius. In two other shrines, facing, one west and the

other east, are to be seen the tablets of the four principal disciples of the sage, Mencius, Tzu-ssu-tzu, Tseng-tzu, and Yen-tzu. In two other large buildings lying east and west of the temple are placed, in the order of merit, the tablets of ancient worthies."

On the day of the Confucian festival, the emperor or his representative with his dignitaries or attendants enters the gate. From the first gate to the center a passage is left open for the worshippers, and at the second gate the chief administrator of the country leaves his sedan and walks up into the inner portions of the building with a slow stately pace preceded by a band of fourteen musicians and eleven ensign and umbrella bearers to the tune of what is called the "guiding march."

尺。	四。	合。	工	合。	工	四	導 引 樂 譜
		工	尺。	工。	六。	四、	
	合、	六、	上、	四	五	工合。	
	工、	五	四	合。	六	四	
	合	工、	合、	工	工		
	四、		工。	六、	尺。		
	合	尺。		五	上	四、	
	工、	上、	四、	六、	四	合。	

THE GUIDING MARCH.

The details of the words of the hymn are described definitely and minutely, and no one dares to take away or add anything to them even now after the change of government. The music is a slow heavy tune, reminding of our Christian chorals, especially as they are sung in the Lutheran churches. The religious character of the melody cannot be mistaken. The Guiding March, however, is a little more lively and preserves the tone of our marches. There is no harmony in the music, as it is absent from all Chinese hymns.

We reproduce here the Chinese text, and at the same time the Chinese expression of the musical values of each syllable. The text runs down on the right side; the musical notation is attached to it on the left side of each line. For musical readers interested in the melody we will reproduce a transcription of the musical notes of the Chinese hymn, as far as it is possible to transcribe them in our musical system, as follows:

合乾	合日	合韻	乙祥	工萬	合與	工先	工大	
四坤	四月	尺答	尺徵	尺世	四天	尺覺	合說	迎
合清	工既	四金	合麟	乙之	尺地	乙先	四孔	神
工怡	乙揭	尺絲	四拔	乙師	乙參	四知	乙子	

Ta	tsai	K'ung - Tzu.	Hsien	chüeh	Hsien	chic.	
A	C	D	E	A	G	E	D
Yü	t'ien	ti	ts'an	Wan	shih	chih	shih
C	D	G	E	A	G	E	E
Hsiang	cheng	lin	fu	Yün	ta	chin	ssu.
E	G	C	A	C	G	D	G
Jih	yuēh	chi	chieh	Ch'ien	k'un	ch'ing	i.
C	A	A	E	C	D	C	A

合其	工清	四春	乙俎	合展	四生	尺玉	工子	
四香	尺酒	四秋	合豆	四也	合民	合振	合懷	初
合始	合既	尺上	工千	乙大	尺未	工金	四明	獻
工升	工載	四丁	乙古	四成	乙有	尺聲	乙德	

Yü	huai	ming	te.	Yü	chen	chin	sheng.
A	C	D	E	G	C	A	G
Sheng	ming	wei	yu	Chan	yeh	ta	ch'eng.
D	C	G	E	C	D	E	C
Tsu	tou	ch'ien	ku.	Ch'un	ch'iu	shang	ting
E	C	A	E	D	D	G	D
Ch'ing	chiu	chi.	tsai.	Ch'i.	hsiang	shih	sheng.
A	G	C	A	C	D	C	A

乙相	尺禮	合譽	乙肅	乙誠	尺響	尺升	工式	
四觀	乙陶	工髦	乙肅	尺孚	乙協	乙堂	合禮	亞
合而	合樂	尺斯	四雍	乙魯	合鼓	合再	四真	獻
工善	四淑	工彥	四雍	工獻	四鑄	乙獻	乙衍	

Shih	li	mo	ch'ien.	Sheng	t'ang	tsai	hsien.
A	C	D	E	G	E	C	E
Hsiang	hsieh	t'ao	ying.	Ch'eng	fu	lei	hsien.
G	E	C	D	E	G	E	A
Su	su	ying -	ying.	Yü	mao	ssu	yen.
E	E	D	D	C	A	G	A
Li	t'ao	yo	shu.	Hsiang	kuan	erh	shan.
G	E	C	D	E	D	C	A

尺至	乙彝	合惟	乙惟	尺於	乙皮	尺先	工自	
乙今	乙倫	尺聖	尺天	乙論	乙弁	乙民	合古	終
合木	尺攸	合時	工隔	四思	合祭	合有	四在	獻
工鐸	工叙	四若	乙民	合樂	工茶	四作	乙昔	

Tzu	ku	tsai	hai	Hsien	min	yu	tso.
A	C	D	E	G	E	C	D
P'u	p'ien	chi	ts'ai.	Yu	lun	ssu	lo.
E	E	C	A	G	E	D	C
Wei	t'ien	yu	min.	Wei	sheng	shih	jo
E	G	A	E	C	G	C	D
I	lun	yu	hsu	Chih	chin	mu	to.
E	E	G	A	G	E	C	A

乙中	乙樂	乙母	乙禮	合鳴	合四	仁祭	工先	
四原	尺所	四莧	尺成	四敢	仁海	尺剛	合師	微
合有	合自	合母	仁告	合不	乙曼	仁受	四有	饌
工菽	仁生	仁漬	乙徽	仁肅	尺宮	乙福	乙曹	

Hsien	shih	yu	yen.	Chi	tse	shou	fu.
A	C	D	E	A	F	A	E
Ssu	hai	huang	kung.	Ch'on	kan	pu	su?
C	A	E	G	C	D	C	A
Li	ch'eng	kao	ch'e.	Wu	shu	wu	tu.
E	G	A	E	E	D	C	A
Lo	so	tzu	sheng.	Chung	yuan	yu	shu.
E	F	C	A	E	D	C	A

合育	仁化	仁祀	乙率	合流	尺景	尺洙	工鬼	
四我	乙我	尺事	尺昭	四澤	乙行	仁潤	合輝	送
合膠	仁燕	合孔	合祀	乙無	乙行	合洋	四峨	神
工庠	尺民	四明	仁事	四強	尺止	四洋	乙峨	

Fu	i	o	o.	Chu	ssu	yang	yang.
A	C	D	E	G	A	C	D
Ching	hsing	hsing	chih.	Liu	tse	wu	chiang.
G	E	E	G	C	D	E	C
Lu	chao	ssu	shih.	Ssu	shih	k'ung	ming.
E	G	C	A	A	G	C	D
Hua	wo	cheng	min.	Yu	wo	chiao	hsiang.
A	E	A	G	C	D	C	A

The hymn consists of six verses, which denote the progress of the ceremony. The first verse marks the reception of the approaching spirit. It is a praise of K'ung Tze, and is followed by a presentation in each of the second, third and fourth verses. The fifth verse is sung for the removal of the viands, and the sixth is devoted to the escorting back of the Spirit to his heavenly home. All these verses are accompanied by peculiar attitudes of the dancers, but of course we must not think of dancing in the sense as dancing is commonly thought of in western countries or as it is practised in ball rooms.

The dance is performed in slow and dignified movements expressing utmost reverence and devotion. The dancers are provided with plumes, and at present the peacock feathers are preferred. Formerly they also carried a flute, but this is now replaced by a little staff of the shape of a flute.

In our presentation we follow Mr. van Aalst's description of the



FIRST POSITION.



SECONDD POSITION.

ceremony, and reproduce here from the book above quoted a description of the dancers in their eleven attitudes at successive stages of the ceremony.

The dancing was first introduced into religious ceremonies by Emperor Shun (2255 B.C.), and it was not until the third year of Yung Ming in the Ch'i dynasty (485 A.D.) that it was introduced by an imperial decree into the Confucian ceremonies. At first there

were civil dancers, but Emperor Chên Kuan of the T'ang dynasty (650 A.D.) introduced military dances. The former were dressed in their court uniforms and the latter carried an axe in one hand and a shield in the other, but later the military dancers were abolished and the number of civil dancers was increased to thirty-six with two chiefs. Formerly the feathers they wore were composed of three bound together in the form of a trident, but they have



THIRD POSITION.



FOURTH POSITION.

FIFTH POSITION.

been reduced to a single peacock's feather. The little sticks, now carried in place of the flutes with three holes which they played at intervals, are displayed against the feathers in various positions.

In making this description we follow Mr. van Aalst's report:

"The hymn is sung by two groups of three singers standing

east and west of the temple and facing each other. The pitch of the key-note is given them at each strophe by the bell instrument. They are accompanied by the other instruments in the following way:



SIXTH POSITION.



SEVENTH POSITION.



EIGHTH POSITION.

"The *t'ê-chung*, or large bell, sounds the first note of each verse.

"The *pien-chung*, or bell-chime, gives one sound at each word, and, in fact, guides the voices. After the bell-chime the lutes give their note, which is followed by all the other instruments except

the *pien-ch'ing*, or stone-chime, which is struck after all the other instruments, in order "to receive the sound and transmit it" to the second note, which is treated in the same way.

"At the end of a verse a drum is beaten three times and answered by another drum, after which the bell-chime gives the key-note and the next verse is begun.



NINTH POSITION.



TENTH POSITION.



FINAL POSITION.

"When the hymn is finished the head of the *yü*, or "tiger-box" is beaten once, and a stick is passed rapidly along the projections of its back."

This ends the ceremony, and the emperor or his chief representative, or now the chief executive of the republic, retires while the band that precedes him plays the guiding march that accompanied his arrival. At the second gate he enters his sedan.

The ceremony is performed during the quiet hours of the night beginning at sunset, which, as formerly in Jewish times, was considered as the beginning of the new day, and the ceremony ends at sunrise. Mr. van Aalst says that the ceremony is really worth seeing, and the profane who have the good fortune to be admitted to a quiet corner cannot fail to be deeply and solemnly impressed.

It is very difficult to translate the six verses to be performed at the ceremony, because Chinese verse expresses in its monosyllabic language whole trains of thought which in order to be understood would require explanations. In order to give our readers an idea of the hymn and the difficulty of translation, we here reproduce Mr. van Aalst's translation,¹ leaving it to the reader to divine which of the verses reappear in Dr. Soothill's sonorous lines quoted below.

1. *Receiving the Approaching Spirit.*

Great is Confucius!

He perceives things and knows them before the time.

He is in the same order with Heaven and Earth;

The teacher of ten thousand ages.

There were lucky portents, and on the unicorn's horn a tuft of silk.

The rhymes of the song correspond to the sounds of metal and silk.

The sun and moon were unveiled to us;

Heaven and Earth were made to look fresh and joyful.

2. *First Presentation of Offerings.*

I think of thy bright virtue.

The jade music ends. The music of metal is first heard.

Of living men there never was one like him;

Truly his teaching is in all respects complete.

The vessels are here with the offerings, the same as during thousands of years.

At the spring and autumn equinoxes, on the first of the days whose character
is *ting*,

Clear wine is offered.

The sweet smell of the sacrifice now first rises.

¹ In the stories of the life of Confucius his birth is announced to his mother by the appearance of a Lin or unicorn, around whose horn a tuft of silk was stretched as a luck omen indicating the birth of a throneless king.

According to mystical ideas the hymn is sung to the accompaniment of metal and silk strings, and a deep significance is seen in the sound of the instruments.

The words "heaven" and "earth" in the last line of the first stanza are not the same as above. They are called in the original *ch'ien* and *kw'un*, which are the two *kuas* representing in the system of Chinese philosophy not only heaven and earth but also the symbols of the principles of the two contrasts of *yang* and *yin*, and are called in Chinese symbolism the father and the mother in the family of the eight trigrams. For details see my *Chinese Thought*, page 28, and especially page 30.

3. Second Presentation.

The regular sacrifices should be offered without deficiency.
 The chief sacrificer advances in the hall and presents the second offering.
 The harmonious sounds are heard of drum and bell;
 With sincerity the wine cups are offered.
 Reverently and harmoniously
 Approach the sacrificers, men of honorable fame.
 The ceremonies are purifying, the music cleanses the heart;
 They work on each other and reach the point of perfect goodness.

3. Third and Last Presentation.

From antiquity through all the ages
 Primitive men have done this.
 They wore skin hats; they offered the fruit of the ground.
 How orderly was the music!
 Only Heaven guides the people;
 Only the Sage conforms his instructions to the day and hour.
 The moral duties are arranged in their proper order.
 Till now the wooden clapper sounds.

5. Removal of the Viands.

The ancestral teacher said in his instructions:
 "Those who sacrifice obtain happiness."
 Throughout the four seas, in students' halls,
 Who would dare not to be reverential?
 The ceremony concluded, the removal of the offerings is announced.
 Let none be neglectful or show want of respect;
 Let their joy be in him who is the source of their culture;
 Let them remember the poem of the beans in the field, and imitate him.

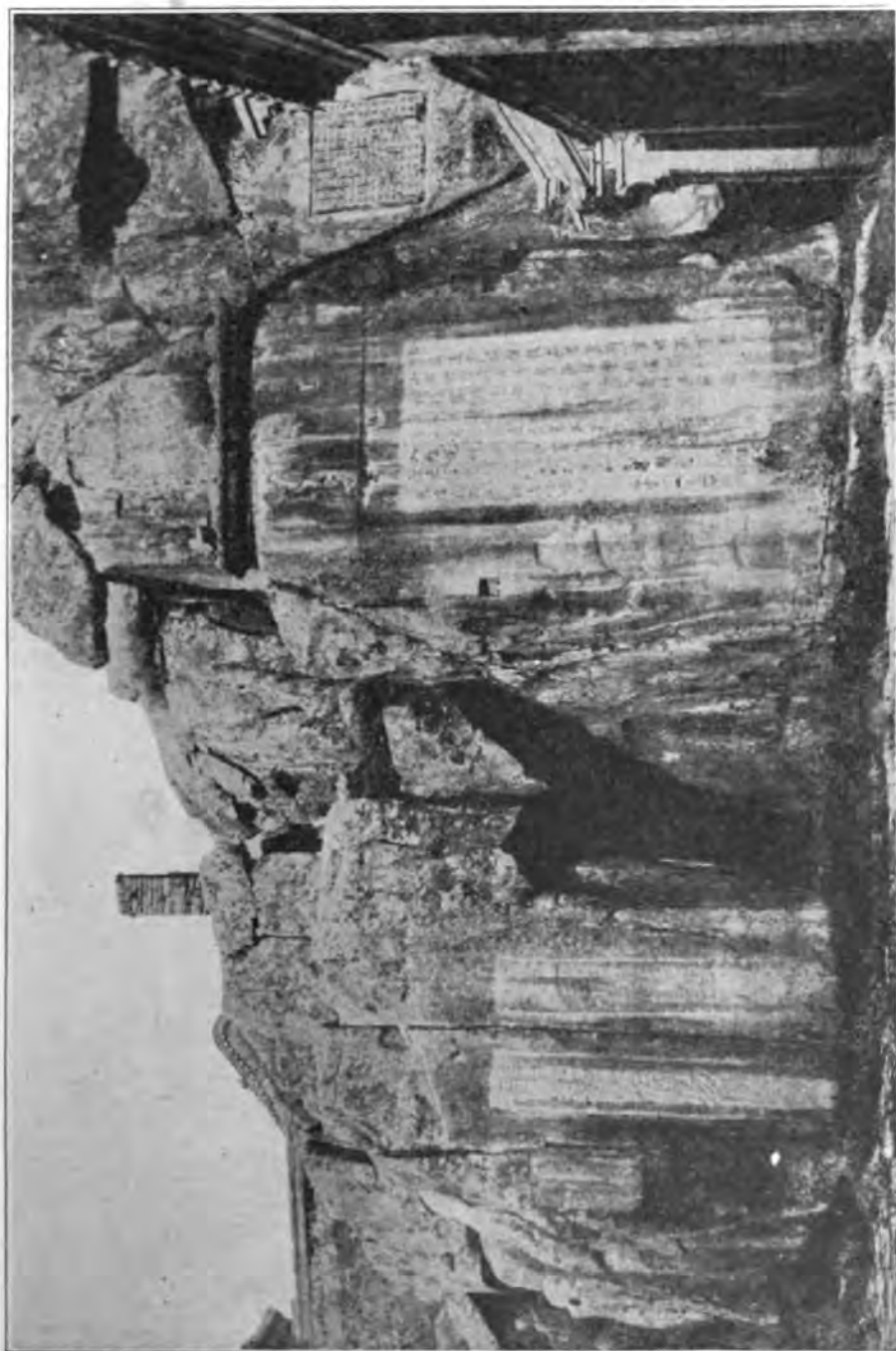
6. Escorting the Spirit Back.

The Fu and Yi mountains are very high;
 The Chu and Ssü spread their waters far,
 So thy beautiful acts extend their influence above and around,
 Causing benefits without end.
 Now has been seen the glory of the sacrifice;
 The sacrifice has been made to appear great and beautiful.
 He renovates the thousands of our people;
 He fosters our schools and halls for instruction.

We here offer the newspaper account of the ceremony:

"The autumnal sacrifice to Confucius was held in the Confucian Temple at six o'clock on Saturday morning, September 22, 1917. In full military uniform, the President personally attended the worship and offered a prayer in front of the shrine of China's great Sage on behalf of four hundred million people. He proceeded to the place of ceremony in his armored automobile.

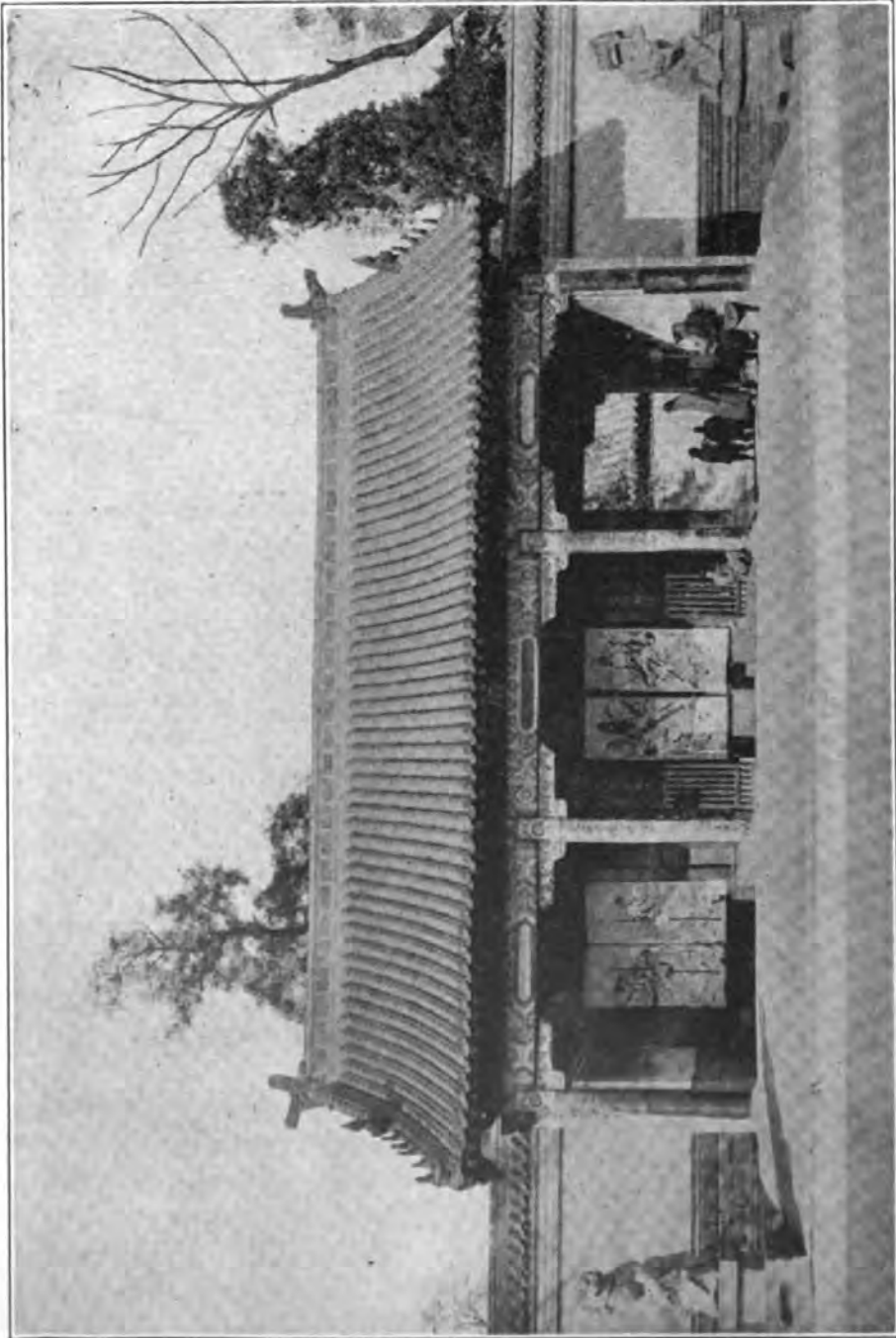
"The roads from the President's Office to the Confucian Temple were lined with soldiers, and it was stimulating to see the salute of



PEAK OF TAI SHAN WITH INSCRIPTION DEDICATED TO CONFUCIUS.

the troops as the President's motor car swiftly darted past. As it was early morning the sidewalks remained free of pedestrians. The

President alighted from his automobile at the Lunhsinmen, the first principal gate before the Temple, where special mats were spread



ENTRANCE TO CONFUCIUS HOME.

on the ground, and was preceded by the Ministers of the Interior and of Education, the Chief Justice of the Administrative Court

and the herald and the conductor to the temporary pavilion where he was offered a basin of water by the attendant officers to wash his hands prior to the offering of sacrifice. The preliminaries being ended, the drum was solemnly sounded thrice, and the Chief Master of Ceremony requested the President to leave the pavilion and offer sacrifice. At his order, the attendant officers and ceremonial officers led the President through the left door of the Temple, where a mat was also spread, while the different ministers, the Chief Justice of the Administrative Court and other ceremonial officers stood with their faces turned in various directions. The herald announced: 'All singers and dancers get ready, and all sacrificial officers attend to their functions.' The ceremonial officers went to their assigned places while the President stood on a worshipping cushion. The herald called out: 'Open the door.' The door of the Temple was accordingly opened. The herald next announced that the first verse of the hymn welcoming the Spirit be sung, and that the grand music be played. Bells and gongs were struck several times and the hymn was then sung. The verse for welcoming the Spirit according to the translation of Dr. W. E. Soothill, runs thus:

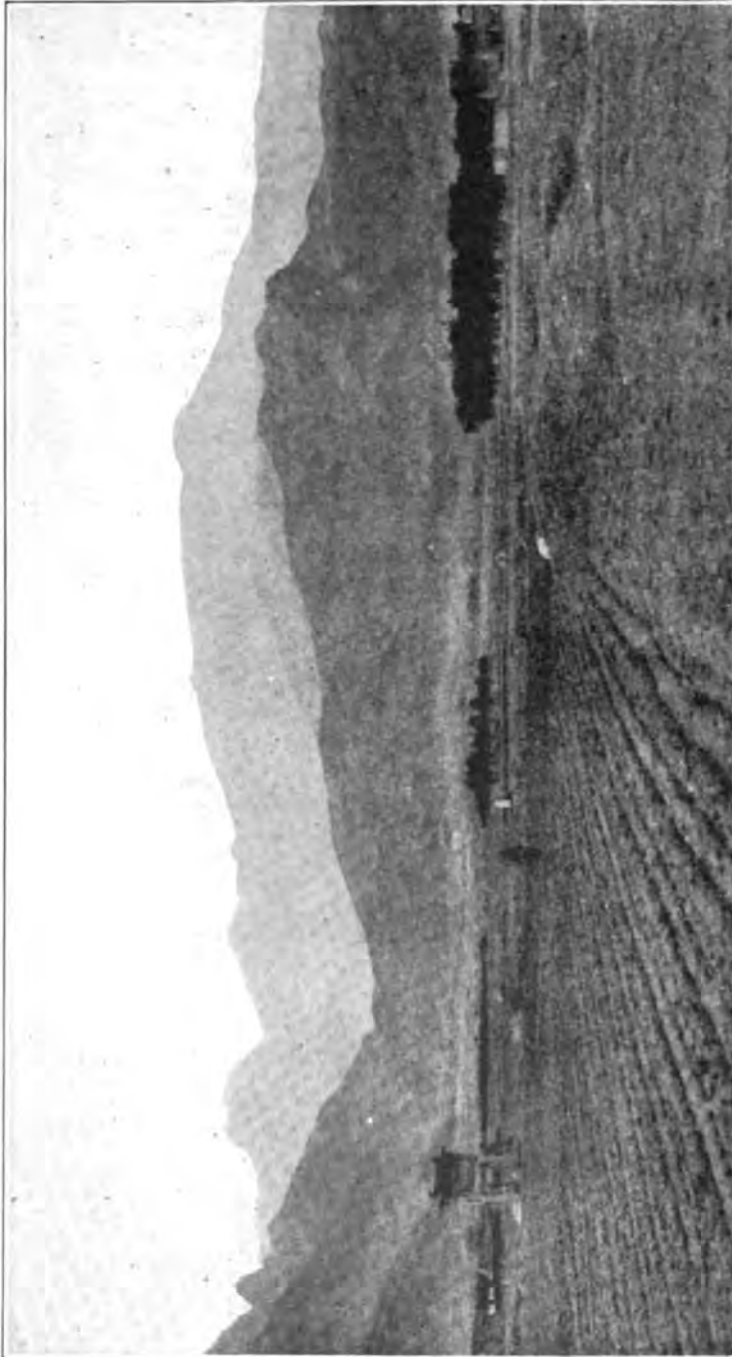
"Great is K'ung tzu, philosopher,
The primal Seer, the primal Sage!
With Heaven and Earth he equal ranks,
Immortal Guide for every age.
One hailed by wreathed unicorn,
Respond we now with harps and bells,
Celestial light he has revealed,
Above, below, order prevails.'

"The herald then called out: 'Three bows,' which ceremony the President accordingly performed. Here the music stopped.

"The offering of sacrifices of wine, animals and paper money began. All the ceremonial officers went to their respective places at the announcement of the herald to offer sacrifice. The second verse on the first offering was sung, and the strange music was again performed. The words of the second verse are as follows:

"We cherish still his virtue bright,
With quivering chime and sonant bell,
Since birth of man none equals him,
Who caused perfection to excel.
The patens of a thousand years,
We spread for his great sacrifice,
With purest wine the cups are filled,
Its fragrance now to him doth rise.'

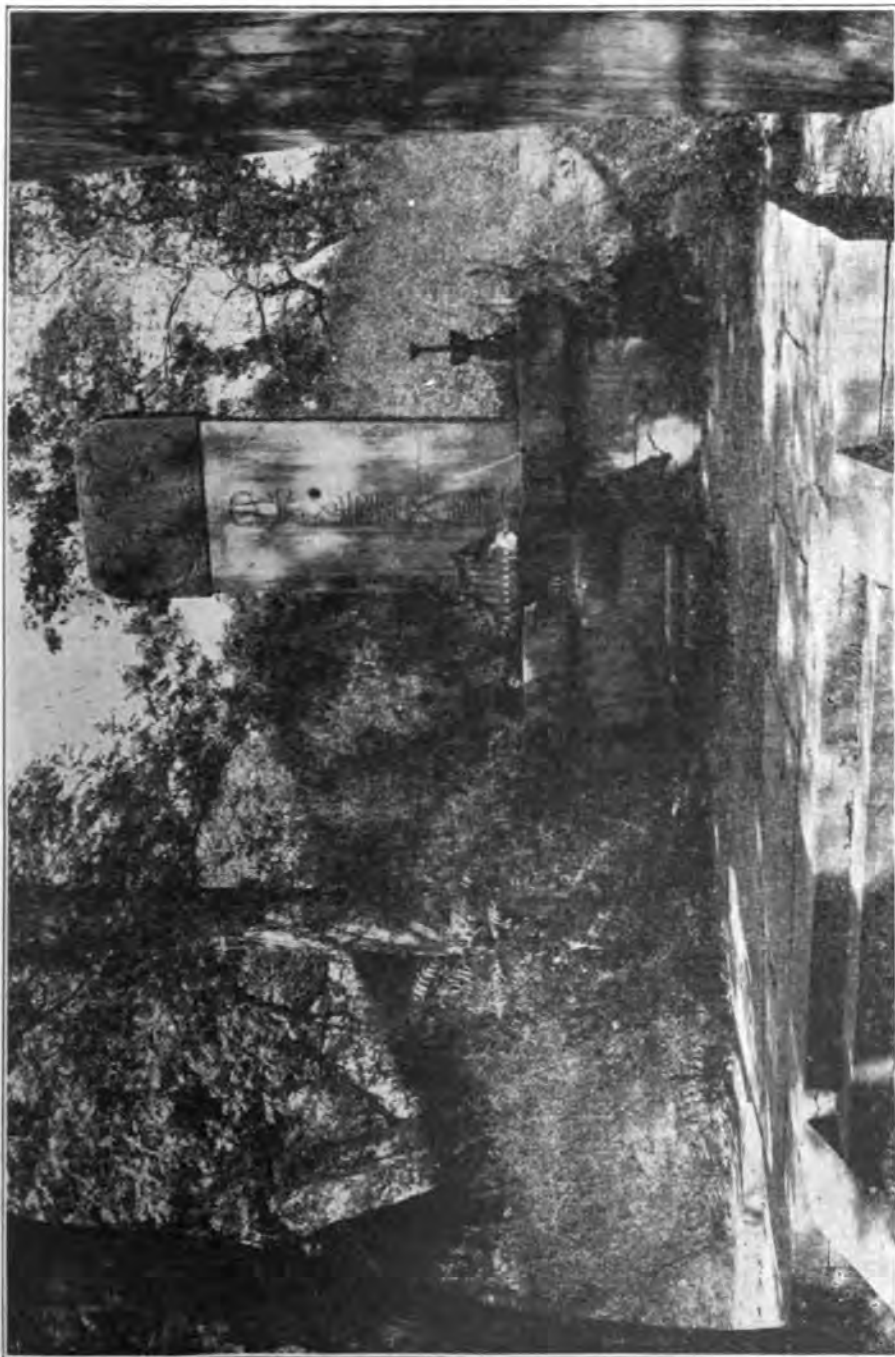
"At the conclusion of the singing, the ceremonial officers led the President through the left door to the inside of the Temple. In



TAI SHAN.

front of the incense table, the Chief Executive stood, while around him were the ceremonial officers. The herald announced: 'Offer

paper money.' The President received it from the Master of Ceremony, who placed it on the table. The offering of wine was per-



TOMB OF CONFUCIUS.

formed in the same manner. The herald yelled: 'Resume seats,' and the President was led out of the Temple to the original place

through the left door. Then the ceremonial officers went inside and put the trays of wine, etc., in their proper places on the table, and after having done this, they retired.

"The Chief Executive was again led to the hall of the Temple and stood before the shrine of Confucius after passing through ceremonies like those described above. A ceremonial officer read an invocation to the spirit, which was afterward put in a box on the worshipping table. The President was led out to the first place outside the Temple waiting for the second offering. When everything was ready, he was again led into the hall to offer his second sacrifice. The musical instruments were again sounded, the tune being regulated by the drum and the bell at the order of the herald. The third verse of the hymn was sung as follows:

"'Our rites their flawless forms shall take,
We spread our second offering;
United sound our drums and bells
While flagons now sincere we bring.
In reverence and harmony
We, raised by his accomplishments,
Perfect by rites, by music pure,
With mutual gaze learn excellence.'

"The third and last offering was performed in the same manner. Finally the offerings were removed with the like ceremony. The President went to the hall and bowed three times to signify his thankfulness for the meat and wine which the Great Sage was supposed to have bestowed upon him. This concluded the ceremony of escorting away the Spirit. The last verse which was sung reads as follows:

"'Majestic towers his native Hill,
Wide roll their floods his native streams,
Far fades their vista from the sight,
Boundless with good their bosom seems.

"'Again our sacrifice is o'er,
Its splendor passes from our gaze;

"'Tis he who has transformed our race,
And nurtures still our Colleges.'"

"After the playing of more ancient music, the President returned to the palace in his automobile."

IS JAPANESE EASY OR DIFFICULT?

BY DR. A. GRAMATZKY.

IN an article published in a San Francisco newspaper, on Sunday, February 11, Professor Kiang, of the University of California, described Chinese as the "easiest language in the world." Many Occidentals who have studied Chinese agree with one of the first padres who believed it to be an "invention of the devil in order to torment the faithful," and will shake their heads in wild amazement just as the examiners did when listening to the strange answers of "candidate Jobs." "The candidate Jobs this answer making, there followed of heads a general shaking," as Kortum's clever translator, Brooks, puts it. Notwithstanding, Professor Kiang is quite right—*cum grano salis*.

The simplicity of his immortal mother tongue, the vernacular as well as written Chinese, by the absence of superfluous etymology, makes it look very easy for everybody. If, therefore, an Easterner seeks in the west a language or alphabet without superfluous difficulties, he must take up the study of an artificial tongue like Esperanto, not English, German or Russian, for he will find these tongues very absurd and difficult. So far, Mr. Kiang is quite right in lauding Chinese and condemning our tongues. That Chinese is much easier and more logical in its structure than other languages, is more obvious to Asiatics than to us. What the renowned Polish doctor made out of our Western languages, shaving them with the zeal of an American or Japanese barber in order to get his simple skeleton-grammar, Chinese is by nature—nay it is even more simple.

Zamenhof is still so thoroughly a Westerner that he conserved the plural and other superfluous forms of European grammar in his Esperanto, which he hoped must please every student who hates gender rules and irregular verbs, as it is nearly Chinese simplicity in its structure combined with a vocabulary known for the most part beforehand. Mr. Kiang may be quite right in stating that Chinese is especially easy, and what is much more important, he certainly is correct in stating that even the complicated Chinese written language in its structure, is by far simpler and more logical than our tongues. The grammatical difficulties which spoil the best hours of our youngsters do not exist, and the Chinese obliged to

learn them is fully entitled to laugh at them and unable to understand how reasonable men could make so difficult and unreasonable a language.

But the drawback to the study of Chinese is this: The simplicity and nudity of the most logical man in swimming does not convey to me quite clearly what he is. On the other hand, another, in full dress, with many superfluous adornments, may be very illogical and unreasonable in putting on so many awkward things, of interest only to "Professor Teufelsdröckh," in Carlyle's *Sartor Resartus*, or people who prefer the exterior to the interior of the man. But this ridiculous fop shows us at a glance what he really is, whereas the simple logical swimmer conceals a good deal even by his simplicity and nudity. This is the other side of the picture. In reading Chinese texts we sigh for the European full dress, and are not content with the Chinese bathing suit, if there be any at all. We should prefer having some grammatical difficulties, and getting some headaches in learning Chinese, if afterward we could enjoy Chinese texts in "full dress." That is the weak point of Chinese, easy and logical as it is. Reading often becomes mere guessing and brooding if not a total misunderstanding of the text. Exaggerating a little, I should say: Reading Chinese is often a compromise between reading, as we understand it, and solving riddles. But to console my dear friend, Kiang, and his many students who, under his instruction, learn with enthusiasm, as I have seen myself, the "easiest tongue of the world," I am glad to add that there are consolations. The direct European influence on Chinese and the indirect one through Japan combined with some old devices, such as laws of position, helping particles and parallelisms, will minimize this waste of time and acrobatic performances of the human brain. That simplicity is the mother of difficulty and difficulty the mother of simplicity is not restricted to Chinese only. Take, for example, telegraphy, stenography, or "*go*." No easier style exists than that used on the wire, no easier and quicker jotting down than by the stenographer's nimble hand and pen, and no easier rules than those for learning *go*, the favorite game of the Chinese and Japanese. Now the average man of the States will best understand what I mean when I say: A telegram jotted down by a rusher, or a scare-line in our dailies looks simpler than a well shaped long note of Mr. Wilson or Mr. Balfour, but it is not. Often you cannot make it out at all. As to the simplicity of deciphering stenographic notes and of *go*, ask sincere shorthand writers and *go*-players. But the more striking example of difficult simplicity is plain English, with

her twenty-six letters instead of some thousands of Chinese characters, and in a lesser degree other languages, like French and German.

Though English has without any doubt the merit of dropping many superfluous difficulties existing in other European languages, she excels on the other hand by a so-called *orthography*, which certainly does not deserve that name without change to the standard alphabet of Lepsius or Pitman's reasonable writing of English sounds. Even in German it is pretty difficult for a foreigner always to know which of its eight pronunciations the simple letter *g* has in a given case, (in *Tag, Tage, Weg, Wege* it stands for six different sounds, in *Ingenieur* and *Agnes* it has two other sounds. When a student in Paris, I met Frenchmen of high standing who could not write a letter in French with its simple twenty-six letters without their *Littré*. So even learned Anglo-Saxons refer to their *Webster*, Germans to their *Duden*, to see which of the twenty-six simple letters are to be used. On the other hand, difficulties in learning often make understanding easy, as, for instance, the complicated grammar of the Germans, or the consonantal clusters and long words of the Slavs. My Japanese students were horrified by German, and still more by Latin grammar with male and female gender for things, the same endings for different functions, and different endings for the same functions, the declension, conjugation, irregular verbs, etc. All this must seem absurd for students whose cradles stood far from Indogermanic speech. Notwithstanding this, every Japanese declares that the German is easier for him to understand than English is, very likely on account of its difficulty in learning. So the long and difficult words of the Poles and Russians are hard to acquire for persons not born Slavs. But how good and clear they are! A word like *predsiedatelstwotaj* looks somewhat longer and more difficult than our "preside" or a Chinese monosyllable, but you are quite sure you will not find some dozens of homophones of this word all with different meanings as so often in Chinese and Japanese. Even chess, although difficult enough, is said to be easier than *go*, the favorite game of the Chinese and Japanese.

As to the study of Chinese characters, for Japanese or Chinese, the difficulty as a rule is exaggerated and is probably about the same. If De Rougé is right, in his statement in *The History of the A B C*, we may certainly say that Chinese writing—as to the forms of its characters used in books, papers and documents—was not so conservative and is not so clear as the hieroglyphics on the monuments.

But still it was and is much more so than the Semitic alphabets formed out of them and now used in Southern, Central and Eastern Asia. It was and is so even with regard to our own letters, though these show to this very day still more of their descent than the Semitic and the rest of these alphabets do. A trained eye may discover still a good deal in the Chinese characters that neither the law of evolution nor the use of paper and brush, nor the stupidity of scribes was able to destroy. It is true, it is difficult to learn them, as is usually done, mechanically in a stupid and tedious way, counting curves, strokes, and dots. It is highly interesting and comparatively easy to learn them from the standpoint of their development, as far as is of practical value and by adding explanations with the help of one's imagination or that of others, if we use the books by Chalmers or Wieger which tell us of the master-work of the good old Hsü and his followers. So Professor Kiang teaches them, and as to this method too, I agree completely with him. It was a great pleasure for me to see how such a system works on students in our city hall. Of these written symbols standing for root words, as Prof. von der Gabelentz fitly called them, there are, of course, many used more in China than in Japan, and many others more in Japan than in China. Besides, there are some formed by the Japanese themselves just as cleverly as by the Chinese of old. The meaning of the characters differs very often in both realms. By and by, however, Chinese on account of the military, political and commercial strength, not to say hegemony of modern Great Japan in the Far East, will take on more and more of the Japanese touch.

The characters were brought to Japan from China, via Korea, but their modern combinations for terms and idioms are brought, we may say, in a large measure, from Western thought through Japan to China. Apart from the study of the form of the characters, which is equally difficult, there is no question but that Japanese is far more complicated and difficult to learn than Chinese. In the first place, modern Japanese is a mixture of two quite different languages. Japanese not only shares the doubtful benefit of homophony with the Chinese, but also the perhaps still more embarrassing richness of polyphony with the Cuneiform of the old Assyrians and Babylonians and the modern Turks in an astonishing degree. Almost the whole Chinese dictionary is used by the Japanese, but, moreover, the characters have not one pronunciation but often are pronounced according to several Chinese dialects, besides in several Japanese ways. That is to say, we find not only doublets like "begin" and "commence" in English, *Akt* and *Aufzug* in German, but also

doublets similar to *frère* and *fragile* in French, both French derivations of the same Latin word *fragilis*. For example, the simple sun and day character ☉, a pointed circle, changed by the stupid brush to 田, a double square, in Pekinese Chinese is always *jih*, in Cantonese *yat*, etc., but in Japanese it will read: *ni* in Nihombashi (Japanese, "bridge," that is, the center of Tokyo and Japan); *nip* in "Nippon Yusen Kaisha" (Japanese Mail Co.); *nichi* in *Nichinichi Shimbun* (Daily News); *Jitsu* in *senjitsu* (some days ago); *hi* in *higasa* (parasol); and *hi* and *bi* in *hibi* (daily); that means six different pronunciations, four Sinico-Japanese and two pure Japanese. So learning to read Chinese of the easy modern style, when you know Japanese, means hardly more than adding another pronunciation to many others you already know, which for catching the meaning is, of course, not necessary at all, and to get accustomed to read *between* the characters still more than in Japanese.

On the other hand, for a Chinese to learn Japanese would mean beginning the study of quite a new language together with a remodeling of a known one. So far, of course, Japanese is much more difficult than Chinese. We may add some other difficulties, existing for the study of Japanese, but not for the study of Chinese. One of them is that the "grass" method of writing, or running hand, is more used in Japan than in China, but this is not so important for most Western students. But two other difficulties of Japanese are its grammar and the two syllabaries called *katakana* and *hiragana*. Why two? Nobody can tell. It is just the same *embarras de richesses* as the two kinds in German. But again, in regard to the grammar and *kana*,—difficulty makes it, I shall not say easy, but easier. There are texts from purest Chinese to purest Japanese in Japan, but as a rule the golden middle reigns there. Instead of Chinese nakedness, horrible to western eyes, and instead of the superfluous decorations of our western tongues, horrible to Chinese, Japanese grammar has a simple and reasonable dress, a light kimono so to say, avoiding both extremes. As in Chinese there are no plurals, genders, and such difficulties, but there are particles and verbal endings of practical use. As to *kana*, the invention of the two *kana* syllabaries may be called overzealous and regrettable. The *kana* invention in itself was a splendid thing for naked Chinese. Often the Japanese are said to be the most receptive nation on this globe, lacking productiveness. Not quite so. Certainly they are imitators, and not bad ones, as their famous struggles with two big nations have shown to the stupefied world—1894-5 and 1904-5. On the battlefield and on the ocean, in plants and shops, in science and

politics, they are working like ants and bees, progressing, and imitating, with astonishing cleverness. But they are reformers, too, let it be remembered. Their *furigana*, a translation, so to say, at the side of the characters for the little man, and especially their *okurigana* between the characters, is a help for the readers. The *furigana* is the consolation of the masses, the *okurigana* is not even despised by learned men. Wise old Japanese preferred reading to brooding, just as we do, as to the tools of thought. The old Japanese, shaking their heads at the nakedness of the Chinese, just as we do now, invented *kana*. So modern Japanese is certainly more than an imitated, distorted, mispronounced Chinese, mixed with a harmonious native tongue reminding us of Castilian or Malay, it is a better, clearer, developed Chinese, the queen of the tongues in the Far East, just as her speakers and writers are the kings of the Orient.

But even Japanese, alas, has some simplicities, for example, like Chinese it often has the bad fashion of dropping the subject, a simplicity leading as we know to another difficulty, and moreover another apparent simplicity is the very small number of sound-combinations in Chinese-Japanese as well as in pure Japanese. Dropping the tones and aspirations of Chinese characters, Chinese-Japanese has more homophones and less sound-combinations (syllables) than any Chinese dialect, even Pekinese not excluded (altogether upward of two hundred), and pure Japanese has still less syllables. This simplicity in learning becomes another difficulty for understanding. This will be sufficient to show that Japanese, like Chinese, is only easy *cum grano salis*.

Now I don't know whether the best Japanese themselves, be it for their belief that their language and writing is awfully difficult only, or for their love of imitation and reform, or for both reasons together, try again and again to get rid of the old-fashioned Chinese characters and *kana* and to simplify their language, especially the written one. So they did when thirty years ago I became a student of Japanese, and so they do now. A society for Latin letters published books, pamphlets and periodicals in our letters in 1887, and a similar society published this printed matter in 1917, but with little success. For the Far East, as it seems, the complicated writing systems are either far above our "twenty-six simple letters" or at least a necessary evil. But the Japanese spirit of enterprise is daring, keen and hopeful notwithstanding. My dear friend here, Mr. T., hopes to find a simple solution of this very great problem of his country in the following reform, I think I must say, revolutionary idea: "Down with the old-fashioned characters which are

out of date (the *kanas* included)! Down with the sinization of pure Japanese! If necessary foreign evils must be, let us prefer a modern one! We must learn European and American thought and express it in Japanese. All right! One foreign thought, one foreign language (English). Why two (Chinese and English)? Why learn the thoughts in English and translate them from English into old Chinese characters? This means nothing more nor less than changing modern Japanese, that is, Chinese-Japanese, into English-Japanese." Of course, if this revolution were possible to-morrow Japanese would be able to write their new tongue with our simple twenty-six letters to-morrow too, and better than we do ours. There seem to be unsurmountable difficulties against this plan similar to that of the unlucky Japanese Minister of Education, Mori, who thought of replacing Japanese by English and who fell a victim to his progressiveness about thirty years ago. But who knows? We are living in a very pugnacious and revolutionary period. In his "Modern Japanese Literature," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, 1913, Professor Dening of Sendai, Japan, tells us what other eminent Japanese scholars and journalists think of the Japanese writing of the future. Of these statements by far the most interesting is that of my old teacher, Prof. Dr. Inoue Tetsujiro, Dean of the Faculty of Letters of the Imperial University of Tokyo. Though an advocate of Romanization, he is convinced that for hundreds of years both systems,—Chinese-Japanese and Western writing—must be used together before dropping the Chinese characters completely, as they link us with the past written in them. It would be just like the simultaneous use of two modes of writing, cuneiform and the alphabetic, before the fall of the Assyrian Empire. In the meantime, perhaps for the rest of our lives and longer, let us hope that by intelligent instruction and study and by Europeanization and Americanization of the dictionary, Japanese as well as Chinese may be made as easy as possible for foreigners and Far Easterners—easy—*cum grano salis*.

THE CENTRUM PARTY'S INFLUENCE IN GERMAN AFFAIRS.

THE FUTURE CONTEST BETWEEN CLERICALISM AND SOCIALISM.

BY EDWARD T. HEYN.

Former American Vice-Consul.

IT is greatly surprising that, although thousands and thousands of articles on German political conditions have appeared in America since the world war, but little has been said of the stupendous influence of the powerful Centrum or Clerical Party. That the Centrum however is an important factor to-day in Germany was fully demonstrated a few months ago when Count von Hertling, a decided ultramontane and former Centrum leader was appointed German Chancellor. Hertling's present, somewhat lukewarm support of the important bill for the reform of the Prussian franchise, as well as the decided opposition to the same measure by a large faction of the Centrum in the Prussian Diet, is abundant proof that the party is not very much in favor of a very radical democratization of German political institutions.

The Centrum Party or Center, why so called? It was so named because its members occupy seats in the center of the German Parliament. Considered politically, the name "Center" admirably characterizes its tendencies, for during its entire history the party has taken an attitude midway between that of the Conservatives and the radical parties of the Left. On many questions, in fact, this party throughout its history has been unstable, assuming a character at times very conservative, while under other conditions it has displayed democratic and very popular tendencies.

Does the Center Party deserve the name "Clerical," so emphatically repudiated by its followers? Let it be said, that before the war there were 23,821,453 Roman Catholics in Germany (as against 39,991,421 Protestants), the majority of which belonged to the "Centrum," "the only party," in the words of the now frequently mentioned Dr. Matthias Erzberger, "in which a consistent German Catholic can be active, for it is the only one which gives him what

he needs with regard to political, religious and educational matters." The Roman Catholics are indeed an active and very influential element in Germany. Does the public of the United States know that in certain German states, as sovereign as any in the American union, Bavaria and Baden, for example, the Catholics are in the majority, and that over 20 percent of the population of Prussia with its almost solidly Catholic Westphalia and the Rhine provinces, Württemberg, Hesse, Oldenburg, are adherents of the Roman Church? The "Centrum" in these states has a large following, and in October 1915 the party adopted a resolution in which it was said: "Besides the protection of material possessions, we hope for the happiness of our dear Fatherland, to carefully cultivate the old religious virtues of the people, which are the cause of the true greatness of Germany, and the means of divine grace." A similar opinion was expressed by one of its prominent members, Gronowski, who in February 1910 said: "If you desire to know the secret of our unity I will unfold it to you, it is our Christian point of view which keeps us together."

Yet the "Centrum" has always denied that it is an exclusively religious party, and especially repudiated the strong indictment framed against it by Bismarck in 1872 when the great Chancellor said: "I have always felt that it was an extraordinary phenomenon in a political direction, that a 'confessional' party faction had formed a political organization. Indeed I have learned that in accepting the principles of the 'Centrum,' neither the German nor the Prussian State can permanently exist." Since that time the Center Party has again and again denied that its aims are primarily religious, asserting especially in a strong party declaration in 1909: "The Centrum is fundamentally a political and not a 'confessional' party. The fact that most of its supporters and deputies belong to the Catholic Church is a sufficient guarantee that in all activities of public life it will support the justified interests of the German Catholics." What is more, the Center Party has repeatedly stated that only in religious matters does it acknowledge the authority of the Vatican, while in exclusively political subjects, in the words of the Reichstag Center member Fehrenbach, "it is uninfluenced by Pope or Bishops." This independence the Center Party displayed on numerous occasions, but especially in 1887, in the great parliamentary fight for the increase of the size of the German army, known as the "Septennate question." The Center Party then refused to support Bismarck's military policy, against the advice of the Roman Hierarchy which had come to an understanding with the

Prussian government in a reform of the obnoxious religious legislation known as the "May Laws." The Pope in fact had asked the Center Party to vote for the military budget, but the organization refused. Later the "Centrum" made a concession by abstaining from voting, and as a result the Reichstag was dissolved. In this connection it was noted at the time, that Baron von Frankenstein, a prominent member of the "Centrum," while visiting Rome in 1887, asked the Pope whether it was his wish that the party should disband as a political organization. His Holiness answered that he considered its continuance necessary in the interest of the Church. In the course of this article I intend to show that the continuance of the close relations which have always existed between the Vatican and the German Center Party, is of vital importance to Roman Catholicism. It certainly constitutes an important element in the recent attempt of the Vatican to bring about an early peace.

The Center Party is a power to be reckoned with. It has 91 deputies in the Reichstag, out of a total number of 397 members. (The Social Democrats in that body have 110 seats.) The clerical influence surrounding the Centrum is best indicated by its membership, for in 1912 at least a dozen of its deputies were than Catholic priests or at one time had belonged to religious orders. The official Reichstag directory for the same year shows that 130 deputies of the parliament were Roman Catholics, affiliated with all parties, while there were 180 Protestants in the entire body.

The growth of the Center Party, from the first day of its establishment has been phenomenal. Starting with over 71,000 voters in 1871 and 63 deputies, in 1890 it received over 1,342,000 votes and elected 106 deputies; in 1912 it received 2,035,290 votes and elected 91 deputies. The total number of votes for all parties cast in 1912 was 12,260,731, divided as follows:

Social Democrats	4,250,399	voters.
Center Party	2,035,290	"
National Liberals	1,672,619	"
Progressive Peoples Party . .	1,528,886	"
Conservatives	1,129,275	"
Free Conservatives	370,287	"

The remainder of the votes in 1912 were received by the smaller parties of the Reichstag, the Poles, Guelfs, Alsatians, Union of Husbandry, Danes and Christian Socialists.

The Center Party, whatever may be said of its former attitude on religious matters, at the present time is a truly German national

party, loyal, moderate and responsible for much constructive legislation, particularly such passed in the interest of the working people. For example, at a time when the Socialists were still opposed to the introduction of State Social Insurance in Germany, the Center supported this measure most enthusiastically. The Center Party has become a great national peoples' party, and no German statesman can ignore it. I am not unmindful of the enormous growth of Social Democracy, but the "Centrum" at the present time holds the balance of power in the Reichstag, and in its support of the parliamentary resolution for more democratic government gave a decided turn to its affairs. If the "Centrum" in the past showed conservative leanings, this attitude was due to its intense hatred of radical liberalism and socialism. Only a year ago a Catholic weekly in Augsburg said that the Center Party would never allow the Social Democrats, the "unbelievers," to become the real rulers of Germany. In connection with the Centrum's support of a peace resolution and democratic reforms, it was generally stated in the American Press that Dr. Matthias Erzberger, the democratic member of the Centrum, was the official leader of the Party, but in fact until quite recently Dr. Peter Spahn, now Prussian Minister of Justice, held that position. Spahn during the war has been a warm supporter of the Government's policies and of the Kaiser. This was indicated by a speech which he made in the Reichstag, in which among other things he declared: "When the enemies of Prussian militarism and of the Hohenzollerns revile the exalted person of the Kaiser, this only tends to bring His Majesty closer to the hearts of the German people."

Spahn speaking thus uttered the real sentiments of the conservative elements of German Catholicism, of the Catholic hierarchy and officials, of the Catholic nobility, and of the Catholic manufacturers of the Rhine, especially of Bavaria and Westphalia. Similar conservative tendencies were also shown by Deputy Fehrenbach of the Center Party, when in introducing the "majority" peace resolution he added:

"If some enemy voices explain the resolution as a sign of weakness, we shall prove that we are ready to fight and capable of achieving victory. Our military situation makes any such misunderstanding impossible, and we therefore make this peace demonstration. If the hand which the German Parliament extends to the enemy is refused by our enemies, we will achieve even greater and more heroic deeds. Then we will show the world that the German people is unconquerable in its unity."

"The Emperor's magnanimous decree extended the field of internal politics in a manner corresponding with the wishes of the people. We hope electoral reform will soon be accomplished without internal strife. As for our parliamentary system, the center party will fully protect the rights of the federal states and those of the Emperor.

"It is hoped the new chancellor will succeed in bringing about a peace which will guarantee free development of the German peoples, but which also will lead to an understanding among the nations."

The Center Party, Friendly to Labor.

"The Center Party" includes, in the words of the late Professor Lamprecht, "all those who in the different layers of society disapprove of the system of capitalist enterprise, and aim at restricting free competition, and substituting a united system based upon Christian principles for the unlimited development of subjective individualism. This would explain for instance the great solicitude which Catholicism has for centuries shown for the Fourth Estate, and its persistent and time-established effort to solve the social problem in a Christian way."

As has already been intimated the Center Party was the most active supporter of State Social Insurance, established in the interest of the German working people. Much has been heard since the war as to the great strength of the German socialist trade unions, the *Gewerkschaften*, but it is not generally known that the so-called "Christian-Social Trade Unions," consisting of both Catholics and Protestants, have a large following. Before the war the socialist trade unions had 2,300,000 members, as compared with 1,300,000 Christian trade unionists. A few years before the war, a bitter and acrimonious controversy stirred up German Catholicism, the issue being the propriety of giving support to these Christian trade unions. The Center Party and the German hierarchy were divided on the question, whether the men of their faith should belong to these unions or to an exclusive Catholic Workman's organization. Giesbert and Schiffer, two very prominent Catholic trade unionists, members of the Christian-Social Trade Union, at a conference held at Zürich in 1910 said: "The Christian Social Trade Unions represent economic aims, they are interconfessional, but as exclusive Church organizations would lose their backbone in the growing economic contests."

The two German Catholic factions known respectively as the

Cologne and Berlin *Richtungen* were completely at odds as to which of the trade unions a Catholic workman should belong. As a result of the bitter contest which ensued, Cardinal Fischer, the highest dignitary of the Church in Germany, in 1910 went to Rome to confer with the Pope on the important question. His Holiness decided that he would take an entirely neutral stand on the matter, urging at the same time that the Executive Catholic Workmen's Union should receive equal support. As a result, while many German Catholics still belong to the so-called Christian-Social Trade Unions, an independent Catholic Workmen's Trade Union organization also exists.

The Center Party and Alsace-Lorraine.

Before the war the two provinces of Alsace-Lorraine had a population of 1,428,343 Catholics as compared to 408,274 Protestants and 30,483 Jews. It is not surprising in view of these figures that not a single utterance can be quoted indicating that German Catholics are willing to voluntarily give up the provinces to France. Dr. Ricklin, a prominent Alsatian and members of the "Centrum," president of the Alsatian Diet, said in that body:

"Gentlemen, we cannot depart without expressing the hope and wish for an honorable peace. We need not hush our cries for peace because this war has brought untold agony upon our country and population, and it is becoming evermore apparent that separation of Alsace-Lorraine from Germany is assuming a preponderant position among our opponents' war aims. Therefore we owe it to our conscience to declare that the people of Alsace-Lorraine decidedly reject the idea that this terrible bloodshed shall be continued for their sake and that they have no other desire than to remain inseparably united with the German Empire, which best guarantees their cultural, economic and political future, having proper regard for our national peculiarity."

Dr. Ricklin uttered the real sentiments of German Catholicism, for the "Centrum" as a truly German national party is naturally opposed to giving up Alsace-Lorraine, for of course with the return of these provinces to France the party would lose at least five deputies in the Reichstag with a consequent reduction of political influence in the German parliament.

The Center as a Political Factor.

As has already been said, the Center Party has frequently supported progressive measures. It voted for the establishment of

the gold standard, favored colonial reforms and building of railroads in the German colonial possessions. It brought about the more humane treatment of the natives in the colonies. It was very active in the legislation establishing the famous Civic Code, which gave Germany more uniform laws. The Centrum voted for the army increases, building and extension of the German navy, for more liberal pensions for the veterans, restricting speculation in futures, and more equitable distribution of taxes. It supported legislation limiting the power of the Cartels and monopolies. It aided in limiting the abuses of common soldiers by their officers, and was most energetic in opposing dueling in the army. Indeed, largely as a result of the work of the Center Party in that direction no German Catholic before the war would accept a challenge to a duel. The Center Party, while at one time a free trade party, later changed its attitude on the question and supported increased customs' duties, not only on manufactured goods but especially on agrarian products. The agrarian members of the Center Party from South Germany repeatedly favored higher duties in order to hit the agrarian products imported from Russia, Austro-Hungary and the United States.

The Center Party however did not display a similar "backbone" when the German Government, in order to obtain additional revenues, endeavored to impose a special national tax on inheritances. This legislation was bitterly fought by the Conservatives, and the Center Party supported the "Junkers" in order not to antagonize its own followers belonging to the landed nobility and representing capitalist interests.

The Future Contest Between the Center Party and Social Democracy.

It is now certain, whatever may be the outcome of the war, that Germany will become more democratic and obtain a government responsible to the Reichstag. The Center Party by lending its support to the "majority party" peace resolution demonstrated its interest, and in cooperation with the Social Democrats and Liberals favored the change of the Reichstag suffrage. For the Centrum now recognizes, though it has not always done so in the past, that the existing national suffrage laws have heretofore been largely nullified by a specious system of districting or gerrymandering. Despite the enormous shifting of population from the country to the industrial centers the socialists did not obtain the number of deputies to which they were entitled according to their votes. In

Berlin for example before the war they had only six deputies when according to population they were really entitled to ten. A similar injustice prevailed in the electoral systems for the various state legislatures of Germany. If the Conservative Party, the famous party of the "Junkers" is largely responsible for the peculiar system of suffrage heretofore existing in Prussia, its continuation up to this time is in large measure due to the Center Party, which refused its aid to change "the most miserable of all electoral franchises" as Bismarck once called the Prussian three-class system.

It is quite clear, whatever may be the result of the war, that the Center Party will continue to be a dominant factor in German politics. Prince Buelow, the former German Chancellor, once said: "If the Center Party did not exist it would be necessary to create it as a bulwark against Social Democracy, and as a 'stopgap' between the extreme views of the parties of the right and left." In his interesting book *Imperial Germany*, Prince Buelow, whose downfall was largely brought about through the influence of the Center, says: "I never for a moment failed to realize the inconvenience that was entailed by dissolving the Reichstag, and thus breaking with a party so powerful and so tenacious as the Centrum."

Tenacity indeed has always been the strongest trait of the Center Party, and it has never hesitated to make alliances with other parties to accomplish a purpose. At times it was even willing to make deals with the hated socialists, as it did in 1907, when the party leaders of the Bavarian Centrum and the Bavarian Socialists met in the famous Dom at Speyer, and formed a secret coalition to fight the forces of the government and the allied parties known as the "Bloc." And again in 1912 when the "Bloc" was broken the Center Party did not hesitate to support the Conservatives in their opposition to inheritance taxes and reform of the Prussian franchise system. As once was said by the liberal leader Dr. Bamberger, "The Centrum can boast of being the sweetheart whose love all political parties in Germany desire."

Religious Contest of the Future.

Despite the past and present understandings established between the Center and the Social Democrats, it is certain that a big contest will be fought between the two parties when the war is over. The Center, allied with the Conservatives and the forces of religious orthodoxy, both Catholic and Protestant, will then bitterly oppose every move made by German Liberalism to bring about a separation between Church and State and the consequent abolishment of re-

ligious instruction in the public and private schools, not only in Protestant Prussia, but also in Catholic Bavaria and in the other German Federal States. Under present conditions every religious denomination, whether Protestant, Catholic or Jewish, receives state aid. A tax-payer required to make a statement of his income is compelled to make known the religious denomination to which he belongs. When the tax bill comes in he finds an additional amount added for the support of the particular church of which he is an adherent. A non-church member must advance most convincing proof to avoid the payment of a church tax. Even foreigners in Prussia are required after three months residence to pay income taxes and are subject to this church tax. Americans living in Berlin before the war usually were exempt from this tax in case they could show that they belonged to the American church in that city.

The relation between State and Church in Prussia as well as in the other Federal States of Germany is most intimate, especially with regard to questions relating to religious instruction in the schools. Every child attending school has to spend certain hours a week in a class of his religious denomination. The Poles of the Province of Posen for many years fought the requirement of the Prussian State for the religious instruction of school-children in German. At times strenuous attempts have been made to evade the law compelling this attendance. Hoffmann, a socialist member of the Prussian Landtag, objected to the law which required him to send his child to a religious class. He said that although he was a Protestant he would, if his request was refused, send his child to the Jewish instruction, and when an exemption was denied, he carried out his threat.

This question of Church and State will have to be solved before Germany can be democratized and more liberal government is introduced. The Center Party, rather than see the Liberals and Socialists in power, will support every move of the Imperial and various German federal governments to combat advanced ideas. For it must be borne in mind that the Center Party to-day believes as it has in the past, in a monarchical form of government, in the union of church and state, and in the language of the famous Bishop von Ketteler, in every activity which will guard the German nation against "materialism and unbelief." The Center Party in one of its party declarations stated: "The foundation of the Center tower rests on religion; it is the strength of our power. The Center is a Christian party."

In view of the peculiar party conditions in Germany, it needs

hardly to be said that the Imperial and state governments of the country in the future as they have done in the past will do everything to please and satisfy the Center Party. For it has been the policy of the German governments, for the sake of religious peace to maintain a "parity" between Catholics and Protestants, and political questions therefore were often considered primarily from a religious standpoint. The Center Party in the course of the present war has given an example of its great influence by the passage of a law permitting the Jesuits to enter Germany. This question has been a bone of contention between Church and State for forty years. A few years ago the Reichstag passed a law permitting German Jesuits to establish their orders in Germany, and the above-name legislation now extends a similar privilege to foreign Jesuits. It is fortunate that the present war has put an end for the time being at least, to the unfortunate religious differences which formerly existed between the various religious denominations of Germany. A few years ago, for example, in the ultra-Protestant states like Brunswick, Mecklenburg and Saxony German Catholics complained bitterly of religious discrimination against them by state religious synods. Erzberger in his book on the German Centrum mentions the fact that a foreign priest was not allowed to offer the death-sacrament to a communicant in the above-named Protestant states. On the other hand it is only fair to say that in certain Catholic states like Bavaria, Alsace and Baden, and the Prussian province of Posen, the Center was most anxious to retain narrowly sectarian instruction in the public schools.

What Will Be the future Relations of the Pope with France and with Germany?

It will be remembered that for twelve years before the war, the relations of the Holy See and France were very strained owing to the Republic's disestablishment of the Church. One was reminded of this bitter contest by a speech made by Mr. O'Connor, the Irish Nationalist, visiting America, who in speaking before the Aldine Club of New York said that some Americans were not anxious to fight for "atheistic France." (Atheistic translated into plain English: Church disestablishment.) Mr. O'Connor however at the same time assured his hearers, that both priests and unbelievers were fighting the "Prussian Junkers," in which latter category he undoubtedly also included the German soldiers belonging to the Center Party and the Bavarians fighting in Belgium. On the other hand the relations between the Vatican and the Im-

perial German and Prussian Governments before the war were cordial and intimate. The last two popes before Benedict XV frequently referred to the excellent position of Catholics in Germany. Prussia, a Protestant state, sent a minister to the Holy See. The Kaiser repeatedly visited Catholic churches and convents, presented valuable gifts to Catholic orders, contributed to the rebuilding of ancient cathedrals, and took pleasure in being the guest of the Catholic nobility of Silesia, of Alsace, and of the rich Catholic manufacturers of the Rhine. The late Cardinal Kopp was the link in the various questions negotiated between the Prussian State and the Catholic Church, especially concerning the delicate Polish problem. Kopp's successors, Cardinals Fischer and Hartmann, continued the friendly policy and complete understanding between the Holy See and the Prussian Government. In 1905, when France disestablished the Church, Germany became the protector of German Catholic missions in the Orient, a position previously held by the French Republic.

The Influence of the Center After the War.

During the great religious contest known as the *Kulturkampf* fought between the Center Party and the Prussian Government Bismarck dramatically said: "We shall not go to Canossa," referring to the historical incident of the twelfth century when a German emperor dressed in sackcloth and on bended knees had to beg forgiveness of the pope, in order to escape from the bonds of excommunication. Bismarck in the nineteenth century, after the great *Kulturkampf* was over, had to admit that he had been the loser and that only "ashes and ruins" remained. The famous Prussian minister of finance von Miquel once said to Dr. Lieber, the Center leader, that the German Government had committed three asinities (*Eseleien*), the *Kulturkampf*, the anti-socialist laws and the obnoxious anti-Polish policy; and in consideration of possible future political events in Germany, the question occurs to the writer, will the Kaiser, and his government, allied with Conservatives and National Liberals, make a similar mistake and strengthen the Center Party, the party which in its blind hatred of Liberalism and Socialism aims to sustain the relation of Church and State, and retain religious instruction in the public schools? However, who knows what may happen after the world war? Everything is possible as long as the Center Party is powerful in German political affairs, for in popular German vernacular, it always holds the trumps.

MISCELLANEOUS.

ARTHUR MACHEN AND "THE ANGELS OF MONS."

BY VINCENT STARRETT.

There can be little doubt that Arthur Machen started the "legend." In a nutshell, the facts are these: Arthur Machen is a special writer employed by the London *Evening News*, in whose columns shortly after the retreat from Mons appeared a sketch from his pen, called "The Bowmen." It told of the miraculous appearance of the English archers of Agincourt at a time when the British were hard pressed by the Germans, and whose "singing arrows fled so swift and thick that they darkened the air."

The story was seized upon at once by church and laity; rich man, poor man, beggar man, thief, as an actual narrative and immediately other stories began to be heard, of other miraculous appearances, superinduced unquestionably by Machen's story, for until after the publication of that story there was no "legend" whatsoever. The spiritualists and other occultists took it up, and pamphlets and articles were written briskly.

Somebody—I think Ralph Shirley—had the inspiration finally to write to Machen asking for his data. Machen replied simply with the truth—that the tale was purely fictional; he had "made it up out of his head," but by reason of his supreme art [this expression is mine] he lent to it such a startling verisimilitude that it appeared to be an actual chronicle. Shirley could not believe it—would not; nor would the others. The story was reprinted a dozen times, perhaps, and the whole affair became a sort of hysteria for a time.

The "angels" idea probably grew out of Machen's line in the tale about "a long line of shapes, with a shining about them." Also Machen had mentioned St. George in the story—so there were now tales from soldiers who had seen St. George. And so on. The outstanding fact is, however, that none of the legends existed until *after* publication of Machen's story. Machen sticks to this absolutely, and he is thoroughly trustworthy and patriotic.

You will find a complete exposition of the "legend" in the book of war "legends" published by Machen in 1915, and to be had in this country from Putnam. In a prologue and an epilogue Machen sums up the case as it appears to him, and finds matter for considerable cynical amusement.

He does not deny the possibility of miraculous intervention, nor do I, (I know nothing about these things!) but in this instance it seems certain there was no such phenomenon.

Machen is my friend and is one of the great masters of English literature. Machen is Welsh; not German—as his name might mislead one to believe! He has been gloriously ignored for thirty years. But he ranks—and I hope this letter will turn up some day a hundred years from now, when it will have become apparent to all—with Cervantes and Rabelais and Boccaccio! Read his great novel *The Hill of Dreams*; and his remarkable short stories in *The House of Souls*; and his long-out-of-print Rabelaisian masterpiece, *The Chronicle of Clemency*—if you can get them. They are worth buying at any price.

NUMENIUS OF APAMEA, The Father of Neo-Platonism. By *Kenneth Sylvan Guthrie*. London: George Bell and Sons, 1917. Pp. 215. Price \$1.25.

It is a great pity that so little of the voluminous writings of Numenius have come down to us, for what Dr. Guthrie has collected from fragments scattered through the works of early Christian Fathers and others and printed facing his excellent English renderings, arouses a desire for the complete text. Until Dr. Guthrie published this volume, which is practically identical with his doctor's dissertation submitted to the faculty of Columbia University, it had been thought that this Greek thinker of the reign of Marcus Aurelius was rather a Neo-Pythagorean and as such a forerunner of Neo-Platonism than a claimant to the honor, which has been traditionally conceded to Ammonius of Sakkas, of being the "Father of Neo-Platonism." However, if it is true that Plato "borrowed everything from Pythagoras and Moses, and Numenius is a Neo-Pythagorean as well as a mystic, quoted with approval by Pagan and Christian, on the one hand, by Porphyry, Chalcidius, and other like; on the other by Clement of Alexandria, Origen and Eusebius of Nicomedia," it can well be that the title in question belongs to the man of greater influence, in this case Numenius.

His *History of the Platonic Succession* was written to show "how far the later Platonists had strayed from their master, and how abortive these attempts were; what the genuine Plato had believed, with indications how to return thither." He always expresses the greatest reverence for and loyalty to Plato, who, as he insisted had collected the best of the best: Socrates and Pythagoras.

Philo of Alexandria, a Jew, has been by some accorded the precious title, but Dr. Guthrie makes the telling point that while he acknowledges Plato's philosophy as representative, it was to him no more than an interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures to which he demanded ultimate loyalty.

Numenius was a man of the world; he was not limited to Greek and Egyptian mysteries, but talked familiarly of the myths of Brahmins and Magi. It is however his knowledge and use of the Hebrew Scriptures which distinguishes him from other Greek philosophers. He refers to Moses simply as "the prophet," exactly as for him Homer is "the poet." Plato is the Greek Moses. It is remarkable that so wellknown a writer and thinker has left no account of the facts of his life that can be regarded as authoritative. He seems to have led a quiet but very human existence, being interested in dogs, hunting, wild animals, eggs and fishes. Philosophy, poetry and religion were his life, but an absence of austerity and an ever present fund of humor made him evidently a likable man. For him the "world-directing divinity is a pilot, safely steering the world-ship, by raising his eyes to find his way through the starry vault above him." The "human soul in search of ecstatic harmony is a boat hidden until the last moment by the waves of life's ocean." These two fancies may be but a variant of his master's famous simile of the relations between soul and body as illustrated by those of rider and horse. He united Hebraism and Egyptian philosophy as the soul of a new Platonic movement, considering it his mission to prepare for popular enjoyment and use the best in philosophy.

Dr. Guthrie, teacher clergyman professor, has brought to the compilation of this little editorial gem, long experience and and much erudition, giving us in handy compact form a valuable contribution to an interesting phase in the history of the transition from Greek philosophy to Christian teachings. •

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THE GOSPEL OF BUDDHA

By

DR. PAUL CARUS

Pocket Edition. Illustrated. Cloth, \$1.00; flexible leather, \$1.50

This edition is a photographic reproduction of the *édition de luxe* which was printed in Leipsic in 1913 and ready for shipment in time to be caught by the embargo Great Britain put on all articles exported from Germany. Luckily two copies of the above edition escaped, and these were used to make the photographic reproduction of this latest edition. While the Buddhist Bible could not in any way be considered a contraband of war yet the publishers were forced to hold back many hundred orders for the book on account of orders in council of Great Britain.

When the book was first published His Majesty, the King of Siam, sent the following communication through his private secretary:

"Dear Sir: I am commanded by His Most Gracious Majesty, the King of Siam, to acknowledge, with many thanks, the receipt of your letter and the book, *The Gospel of Buddha*, which he esteems very much; and he expresses his sincerest thanks for the very hard and difficult task of compilation you have considerably undertaken in the interest of our religion. I avail myself of this favorable opportunity to wish the book every success."

His Royal Highness, Prince Chandradat Chudhadharn, official delegate of Siamese Buddhism to the Chicago Parliament of Religions, writes:

"As regards the contents of the book, and as far as I could see, it is one of the best Buddhist Scriptures ever published. Those who wish to know the life of Buddha and the spirit of his Dharma may be recommended to read this work which is so ably edited that it comprises almost all knowledge of Buddhism itself."

The book has been introduced as a reader in private Buddhist schools of Ceylon. Mrs. Marie H. Higgins, Principal of the Musaeus School and Orphanage for Buddhist Girls, Cinnamon Gardens, Ceylon, writes as follows:

"It is the best work I have read on Buddhism. This opinion is endorsed by all who read it here. I propose to make it a text-book of study for my girls."

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ILLINOIS



INTERIOR OF THE KONDO, CHIEF SANCTUARY OF KOYASAN
MONASTERY.

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THE WORD OR THE SWORD?

BY FRANKLIN KENT GIFFORD.

IN the year 40 A. D., as now reckoned, the King of Parthia sat in his cabinet, awaiting the coming of his Vizier, and meanwhile breaking his fast with a small dish of flat, unleavened bread and a cup of wine. A noiseless attendant bestowed these things; and then, at a sign from his master, withdrew, leaving the King alone.

Though a cabinet, the room was spacious, making with its rare and costly hangings a fit setting for this majestic man, the King. The front of Moses or Jove, the calm, stern eye, touched with benevolence, and all the hall-marks of a powerful, reigning personality were in this man. Neither was anything assumed; but all was natural, unforced, and unconscious.

Presently, the Vizier entered, saluted, and paused at attention, while the King held him in a contemplative glance.

The Vizier was a young man of about thirty, with features stamped with idealism. Austerely clad, in spite of his office, he was a fine, flaming picture of unfallen youth, such as might once have belonged to the King yonder.

But if the thought occurred to the monarch, his countenance remained impassive as he motioned his minister to a seat. Then, drawing from beneath his robe a small roll of papyrus, he tossed it down beside the bread and the wine, saying:

"This roll was found in thy quarters and handed to me. I have therefore summoned thee to explain if thou canst, the presence of this revolutionary document among the papers of a king's officer."

The young man turned pale, and sat a moment with his eyes held by the fascination of the roll of papyrus, lying on the table

before the King. Then recovering himself, in part, he began his defence:

"Your Majesty has been so good as to commend certain acts of my administration, whereby the realm has been eased of injustice; and the cry of the poor has been heard; and the hire of the laborer is not kept back. But Sire, if aught has been done that is worthy of your praise, the honor is due to the words of yonder roll which men call 'The Good News.'"

A great shadow swept athwart the face of the King; his eyes blurred, and his royal robe heaved with a powerful emotion, till presently, it passed and left him as before, serene and august.

"It is high praise for a small roll of papyrus," he observed. "But smaller rolls have hurled kings from their thrones, ere now; and who shall say what this one may do, if it be not rigorously suppressed?"

The Vizier was silent.

"Speak!" said the King. "Canst thou honestly deny that the doctrine of this roll is destructive of all kingship?"

"Sire," returned the Vizier, like a man fronting death without fear, "the day will come when kings will be no more; but meanwhile, even kings may learn from this roll how to govern."

"Well spoken!" said the King. "It is weariness to hear evermore nothing but lies; and because thou art a born truth-speaker, I have chosen thee out of all Parthia, when many are made for thy office. But one fault thou hast: a too easy confidence in men. And therefore have I summoned thee before me: not to convict thee of possessing this notorious document. What are papyrus rolls to me? No, but to bid thee beware of thine enemies. Hide yonder roll where no eye may see it but thine. Or better yet, burn it at once in yonder brazier."

"No! No! your Majesty! No!" protested the young man, pale with apprehension. "Already, this roll is your Majesty's salvation! It hath made us countless friends; and the whole people rallies around the King. To burn it now would be to burn—nay, to crucify our saviour!"

Again the great shadow darkened the face of the King, whose blurred eyes dwelt on vacancy.

"Friends!" he echoed, grimly. "Ay, and enemies too! Hide it, then, young man, deep as the grave; and learn from me the reason why. Yea, why it is necessary to do good by stealth, or be cut off untimely, like your Nazarene of the papyrus yonder. Young man, I have read thy roll; and thinkest thou it hath told me aught?"

Ay, as some old lesson that men learn and teach and so forget, till they hear it, one day, on the lips of others."

The Vizier's troubled amazement was decently veiled, but not hid from the King.

"Young man, if it sound like madness—what I am about to relate—believe me, as thou believest yonder roll, I, the King of Parthia, can tell a tale which is fellow to that. Thy Nazarene, his good news and life and death—what is it but my very own?"

The Vizier's face was a study in astonishment which he vainly strove to curb into the semblance of understanding.

"It is true, Sire," he stammered, "that the Nazarene himself has prophesied concerning many who should bear his cross; and" he paused in confusion.

"And of these," prompted the King, "it is possible I am one? Ay, it is possible!" he smiled, with a secret irony. "He bore, as thou observest, my own name which, indeed, was common in that country, where I dwelt in my youth. And I bear, as thou mayest note, certain marks in my hands."

Whereat he spread them out, eyed them with stern thoughtfulness, and added:

"Likewise in my feet. The marks of the Romans, which few have borne and lived to tell the tale.

"And the Romans bear," he continued with the wild light of justice crossing his countenance, "the marks of my sword. A defeat so crushing as they have but newly received at the hands of a Parthian king, they will not soon forget."

The face of the young Vizier wore a mingled look of incredulous horror and compassion for the King who bore the marks of a crucified slave. Then the King drew the royal robe over his scars and resumed his narrative.

"Young man, thou art touched with this passion of the Nazarene for a thankless world. Have I not felt it? Yea, and as good as died for it. These scars bear me witness how I won the hatred of the Roman assassins and the good people of the little province I had hoped to save from its littleness. I was a young dreamer, like thy Nazarene, whose garbled speeches thou readest in the little papyrus thou art so zealous to hide. But have no fear of the King. These thoughts were my own in those days. Mine, say I? The thoughts of all generous youth, with souls awake to the world-passion. Ay, surely, thy Nazarene was a man."

"Ay, your Majesty," said the Vizier; "and some there be who begin to call him a god."

The King nodded with a certain colossal irony. "If so, it would not be the first," said he. "It was ever the way of men: to first crucify and then deify a son of man; and so return every one to his own way, and make the cross of none effect.

"In those days, mark well, my sympathies were with the world. The poor, damned world of suffering, blundering fellow men! What better could I do with my life than lay it down, if need be, for these my friends?

"But trust me, young Sir, he who has given his life, and then contemplates the result, will feel otherwise. His sympathies will return, at last, to himself; to one man against the world. Why not? When David fought Goliath, that vast bully and braggart, is not our sympathy with David against the giant, who says to the generous youth: 'Come to me, and I will give thy flesh to the birds and beasts.' One man against the world, that vaster Goliath! Yet the man outwits the monster and brings it to its knees! Harken, young man, to the story of that battle; and if thou art still convinced that the world may be conquered by such weapons as generous youth would employ—why, go to your Nazarene and be crucified. I warn thee, it will come to that."

"Ay, and why not, O King?" said the Vizier calmly.

"My tale shall be thy answer," returned the King, with an equal calm. "Thy Jesus died; but had he lived? Had he survived the Roman cross, as I did, by a sort of miracle, or chance, or favor of God? Call it what thou wilt. When will the world cease to quarrel about words?

"Once upon a time, a spirit came to the young man yonder and offered him a sword. Thinkest thou it was no temptation? With the Romans in the land, robbing, killing, enslaving a once free people? A people, mark thou, whose genius was to the Roman as Hyperion to a satyr. With the sword of David on his thigh, what might he not have done? Yet the young man refused the sword, and called him Satan who offered it.

"Ay, but had he lived, as I lived and survived the Roman cross, what would he then have called him? For I too have met him and turned him away; and long afterward I met him again; and his face was as the face of an angel. I took the sword he offered and smote the Romans; and young man, I reign; and the earth still holds a nation that causes the Romans to quake in their beds; and that nation is Parthia."

The Vizier sat pale and confounded by this fabulous past of his august master, the greatest mind and strongest hand of the

whole East. It was a tale, the like of which he had not read in parchment or vellum: this escape of the rebel and gallows-bird to a throne!

"Ay, thou mayest wonder," said the King, as he took up his parable which he had lived. "But hast thou ever wondered how I earned these scars? Men say, in battle. Ay, but no such battle as late I fought with the Romans, and rode them down to the last man; so that he who escaped the sword, the arrow overtook. And there was weeping in proud Rome, and lamentation among her mothers; and as they had done to others, so did we unto them."

The young Vizier winced, and held his peace with an effort; but the wound did not escape the keen eye of the King.

"Thou wincest!" said he. "At this reversal of the Christian rule by one who has taught it to others! Ay, but hast thou never marked how the baser lesson succeeds, where the nobler fails with such as the Romans? Even as a contentious woman, that mocks at kindness and rewards the hard hand with her obedience—ay, and with her love!—such, O young man, is this Roman world of ours, where all lessons are lost but one. And that one?" He lifted the right hand that had slain the Roman legionaries, and let it fall like retribution.

The Vizier winced again; but the King paid no heed, till presently, rousing as from a dream, he resumed:

"Not so was the battle of my youth, wherein I obtained these scars; but it happened in this wise.

"He that refuseth the sword hath already put his trust in the word,—a mightier weapon, if it take time to its ally. Such was my weapon in those days; and with it, I braved the might of Rome; yea, and of mine own oppressed native land. And yet, I made head against them all; for the common people heard me gladly, even as your Nazarene, until tribulation and persecution....

"But why tell what is better told in yonder roll? Of a young man's sublime hope? His faith in men? His betrayal? His condemnation? His cross? Ay, and why not? Thousands have hung there for less; and why not I, for bearding the Romans and their lackeys, and preaching release to the captives? This was ever the way to the cross; and shall be for ages to come. And yet, I planned to right the ageless wrong, and that within the lifetime of a single man! Neither did I shrink from the utmost penalty of my calling, but paid it in full.

"To cherish a vain hope, to fail by treachery, to bear a cross in weakness, to feel the nails driven home, to hang eternities long,

to call on God in vain, and then to call on Death. .such, O young man, is the reward laid up for him who would preach release to the captives of a Roman world. At length it was finished; and the noble youth was no more."

"But his resurrection, Sire?" interrupted the eager Vizier. "Could such a youth remain in the grave?"

"Thousands! Whom the world hath forgot;" answered the grim old King. "Or if a single one be remembered, the hand of God must intervene against the ingratitude of Man. Did I share this intervention with your dreamer? Perhaps. Who can say? There remained, however, this difference.

"The disciples of your Nazarene dispute, I have heard, as to the manner of his resurrection. Be that as it may: I rose in the body. Or to tell it as it happened, I found myself lifted on the shoulders of men or angels and borne from the cavern where I had been laid. After that I slept and dreamed endlessly, and awoke at last in a remote village among friends. When sufficiently recovered, I joined a caravan with which I journeyed to a far country. So I regained my bodily strength and practised myself in feats of horsemanship. Ay, and of arms!"

The Vizier sat in growing fascination, his countenance of a marble pallor, while the King resumed his tale.

"He that awaketh from the dead after his crucifixion will awake a new creature. Perhaps a better, perhaps a worse; but certes another man; and which of these awakened with me, let God be judge.

"I had died, mark well, for the people; the world; the truth; and now I found myself alive—risen, as it were, from the grave—the question rose with me: 'Was it worth while?' Not that I had died in vain. At any rate, I had died for the supreme passion wherewith men are tempted for the welfare of Man; the greatest, my friend, to which man can yield. And now I woke from death with that passion somewhat cooled; and asking myself: 'Was it worth while? Is the world worth saving—in that way? Was he a devil or was he an angel who offered me the sword?"

"So musing, I found myself in another mood of mind toward men I had formerly condemned. Toward Cæsar, for example; the great Julius, who employed the one force to which the men of his day were prepared to bow. Other talents he had, as thou readest in the scroll of vellum yonder. If not so great as mine, why great, none the less; but what availed they against the Beast whose name was Rome? To plead in the Roman Senate or Forum for justice,

mercy, and a humble walk with God,—what should that bring him but the fate of the Gracchi, of whom thou redest in the same chronicles? Ay, and not their death alone, but their failure? The fruitless sacrifice that awaits all noble youth who perish for brute beasts which obey naught but the lash!

“Yea, and it came to me that the enemies of mankind do more assist them in these brute days, than all the friends they do betray and crucify and forget!

“Nay, young man, I know the word on thy lips. Thou wouldst say: the Nazarene is an exception. Him, at least, they have not forgotten? Nay, but he is no exception; for what have they done but make him Cæsar? And to have made him Cæsar is to have forgotten him.”

So saying, the King paused in stern triumph that challenged contradiction; while the young Vizier cleared his throat and with dry lips faltered out:

“It is true, Sire, that many have forgotten; and are content to endow him with a kingly crown; but others there be who remember.”

“Ay, and thou art one,” smiled the King. “One in a million of his followers who shall more and more content themselves with the shadow of power and glory such as men squander on every base usurper. Thinkest thou he ever sought such baubles, or valued them? Nay, not even the crown wherewith that devil-angel tempted him, did he value for itself, but that he might right the wrongs of men!” cried the King with an up-wave of passion that leaped and fell like a dying fire.

Then, as if ashamed of the rare outburst, he resumed his normal tone of dispassionate calm.

“Such was now my attitude to the world for which I had lately died. I still retained my love to man; but touched now with contempt; the love of a father for a froward child that owns no rule but that of the rod. Yet for this thankless child I had poured out my blood! A wretch had betrayed me; but to whom or what? To wretches like himself. To a world of traitors with itching palms, eager to sell themselves and one another for somewhat to put in their craven bellies, ere the grave should open and swallow them.

“Thinkest thou I longer dreamed of casting pearls before such swine? Nay, but for them that are unworthy of the word, God hath appointed the sword; and of this weapon I now made proof.

“Long had I pondered these things, when the appointed day

found me with the guard of a great caravan, traveling from Arabia into Parthia. Thence, as we marched, we encountered the Roman legionaries, marching toward us. There was no escape. We fell upon them; and I, seized with an ancient fury for the wrongs of my race, caught up the sword and shield of a fallen Parthian and slew and slew. I was as an avenging angel, and Jehovah strengthened mine arm. Thrice I rallied the Parthians; and when the battle was won, and the last Roman overtaken and slain, the bleeding Parthians hailed me as saviour. They gave me a captaincy; and when the king heard of that way, he confirmed it with an oath; and in due time I was made captain of the host. Again we met the Romans; and again we let not one escape; for the arrow outran their swiftest horse.

"With this victorious army, I put myself where wisdom is seldom found: upon a throne. The king was dead in battle; the kingdom torn with dissensions; I alone could save it. I accepted the task; and none denied the conqueror of the Romans his right to reign."

The Vizier cleared his throat and stammered a question:

"But Sire, the cross? The divine sacrifice?"

"Ay, of the higher to the lower! Of man to brutes! Of God to Satan! Young man," said the King sternly, "the saviours of the future will not allow themselves to be eaten by dogs; why, then, should one of them permit it to-day? Lice, it is said, devoured Democritus; and other lice killed Socrates; but thinkest thou the children of maggots will forever have their way with the children of light? Nay, but already thou seest how a single man has known how to put maggots in their places."

The Vizier made no answer, but sat as one appalled.

"Yet think not," said the King, "that here in my day of power, I deride my youth. Never, young man! Never! And why have I chosen thee out of all Parthia to be my Vizier? Because in thee have I seen the generous purpose that brought me to the cross; and that my choice standeth approved, know all men by these signs: that in Parthia, the hire of the laborer is not kept back; and in all my realm no man ventures to devour widows' houses or trample the faces of the poor, in whom is the strength of the nation. For what shall the king himself do without his good, strong choppers and fishers and plowmen and bowmen that, whether in peace or war, do fight his battles? Yea, and the battles of all prideful fools that call themselves nobles and are not! And this, O young man, have I conquered with my sword, where once my word—"

He ceased for choking indignation ; and cleared his throat with a swallow of wine.

"Thou seest !" he observed. "It irks me yet, to think how little the world is moved by a power which, if men were men, and not brutes, would reign supreme. Small wonder if such as mine was wasted on a world like this. It was a pearl cast before swine ; and verily, as thy private papyrus stateth, they trampled it under foot. But swine will have naught but a driver ; and a driver they had in me at last ; for whoso is deaf to the word shall harken to the sword.

"Nay, if they will, they shall be men ; but so long as they are swine—" he lifted his hand and let it fall. "They shall have masters like me, seeing they will have no other. They shall lick base hands for favors, such as thou and I have granted for the sake of noble youth. Ay, and for this mustard seed of justice, the king may any day receive a dagger ! A poisoned cup !"

The Vizier stirred, cleared his throat, and wetted his dry lips for a question :

"O King, live forever ! Yet tell me : thinkest thou, in the days to come, when men shall put their trust in better things, it is Parthia they shall remember, or Galilee ?"

"It is Galilee," said the stern old King. "The Nazarene, and not I. But thou, O young man, answer me this. In the day that now is, and in this Parthia of ours, (which can laugh and weep as well as any generation unborn), which, think you, is remembered, when the people rejoice : the Nazarene or the King ?"

The young Vizier arose and, bowing low before the King, replied :

"Sire, it is thou."

So saying, he would have gone ; but the King detained him.

"Stay ! Thou art ghastly pale ! A morsel of bread and a sup of wine before thou goest ?"

And with his own hand, the King poured a cup and offered it.

The youth stood marble-pale in awe-struck fascination.

"Look !" said he. "The unleavened bread !—and the wine ! Sire, who art thou ?"

"I am the King of Parthia," said the monarch. "Eat, my friend and drink—to the Noble Youth."



INTERIOR OF THE TAHOTO, SHOWING GOCHI NYORAI.

THE KOYASAN MONASTERY AND ITS ART TREASURES.

BY HARADA JIRO.

THE Koyasan is the greatest Buddhist monastery in Japan. It was founded by Kobo Daishi, the most celebrated of all Japanese Buddhist saints, in 816 A. D., in the reign of Emperor Saga, who made a grant of an extensive piece of land for that purpose. Properly speaking, Koyasan is the name of a mountain not very



FUDO MYO-O.



GOZANZE MYO-O.

far from Nara, the capital of Japan from 709 to 184 A. D. But it is popularly applied to the monastery situated on that mountain on a table land some 3000 feet above the sea level. The place was chosen by Kobo Daishi as best suited for spiritual meditation and religious discipline, being far removed from human habitations and

surrounded by two rows of eight peaks each, symbolic of a lotus flower, the flower which stands for the purity of religion—growing out of quagmire and blooming, as it does, pure and unsoiled.

During the eleven hundred years of its existence, the monastery has had its history. Once it had more than two thousand temples, with an extensive dominion for its support. Now there are only about one hundred temples, the land having been taken over by the government soon after the restoration of 1868. However, they have thousands of tributary temples throughout Japan and annually tens of thousands of pilgrims from all over the empire visit the mauso-



THE FUDO-DO.

leum of Kobo Daishi on Koyasan, and the monastery still has a great influence over the minds of the people. Until about forty-five years ago, no women pilgrims were allowed on the mountain, and it was only a few years ago that they were permitted to dwell on its sacred soil. The priests have omitted flesh and fish from their diet, strictly following one of the Five Rules:

“Kill not—for Pity’s sake—and lest ye slay
The meanest thing upon its upward way.”

The priests and pilgrims to the present day subsist on vegetables only, still following the will of its founder.

Repeated conflagrations, the most of which were caused by lightning, destroyed many temples, though they have been rebuilt from time to time. The latest great fire lasted for two days and destroyed buildings of more than seventy temples. Such being the case, in spite of its long history, the number of very old buildings is remarkably small. The oldest building on the mountain is the Fudo-do (*do* meaning a sort of chapel with an object of worship) now under the special protection of the central government. It was built 720 years ago and now contains nine wooden images of surpassing workmanship classed as "National Treasures." They are Fudo Myo-o, God Immovable, and Hachi Dai Doji, or the



INTERIOR OF FUDO-DO, SHOWING FUDO MYO-O.

Eight Great Boys attendant on Fudo Myo-o. Of these Kongari Doji personifies obedience and wisdom and along with Seitaka Doji most usually accompanies Fudo Myo-o. The Tahoto, a pagoda, in the complex of the Kongo Sammai-in, *in* meaning "temple," is nearly seven hundred years old and is also under special government protection, containing five wooden sculptures representative of serene religious qualities, known as Gochi Nyorai, *Gochi* meaning "Five Wisdoms," *Nyorai* being a title of honor for all Buddhas. These figures, in excellent state of preservation, are also included among the "National Treasures." The central figure is Dainichi

Nyorai, the personification of wisdom and absolute purity, while to the right of it is Ashiku Nyorai, signifying non-movement, non-anger and steadfastness in helping to destroy all evil thoughts and in fostering pure religious aspirations. On the left is Shaku Nyorai, the founder of Buddhism. Behind them is visible only a part of the halos of the other two: of Hosho Nyorai, controlling the life



KONGARA DOJI.



SEITAKA DOJI.

of all things with the power to bestow the enjoyment of life; and of Amida Nyorai, an ideal of boundless light.

The most stately building in the whole monastery is the Kondo, the chief sanctuary. In the interior, in a mass of flame, stands the figure of Gozanze Myo-o, who overcame the evils that hinder the soul's upward aspirations. The present building is only about sixty years old, now containing, among others, seven wonderful specimens

of wood sculpture, attributed to Kobo Daishi himself, and included among the "National Treasures."

Kobo Daishi, the founder of the monastery, who died in 834



THE KONGO SAMMAI-IN, ONE OF THE OLDEST TEMPLES.



THE TAHOTO.

A.D., was celebrated equally as preacher, painter, sculptor, calligraphist and traveler. Like Unkei, the famous medieval sculptor of Buddhistic images in wood, and like Hidari Jingoro, the left-

handed wood carver of unusual talent and skill, who died in 1634, Kobo Daishi, even if his life had lasted six hundred years instead of sixty-one, as it actually did, could not have written all the sutras,



KONGO YOSHA MYO-O, ONE OF THE FIVE GREAT DIVINITIES. carved all the sculptures and painted all the paintings now popularly ascribed to him. However, history conclusively shows that he was truly a wonderful person and a genius in art.

Though there are comparatively few really old buildings on the mountain, the monastery is rich in old art and historical relics. No one place in Japan has such a splendid collection of Buddhist art, as emperors and feudal lords richly endowed and embellished the temples in the days of yore. The proposed art museum, the work on which has already begun, on Koyasan is bound to be a most valuable institution of the kind.

Beside those above mentioned, there is a large number of splendid wooden sculptures, as the Shingon sect of Buddhism, to which the Koyasan monastery belongs, has given fitting and plastic



THE KONDO, THE CHIEF SANCTUARY OF KOYASAN.

expression to all forms of religious ideals. The tenets of the Shingon sect were introduced into Japan by Kobo Daishi, who studied them when he was sent to China as a student in 804 and was charged by his great teacher Abbot Hei-kwa to carry back to Japan the teachings of the sect, which aims at the direct interpretation of the perfected mind of Buddha, and occupies itself greatly with mystic formulas, magic spells and incantations. The Aizen-do contains three excellent images in wood: Aizen Myo-o, the fierce-looking god of love, and Jinja Taisho, a converted demon serving as a guardian of Buddhism in a grewsome form, and Kongo Taisho, another

powerful guardian of Buddhism. The figures are remarkable for their expression of power and strength.

For the expression of power, two small wooden figures at the Ihenjoko-in are also remarkable. They are Jikoku-ten and Tamon-ten, two of the four heavenly kings guarding the four quarters of the horizon, Jikoku-ten guarding the east and bringing peace to the nation, and Tamon-ten, also called Bishamon-ten, guarding



JINJA TAISHO.



JIKOKU-TEN.

the north and bestowing wealth and happiness on mankind. These two figures are classed as "National Treasures." The Bishamon-ten of the Bishamon-do, belonging to Eko-in, is one of the most popular images on Koyasan. Though little heed may be given to the popular belief that it was carved by Kobo Daishi, it is old, possessing some good qualities in its simplicity.

There are a large number of excellent images of Fudo Myo-o (the god immovable) on the mountain. Perhaps the most famous

is the one known as "Namikiri Fudo" (*nam*i meaning "waves," *kiri* "to cut") which is said to have been carved by Kōbo Daishi from his memory of a vision appearing on the tempestuous sea on his way back to Japan from China. With his sword, Fudo cut the turbulent waves and enabled Kobo Daishi to return safely. It is a standing figure, though Fudo is usually in sitting posture. The famous Fudo of the Fudo-do and of the Kondo—the former at-



TAMON-TEN.



BISHAMON-TEN.

tributed to Unkei and the latter to Kobo Daishi—and of the Okuno-in, at the mausoleum, are all in sitting form and of excellent workmanship. It is invariably with *kayen* (flames) carved in wood and painted red. Fudo Myo-o generally has two attendants, Seitaka Doji and Kongara Doji, and is the highest among the myo-o, those closely related to Dainichi Nyorai, the personification of wisdom and absolute purity, and he occupies the central position in Godai-son, or Godai Myo-o, meaning five great divinities. We have al-

ready mentioned these attendants as among the eight "Great Boys," among whom another, Eki Doji, symbolizes the fulness of good luck and wisdom.

Among many objects of worship, which are said to have been carved by the founder of the monastery, there is a small portable shrine, a "National Treasure," known as "makura honzon," *makura*



EKI DOJI,
one of the eight Great Boys.



JIZO BOSATSU.

meaning "pillow," *honzon*, "the main deity," in possession of the Fumon-in. According to the inscription on the back of it, it was donated to the temple in prayer for the welfare of the soul of Honda, the lord of the province of Hida. The shrine contains an image of Shakamuni, the founder of Buddhism, with Seishi, who awakens a desire in the human soul to follow the ways of Buddha, and

Kwannon, who helps to foster that desire, on either side. These figures are covered over with an intricate pierced carving of angels, trees, Niwo, two guardian kings, and figures in worshipping attitude. The carving is well done.

No image of Amida, a powerful deity, the ideal of boundless



THE MAKURA HONZON AT THE FUMON-IN.

light, has such grace of form, dignity of pose, and spiritual radiance of the countenance as that of the Shojoshin-in. The work is attributed to Unkei. Remarkable also is an image of Jizo Bosatsu, the compassionate Buddhist helper of those who are in trouble, in charge of the Myo-o-in. The sculpture is classed among "National

Treasures" and ascribed to Ono Takamura, a man of letters and artist of high attainment, who died in 852. It is a standing figure with a benevolent countenance holding a staff called *shakujo* with metal rings attached to the top of it and a jewel, *hoju*, in his left hand. The jewel represents the *bodai-shin*, bodai meaning Buddhist knowledge, shin meaning mind: the wish to know the ways of Buddha, the righteous awakening of humanity. The inmost desire, the yearning of the human soul, is kept constantly awake by the



KYŌ-DO, OR SUTRA-BUILDING, A REVOLVING LIBRARY OF SACRED BOOKS.

sound of the *shakujo*, thus assisting the soul in its upward struggle. This masterpiece in sculpture strongly resembles a smaller counterpart at the Henjoko-in, also included among "National Treasures." The exquisite flow of the lines of the robe, the peaceful and benevolent countenance of the shaven priest, seem to express deep inner qualities of a spiritual helper, of which this is a visual representation.

The Koyasan has many more masterpieces in wood. No less in number and in importance are the Buddhistic paintings which have also served as objects of worship. The monastery is justly proud of possessing an unusually large collection of illuminated sutras. There are also many pieces of lacquer and porcelain of highly artistic value. All in all, the Koyasan is a rare storehouse of valuable Buddhistic art objects.

THE PROPHECY OF LIBUSHA.

BY C. E. EGGERT.

LIBUSHA is the legendary ancestress of the royal family of Bohemia, which bore the name of Přemysl from her husband, and ruled until 1526, when the sovereignty passed to the house of Hapsburg by election. This house founded its greatness on the success of Kaiser Rudolf I in contracting successful marriages for his numerous offspring, one of whom married the daughter of Přemysl Ottokar, King of Bohemia, who was slain in the battle of Dürnkrut in 1278. Consequently through this and other marriages, the present Kaiser Karl of Austria has in his veins the blood of Libusha, and to him Bohemians would be enthusiastically loyal if—he would voluntarily accord Bohemia what he could not deny to Hungary.

Unfortunately Bohemia occupies a position analogous to that of Ireland toward its masters, only Ireland has yielded its Keltic idiom before the march of the all-conquering English, while the Czechish revival of the early nineteenth century arrested a similar process of Germanization in Bohemia, and it too has its Ulster in the fringe of German counties, which are as irreconcilable as ever the followers of Sir Edward Carson tried to be. As in Ireland, so in Bohemia, the religious question has played a terrible and decisive role. Cromwell settled by force a militant colony of "God-fearing" Scotch Presbyterians in Erin for the express purpose of keeping the Green Island straight according to English notions. Just three hundred years ago the harsh attempts of Ferdinand II to undo the work of the Reformation turned Bohemia into a shambles for thirty hideous years, and the wealthy land of the ancient "Golden King," Ottokar, became a waste. The Catholic party was successful and Bohemia is to-day outwardly devotedly Roman Catholic, but there burns within the proud race a sullen conviction that the German has been the source of all their past

misery, and for three hundred years they have yearned for revenge and freedom. Do what it may, the House of Hapsburg has been unable to conciliate *das herrliche Böhmen*, "splendid Bohemia." The destinies of the polyglot monarchy have been again and again confided to the leadership of some Czechish lord, as in the case of the present Count Czernin von Chudenic, but not even this is enough. Bohemia has taken to heart the prophecy of Libusha.

Tradition says that the Czechs came from Croatia in the seventh century into a land that had been vacated by the Keltic Boii and German Marcomanni. One of their yeomanry, Krok by name, took up his abode in a forest near three oaks of striking beauty. One day he started to fell one of these when very human groans caused him to desist, and he was rewarded by the gratitude and later by the helpful counsels of an unseen form. From this time he prospered and was finally elevated to the dukedom of his people while the wood nymph, whose tree he had spared, became his bride and bore him three daughters, the youngest of whom was Libusha. On the death of Krok the three sisters divided the realm between them but they soon found that men were rough and little willing to yield to their gentle sway. The wealthy Vladik Domaslav would buy Libusha's hand with his sleek cattle and though she declined to be purchased, she found it difficult to assert her independence. Old Bohemian chronicles relate the details of an Amazonian war in which the Czechish Penthesilea, Libusha, is ably seconded by her sturdy relative, and later rival in love, Wlasta.

At length the queen yields to pressure and directs her tormentors across the mountain to the little village, Stadic, where they will find a peasant ploughing his field with two dappled oxen with marks easily distinguishable.

"So be it, Lords, I promise you a man.
Behold the horse, the selfsame palfrey white,
That bore me once to Budesch on that day
When I, in search for herbs, did find a crown.

"But lead him by the rein to those three oaks
Where part the paths that lead into the wood,
Then loose the rein and follow close his trail,
And whither he in search of former haunts
And stable takes his course, his master's close,
There enter in. A yeoman there you'll find
In plowman's garb, who then, for noon's the hour,
From iron table takes his lonely meal,
Enjoying simple fare. Bring him to me.
In him you'll find the man, your quest and mine."

Following this injunction of their mistress, so suggestive of the language of the fairy tale, the Wladiks, as they are called, followed the horse which, on reaching his former master, dropped to his knees and neighed from joy. Undoubtedly awed by the prophetic insight of Libusha, the Wladiks made known their mission whereupon Přemysl invited his guests to his simple repast, the oxen disappeared, and on rising he put the shoes of bast, which he had worn, into his bosom and rode away to the queen. Their nuptials were soon celebrated, shoes and plow were preserved as honored relics to show the people on solemn occasions, and the couple ruled thirteen years when Libusha felt her end approach. She called her family and her nobles together, prophesying both good and evil to her husband, which he was to bear with hopeful patience, and requesting the nobles to afford him their obedient assistance.

Somewhere about 1541 the Czechish chronicler Vaclav Hagek wrote down the story of Libusha accompanying it with most of those legendary details which go to make the delightful story given to the German people in the *Volksmärchen der Deutschen* of Musaeus (1782-1786) and the beautiful poem, *Die Fürstentafel*, in Herder's *Stimmen der Völker*. In 1815 Clemens Brentano dedicated *Die Gründung Prags*, his "drama" of upward of four hundred pages of rhymed verses, to a Grand Duchess of Oldenburg, the "most exalted lady of Slavic race," a book in which he soon forgot his original purpose and ended by delivering a compendium of the legendary life and times of Libusha. The really beautiful poetry of this book was wasted through the author's mistaken plan of putting in one drama what should have formed a trilogy: *The Maids' War*, *The Founding of Prague*, and *Trinitas*, the last in celebration of the triumph of Christianity over Slavic paganism.

Perhaps this book, or at least the projected *Drahomira*, called the attention of the Austrian Franz Grillparzer to the subject, which followed him through life, somewhat as the problem of Faust did Goethe. The complete drama was rescued from his posthumous works and the late Richard H. Meyer ventured the prediction that it would prove to be in the verdict of posterity the most poetical of the Austrian dramatist's works. It is hardly necessary to say that the rationalist son of an enthusiastic Voltairian came near doing with the poetry of the legend what the eighteenth-century rationalists did to the miracles of the Bible. What a pity he did not save more of the fairy poetry of which the legend is so suggestive. Instead we have a modern psychological study, for

Grillparzer's idea is the tragedy of a gentle and poetic soul amid a rude environment, a theme akin to Goethe's Tasso. His Libusha is made miserable by the conflict with an order of society which seeks its ideal in material, social and political prosperity. Realizing the hopelessness of her opposition and yet admiring the consistent perseverance of her husband who merited his name, of which the translation is "forethought," Libusha yields to him who had mused:

"For let the husband be not thrall of wife,
But wife means husband's helpmate, so 't is right."

Feeling intuitively the presence in his wife of that warning power, so near akin to the mother instinct, which enables a woman to foresee any threatened peril for the beloved object of her care and solicitude, Přemysl urges Libusha to utter a prophetic blessing upon his projected city, the Prague to be, and she utters the lines of which, with apologies to the great Austrian, I submit the following translation:

"Go build your city, for it will thrive and bloom,
Uniting firm the people like a banner.
This people will be sturdy, true and honest,
Awaiting patiently the coming of its day.
For all the peoples on this wide flown earth
Shall step upon the stage in due succession.
Now those hold power who dwell by Po and Alps,
But soon their sway shall pass to Pyrenaean lands.
Then those who quaff the waters of the Seine
And Rhone, an actor race, shall play the lord.
The Briton from his isle then casts his net
And drives the fish into his golden web.
Yes, e'en the folk beyond your mountains,
The blue-eyed people full of brutal power
That must e'er forward go or lose its strength,
But blind, when it acts, inactive when it thinks,
It too receives its gleam of sun all ruling,
As heir of all the ages, bright its star.
Of you and of your brothers then's the turn,
It is the final effort of a world tired out.
Long service brings the mastery at last.
Yet broad and far its range not high nor deep;
From its source and fount, the distance great,
Its might recedes, borrowed as it is.
But you will rule and stamp your name as seal
Upon the time to come."

Now, while every race, people, or tribe has had one or more prophets, who felt inspired to regard the command in Genesis i. 28

as directed to his or their fellow-men, the above quoted words had and have a deep and far reaching significance. As dramatic poet, Grillparzer undoubtedly tried to be objective and impartial, at least as much so as, say, a fair-minded Englishman could be when treating a dramatic subject from Irish history or legend. How difficult such a moral *tour de force* must have been for him, becomes apparent when we read some of the prose thoughts of that ardent follower of the political ideals of Joseph II. He did his best to pen those lines, but he hoped the prophecy, like so many others, would never reach fulfilment, for, say what you may, the poet was a German at heart, and the German has been fighting the Slavic westward urge since before the times of Attila. Whatever lands he possesses east of the Elbe river and the Alps he has rewon from the stubborn invader by the fiercest struggles in the annals of the race, and while he won, colonized and Germanized the lands in which are located Vienna, Berlin, Leipsic, Dresden, Breslau, Danzig and Königsberg, the stubborn, cautious Czech maintains to this day the Slavic wedge separating German Austria from Prussia. This is what the Austrian writer Rudolf Hans Bartsch calls *Das deutsche Leid*, the name of one of his novels written not long before the great war.

A study of Grillparzer's dramatic labors on "Libusha" reveals the date of its probable conception as somewhere after the Congress of Vienna, dominated by the commanding influence of Czar Alexander I, and of its completion as falling near that time when the first Pan-Slavic congress met in Prague. Perhaps it is rather the warning voice of the Austrian patriot and "*truer Diener seines Herrn*" than that of the Czechish Queen which utters the prophecy quoted from the drama.

It is more than probable that Grillparzer's studies preliminary to the composition of his drama *König Ottokar's Glück und Ende* revealed to him the dangers for his dearly beloved Austria from a Bohemia which cherished the dream of expanding over Slavonian Hungary to the East and down to Slovenian Austria on the South. While the words which he puts in the mouth of his dying heroine admit the possible future destiny of Slavdom, it is also easy to read between them the difficulty of the admission, and his unwillingness to concede to Slavic peoples the same greatness of historical development to which other nations attained.

We do not care to discuss whether the fruition of Libusha's prophecy would have been a Slavic federation including Danzig, Posen, Ratibor, Bohemia, perhaps even Vienna, and certainly Car-

niola down to the Adriatic on the West, under a Slavic president or a monarchy under a Czar, but there is no question that the Czechish queen's supposed ideas voice the hopes of the Czechish people and the dread of the Germans of Austria and the Empire. The growing power of mighty Slavic Russia was destined sooner or later to awaken a sense of solidarity, even though it be a fictitious one, of all Slavic nations. The great influence of Alexander I in the crushing of Napoleon and in the reconstruction of Europe gave a tremendous impetus to the growth of Slavic consciousness. While Germany in her disintegrated weakness became more and more cosmopolitan in the eighteenth century, the fate of Poland seemed to arouse a contrary sentiment in every Slavic soul, to which no less a German than Herder gave great encouragement. The wave of Romanticism which swept over Europe from about the time of the Reign of Terror awakened a sympathetic interest in the history, literature and art of all peoples, great and small, ancient and contemporary. Even such a pretty apparently non-political but purely literary subject as Herder's poem *Die Fürstentafel* helped to keep alive the movement which was later powerfully strengthened by the works of the Slovack poet, John Kollár, from Mossocz in Slovackian Hungary, of the philologist Dobrowsky, of the historian Pelzel, and numerous others who re-created a Bohemian national literature, to be sure not entirely independent of the powerful surrounding currents, but yet an earnest of better things to come. The Czechish revival of the nineteenth century whereby the process of Germanization, as introduced by the Empress Maria Theresia and continued with headstrong and impolitic vehemence by her son, Joseph II, seemed sure of triumph and was then arrested, brought to a standstill, and changed to a Czechish renaissance of political, social, literary and artistic life, this movement is one of the marvels of history. Let us cast a glance at some of the explanations of the phenomenon.

The early history of Bohemia from the eighth to the fifteenth centuries was practically that of an independent nation which owed at best only a very loose allegiance to the Holy Roman Empire. The native population was entirely devoted to a rather primitive agriculture while mining, manufacturing and commerce were carried on by German colonists who came into the country and founded cities on the invitation of various monarchs of the house of Přemysl. The royal house itself and the nobility intermarried with German princes and nobles, and one of these figures, at the mention of whose name the Bohemian thrills with pride, Přemysl

Ottokar II was the great grandson of mighty Barbarossa, through his mother, Kunigunde, daughter of the Hohenstaufen Kaiser Philip. It is interesting to note that this Bohemian king led two crusades against the heathen, Polish-speaking Prussians, whom he converted to the true faith, building in their midst the city of Kralove Radec, or as it is now called: Königsberg, where the now German-speaking Prussian kings are crowned. Whether Rudolf of Habsburg, later his successful rival for the imperial crown, served under him on this crusade is possibly a myth, but certain it is that the poet Dante pictures Ottokar as comforting Rudolf in purgatory. At the time of his greatest power he ruled over Bohemia and Moravia to which he added by conquest from the king of Hungary, the lands comprising the present duchies of Upper and Lower Austria and Steiermark, to which were added by bequest the crownlands of Carinthia and Carniola, including Görz and Trieste. His power and wealth caused him for many years to be known as the "Golden King," and had he been able to attain the highest goal of his ambition, he would have gathered the immense Hohenstaufen heritage under his sway as Holy Roman Emperor, but the corrupt German princes thought best to further their interests by electing a man who they thought would not disturb them, and in the ensuing contests Ottokar finally fell at Dürnkrut in 1278. A nation with such memories cannot be extinguished.

It is claimed that Czechish literature is the oldest in development of all the Slavic world, and the establishment of the first German university by Kaiser Karl IV at Prague in 1348 failed to accomplish its task of becoming a bulwark of Germanization, for the next century finds the commanding figure of the later martyr, John Hus, as the center of a Slavic scholastic group which had temporarily driven the German from academic Prague to the newly founded University of Leipsic. In 1415 Hus was burned by the Council of Constance in utter contempt of Kaiser Sigismund's "safe conduct." However, this act led to the terrible Hussite wars in which the reformers maintained their religious independence so that a reluctant Rome made concessions in order to prevent a schism. Perhaps these Bohemian "Utraquists" may have paved the way for Luther's later success. The Czechish victories of Prokop and Žižka in the Hussite Wars were, it is true, nullified by the Catholic reaction during the Thirty Years' War, and a new Catholic Bohemia apparently forgot its patriotic teacher and reformer, but when in August of 1903 a monument to the great heretic was unveiled in Prague, a grand demonstration took place which might have re-

sulted in something far more serious than the actual smashing of the windows of the officers' Casino, had not the vigilance of the Austrian garrison on Hradschin and through the town held the situation in firm control. Hus, the heretic, was forgotten, not so the Czechish patriot.

It would be idle to speculate upon the future, and I shall leave that to a future, or present, Libusha, but this much is certain, Czech and German must find some formula to reconcile their differences. Would the Czech have been happier in a Pan-Slavic, that is Pan-Muscovite Russian federation? When we consider the wonderful development of the literature and life of small peoples as illustrated by free, little Norway, the question occurs, would larger, richer Bohemia be willing to be only a satellite of her big neighbor, or would she prefer her independence? The future must find some way of giving the little states the fullest means of self-expression while allowing that same right in others. Suppose the idea of Thomas Jefferson were the solution of the European problem: a federation of republics, each with the fullest amount of liberty consonant with the safety and best interests of the whole?

BOHEMIAN INDEPENDENCE.

BY EMIL REACH.

WHAT a tiny spot on the map it is, this "kingdom" of Bohemia! Georgia is almost three times as large, and Texas thirteen times. Yet writers of legend and history have much to say about it, having filled page after page with its life and ambition and turmoil; and just now we hear the Slav of Prague blend his protest against Teuton domination with the shrieks of other nations above the deafening clash of battle.

And when was it that Slav and Teuton first met in Bohemia and threw their hats into the ring to wrestle in the fever heat of centuries? The answer is not quite simple. While it is averred in the fourth volume of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (p. 123) that "recent archeological research has proved the existence of Slavic inhabitants in Bohemia as far back as the beginning of the Christian era," we read in the seventh volume (p. 723) that Czech scholars "by craniological studies and a thorough examination of the fields where the dead were burned...have arrived at the conclusion that parts of the country were inhabited by Czechs, or at least by

Slavs, long before the Christian era, perhaps about the year 500 B. C."

But according to written tradition the country up to the year 12 or 8. B. C. was inhabited by the Celtic tribe of the Boii, from whose capital Boiohemum the country takes its name. The Boii were conquered by the Germanic tribe of the Marcomanni, followed by other Germanic tribes, until in the fifth century according to some, and toward the end of the sixth according to others, the Czechs forcibly took possession of the country.

We recall this fact that the Germans are no less at home in Bohemia than the Czechs, because the former are opposed to Bohemian independence just as the Ulsterites are opposed to Irish independence. The Czechs hope that the boundaries of their independent state will be so drawn as to include Moravia and Silesia. In 1910 37 % of the population of Bohemia were German, of Moravia 27.6 %, and of Silesia 43.9 %. The Germans predominate in a number of towns; for example, they are 66 % in Brunn, which is the capital and by far the largest place in Moravia.

* * *

It was ninety-four years before the Pilgrims landed on Plymouth Rock, at a time in which religious strife sweeping through Europe almost monopolized the political stage, that the crown of Bohemia was given to a Hapsburg and the kingdom joined with that of Austria. And with the exception of one year these two crowns have ever since remained united; and ever since the Slav element of Bohemia has harbored the wish and hope for independence; and ever since, and even centuries before that time, the Czech child has been taught to hate the Austrian and the German. What a heritage of hate! Who will expect anything but dissatisfaction to grow on such soil?

When the American, after hastily partaking of his ration of political food doled out by the daily papers, thinks or talks about Bohemia, whose cause as stated by the Czechish patriots he is inclined to espouse, he generally fails to take into consideration the well-known and weighty circumstance that distances in Europe are short; he does not easily realize how closely the capital city of Prague is crowded in between the great military and commercial centers of the German nation—a blade of barley in a field of wheat. There is Vienna only one hundred and fifty miles to the south-east; Berlin, one hundred and eighty-six miles to the north; while the beautiful capital of Saxony with over half a million inhabitants is

separated only by seventy-five miles of rail; and long before entering Dresden the train carries the traveler through German-speaking and German-feeling territory.

Let us for a moment imagine that Albany, N. Y., and its surrounding counties extending southwestward into Pennsylvania were to form an independent state with a population hostile to New York City in the south and to Buffalo and Rochester in the north. All traffic between the northern and southern portion of New York state would then have to reckon with the customs-tariffs, railway- and river-tariffs, and postal regulations of that unfriendly kingdom or republic in time of peace; and in time of war with a third country the unfriendly commonwealth would have to be carefully watched, while the cooperative and prompt mobilization of the troops of Buffalo and New York would be impeded to a degree that would imply gravest danger. We may safely venture to assert that the people of New York state would never tolerate such an independent state of Albany to exist in their midst, and what we would not want for ourselves, we should hardly desire for others.

All this is so plain as to render well-nigh superfluous any further reply to those who are continually advocating the doctrine about "the consent of the governed" and the right of populations to "self-determination." To be sure, without weighty and just purpose no people should be forced under a sovereignty under which it does not desire to live. Would we, however, permit those who inhabit the Panama Canal Zone to change their allegiance according to their own sweet will? Or was Lincoln wrong in his attitude toward the South? And how about the patent disinclination among the statesmen of the Entente Allies to favor plebiscites for the settlement of the vexed problems of Ireland and of Alsace-Lorraine? Whatever might be the proper solutions of these two problems, one fact remains indisputable: namely, that all the world over practical statesmen have a very limited confidence in the ability of populations to decide for themselves.

* * *

But the Slavs of Bohemia claim to be oppressed. The present writer has no precise knowledge of what happened there during the war; the distance is great, the reports are meagre and unreliable. A residence of many years in Prague has, however, matured in him the conviction that Austria has not oppressed the Slav during the decades immediately preceding the terrible bloodshed. Of course, in a country where passions of rival nations attain the temperature

of liquid iron, no one can reasonably expect nearly so much democracy as in other countries in which conditions are normal. But when I say that the Czechs have not been oppressed during the period preceding the war, I simply mean that the government of Vienna has honestly striven to stand as a fair-minded and even-handed arbiter between Czech and German, and that no legislation whatever has been enacted with the purpose of dwarfing the development of the Czech nation in any way or needlessly to offend Slav sensibilities.

The fact that the Czechs are dissatisfied proves nothing. Our South had also been dissatisfied for a long time without being treated unjustly. The Viennese government does not allow the Czech to denationalize the German inhabitants just as fast as he would like to do it, and it spends Bohemian tax money in other provinces of Austria that are less wealthy than Bohemia and could not well get along if dependent exclusively on their own resources. It is my opinion that this policy of the Austrian government is right and just, however wrong it may appear to the Czech.

* * *

By far most of the quarrels between Teuton and Slav in the Hapsburg monarchy turn about the cultivation and use of their respective languages. There is above all the eternal complaint that the elementary schools are being used for the purposes of Germanization.

The *Statesman's Yearbook* for 1916 records Austrian population figures from the census of 1910 and Austrian school statistics of 1912. The German population of Austria is given as 9,950,268, the Czech population as 6,435,983; while the language of instruction was German in 8508 elementary schools, and Czech in 5367 elementary schools. Surely, if the Austrian government made efforts to denationalize the Czech element, if it did not compel the German municipalities of Bohemia and Moravia to maintain schools for the Czech minorities, these figures would be very different, as many Czech parents, in spite of all the Czech schools within their reach, insist on sending their children to German schools.

And why do they insist? Simply because the German language is needed by most men or women who have to make a living in that corner of the globe. In the stores of the principal streets of Prague, now an overwhelmingly Czechish city, every clerk has to know German. This knowledge is forced upon him by the power of circumstance; namely, by the circumstance that if you travel from

any point in Bohemia or Moravia either north or south for a couple of hours on a fast train you are sure to get into a town or county where German is spoken more than Czech or at least as much.

And that explains also why Czech students are constantly crowding into the University of Vienna, although they have a university of their own in Prague. Naturally enough the University of Vienna is the foremost of the Austrian Empire, and the Czech student has to know German anyhow, no matter where he studies; he can not get along in life without the hated tongue of his rival.

He shouts at the top of his voice that all languages are of the same value, that none is superior to his own; he considers a German street sign in a Czech town to be an insult to all right-minded citizens; he refuses to understand why German is the language of debate in the federal parliament of Austria and shudders with anguish at the thought that German is also the language of command in the army barracks of Prague or other Bohemian cities. The bottom of his heart is the color of a canary bird, as is said, being saturated with envy, and confluent envy and pride are fed from memories of shameful wrongs endured by his nation in past centuries.

The result is a succession of riot and revolution, necessitating restrictions of freedom, measures which form a basis for new grievances. And thus the vicious circle never ends, just as in Ireland.

* * *

As the Irish nationalists are decidedly opposed to the administrative separation of Ulster from the rest of their country, thus year after year have the Czech politicians, under display of an incredible amount of oratory, made obstinate opposition to the establishment of ethnographic frontiers within Bohemia. They have claimed that their country is a sacred historic unit, one and indivisible, now and forever. At the same time the establishment of ethnographic boundaries *outside* of their little kingdom, involving a partition *not of Bohemia (or Moravia) but of Austria*, would delight their hearts. Why is that so? Simply because they want to denationalize the German counties of Bohemia with all possible dispatch. Assisted by a high birth rate, they are seeking national expansion, hiding their intention under the ample folds of a cloak consisting of protestations concerning freedom and justice.

British pamphleteers and essayists have contrasted Ireland with Prussian Poland. They have not found it difficult to review the

admirable efforts Great Britain has made in the last thirty-five years to placate and uplift Ireland, and to wind up with a panegyric on Great Britain plus the customary damnation of Prussianism.

But British spokesmen seem *not* to be inclined to compare Ireland with Bohemia, and when clamoring for the partition of Austria they relegate their opposition to Irish independence to the most remote corner of their consciousness. We have to remember in this connection that the enactments of the Austrian Reichsrat and the Bohemian Landtag favorably compare (as far as such comparison is possible) with British legislation; and that under Austrian rule and protection the former kingdom of Libusha has risen to a state of development and strength as yet undreamt of in "John Bull's other island."

The Saturday Review (London) of September 11, 1897, and *The Engineer* (London) of September 25, 1914, have both been quoted in previous issues of *The Open Court*. It is obvious that the advantages they expect from the ruination of Germany would likewise result (if also in a less degree) from the partition of Austria, especially as the latter is a connecting link between Berlin and the East; and those who wish ill to Austria can point to the heterogeneity of her structure as convenient pretext.

Hence the cry that Austria has to go, that she must not appear on the *post bellum* map. Still we hope that on the contrary it will prove to be more than a mere conjecture and wish of an Austrian optimist, when a recent writer argues:

"Universal suffrage introduced [in Austria] in 1907 was intended among other things as a cooling application to the national fever heat. The socialists became the relatively strongest party of the first absolutely democratic parliament, but were unable to lay at once the nationalistic ghosts. But the process of healing will undoubtedly go rapidly, since sooner or later the class feeling will oust a hypernational sensitiveness, in order finally to make room for a sentiment embracing the whole state" (Rudolf Kommer in *The Open Court* for June 1917). For sound policy is not based on nationalistic sentiments that constantly have to be fed by press campaigns to be kept alive, nor on nationalistic pretensions that correspond to no actual need, nor on the fallacy that historic boundaries or ethnographic boundaries or any other boundaries insure infallibility to majorities. Sound policy is suggested by cool common sense on the strength of geographic environment; on the strength of past social and economic development and with due regard to the economic interest of all countries within the radius of

its influence; *sound policy means for small commonwealths co-operation with their neighbors and a fancied loss of independence, while for bigger countries it means a certain degree of centralization.* Such policy will be productive of maximum efficiency, of maximum wealth production, and of a minimum of international friction.

HEBREW EDUCATION IN SCHOOL AND SOCIETY.

DURING THE PERIOD OF REACTION TO FOREIGN INFLUENCES.

BY FLETCHER H. SWIFT.

"Wisdom is the principal thing; therefore get wisdom."—Proverbs iv. 7.

"The fear of Jehovah is the beginning of wisdom, and the knowledge of the Holy One is understanding."—Proverbs ix. 10.

"The law of Jehovah is perfect. . . . The precepts of Jehovah are right. . . . The judgments of Jehovah are true. . . . More to be desired are they than gold, yea than much fine gold."—Psalm xix. 7-10 (Extracts).

"There is no love such as the love of the Torah. The words of the Torah are as difficult to acquire as silken garments, and are lost as easily as linen ones."* — *Babylonian Talmud, Tract Aboth of Rabbi Nathan, 24.*

WARNED by the oblivion which had overtaken the tribes of the northern kingdom, the religious leaders of subject Judah set about to save the people of the little kingdom from a similar fate. As the one-time hope of national and political independence and greatness waned a new hope arose, that of preserving the nation through preserving its religion. There was only one way of achieving this end, that was by universal education. Zeal for education was further fostered by three important beliefs: (1) the belief that national calamities were punishments visited upon the people because they had not been faithful to Yahweh and his laws;¹ (2) that

* Or "as difficult to acquire as golden vessels and as easily destroyed as glass ones."

¹ This is the underlying philosophy of the book of Judges. See Judges iv. 1 and 2; vi. 1 and elsewhere.

if Yahweh's laws were kept, national prosperity would return; (3) the belief that the divinely appointed mission of Judah was to make known to the other nations of the world Yahweh, the only true God. Educational zeal resulted in an ever increasing tendency to organize and institutionalize education. In this process of organization and institutionalization, each of the following five movements played an important part: (1) the development of a complete code of laws (the Priestly Code) governing every phase of life; (2) the state adoption of the Priestly Code, which made its observance binding upon every member of the Jewish state and consequently a knowledge of it necessary; (3) a vast growth of sacred literature, both oral and written, including works specially written as texts-books, such as Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus; (4) the organization of the Scribes into a teaching guild; (5) the rise of schools, elementary and advanced.

The passages quoted at the opening of the present article bear witness to the supreme importance attached to the Torah, the Law of Yahweh, in the centuries following the Babylonian Exile. This position of supremacy had been attained gradually. In the earliest periods of Hebrew life, religion was but one, albeit a most important one, of many interests in life and education. Gradually, however, the vision of Yahweh, his power and his kingdom enlarged. He came to be regarded as the founder of the state and of all its institutions, civic and political as well as religious. He was accepted as the author of all its laws whether criminal, moral, or religious, and of all institutions. The Law, in other words religion, and with it morality, became the supreme interest, the chief study and the all determining force in public and in private life at home and in school. It is doubtful whether history contains a more tragic illustration of devotion to an ideal than the story of Simon ben Shetach's son. Certainly no other incident reveals as forcibly the supreme place accorded to the Law in the hearts of the devout Jews. The story is related by Graetz in the following words:

"On account of his unsparing severity, Simon ben Shetach brought upon himself such hatred of his opponents that they determined upon a fearful revenge. They incited two false witnesses to accuse his son of a crime punishable with death, in consequence of which he was actually condemned to die. On his way to the place of execution the young man uttered such vehement protestations of innocence that at last the witnesses themselves were affected and confessed to their tissue of falsehoods. But when the judges

were about to set free the condemned, the prisoner himself drew their attention to their violation of the Law, which enjoined that no belief was to be given witnesses who withdrew their previous testimony. 'If you wish,' said the condemned youth to his father, 'that the salvation of Israel should be wrought by your hand, consider me but the threshold over which you must pass without compunction.' Both father and son showed themselves worthy of their sublime task, that of guarding the integrity of the Law; for to uphold it one sacrificed his life, and the other his paternal love. Simon, the Judæan Brutus, let the law pursue its course, although he, as well as all the judges, were convinced of his son's innocence."²

In the educational ideal of the Native Period, the physical, the esthetic and the industrial aspects of personality as well as the intellectual, moral and religious were recognized. The educational ideal of the post-Exilic period was the scribe,³ the man learned in and obedient to the Law. Such obedience implied complete consecration to Yahweh and a consequent separation from all duties and activities not related to him. The vast development of the law during and following the Exile, the multitude of legal interpretations and precedents made leisure a prerequisite for all who would become learned and left the student of the Law little time for attention to anything else.⁴ Despite the fact that the great cultural heritage of Greece and of Hellenized Rome was at their very doors, the faithful Jews not only remained indifferent to the physical, esthetic and intellectual interests of their pagan conquerors but studiously excluded them from their schools and from their ambitions. Narrow as this may seem, it is doubtful whether any other course would have saved the Jews from paganism, amalgamation, and oblivion.

Had the native interests of the Hebrews which characterized the pre-Exilic period been allowed free development it is possible that physical education among the Hebrews might have had an entirely different history. The solemn duty resting upon every Jew of mastering an ever increasing body of sacred literature left little time for anything else. To be sure, the high priest Jason

² H. Graetz, *History of the Jews*, II, 54c-55a.

³ A further discussion of the educational ideal is given below; see also note 15.

⁴ Cf. with these statements those relating to the scribes' attitude toward manual work in a paragraph on *Support*, and note 15. An interesting suggestion of a broader attitude is the Rabbinical comment to Genesis ix. 27, in which ("Tractate Megillah," 9b) the esthetic element in Greek culture is praised.

who had purchased his office⁵ from Antiochus IV, Epiphanes (r. 175-164 B. C.),⁶ built a Greek gymnasium under the very tower.⁷ Moreover "many of the priests took their place in the arena,"⁸ and "the high priest even sent three hundred drachmas to Tyre for a sacrifice to Hercules."⁹ Nevertheless the faithful Jews looked upon the Greek physical sports with abhorrence,⁷ and the establishment of Greek gymnasia, far from introducing physical training into Jewish education, led to an identification of physical education with paganism and to a consequent hostility to it.¹⁰

TEACHERS.

Throughout the period of foreign influence, education remained for the most part a masculine privilege. With the exception of the synagogue, of the temple and of certain festivals, the home was the sole institution providing training and instruction for girls and women. All schools were boys' schools and all teachers were men.

Reference has already been made to the growth of the political importance of the priests following the restoration of Jerusalem after the return from captivity. More and more their numbers, wealth and power increased. It was no longer possible for all the members of this vast army to be actively engaged all the time in rites and ceremonials. Consequently they were organized into twenty-four courses or families. The courses rotated, each course serving one week in turn and beginning its duties by offering the Sabbath evening sacrifice. The existence of a vast priestly code setting forth in detail regulations governing every phase of conduct did away with the need of the type of instruction given by the priests and prophets in earlier times. This function could now be entrusted to lay teachers whose task would be transmitting and interpreting the already existing laws. This fact combined with the increase in the number, complexity and elaborateness of the temple rites and in the increase of the political and administrative activities of the priests resulted in the gradual transfer of the major portion of the teaching function from the priests and prophets to a newly arisen teaching order, the *soferim* or scribes.

It must not be inferred, however, that the priests ceased to

⁵ H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, p. 443.

⁶ I. J. Peritz, *Old Testament History*, p. 293.

⁷ H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, p. 443 and footnote.

⁸ See 2 Maccabees iv. 9-12; cf. 1 Maccabees i. 13-14.

⁹ I. J. Peritz, *Old Testament History*, p. 294.

¹⁰ H. Graetz, *History of the Jews*, I. pp. 444-446, gives much interesting material.

teach. The *soferim*, it is true, became the teachers of the Law, but the priests still continued to be the people's great teachers in forms of worship. In addition to this, some of the priests were also famous scribes, and in this capacity were professed teachers of the Law.

THE SOFERIM.

The art of writing, as already shown, had been known and employed from early times by priests, prophets, secretaries and others. It has also been shown how the Exilic renaissance increased greatly the body of literature. The original meaning of the term "*soferim*" was "people who know how to write."¹¹ It was, therefore, applied to court chroniclers or royal secretaries. Because ability to write came to be generally accepted as the mark of the educated or learned man, the term came to be employed for a wise man (1 Chron. xxvii. 32).¹¹

Following the restoration, the Jewish community, under the leadership of the priest-scribe, Ezra, bound itself to the observance of the written Law.¹² If the Law was to be kept it must be known and understood; there must be teachers and interpreters. But the Law was written in ancient Hebrew, a tongue almost unknown to the masses, most of whom spoke Aramaic or Greek. As the result of these conditions, those able to read the Scriptures in the original Hebrew and to interpret them to the people came to form a distinct teaching class. At length "*soferim*" came to be used to designate specifically this great body of teachers from the time of Ezra to that of Simeon the Just (a contemporary of Alexander the Great). "It seems that after Simeon the Just the teachers were more generally styled 'Elders,' *zekenim*, later 'the wise ones,' *hakhamim*, (Shab. 64b; Suk. 46a) while *soferim* was sometimes used as an honorific appellation (Sotah 15a). In still later times *soferim* became synonymous with '*teachers of little children*' (*Ibid.*, 49a)." As conditions became more settled throughout Judea the scribes made their way to its remotest parts. In time a powerful scribe-guild was organized to which all teachers belonged, and which monopolized the teaching profession. By the time of the Chronicler, three ranks of teachers appear: (1) the hazzan or elementary teacher; (2) the scribe; (3) the sage.¹³

The following paragraphs, written by Jesus ben Sira (who

¹¹ Max Seligsohn, "Scribes," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, II, 123.

¹² H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, pp. 393-5, discredits this story entirely.

¹³ A. R. S. Kennedy, "Education," *Hasting's Bible Dictionary*, I, 650b.

flourished in the first third of the second century B. C.)¹⁴ present the most complete description of the ideal scribe that has descended to us from that period. The divorce made by Sira between the life of study and that of industrial occupations, and his contempt for manual labor must not, however, be regarded as necessarily representing a universal attitude.¹⁵

JESUS BEN SIRA ON THE GLORY OF BEING A SCRIBE.

(Ecclesiasticus xxxviii. 24--xxxix. 11.)

"The wisdom of a learned man cometh by opportunity of leisure: and he that hath little business shall become wise.

"How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plow, and that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen, and is occupied in their labors, and whose talk is of bullocks? He giveth his mind to make furrows; and is diligent to give the kine fodder.

"So every carpenter and workmaster, that laboreth night and day; and they that cut and grave seals, and are diligent to make great variety, and give themselves to counterfeit imagery, and watch to finish a work:

"The smith also sitting by the anvil, and considering the iron work, the vapor of the fire wasteth his flesh, and he fighteth with the heat of the furnace; and the noise of hammer and the anvil is ever in his ears, and his eyes look still upon the pattern of the thing that he maketh; he setteth his mind to finish his work, and watcheth to polish it perfectly;

"So doth the potter sitting at his work, and turning the wheel about with his feet, who is always carefully set at his work, and maketh all his work by number;

"He fashioneth the clay with his arm, and boweth down his strength before his feet; he applieth himself to lead it over; and he is diligent to make clean his furnace:

"All these trust in their hands: and every one is wise in his work.

"Without these cannot a city be inhabited: and they shall not dwell where they will, nor go up and down. They shall not be sought for in public council, nor sit high in the congregation; they shall not sit on the judges seat, nor understand the sentence of

¹⁴ I. Levi, "The Wisdom of Jesus Sirach," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, XI, 389a.

¹⁵ See Franz Delitzsch, *Jewish Artisan Life in the Time of Jesus*, pp. 76-77. for opinions opposite to those of Sira regarding the possibility of combining study with handicraft.

judgment; they cannot declare justice and judgment; and they shall not be found where parables are spoken. But they will maintain the state of the world, and (all) their desire is in the work of their craft.

"But he that giveth his mind to the law of the Most High and is occupied in the meditation thereof, will seek out the wisdom of all the ancient, and be occupied in prophecies. He will keep the sayings of renowned men; and where subtil parables are, he will be there also.

"He will seek out the secrets of grave sentences and be conversant in dark parables.

"He shall serve among great men, and appear before princes; he will travel through strange countries; for he hath tried the good and the evil among men.

"He will give his heart to resort early to the Lord that made him, and will pray before the Most High, and will open his mouth in prayer, and make supplication for his sins.

"He shall show forth that which he hath learned, and shall glory in the law of the covenant of the Lord.

"If he die he shall leave a greater name than a thousand: and if he live he shall increase it."

The soferim regarded their work as a holy one: to them had been entrusted the sacred task of transmitting the laws given by Yahweh himself. Through their literary and educational activities they eventually gained almost complete control over religious thought and education. They interpreted the Law for the masses. They furnished the texts upon which instruction was based. They established elementary schools and colleges. They taught public and select groups of pupils. It was their aim "to raise up many disciples," as is said in the Talmud, Tract Aboth, I, 2. On occasions of public worship they translated the scriptures written in a tongue almost unknown to the masses in the post-Exilic period into the language of the people. In their teaching and in their lives they represented the new educational and religious ideal of the times, Judaism. Within their schools arose that oral literature which developed into the Talmud.

Despite the sincere efforts of the soferim to adjust the Law to changing conditions they soon became burdened with such a mass

of traditions and precedents that readjustment and progress became extremely difficult if not impossible. Their standpoint as legalists led to such emphasis upon technical adherence to details that the great principles were frequently lost sight of. Political, social and religious life came to be dominated by a burdensome system of traditions, laws and minute regulations, the external form of which instead of the spirit and underlying principles came to be the focus of interest and attention.¹⁶

RABBIS.

Originally the leader of any union of workmen, even the leader of the hangmen, was called *rabbi* (literally, "my master"). Rabbi was applied to the head of the weavers (Talmud, Tract Abodah Zarah 17b), and to the head of the gladiators (Talmud Tract Baba Mezia 84a). It was commonly applied to teachers, but did not, however, entitle its possessor to preach or teach. It, apparently, was not used distinctively as a teacher's title till after the time of Christ.¹⁷

THE PERUSHIM OR PHARISEES.

During the latter part of the second century B. C. there came into prominence among the Jews two important sects or parties, the Perushim or Pharisees, and the Zedukim or Saducees.¹⁸ The Perushim or Separatists were simply later exponents of a tendency older than the time of Ezra. This tendency had its beginnings in the earliest impulses of a certain portion of the Jews to regard the devout observance of the laws of Yahweh as the supreme aim of individual and national life. They believed the Jews could realize this aim only by holding themselves aloof from all foreign innovations and by emphasizing those elements and customs of Jewish life that marked off the Jews as a distinct and peculiar people. They "insisted upon all political undertakings, all public transactions being tried by the standard of religion."¹⁹ In both of these positions they were opposed by the Saducees. They differed further from the Zedukim or Saducees in accepting and throwing the weight of their influence in favor of the oral law of the Scribes and many beliefs not set forth in the Pentateuch,

¹⁶ For a contrary view see S. Schechter, "The Law and Recent Criticism," in Schechter's *Studies in Judaism*, Vol. I, pp. 233-251.

¹⁷ A. R. S. Kennedy, "Education," *Hasting's Bible Dictionary*, I, 650b.

¹⁸ H. P. Smith, *Old Testament History*, p. 479.

¹⁹ H. Graetz, *History of the Jews*, II, 17.

such as the doctrine of the resurrection and the belief in the existence of angels and future rewards and punishments.

Many of the most prominent of the scribes were Perushim, but the Perushim were in no sense a teaching order. Rather they constituted a religious sect or party which included men of every rank and occupation. Their educational importance grew out of the support they gave to the cause of Judaism and to the teachings and educational efforts of the Soferim.

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS.

Universal compulsory education for the sake of preserving the nation is a state policy familiar to the modern world. The gradual development of this policy among the Jews of Palestine is the most interesting and most significant feature of the history of education from the time of the restoration of the Jewish community in the sixth century B. C. to the end of the Jewish state 70 A. D. The realization of this policy was made possible by two distinct but nevertheless inseparable movements: first, the evolution of a professional teaching class; second, the rise of educational institutions. The Native Period had been a period without schools, the period of foreign influence was marked by the rise of three types of educative institutions: (1) the synagogue; (2) boys' elementary schools; (3) the scribes' (or higher) schools.

The most important steps in the rise of the policy of universal education may be stated as follows: (1) the public adoption of the sacred canon and solemn covenant to keep the Law of Yahweh; (2) the provision of universal opportunities for instruction through the rise and gradual spread of the synagogue; (3) the rise of elementary schools, (attendance voluntary); (4) 70 B. C., ordinance (of Simon ben Shetach) making compulsory the education of orphan boys over sixteen years of age; (5) boys' compulsory elementary education by edict of Joshua ben Gamala, high priest 64 A. D.

THE SYNAGOGUE.

Jewish tradition traces the synagogue back to the time of Moses. Nevertheless it is not expressly mentioned until the last century of the second Temple but then as an institution long existing, universal, and the center of Jewish life.²⁰ It may have arisen during the Exile. Sacrifice could be offered only in Jerusalem, but prayer and the study of the Law could be carried on regardless of place.

²⁰ W. Bacher, "Synagogue," *Hasting's Bible Dictionary*, IV, 636d.

The Sabbath, already observed as a day of rest in pre-Exilic times,²¹ offered the exiles leisure and opportunity for study. The custom of assembling on the Sabbath for worship and study may have arisen in Babylon, whence it may have been carried back to Jerusalem and there institutionalized in the synagogue. After the restoration of Jerusalem, the synagogue spread throughout Judea and the entire Jewish world.²²

The term synagogue, applied originally to the assembly, came in time to be applied to the building in which the assembly met. The use of the term "church" illustrates a similar transference of a title from a group of people to the building occupied by the group. Although used as public halls, court rooms and places for scourging malefactors, the synagogues never ceased to be chiefly houses of instruction and worship. In communities too small or too poor to erect a separate building, a room in some building might be devoted to the purpose. The interior of buildings erected as synagogues was generally round or rectangular.²³ Beyond the middle rose the bema or platform.²⁴ On the center of this stood the lectern or pulpit. Farther back stood the "ark," the chest containing the scrolls of Scripture.²⁵ The manner in which worship and instruction were combined in synagogal religious exercises is revealed by the order of service.

Synagogue services were held twice on the Sabbath; on all feast and fast days; and on the two weekly market days, Monday and Thursday.²⁶ Although the service varied somewhat with the day and the hour,²⁷ the general order was the same: that of the Sabbath morning may be taken as a type. An analysis of the Sabbath morning service shows that it consisted of two main divisions: one, liturgical; the other, instructional. The liturgical portion consisted of the recitation by all adult males²⁷ of the Shema²⁷ preceded and followed by a number of "benedictions," prayers or eulogies²⁷ recited by one individual especially deputed for the occa-

²¹ Exodus xxiii. 12. Nothing is said in this earliest legislation about special religious observance. See T. G. Soares, *The Social Institutions and Ideals of the Bible*, pp. 168ff. C. H. W. Johns, "The Babylonian and Assyrian Sabbath," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition, XXIII, 961d-962d.

²² W. Bacher, "Synagogue," *Hasting's Bible Dictionary*, IV, 637b.

²³ Alfred Edersheim, *In the Days of Christ*, p. 254.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 261.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 262.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 277d-278a.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 268a.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 275c.

sion, the congregation simply responding "Amen."²⁸ The Shema is commonly characterized as the national creed or confession.²⁷ It is composed of three scriptural passages.²⁷ Deuteronomy vi. 4-9; Deuteronomy xi. 13-21; Numbers xv. 37-41. It begins: "Hear O Israel, Yahweh is our God, Yahweh alone," a passage which offers many difficulties in translation as may be seen from the variant translations in the marginal note of the American Revised Version. It is named Shema from its initial Hebrew word *shema*, meaning "hear." The liturgical portion of the service offered definite systematic training on three or more days per week in worship and acts of devotion. The instructional portion consisted in the reading from the Law and then from the Prophets in the original Hebrew passages assigned to the day, which were forthwith translated into the vernacular by the meturgeman or translator who stood beside the reader.²⁹

It is unnecessary to dwell upon the educational significance of a custom which resulted in insuring the reading to the Aramaic or Greek speaking masses their native literature in the original tongue. The Pentateuch was so divided that its reading extended over three or three and a half years.³⁰ The section for the day was subdivided in such a manner that at least seven persons might be called upon to read a portion of not less than three verses each.³⁰ The Law was read and translated verse by verse. The reading and translating of the Prophets was presented in passages of three verses each.³¹

The synagogue service provided training in worship and oral instruction in the Scriptures for every man, woman and child in the community. Furthermore, it furnished a powerful stimulus to every man and boy to become an earnest student of the native literature, for any male, even a minor, might act either as reader or meturgeman,³² and the public esteem attached to fulfilling such an office made it the pious ambition of all, through the many opportunities it furnished to those qualified, for active participation in its services. Moreover, one individual especially deputed for the occasion led in the recitation of the benedictions or prayers³³ which constituted so large a part of the liturgical portion of the service, the congregation simply responding "Amen."³³ Finally, the reading of the Scriptures was followed by the *derashah*, an address or exposition which consisted of the explanation and application of

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 277-279.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 277.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 279a

³² *Ibid.*, 278.

³³ *Ibid.*, 275.

the day's lesson or some portion of it.³⁴ Here again we find first a custom providing, on the one hand, instruction for the mass of the people, and on the other hand, an incentive for earnest study, for any learned man present might be called upon to act as the darshan or expositor. The manner in which the synagogue combined worship and education, instruction for the masses and incentives to study for those having leisure and ability, will appear from the following outline³⁵ of the Sabbath morning order of service.

ORDER OF SYNAGOGUE SERVICE (SABBATH MORNING.)

PART I. LITURGICAL OR DEVOTIONAL.

I. Lectern Devotions.³⁶

1. Two "Benedictions."
2. The Shema—recited by all adult males.
3. One "Benediction."

II. Devotions Before the "Ark."³⁶

4. Various "Benedictions."

The number apparently varied from twelve in earlier times to eighteen or nineteen in later times.³⁷

5. The Priestly Benediction (Numbers vi. 23-24).³⁸

To be recited by a descendant of Aaron if any such were present, otherwise by the leader of the devotions.³⁸

PART II. INSTRUCTIONAL.

1. The Scripture Lessons.

1. "Benediction" by first reader.³⁹
2. Reading and translation of selections from the Law.
3. Reading and translation of selections from the Prophets.
4. "Benediction" by the last reader.³⁹

2. The Exposition or Derashah.

The synagogue was the earliest, the most wide-spread and the most enduring of all the educational institutions after the Exile. It was the first institution to offer systematic instruction to both

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 279b-c.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 268ff. Edersheim states in a footnote on page 268 that his description is based on a study of the Mishna.

³⁶ "The 'Shema' and its accompanying 'benedictions' seem to have been said... at the lectern; whereas for the next series of prayers the leader of the devotions went forward and stood before the ark." *Ibid.*, 272a.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 272-275.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 275.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 277.

sexes. It was the parent of the scribe college and the elementary school. Out of it arose the movement which resulted in universal education. Under its influence and that of the scribes all Jews became students of the Law; the Law became the most revered of all studies, and the center of religious and intellectual interest.

ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

It was but a step from using the synagogue on Sabbaths and feast days as a place of instruction to using it every day as a place for teaching boys whose parents would permit them to come. A school was a common feature of Babylonian temples, and if the synagogue arose during the Exile it may be that the elementary school arose at this time also as an adjunct to the synagogue. On the other hand, it may not have arisen till after the Exile and then not in any sense as a borrowed institution but merely as a natural result of the increasing conviction that the salvation of the Jews depended upon every Jew knowing and keeping the law.⁴⁰

When such schools first became universal is still an open question. The universality of teachers in the first part of the first century A. D. and, by inference, of schools is shown by passages in the New Testament such as Luke v. 17: "There were Pharisees and doctors of the law, sitting by, who were come out of every village of Galilee and Judea and Jerusalem." In the year 64 A. D. the ordinance of Gamala⁴¹ required that one or more elementary schools be established in every community. The elementary school was always located in the synagogue proper, or in some room attached to the synagogue or in the master's house.⁴² If, as is generally agreed, teachers and synagogues were practically universal in Palestine in the first century B. C., it does not seem unreasonable to conclude that, whether elementary education was compulsory or not at this time, elementary schools were exceedingly wide spread, perhaps practically universal. Moreover, if the claims of Shetach be admitted, and if his law refers, as some maintain, to already existing schools, it is possible that elementary schools were all but universal even earlier than the first century B. C., how much earlier cannot be conjectured.⁴³

⁴⁰ In time the name most commonly given to such a school was *Bet ha-Sefer*, or "House of the Book"; this however is a post-biblical term and is consequently avoided in the present account.

⁴¹ The claims of Shetach and the ordinance of Gamala will be discussed in the immediately following paragraphs.

⁴² A. R. S. Kennedy, "Education," *Hasting's Bible Dictionary*, I, p. 649.

⁴³ Gudemann's conclusions given in a subsequent paragraph should be consulted at this point.

COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

The widespread existence of elementary schools proved in itself insufficient to guarantee an education to every boy. To insure this a law was passed requiring every community to establish one or more elementary schools and making attendance compulsory for boys over seven years. It is a matter of dispute whether this law was passed early in the first century B. C. or in the latter part of the first century A. D. Some writers give the credit to a decree issued 75 B. C. by Simon ben Shetach, brother-in-law of the Jewish King Alexander Jannæus (r. 104-78 B. C.) and president of the Sanhedrin. Kennedy, in his brief but scholarly account, asserts there is no good reason for rejecting the tradition regarding Shetach's efforts on behalf of popular education, but fails to state what he considers this tradition to include.⁴⁴ Graetz, recounting the reign of Queen Alexandra, writes:

"Simon ben Shetach, the brother of the queen, the oracle of the Pharisaic party, stood high in her favor. So great a part did he play in the history of that time that it was called by many 'the days of Simon ben Shetach and of Queen Salome.'⁴⁵ But Simon was not an ambitious man and he determined to waive his own rights (to the presidency of the Great Council) . . . in favor of Judah ben Tabbai, who was then residing in Alexandria, of whose profound learning and excellent character he had formed a high estimate. . . . These two men have, therefore, been called 'Restorers of the Law,' who 'brought back to the Crown (the Law) its ancient splendor.'⁴⁶ . . .

"One of the reforms of this time expressly attributed to Simon ben Shetach was the promotion of better instruction. In all large towns, high schools for the use of young men from the age of sixteen sprang up at his instance. But all study, we may presume, was entirely confined to the Holy Scriptures, and particularly to the Pentateuch and the study of the Law. Many details or smaller points in the Law which had been partly forgotten and partly neglected during the long rule of the Saducees, that is to say, from Hyrcanus's oppression of the Pharisees until the commencement of Salome's reign, were once more introduced into daily life."⁴⁷

The passage in the Jerusalem Talmud which records the services rendered to education by Simon ben Shetach reads as follows:

⁴⁴ A. R. S. Kennedy, "Education," *Hasting's Bible Dictionary*, I, p. 649.

⁴⁵ H. Graetz, *History of the Jews*, II, 48d.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 49a and d.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 50d-51a.

"Simon ben Shetach ordained three things: that a man may do business with the *kethubah* (a sum of money stipulated in the marriage contract); that people should send their children to school; that glassware be subject to contamination."⁴⁸

It is evident that the brevity and vagueness of the reference to education in this passage are such as to furnish basis for much discussion but at the same time such as to make exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, any conclusions as to what Shetach actually did.

Güdemann,⁴⁹ Grossmann and Kandel,⁵⁰ Laurie,⁵¹ Leipziger,⁵² and Spiers,⁵³ while crediting Shetach with educational reforms, regard the law issued in 64 A. D. by the high priest Joshua ben Gamala as the ordinance by which elementary education was first made universal and compulsory for boys over six or seven. The defenders of the claims of Gamala assert that the law of Shetach applied either only to orphan boys over sixteen years of age, or only to Jerusalem, or only to Jerusalem and other large cities. If the first of these positions be accepted, it would follow that the first step toward compulsory education was the establishment in 75 B. C. of higher schools for orphan boys over sixteen years of age. Güdemann sums up the situation as follows:

"The scribes, at first, restricted their educational activities to adults, giving free lectures in synagogues and schools while the education of children remained in the hands of the parents as in olden times. But as boys often lacked this advantage, the state employed teachers in Jerusalem (B. B. 21a) to whose care the children from the provinces were entrusted; and as these did not suffice, schools were also established in the country towns. This arrangement must probably be referred to an ordinance of R. Simon ben Shetach (Yer. Keth. VIII end) These district schools were intended only for youths of sixteen and seventeen years of age who could provide for themselves away from home. The High Priest Joshua ben Gamala instituted schools for boys of six and seven years in all cities of Palestine."⁵⁴

⁴⁸ *Jerusalem Talmud*, "Kethuboth," VIII, end. Tr. by Rabbi S. N. Deinson.

⁴⁹ Güdemann, "Education," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, V, p. 43c.

⁵⁰ Grossmann and Kandel, "Jewish Education," Monroe, *Cyclopedia of Education*, III, p. 542d.

⁵¹ S. S. Laurie, *Pre-Christian Education*, p. 93.

⁵² H. M. Leipziger, *Education of the Jews*, p. 197.

⁵³ B. Spiers, *The School System of the Talmud*, pp. 9-10.

⁵⁴ M. Güdemann, "Education," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, V, p. 43.

The section of the Babylonian Talmud recounting the work of Gamala is of such importance in the history of Jewish education that no account, however summary, can afford to omit it. The passage is valuable not only for its account of Gamala's work but for the light it throws on earlier conditions.

"Verily let it be remembered to that man for good. Rabbi Joshua ben Gamala is his name, for had he not been, the Law would have been forgotten in Israel. At first every one that had a father received from him instruction in the Law, but he that had no father learned not the Law. . . . Thereafter teachers for the children were appointed in Jerusalem. . . . But even this measure sufficed not, for he that had a father was brought by him to school and was taught there, but he that had no father was not brought to be taught there. In consequence of this, it is ordained that teachers should be appointed in every district, to whom children were sent when they were sixteen or seventeen years of age. When a teacher became angry with a scholar, the latter stamped his feet and ran away. In this condition education remained until the time of Joshua ben Gamala, who ordained that in every province and in every town there should be teachers appointed to whom children should be brought at the age of six or seven years."⁵⁵

Any such legislation as that described in the foregoing paragraphs, would, of course, have been ineffective had it not been supported by a widespread sentiment in favor of education.

THE ORGANIZATION OF ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS.

All schools were for boys only and all teachers were men. The ordinance of Gamala required communities to provide one teacher for twenty-five pupils or less; for any number over twenty-five and less than fifty, one teacher and one assistant; for fifty pupils, two teachers and two classes.⁵⁶ In the beginning probably any scribe or any officer of the synagogue who had the leisure taught the elementary classes. In time, however, the master of the elementary school came to hold membership in the powerful scribes' guild and to bear the distinct title of *hazzan*.⁵⁷ Kennedy asserts that the *hazzan* of the elementary schools was distinct from the synagogue officer of the same title whose work consisted largely of menial duties connected with the synagogue, including even the whipping

⁵⁵ *Der Babylonische Talmud*, "Baba Bathra," tr. by Wünsche; A. R. S. Kennedy, *Hasting's Bible Dictionary*, I, 250b. I have taken Kennedy's translation of Wünsche here in preference to Rodkinson's.

⁵⁶ *Talmud*, "Baba Bathra." 21a.

⁵⁷ A. R. S. Kennedy, "Education," *Hasting's Bible Dictionary*, I, 650.

of criminals.⁵⁸ Other writers consider that the two may have been identical.

Although the scribes taught without pay and supported themselves, if necessary, by plying a trade, the *hazzan* probably received a regular though small wage.⁵⁹ The greatest reward, however, of the teachers of every rank was the love, gratitude, esteem and veneration in which they were held by the community. In public and in private they were treated with a marked and particular respect, and no man in a Jewish community occupied a more esteemed or a more enviable position. Moral character, knowledge of the law and pious observance of all its ordinances were undoubtedly the qualities most sought for in a teacher.

Before the boy began going to school he had learned at home many passages of Scripture, some prayers, some songs and many sacred traditions of his race. He had also witnessed and participated in many feasts and festivals and listened to the explanations of the origin and significance of each act. The aim of the elementary school was to give every boy a complete mastery of the Law and thus prepare him for assuming upon reaching his majority, responsibility for the Law.

Probably the only subjects taught in the elementary school were reading, writing and the elements of arithmetic. Learning to read and to write was far from an easy task. No language was permitted other than the ancient Hebrew,⁶⁰ a tongue almost unknown to the children of this period, in the majority of whose homes Aramaic or Greek was spoken. The difficulty of learning to read and write was further increased by the fact that in writing ancient Hebrew, vowel sounds were not indicated. Thus Yahweh was written YHWH. Consequently, a large element in reading consisted in reproducing from memory the vowel sounds.

The work of the elementary school centered about memorizing the Law in its threefold content,—ceremonial, civil and criminal. No doubt Hebrew education like that of every other oriental people made great demands upon the child's memory. However, we should never lose sight of the fact that passages which the boy would be required to learn by heart, setting forth the details of rites and laws and which to a Gentile of to-day are vague, unreal and exceedingly difficult to remember, were in many cases merely descrip-

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ D. Eaton, "Scribes," *Hasting's Bible Dictionary*, IV, 422d; Cf. Acts xviii. 3; M. Schloessinger, "Hazzan," *Jewish Encyclopedia*, VI, 284c-d.

⁶⁰ A. R. S. Kennedy, "Education," *Hasting's Bible Dictionary*, I, 651.

tions of acts the pupil had witnessed from his earliest years. They had been presented concretely again and again in a manner which could not fail to impress them vividly upon his mind long before he was assigned the task of committing them to memory. From the very first, his parents had explained to him, as far as his years and understanding permitted, the origin, real or traditional, and the significance of all that entered into law or rite. In view of the relation that the Law in its threefold content held to the life of the community, it will be seen that this work of the schools, far from being remote from life, was in reality a distinctly socializing process. The only way to comprehend the breadth of studies of the elementary school is by recalling the varied nature of the contents of the Scriptures. Upon this basis, it will be seen that religion, morals, manners, history and law as well as the three R's were studied in the elementary school, for all these are contained in the great literature there taught to the child.

The books included in the Scriptures, especially those constituting the Pentateuch, were the chief school texts. The Psalms, owing to their important place in the Temple worship, undoubtedly received much attention in the school. Two other books which must have held a prominent place in the schools were Proverbs and the apocryphal book, Ecclesiasticus. Both arose during this period: both were specifically designed as texts for instruction; both are compilations of moral and religious maxims, instruction in manners, intermingled with eulogies of the Law, its study, and its students and the virtues it extols. In later times there were prepared as texts for little children small parchment rolls containing portions of the Scriptures such as the Shema,⁶¹ the Hallel (Psalms cxiii-cxviii), history from the Creation to the Flood, the first eight chapters of Leviticus.⁶² How early such texts were employed cannot be determined.

The hair-splitting methods of the scholars of this period, as well as the sanctity attached to every word and every letter of the Law made it necessary that it be memorized exactly word for word and letter for letter. Absolute accuracy was imperative owing to the fact that many Hebrew characters are almost identical (e. g., *h* and *ḥ*) and that the interchange of two such characters frequently gives not only different but opposite meanings: thus *hallel* means "to praise," *ḥallel* means "to desecrate." To achieve this end countless memoriter exercises and constant repetitions were em-

⁶¹ See above p. 237 and note 27.

⁶² A. Edersheim, *In the Days of Christ*, p. 117.

ployed. The Rabbinical saying "to review one hundred and one times is better than to review one hundred times" indicates much regarding the character of the school work.

A large part of the literature committed to memory was no doubt interesting to the child, nevertheless, many portions of it must have been indescribably dull and taxing. The great veneration in which the Law was held and the fact that through it alone was there access to the highest positions in state and society were no doubt sufficient incentives to spur on the older boys to diligent study.

But the commendations of corporal punishment to be found in the Scriptures,⁶³ as well as the Jewish conception of child nature, leave no doubt that punishment was used freely in the school to keep the younger and less studious at their tasks.

The Jews of this period have already been described as a "people of the book." It is scarcely necessary to add that education in the schools was thoroughly bookish. The Greeks had sought in vain to induce the Jews to include in their course of study physical culture, the golden classics of Greece, and Greek science. Nevertheless, the boy who had completed the studies of the elementary school was master of one of the greatest literatures any race has ever produced. He probably knew by heart most of the Pentateuch as well as selections from many other books of the Scriptures. He was ready to explain the origin and meaning of the sacred rites and customs, public and private, which played a part in the events of each day. He was steeped in the religious consciousness of his people and was united with them in thought, knowledge and sympathies. Ellis writes:

"An interesting commentary on the (elementary) education of the time is that of Jesus. He never attended one of the rabbinical schools (Mark vi. 2, 3), and this allows us to see what advantages the common people had. His knowledge of the Scriptures was remarkable and unchallenged. He could read Hebrew and was often called upon to officiate in the synagogue (Luke iv. 16; Mark i. 21, etc.)."⁶⁴

SCHOOLS OF THE SOFERIM.

From earliest times it was necessary for prospective soferim (scribes) to receive special professional training. The increase,

⁶³ "Hebrew Education in the Family After the Exile," *Open Court*, January, 1918, p. 16. These statements should be compared with such Talmudic statements as those in Aboth 2:6 where it is asserted that a hasty (or passionate) man cannot teach.

⁶⁴ H. G. Ellis, *Origin and Development of Jewish Education*, Pedagogical Seminar, 1902, Vol. 9, p. 58.

after the Exile, in the functions of the *soferim*, in their numbers,* importance, and in the body of literature to be mastered by them made necessary prolonged and careful training. Those who were called upon daily to declare and administer the Law must possess not a merely superior knowledge of the Law itself. They must know all possible interpretations, methods of interpretation and the precedents created by former decisions and applications. In Temple court or in synagogue, noted scribes gathered about themselves groups of youth and men. In time each famous scribe appears to have had his own group or school.⁶⁵ In some cases the distinctive character of the master's teaching resulted in the development of rival schools, such as those of Shammai and Hillel.⁶⁶ The latter's grandson, Gamaliel, it will be recalled, was the teacher of Saul of Tarsus.⁶⁷

In some scribe schools, Greek learning may have been given a place but in all the major part of the time was probably devoted to the study of the sacred writings of the Hebrews and to the memorizing of the ever increasing mass of oral literature. This mass of oral learning consisted of two elements,—the Halakah or legal element and the Hagadah or non-legal element.

The Halakah was composed chiefly of oral laws growing out of the attempts of the scribes to adapt the written law to the ever changing social and political conditions. In time these oral laws, decisions and interpretations acquired fixed form and with fixed form, sanctity. Upon the basis of Exodus xxiv. 12 ("I will give thee tables of stone *and a law*") it was asserted that Moses had received from Yahweh upon Mt. Sinai, in addition to the written law, an oral law, namely, the *halakah*.⁶⁸ For many centuries the Halakah was forbidden to be written and consequently must be committed to memory by every prospective scribe. Every sentence, every word was sacred and must be memorized exactly as given by the teacher. All possible interpretations were presented and discussed. Various methods of interpretation must be learned and practised.

* One of the aims of the *soferim* was "to raise up many disciples" (*Aboth*, 1:2).

⁶⁵ In later times commonly known as Beth Hammidrash, but this is a post-biblical term and is consequently avoided in the present account.

⁶⁶ Associated with (by tradition, President of) the Sanhedrin 30 B. C. Wm. Bacher, "Hillel," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, XIII, 467 c-d.

⁶⁷ A. R. S. Kennedy, "Education," *Hasting's Bible Dictionary*, I, 650d.

⁶⁸ Arthur Ernest Cowley, "Hebrew Literature," *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th edition, XIII, 170b-c.

The Hagadah (literally "narrative") was not distinguishable in method from the Halakah. But whereas the Halakah was devoted to religious law, the Hagadah included literature of considerable range and variety. Though much of it was ethical, exegetical or homiletical, it included, as well, proverbs, fables, traditions, history and science. In a word it embraced all topics except the more strictly legal elements, which might be drawn into the discursive discussions of a group of scholars seeking to amplify and explain in a somewhat popular manner laws, institutions and customs. This oral literature developed into the two monumental encyclopedias, known as the Jerusalem Talmud and the Babylonian Talmud.⁶⁹

The main theme of the instruction given by the soferim was the oral law. Their instruction was consequently entirely oral. In order to assist their pupils to retain their words, they cast many of their teachings in the form of proverbs, precepts, epigrams. They presented concrete cases, real or imaginary, to train their pupils in the application of legal principles. Parable and allegory were employed for illustration. Public discussions between different scribes were frequently held. Upon Sabbaths and feast days, it was customary for various scribes to assemble "on the terrace of the Temple and there publicly to teach and expound, the utmost liberty being given of asking questions, discussing, objecting and otherwise taking intelligent part in the lectures."⁷⁰ In their groups of select pupils as well as in public they made large use of the question and answer method, the pupils as well as the master asking questions.

The study and the teaching of the Law were alike sacred tasks. The Soferim would have regarded charging fixed fees for their services as trafficking in the wisdom of the Most High. Those without private incomes commonly supported themselves by some craft or trade.⁷¹

FESTIVALS.

The great national holidays of the Jews were national holy days. Through them the Jews recognized their dependence upon God for the fruits of the field, for the joys of home, for deliverance from enemies and for past and future prosperity. Every

⁶⁹ In form, the Talmud consists of two parts,—the Mishna compiled about 190 A. D., and the Gemara or Commentary upon the Mishna, produced during the next three hundred years and compiled about 500 A. D.

⁷⁰ Alfred Edersheim, *In the Days of Christ*, p. 120.

⁷¹ Franz Delitzsch, *Jewish Artisan Life in the Time of Jesus*, (tr. by B. Pick), pp. 73, 81. For a list of the various trades followed by Rabbis, see article on "Rabbi," *Jewish Encyclopedia*.

period in Hebrew history contributed its portion to the heritage of national festivals. From nomadism came the Passover, originally a spring festival when the firstlings of the flock were offered up to Yahweh.⁷² From the agricultural stage came Pentecost and the feast of Tabernacles.

The Jewish year included three hundred and fifty-four days. In the period of later Judaism, more than thirty days in the year, in addition to New Moons and Sabbaths, were devoted to ceremonial observances of some sort.⁷³ The following table shows⁷⁴ the more important of these feasts, their duration, and time of celebration.

TABLE OF MOST IMPORTANT JEWISH FEASTS AND FESTIVALS (*Post Maccabaeon Period.*)

FEAST	NO. OF DAYS	JEWISH		APPROXIMATE CURRENT CALENDAR TIME
		DAYS	MONTH	
Passover ⁷⁵ or Feast of Unleavened Bread	7	From evening of 14th to 21st of	Nisan Nisan	The month of Nisan began with the New Moon of March and extended to the New Moon of April
Pentecost ⁷⁵	1	6th of	Siwan	Siwan included part of May and part of June
Feast of Trumpets	1	1st of	Tishri	Tishri included part of September and part October
Day of Atonement (Strictly a fast, not a feast)	1	10th		
Feast of Tabernacles ⁷⁵	7	15th to 21st inclusive	Tishri	
Shemini Atzereth Eight or Day of Conclusion	1	22nd	Tishri	
Feast of Dedication	8	25th ff.	Kislew	Kislew included part of November and part of December
Purim	2	14th to 15th	Adar	Adar included parts of February and March

From the standpoint of education, the significance of the festivals was manifold. Probably no other factor in Jewish life played a more important part in stimulating and developing the racial religious consciousness, national and individual. They formed a cycle of religious and patriotic revivals extending throughout the year. Through them each new generation was taught the story of

⁷² T. G. Soares, *The Social Institutions and Ideals of the Bible*, p. 173; Exodus xiii. 12.

⁷³ T. G. Soares, *The Social Institutions and Ideals of the Bible*, p. 178.

⁷⁴ Exclusive of New Moons and Sabbath. The data in this table have been compiled from various sources. See especially Elmer E. Harding, "Feasts and Fasts," *Hasting's Bible Dictionary*, I.

⁷⁵ One of the three great annual feasts.

the great religious and political experiences of the race. Every religious festival was a period of training in connection with worship; in connection with many of them definite provision was made for religious instruction. Parents were directed to instruct their children in advance or during the celebration in the origin of meaning of the festival. This private instruction was frequently supplemented by instruction given in public by priests and scribes.

THE TEMPLE.

Despite the rise of the teaching order of soferim and the multiplication of synagogues, the Temple at Jerusalem never ceased to be a national center of religious education. Hither the people resorted to celebrate the great national festivals and here they were trained in forms of worship. Here, too, the carefully trained choirs of Levites sang the national songs of praise and in singing them taught them to the people. Indeed it was the Temple, according to Graetz, which furnished the pattern for the service in the thousand synagogues scattered throughout Judea and the diaspora. "The form of prayer used in the Temple became the model of the services in all prayer houses or houses of gathering."⁷⁶ "The inhabitants of the country towns introduced in their own congregations an exact copy of the divine service as it was conducted in (the Temple in) Jerusalem."⁷⁷ More than this it was at the hours of temple worship that the Jews everywhere gathered in their local synagogues,⁷⁷ and it was toward the Holy City that every Jew, alone or in the congregation, turned his face when he prayed. The resemblance of the synagogue service to that of the temple will be seen by comparing the outline of service given above on page 239 with the following order of the temple morning song service which followed the dawn sacrifice.⁷⁸

ORDER OF TEMPLE MORNING PRAYER AND SONG SERVICE.

1. Selected psalms of praise and thanksgiving.
2. Response by the congregation.
3. Prayer and thanksgiving.
4. Reading of selections from the Law.
5. The Ten Commandments.
6. The Shema.

In addition to the instruction and training given through the services, public instruction was often given in the temple courts.

⁷⁶ H. Graetz, *History of the Jews*, I, 399a.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 401a.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 399.

This custom, probably antedating the time of Jeremiah, was followed in the days of Jesus and undoubtedly continued till the final destruction of the Temple 70 A. D.

The Temple and its public services were national institutions. "The Temple was the approach of the nation to their God..... Its standard rites were performed in the name and for the sake of the whole people. The Tamid or standing sacrifice offered twice a day on the high altar was the offering of the nation. Every Jew contributed to its maintenance.⁷⁹.... Each of its celebrations, was attended by a formal committee of the nation...."⁸⁰

It is not within the purpose of the present account to enter upon a history of the Temple and its varying fortunes nor to describe the magnificence of its structure and of its services.⁸¹ It arose aloft above the city on its holy hill like the temples of Athens. Here as in Greece, the lofty eminence and conspicuousness of its position contributed toward keeping it ever before the minds of the inhabitants of the city. Every day was ushered in by a national sacrifice, marked midway by a second one and closed with a national service of prayer.

"After midnight the Captain of the Temple together with a number of priests arose from their beds and with torches in their hands went through the Temple.... to see if everything was in a state of preparation for worship at the dawn of day. As soon as the watchers upon the Temple ramparts could perceive in the morning light the city of Hebron, the signal was given: 'the light shines on Hebron' and the sacrificial victim fell under the hand of the priest."

"Immediately after the immolation came a service of prayer with music and song. This was followed by the burning of incense upon the golden altar, at which the priestly blessing was pronounced. The sacrificing priest then performed his functions at the Altar of Burnt-offering, while the Levites sang psalms, accompanied by the sound of trumpets. Two hours and a half from mid-day the evening worship began with the slaughter of the sacrificial lamb. Immediately after sunset the evening service of prayer was closed."⁸²

⁷⁹ By a decree of the council issued in the reign of Salome Alexandria, every Israelite, proselytes and freed slaves included, was required to pay at least one-half shekel a year to the support of the Temple. H. Graetz, *History of the Jews*, II, 52.

⁸⁰ G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem—to 70 A. D.*, II, 522d-523b.

⁸¹ For Biblical descriptions see 2 Chronicles xxix. 19-36; Ecclesiasticus i. 1-21; Ezekiel xl-xli.

⁸² Condensed from M. Seidel, *In the Time of Jesus*, pp. 119-120.

Not only was the Temple service fraught throughout with symbolism but the structure and organization of the Temple made it a monumental object lesson teaching the holiness, majesty and omnipotence of Yahweh. "If Josephus be right, the vast entrance of the porch symbolized heaven; the columns of the first veil, the elements; the seven lamps, the seven planets; the twelve loaves of the Presence, the signs of the zodiac, and the circuit of the year; the Altar of Incense....that God is the possessor of all things."⁸³

The multitude of private sacrifices required of every Jew resulted in making the influence of the Temple individual as well as national. To visit Jerusalem and worship in the Temple became a life desire of every Jew. Thousands of pilgrims journeyed thither each year. The three great annual festivals, the Passover, the Pentecost, the Feast of the Tabernacles brought together Jews from all over the world. Many such returned home inspired and strengthened in their faith, and better instructed in the approved methods of religious observances. Thus through the Temple religion and religious education were unified, standardized and nationalized.

The effect of the Temple service in the first century of the Christian era upon a Hebrew child has been beautifully set forth by Edersheim and forms a fitting close to the discussion of the educative influence of the Temple.

"No one who had ever worshiped within the courts of Jehovah's house at Jerusalem could ever have forgotten the scenes he had witnessed or the words he had heard. Standing in that gorgeous, glorious building, and looking up its terraced vista, the child would watch with solemn awe, not unmingled with wonderment as the great throng of white-robed priests busily moved about, while the smoke of the sacrifice rose from the altar of burnt-offering. Then, amid the hushed silence of that vast multitude, they had all fallen down to worship at the time of incense. Again, on those steps that led up to the innermost sanctuary the priests had lifted their hands and spoken over the people the words of blessing; and then, while the drink-offering was poured out, the Levites' chant of Psalms had risen and swelled into a mighty volume; the exquisite treble of the Levite children's voices being sustained by the rich round notes of the men, and accompanied by instrumental music. The Jewish child knew many of these words. They had been the earliest songs he had heard—almost his first lesson when clinging at a 'taph' to his mother. But now, in those white-marbled, gold-adorned halls,

⁸³ G. A. Smith, *Jerusalem—to 70 A. D.*, II, p. 257.

under heaven's blue canopy, and with such surroundings, they would fall upon his ear like sounds from another world, to which the prolonged threefold blasts from the silver trumpets of the priests would seem to waken him. And they were sounds from another world; for, as his father would tell him, all that he saw was after the exact pattern of heavenly things which God had shown to Moses on Mount Sinai; all that he heard was God-uttered, spoken by Jehovah Himself through the mouth of His servant David, and of the other sweet singers of Israel."⁸⁴

MISCELLANEOUS.

A WOMAN FREE.

*A Woman Free and Other Poems*¹ is a collection of verses by Ruth Le Prade with an introduction by no less a personage than Edwin Markham, and indeed the verses before us do not lack poetic inspiration and originality. Perhaps it is characteristic for the authoress that she seeks for freedom and does not know what freedom means. She declares her freedom saying:

"I am a woman free. Too long
I was held captive in the dust. Too long
My soul was surfeited with toil or ease
And rotted as the plaything of a slave.
I am a woman free at last
After the crumbling centuries of time.
Free to achieve and understand;
Free to become and live."

This is perhaps the historical explanation of the development of woman and she now becomes typical of "the free woman." Further down she joyfully exclaims:

"I am the free woman,
No longer a slave to man,
Or any thing in all the universe—
Not even to myself.
I am the free woman.
I hold and seek that which is mine:
Strength is mine and purity;
World work and cosmic love;
The glory and joy of Motherhood."

What is the woman free? Her sympathy is broad. She says:

"I have loved winds that wander, tossing the trees, tossing the silver leaves;
Touching my body softly or with rude strength;
Blowing thru my hair; saluting me and passing on.

⁸⁴ A. Edersheim, *In the Days of Christ*, pp. 108-109.

¹ *A Woman Free and Other Poems*. By Ruth. Published by J. F. Rowny Press, 937 South Hill Street, Los Angeles, Cal.

"I have loved flowers that blow :

Silver lilies, purple poppies, orange flowers, honeysuckles, pansies, lilacs.
geraniums, violets.

"I have loved winds that wander—

But I have loved men more.

I have passionately loved the flowers : poppies, orange flowers, geraniums,
violets—

"But more passionately have I loved the human flowers :

The babies, the little children, the schoolboy and the schoolgirl, the young
lovers, the old lovers, the mother, the father, the worker.

"Because I have clasped hands with nature I can clasp hands more know-
ingly with man.

.....
"Oh more than everything have I loved man.

I have loved man more than God—

For man is God made manifest."

"I am a woman and I love :

I am a woman and I love—

Not one man only, but all men ;

Not one child only, but all children ;

And not one nation, but the world."

One poem ends with the italicized lines :

"There is no price too great to pay for love.

It is not possible to love too much!"

Her patron saint is Whitman :

"Dear Father, you called for those who were to justify you.
Behold they appear !

"Oh why did you ask to be justified?

To the understanding you are already justified ;

And to the rest you can never be.

"Does the earth need to be justified? or the sun?

Wise men once said the earth was flat.

The earth in its greatness was silent.

And if I, gazing at the sun,

Contend it gives no light—

I merely prove myself a fool."

Our authoress is rather hard on the dry professor and devotes these lines
to him :

"I said to the dry professor,

In the midst of his dust and cobwebs :

'There is something higher than reason.'

He laughed, thinking me a fool.

"Oh these exalters of reason, of the cold intellect ;

These worshippers at the tombs of the dead ;

These men of petty vision and of rules !

With dead languages, dead philosophies, dead thoughts
 They shut themselves from the sunlight,
 And demand that others do likewise.

"They are but ghouls
 Feasting on the dead."

Possibly the professor praises reason as the best methods to argue about the truth, but he may after all know that life is worth more than an argument about life, and the health of the body better than an essay on health.

Formerly the body was regarded as the seat of sin; the "free woman" praises it saying:

"I sing the beauty of the body;
 The body of the man, of the woman, of the child,
 The body of youth, maturity, old age.
 I sing the beauty of the body,
 The human body strong and potent,
 The human body marvelous and strange!"

There are more poems containing the touch of true poetry such as lines on the caged bird and the caged tiger (pp. 45-46), the serpent in the grass (p. 54); on "the pane of glass" between the hungry man and food (p. 61), or "the man and the mirror" (p. 62), or "the flower of love" (p. 68); but we must leave them to the reader to find out that the free woman has a heart as good and womanly as ever a woman had. We will conclude by quoting the last poem, "Out of Chaos," which refers to the European war from the standpoint of internationalism:

Out of Chaos.

"I sit alone and gaze over the world,
 I see Europe ravaged by the Fiend of War.
 I see the whole world tremble 'neath its feet.

"I see the men of Germany hating the men of England.
 I see the men of England hating the men of Germany.
 I see them butchering each other upon the bloody fields;
 Dropping bombs upon each other;
 Killing each other with poisonous gases.
 I see the men in the submarines sinking the huge vessels.
 I see the people leap into the black water—and disappear.

"I see the race warring against itself
 With all the hellish cruelty of civilization.

"Each nation prays unto its God for victory.

"I see the harvest of the thing called Patriotism
 Which was planted in the human heart as good—
 But which yields only race hatred, murder, cruelty, bestiality, ignorance.

"I see the harvest of the thing called Nationalism
 Which sets the nations at each other's throats.

"I sit alone and gaze over the world,
 Filled with unutterable anguish, dumb with pain.

"I sit alone and gaze over the world.
And then my soul is lifted in a mighty shout
Prophetic of the unity of man.

"I am a child of the world.
I owe allegiance to no country more than another country;
To no flag more than another flag;
The boundary of no nation hems me in;
And I love no race of people more than another race of people.
All humanity to me is sacred,
And all humanity is one.

"(Shall the head be at war with the feet;
And the hands seek to tear out the heart;
And the organism through ignorance destroy itself?)

"Oh a man is a man!
He is sacred and marvelous.
It matters not where he was born;
Or the language that he speaks.
His blood is precious.
His flesh is wonderful.
He is the child of God.

"I refuse to be robbed of my sanity.
I refuse to murder my brother—who is part of myself.
I extend my hands to him saying,
'You are my comrade and I love you.'"

MYSTICISM AND MODERN LIFE. By *John Wright Buckham*. New York: Abingdon Press, 1915. Pp. 256. Price \$1.00 net.

Dr. Buckham, for many years professor of Christian theology at Pacific Theological Seminary, has contributed largely to the modern literature and thought relating to mysticism in the religious life. He says at the start that this volume would not be so forbidding to the casual reader if he had substituted "religious experience" for the much abused term "mysticism," but he uses the latter because he wishes to write of exactly that intense and significant type of religious experience. He defines mysticism as "spiritual enlightenment," and quotes among others Pepper's definition, "the realization of one's self with God." He says it is very near being synonymous with what is known as personal religion. "Any one who has, or believes he has, a direct experience of God is to that extent a mystic." Dr. Buckham is doubtless justified in saying that it is by confounding mysticism as a whole with its exaggerated forms that certain popular misconceptions have become widespread and are not easily uprooted. A mystic is not a mere visionary. "Don Quixote is too far from genuine mysticism to be even a parody of it." In a chapter on "health mysticism," Dr. Buckham calls attention to certain inconsistencies of Christian Science and similar mystical cults that over-emphasize the physical and material.

p

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CHICAGO, ILL.

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

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DIVINITY SCHOOL

VOL. XXXII (No. 5)

MAY, 1918

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The Open Court Publishing Company

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THE GOSPEL OF BUDDHA

By

DR. PAUL CARUS

Pocket Edition. Illustrated. Cloth, \$1.00; flexible leather, \$1.50

This edition is a photographic reproduction of the *edition de luxe* which was printed in Leipsic in 1913 and ready for shipment in time to be caught by the embargo Great Britain put on all articles exported from Germany. Luckily two copies of the above edition escaped, and these were used to make the photographic reproduction of this latest edition. While the Buddhist Bible could not in any way be considered a contraband of war yet the publishers were forced to hold back many hundred orders for the book on account of orders in council of Great Britain.

When the book was first published His Majesty, the King of Siam, sent the following communication through his private secretary:

"Dear Sir: I am commanded by His Most Gracious Majesty, the King of Siam, to acknowledge, with many thanks, the receipt of your letter and the book, *The Gospel of Buddha*, which he esteems very much; and he expresses his sincerest thanks for the very hard and difficult task of compilation you have considerably undertaken in the interest of our religion. I avail myself of this favorable opportunity to wish the book every success."

His Royal Highness, Prince Chandradat Chudhadharn, official delegate of Siamese Buddhism to the Chicago Parliament of Religions, writes:

"As regards the contents of the book, and as far as I could see, it is one of the best Buddhist Scriptures ever published. Those who wish to know the life of Buddha and the spirit of his Dharma may be recommended to read this work which is so ably edited that it comprises almost all knowledge of Buddhism itself."

The book has been introduced as a reader in private Buddhist schools of Ceylon. Mrs. Marie H. Higgins, Principal of the Musaeus School and Orphanage for Buddhist Girls, Cinnamon Gardens, Ceylon, writes as follows:

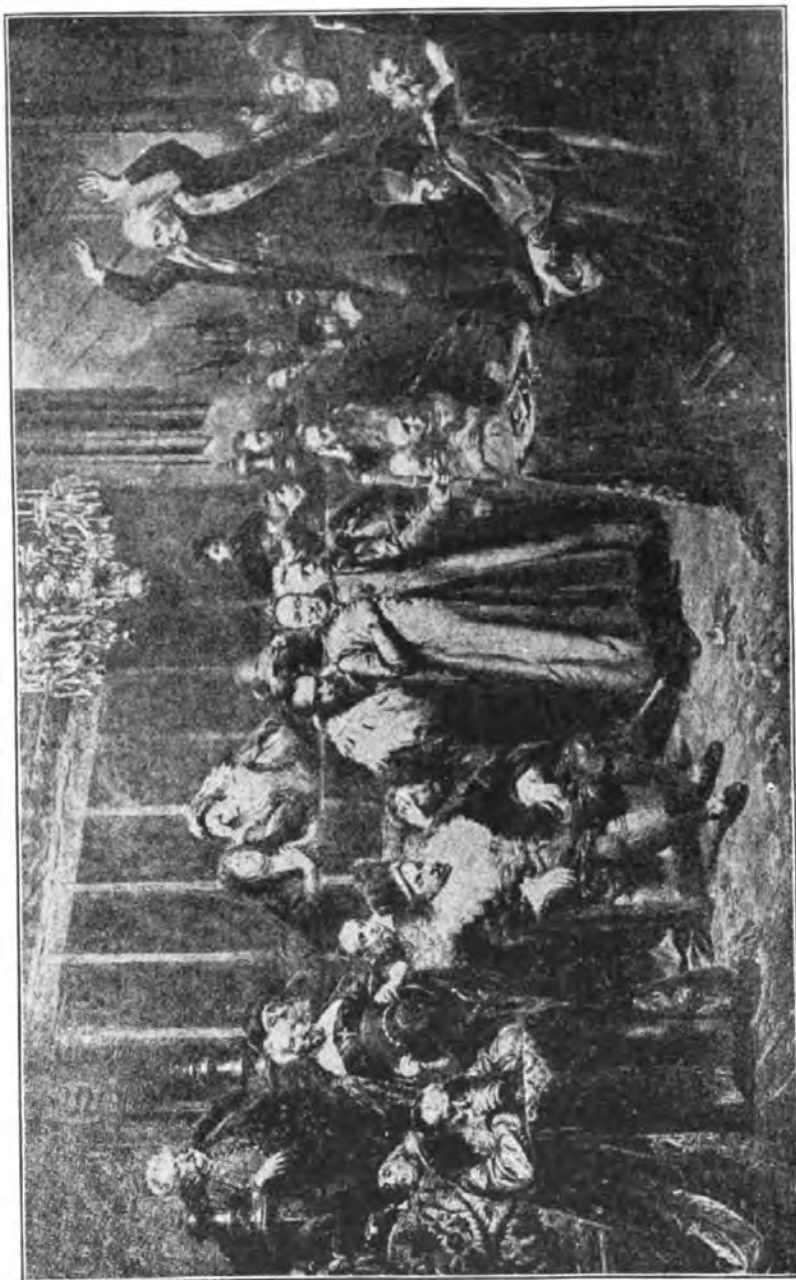
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A SERMON OF SKARGA'S.

(See pages 289 and 290.)

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. XXXII (No. 5)

MAY, 1918

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THE SECULAR OBJECTION TO RELIGION IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

BY THE HON. JUSTIN HENRY SHAW.

Trial Justice, Municipal Criminal Court, Kittery, Maine.

THE *Open Court* for February, 1918, finds some considerable space for two interesting articles which rather unexpectedly continue the historic attempt to meddle with the public schools by a union of the religious cults if it were possible that such a union might be accomplished. The first is under the quite familiar title of "Bible-Reading and Religious Instruction in the Public Schools; from the Catholic Point of View," which is entirely an anonymous statement only of the Catholic position. The other, probably intended as a sort of concurrent contradiction and of immediate balance, is a Protestant plan of momentum, and entitled, "Religious Education in the Public Schools," by Mr. C. E. Sparks.

One cannot say that either of these articles is of intimate consequence on these questions. These religionists come to us even in the same number of this magazine, with the customary different meanings to their religions; differences of authority, differences in what they please to call their text-book; independent and separate interpretations; and obviously with a religious quarrel among themselves that cannot possibly be concealed. It is plainly admitted by the Catholic and emphasized by the Protestant. They necessarily present themselves under the motive of *morality*, because one must approve of morality, although neither seems to know just the meaning of the term; but they appear together with a theological, sectarian disturbance which is not a new one, and ask to have a hand in the public schools. Of course they will not be more generally permitted to do so, and I shall perhaps hastily attempt to tell them

why, and the reasons are substantial and convincing ones, I think—historical, legal and moral. They involve briefly the purpose of education, the purport of our national and many state constitutions, and some better ethical considerations.

Therefore, in view of the more clearly recognized absolute separation of the Church and State in America, as intended by our National Constitution, and with some better knowledge of recent state constitutional provisions and of decisions in the courts thereunder; and particularly in the face of the unprecedented expulsion of religion from the affairs of the commonwealth in a leading state like Massachusetts in the adoption of its sweeping Forty-sixth Article of Amendment to the Constitution, which I append,¹ one must gladly feel that these religious articles are to be regarded as untimely, and to a great extent socially as almost impudent.

The religious standpoint in these times can never be a very cheerful one. Everything is usually very nearly all wrong with the world. The religionist usually has the attitude of Dean Mansel, that "the adversity of the good, the prosperity of the wicked, the tardy appearance of moral and religious knowledge in the world, are facts which no doubt are reconcilable, we know not how, with the infinite goodness of God."

"Irreligion and religious indifferences are gaining day by day an increasingly firmer hold upon society here in America," is the

¹ ARTICLE XLVI, CONSTITUTION OF MASSACHUSETTS.

(In place of article xviii of the articles of amendment of the constitution ratified and adopted April 9, 1821, the following article of amendment, submitted by the constitutional convention, was ratified and adopted November 6, 1917. Effective October 1, 1918.)

Article xviii. Section 1. No law shall be passed prohibiting the free exercise of religion.

Section 2. All moneys raised by taxation in the towns and cities for the support of public schools, and all moneys which may be appropriated by the commonwealth for the support of common schools shall be applied to, and expended in, no other schools than those which are conducted according to law, under the order and superintendence of the authorities of the town or city in which the money is expended; and no grant, appropriation or use of public money or property or loan of public credit shall be made or authorized by the commonwealth or any political division thereof for the purpose of founding, maintaining or aiding any school or institution of learning, whether under public control or otherwise, wherein any denominational doctrine is inculcated, or any other school, or any college, infirmary, hospital, institution, or educational, charitable or religious undertaking which is not publicly owned and under the exclusive control, order, and superintendence of public officers or public agents authorized by the commonwealth or federal authority or both, except that appropriations may be made for the maintenance and support of the Soldiers' Home in Massachusetts and for free public libraries in any city or town, and to carry out legal obligations, if any, already entered into; and no such grant, appropriation or use of public money or property or loan of public credit shall be made or authorized for the purpose of founding, maintaining or aiding any church, religious denomination or society.

lament of the Catholic author in *The Open Court*, and fear is expressed "that we are reverting to the Greek type of paganism," and paganism is intentionally made a common name for evil, in self-defense. I shall hope to add a little to the religious disquietude, from Pagan motives.

This must be a very strange condition, if true, with approximately 175,000 Christian priests and ministers in the land; probably 200,000 untaxed churches and billions of dollars in church buildings and endowments and advantages; with the influence and activities of 35,000,000 organized Christians in the country, with numberless Christian institutions, missions, parochial schools, parish settlements, Bible publishing houses and unlimited opportunities. Something would seem to be wrong with Christian "education," if the pessimistic complaint were well founded, and that it were important some other plan of teaching should be worked out. It would be a great satisfaction if we could feel that this religious depression were entirely justified. For religion to have thus fallen is indeed a great gain. But I suspect that religion were never more contemptible than it is at the present moment.

One can only regard the Catholic article as showing how impossible it is for the educated world at this time to seriously consider its theology or its theory of education. The Church would appear by its admission not only to have failed in its plan of salvation, but also in religious education and in promoting what it terms as morality. This is a serious admission to make for the purpose of asking the privilege to introduce religion in the public schools, so far as the Catholic is concerned, if he intends to do so.

One must say that the Catholic article is apparently intended to be entirely frank and consistent, and of course religious. It is impossible to credit the Protestant writer with such consistency or with very much social integrity, as I shall show, because he intends that his terms shall be deceiving. The Catholic writer does not. He has nothing to say about the "ungodly American public schools," nor any intimation of their "immoral output." The article is fair and without unkindness. One may question, however, how far this Catholic is permitted to suggest any cooperation or agreement with any Protestant plan for religious instruction in the schools, as the article at least in a way implies, but this may be treated as a defect in any Catholic plan. It says nothing new about the Catholic standpoint, except perhaps in this one implied particular, and it very honestly states apparently the Catholic position, but of course in a hopeless way to ever make this religion intelligible

or sensible. It does not attempt to say that if Catholics were allowed to introduce religion in the public schools that Catholics would teach the Protestant religion. But Mr. Sparks plainly wishes to teach the Protestant religion in the schools and would call it "morality."

The Catholic writer very properly recognizes and also honestly admits that "Our public schools have been made non-sectarian by legislative act. There can be no question," he says, "of promoting religious life in these schools at present." And then he obviously observes that "in certain quarters Bible-reading has been recommended to remedy this defect (and I will emphasize his comment) —*Bible-reading as it is practised by certain Protestant denominations.*" And so he raises the question now "whether Catholic pupils can take part in this reading without doing violence to their religious convictions." Of course it hardly ever occurs to the religionists that the intrusion of their religions where religions are not wanted and are not intended, might be a violence to the conscience or conviction of the secular American rationalist. Happily *The Open Court* is such a publication where this may be freely discussed. But I have no interest in what is regarded by Dr. Carus in his philosophy as the "purification" of religions, although I must acknowledge with gratitude his tremendous service to liberalism in all thought.

I do not believe that these two religious articles should be considered with any great concern by Americans. The efforts have been simultaneous suicides, and I think I might very well be in a better business just now in the more serious affairs of the country than in taking the time to attempt a reply to these religionists. I should suppose that if religion were good for peoples that Spain, Russia, Mexico and other religious and Christian communities ought to be most beautiful countries and that there could be no great objections to the Christian religion in this country. But I would hopefully prefer to reach if possible those of *The Open Court* readers who perhaps may still have an undecided interest in the question, and I cannot think that there are many who would care to see the plan of these sectarians promoted in the least in our schools. I would prefer to win those who may be reached with what I am pleased to think are sufficient reasons for the opposition, if they may care to consider them.

I doubt very much if regular readers of *The Open Court* are likely to become greatly befuddled by the medieval theology of these articles. Regular readers of this magazine or of general modern literature are likely to leave it wholly alone. For instance, what

can one say to this religious recognition by the Catholic writer? (and I have copied it carefully, it being somewhat of an exertion even from the mechanical standpoint :) "Theology recognizes gladly and frankly that the concepts which express revealed, supernatural reality do not represent it in its own peculiar way but only by analogy. The analogy between revealed supernatural reality and the concepts which express it is not an attributive analogy but an *analogia proportionalis*, and in certain cases only *proportionalitatis*, as P. Sertillanges calls it (*'Agnosticisme et anthropomorphisme.'*)"

I should suppose good-naturedly that the theological case had never been more scholarly expressed than in this ponderous quotation. But one must leave that to the use of the theologians. By this sort of analogy one could hardly be more successfully direct in teaching the law of gravitation than by employing the pigs-in-clover problem, and perhaps without the pigs, "*Depositum custodi.*"

"The Catholic Church," it is again authoritatively explained, "alone possesses the whole of the divine revelation and regards it as her most sacred duty to preserve it faithfully and without modification." Consequently, "the Catholic Church is likewise opposed to every sort of pure and exclusive voluntarism, which deprives the theoretic truth of all its static element and degrades the truth to an exclusive instrument of action." The most positive injunction, from the Catholic standpoint of authority is that "*there must be no Protestant Bible-reading* (in the public schools) because, (a) Protestant Bible-reading is founded upon an entirely false idea of inspiration which, *a posteriori* at least, has proved untrue; and (b) no Catholic layman may read any Bible whose text has not been approved by the competent ecclesiastical authorities and accompanied with the required commentaries." Here is the positive asserted authority of the Catholic Church against the Protestant pretense, and its reasons. Obviously its authority must be true, or else it is not true. The religious dispute therefore begins here. If it affected them only, we would not be further concerned.

Then we turn to the lubricated Protestant plan and "the dominating note in (his) religion is authority," says the Protestant Mr. Sparks, which is a strange suggestion for a Protestant to make. And again he makes the same sort of blunder for a Protestant to make in an article that appears concurrently with a Catholic article, in saying that "in moral training it is *absolutely necessary to develop a reverent respect for authority.*" (A part of the italics are unwisely his own.) "And the first point in this (Protestant) plan that is now presented is the introduction of (Protestant) Bible-study

into the curriculum of the public school. And again he says, unguardedly, or unblushingly as I regard it, that "The Bible is *the* text-book of ethics." This has been forever disposed of by better scholars and moralists than I. There remains the task of more general education.

When the Catholic writer may be able to show conclusively to his Protestant friend that the Catholic Church still possesses the entire "divine revelation" and that Mr. Sparks has none of it; or when the Protestant Mr. Sparks may submit properly to the "divine" authority conferred upon the institution of his Catholic friend, and feels that a parochial religious school is better than an American public school, then these gentlemen will be in a better position to argue together effectively in the same number of *The Open Court* about the benefits of religion in the schools, and the argument will be entirely Catholic. It is necessary to kindly remind our religious friends of this before they reach the schoolhouse doors with an unended quarrel of three hundred years.

But a single comment should be made on one of Mr. Sparks's assertions. "The Bible is *the* textbook of ethics," he says. One must simply say and make it plain that the man either knows nothing of the Bible or does not know the meaning of the term ethics. He is not in any sense an educator.

And I need go no further than the same February issue of *The Open Court* to remind our Protestant Mr. Sparks of the contention of the Catholic writer that "religious instruction is the particular function of the ecclesiastical office (Matt. xxviii. 19) and may not be exercised by any person without the canonical permission of the bishop."² It would be better, as it seems to me, to acknowledge that the teaching of the only true revealed and divinely authorized religion should be left to those who have received the revelation and the authority. One can therefore have no discussion with our Catholic friend in his sincerity in this respect. And I would like to remind the Protestant Mr. Sparks of the suspicion of his Catholic friend that "the Bible is not a children's reader."³

² It is plainly the intention of the Catholic writer to regard the Protestant Mr. Sparks as of no consequence as an authority on religion, inasmuch as the same gospel (Matt. xviii. 17) provides in case of a dispute between religious brothers: "If he neglects to hear the church, let him be unto thee as an heathen man and a publican."

³ The qualifications for teaching the Protestant religion are more amusingly and applicably discussed by Mr. Eugene Wood in one of his delightful essays, on "The Sabbath School," (*McClure's Magazine*), in which it is suggested that "for some eighteen centuries it was supposed that a regularly ordained ministry should have exclusive charge of this work. At rare intervals now-

The Constitution of the United States is a superlatively moral and broad basis of government. "It is in no sense founded on the Christian religion," or any other religion. "It was the spirit of the eighteenth century, a century of philosophical inquiry which gave our revolutionary leaders their broader views. Had they been susceptible to clerical influences, or had they consulted Moses and Paul, there would have been a king here, 'by the grace of God,' as there is in most Christian countries." For "there is not a single text either in the old or new Testament which may be fairly quoted in defense of popular or republican government."⁴

To live under this American Constitution and to accept its opportunities of religious freedom and religious liberty is the finest privilege that man has ever inherited and enjoyed from his government. It also imposes an obligation not to use any governmental or state means for the promotion of any religion whatsoever. The text of the Constitution in this respect has become so well known to scholars and lawyers that it is unnecessary to repeat it. No comment ought to be necessary to make the purport of this provision more manifest than the text of the provision itself. Only the lowest type of American religionist would attempt to modify it, or evade it. And this "proudest product of the pen and brain" of man was not the work of religionists.

"This is a Freethought nation," says the scholarly Freethought author, Mr. John E. Remsburg, writing as President of the American Secular Union and Freethought Federation. "Freethinkers have preserved it. The Fathers of our Republic—Washington and Franklin and Paine and Adams and Jefferson—were Freethinkers. The saviours of our Republic, Lincoln and Grant, were Freethinkers. The man who first proposed this nation was a Freethinker. The man who wrote the Declaration of Independence was a Freethinker. The man who led the armies of the Revolution to victory was a Freethinker. The man who presided over the Convention that framed our Constitution was a Freethinker. The man who drafted

adays a clergyman may be found to maintain that because a man has been to college and to the theological seminary, and has made the study of the Scriptures his life work (moved to that decision after careful self-examination), that therefore he is better fitted to that ministry than Miss Susie Goldrick, who teaches a class in Sabbath-school very acceptably. Miss Goldrick is in the second year in the High School, and last Saturday afternoon read a composition on English Literature, in which she spoke in terms of high praise of John Bunion, the well-known author of 'Progress and Poverty.' Miss Goldrick is very conscientious, and always keeps her thumb-nail against the questions printed on the lesson-leaf, so as to not ask twice, 'What did the disciples then do?'"

⁴ *A New Catechism*, (M. M. Mangasarian), pages 193-198.

that instrument was a Freethinker. Its ablest exponents were Freethinkers. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States are both Freethought documents, the one Deistic, the other Agnostic.

"For a period of one hundred years from the accession of our first President, Washington, to the retirement of the twenty-second, Cleveland, not one Christian communicant occupied the Executive chair; for Garfield, while he had not ceased to commune, had ceased to believe. Our greatest statesmen and orators, scientists and inventors, authors and poets, have been Freethinkers. Free thought, free speech, a free press, and free schools, the products of Freethought, are the pillars upon which our national fabric rests."⁵

We are very much indebted to that great achievement of American law work now in publication, our first available comprehensive summary of the substance of American Law, *Corpus Juris*, for a sufficient survey of the history and application of our Constitutional Law which covers this religious issue. The constitutional separation of Church and State was intended to be absolute. The history of this important measure clearly shows this united purpose of the early American people to put an end to the existing religious evil in state affairs, and one may feel that the following citation fairly represents the accepted view of the American courts as a recital of the circumstances and influences of those times:

"Before the adoption of the Constitution (in this citation used), attempts were made in some of the colonies and states to legislate not only in respect to the establishment of religion, but in respect to its doctrines and precepts as well. . . . The controversy upon this general subject was animated in many of the states, but seemed at last to culminate in Virginia. In 1784, the House of Delegates of that state having under consideration 'a bill establishing provision for teachers of the Christian religion,' postponed it until the next session, and directed that the bill should be published and distributed, and that the people be requested 'to signify their opinion respecting the adoption of such a bill at the next session of assembly.' . . . At the next session the proposed bill was not only defeated, but another, 'for establishing religious freedom,' drafted by Mr. Jefferson, was passed. (Jefferson's *Works*, II, 45; 2 Howison, *History of Virginia*, 298.) . . . In a little more than a year after the passage of this statute the convention met which prepared the Con-

⁵ *The Chicago Bible*, (a pamphlet against religion in the schools of that city 1896). See also Remsburg's *Six Historic Americans*, (The Truth Seeker Co., New York).

stitution of the United States. Of this convention Mr. Jefferson was not a member, he being then absent as minister to France. As soon as he saw the draft of the Constitution, proposed for adoption, he, in a letter to a friend, expressed his disappointment at the absence of an express declaration insuring the freedom of religion (Jefferson's *Works*, II, 355), but was willing to accept it as it was, trusting that the good sense and honest intentions of the people would bring about the necessary alterations (Jefferson's *Works*, I, 79). Five of the states, while adopting the Constitution, proposed amendments. Three—New Hampshire, New York and Virginia—included in one form or another a declaration of religious freedom in the changes they desired to have made, as did also North Carolina, where the convention at first declined to ratify the Constitution until the proposed amendments were acted upon. Accordingly, at the first session of the first Congress the amendment now under consideration was proposed with others by Mr. Madison. It met the views of the advocates of religious freedom, and was adopted." Reynolds v. U. S., 98 U. S. 145, 162; 25 L. ed. 244. (See also *Life of Madison*, or biographical article in *Nelson's Encyclopædia*.)

It is very helpful to have an impartial and a very full statement following therein of all the American law upon this constitutional question, such as we have in *Corpus Juris*. In this accomplishment one gets the whole of the law exactly as it is, the object being neither for nor against religion. It is a strictly judicial recital, with every sentence of the text based carefully upon selected citations; and the "reason for the rule" in support of each decision is appended. It is gratifying in this to be sure that "the weight of authority and of reason" is with the secularist; that instruction from a sectarian book has been held to be sectarian instruction; and that the only way to prevent sectarianism is to exclude it altogether. This is therefore the best constitutional law and common sense.

Continuing the statement of the law relating to the Church and the State, we find, as a matter of exact facts, that:

"There is considerable variety in the constitutional provisions of the *various states* affecting the right to hold religious exercises in the public schools, and equally great variety of opinion in the decisions of the courts in regard to the matter.

"In some states the constitutional provisions forbidding compulsory attendance on religious worship and taxation for sectarian schools have been construed not to prohibit religious exercises in the public schools, such as reading the Bible, offering prayer and singing devotional songs.

"The tendency of recent constitutions, however, and also of judicial decisions construing and applying them, *has been in favor of extending the scope of constitutional guaranties to the exclusion of religious exercises from the public schools.*

"And the weight of recent authority and of reason would seem to be with those cases which hold that prayer and the singing of hymns as a part of the public exercises of the school are in violation of constitutional provisions against taxation for the support of religion, even though pupils may be excused from attending such exercises on application by themselves or their parents."

The reason for the rule is: "Prayer is always worship. Reading the Bible and singing may be worship. . . . *If these exercises of reading the Bible, joining in prayer and the singing of hymns were performed in a church there would be no doubt of their religious character and that character is not changed by the place OF THEIR PERFORMANCE. . . .* The wrong arises, not out of the particular version of the Bible or form of prayer used—whether that found in the Douay or the King James version,—or the particular songs sung, but out of the compulsion to join in any form of worship. *The free enjoyment of religious worship includes freedom not to worship.*" Per Dunn, J., in *People v. District 24, Board of Education*, 245 Ill. 334, 339; 92 N. E. 251; 29 L. R. A. N. S. 442; 19 Ann. Cases 220. (12 *Corpus Juris* 943, under Note 67.)

(My comment on this is: It is shameful that any sort of exercise should be permitted in a public school where it might be considered necessary or proper to excuse any pupil from participating in it, from a question of conscience. The reason for the rule in this case is therefore a destruction of the whole religious proposition.)

"The mere reading from a particular version of the Bible, without comment, has been held not to constitute an infringement of the constitutional guaranty, and this has been conceded by some authorities that held otherwise as to prayer and devotional singing."

The reason for the rule: "But the fact that the King James translation may be used to inculcate sectarian doctrines affords no presumption that it will be so used. The law does not forbid the use of the Bible in either version in the public schools; it is not proscribed either by the constitution or the statutes, and the courts have no right to declare its use to be unlawful because it is possible or probable that those who are privileged to use it will misuse the privilege by attempting to propagate their own peculiar theological or ecclesiastical views and opinions. The point where the courts may rightfully intervene, and where they should intervene without

hesitation, is where legitimate use has degenerated into abuse,—where a teacher employed to give secular instructions has violated the constitution by becoming a sectarian propagandist. *That sectarian instruction may be given by the frequent reading, without note or comment, of judiciously selected passages, is of course obvious.*" Per Sullivan, C. J., in *State v. Scheve*, 65 Nebr. 853, 883; 91 N. W. 846; 93 N. W. 169; 59 L. R. A. 927. (12 *Corpus Juris* 943, under Note 70.)

"But other authorities hold that the Bible is a sectarian book and that the reading in the public schools of any portion or any version of it for religious purposes is a violation of constitutional guaranties."

The reason for the rule: "The only means of preventing sectarian instruction in the schools is to exclude altogether religious instruction, by means of the reading of the Bible or otherwise. The Bible is not read in the public schools as mere literature or mere history. It cannot be separated from its character as an inspired book of religion. . . . If any parts are to be selected for use as being free from sectarian differences of opinion, who will select them?" Per Dunn, J., in *People v. District 24, Board of Education*, 245 Ill. 334, 348; 92 N. E. 251; 29 L. R. A. N. S. 442; 19 Ann. Cases 220. (Cited in 12 *Corpus Juris* 943, under Note 71.)

Earlier Illinois cases inconsistent with above were "practically overruled thereby."

"It is unanimously agreed that a law or regulation which forbids religious instruction or the reading of religious books, including the Bible, in the public schools is valid."

The principle that no one may impose his religious beliefs or practices amounting to a religious nuisance to others has been well expressed in *In-re: Frazee*, (63 Mich. 396, 405; 30 N. W. 72; 6 Am. S. R. 310) by Chief Justice Campbell: "We cannot accede to the suggestion that religious liberty includes the right to introduce and carry out every scheme or purpose which persons see fit to claim as a part of their religious system. There is no legal authority to constrain belief, but no one can lawfully stretch his own liberty of action so as to interfere with that of his neighbor, or violate peace or good order. The whole criminal law might be practically superseded if, under pretext of liberty or conscience, the commission of crime be made a religious dogma. It is a fundamental condition of all liberty, and necessary to civil society, that all men must exercise their rights in harmony, and must yield to such restrictions as are necessary to promote that result."

These cases make no mention of the disturbance that inevitably arises over the attempt to introduce religion of any particular kind in a public institution like the public schools, and these disturbances have been a Protestant disgrace in the schools. The American schools are for the children of all the people of every religion and of no religion. The rights of Catholics, Jews and infidels, agnostics and atheists are just as much to be regarded and respected as the rights of Protestant Christians, which latter are only a Christian sect, or who constitute many sects of as many different beliefs. Either is in duty bound to respect the Constitution which protects the rights of all. Freethinkers claim the right to teach Freethought, but do not ask that Freethought be introduced in the schools to disparage religion, at the expense of the State, or to the violence of the conscience of religious children or their parents. The schools are for the imparting of necessary information, according to what may be regarded as the best systems of education by real educators. Morality will come from knowledge, and from the better conditions resulting from knowledge obtained in the schools, and not from the teaching of any particular form of dogma or belief, or from any sectarian teaching of sectarian morality. Otherwise the schools and knowledge were of no use, and only religion were useful.

Protestant clergymen may deliver nonsectarian prayers (if such a performance were possible!) at graduation exercises and the exercises may be held in churches in those communities where there may be no town hall or theater, and when permitted by the school board, without seriously violating the constitutional guaranty. This is only a form of Protestant ministerial impoliteness and an intrusion. But Jewish children, or the children of agnostics, or Catholic scholars of the public schools are quite justified, from social reasons, in refusing diplomas when handed to them by a Protestant preacher officiating where he is not desired and where he ought not to appear as a religionist. Religion is not an affair of the state.

It is natural to anticipate the religious chaos that would result if Protestantism were allowed to operate and develop without restraint, or if it were permitted to extend the plan proposed by Mr. Sparks. The public schools are not to be made ultimate Protestant parish schools, as desired by him, with credit for Bible study or Bible work. "Pastor" Russell's Bible classes, an influence of this religion, or other kinds of Bible-classes have no place in state-supported schools, nor any connection with them. It is not the purpose of the schools to train children or inspire them for the ministry or for missionary fields. There should be no preparatory

grades or primary lessons in any superstition, or any credit that tends to reverence or respect for the outrageous religion of Evangelist Sunday or the fanatical religion of the German Emperor. Parsons and preachers and book agents and peddlers should be excluded from the schoolhouse. It is necessary to say this, because we have the afflictions.

The Catholic writer proposes "an interdenominational school" for religious instruction, and proposes "in this respect (that) Germany's schools might serve as a model." I think the present righteous temper of the American people would have disposed of that suggestion had not the abomination of religion and state in Germany been specifically and sufficiently exposed in Mr. Heyn's timely and informative article in the March number of this magazine, which has fortunately come to hand before the preparation of this reply.⁶ And I do not believe that we are yet ready to have "*Ein feste Burg ist unser Gott*" as the American national anthem.

It is hardly worth while to go into the details of Mr. Sparks's proposed tentative religious plan. His whole proposition is fundamentally and essentially and morally wrong, and it has been the intent of the Constitution to prevent this moral wrong. And "moral considerations are of more importance" to the moral Rationalist "than either the ecclesiastical or legal considerations." If it has appeared that I have been severe in criticism of the moral and intellectual integrity of this Protestant religious writer I wish to call attention to this statement of his: "Where Bible selections even are barred from the schools, arrangements could be made to have this material taught by representatives of the religious bodies outside the schools and after satisfactory examinations have been passed, credit given the pupils on their school work." There could hardly be a more deliberate and constructive scheme to violate the intent and practice of the law than this. I cannot think the man is so much interested in teaching "morality" as he is in introducing this "Bible material," from a religious incentive, and where it has been particularly barred, and this can only be treated as a piece of becoming sectarianism. We can accept Mr. Sparks's confident exhibit that the Bible is *the* text-book of his morality without further comment.

Outside the narrow realm of Protestant religious thought the Bible is considered at its true value. It is no longer an authority

⁶ See *The Open Court* for March, 1918, and "The Centrum Party's Influence in German Affairs," (particularly page 188) for the failure of liberal government. By Hon. Edward T. Heyn, former American Vice-Consul.

on any question of importance to mankind. And it is now an obstacle to Protestant education and consequently capable of great harm so long as it may be treated otherwise in trying to explain our affairs or in helping in any of the problems of our American life and progress. It has been progressively and completely driven out of the halls of learning. "It is no longer an authority, for example on questions of science—geology, astronomy, chemistry, biology and all other branches of one of the principal pursuits of man," the pursuit of *knowledge*. Better books have replaced the Bible. "What is true of science is also true of history, politics, government, education, commerce; in all these departments and activities of life better books have relegated the Bible into the background." The framers of the American Constitution did not consult this religious book for their work.

The American secularists also object to this book on strictly moral grounds. There is no book in existence that as a whole has so many objectionable features. And the wish to give these things the appearance of authority is especially pernicious and must be withstood so long as ignorance persists.

"The claim that the Bible is the only moral guide," says Mr. Remsburg of the American Secular Union, "is a very foolish falsehood. The claim that it is the best moral guide is untrue; and the claim that it even is a good moral guide is untrue. The Bible contains some worthy precepts, but it also sanctions nearly every vice and crime." In proof of this he cites a solid magazine page of Bible references which are known to every scholar showing the approval of lying, cheating, murder, slavery, witchcraft, cannibalism, human sacrifices, injustice to women, cruelty to children, intemperance, religious persecution and obscenity."⁷ It is a book filled with unnatural thoughts and perversions. The churches of course do not directly teach these vices, I should hope. What a monstrous book then to be made such a fetish of, and to have the unqualified approval of such an organization.

The prison statistics of the country involving the religions of criminals would astonish even the thoughtful religionists. The worst recent criminals have been Christian ministers. There are 60,605 Christians in the state penitentiaries of the country; 5420 Jews; 131

⁷ Consult *The Bible Unveiled* (M. M. Mangasarian), The Independent Religious Society, Chicago, publishers, 1911.

⁸ And if I am not mistaken an able writer in *The Open Court*, less than two years ago, has discussed this question along the same lines, and given similar references and if so, readers have access to this information.

pagans ; 3 infidels and 4,887 giving no church affiliation, but a great many of undoubted religious training. "The assertion that the church is the mainstay of morals is proven to be an exploded fiction," says Mr. Franklin Steiner, in his compilation of these figures in *Religion and Roguery* (The Truth Seeker Co., New York). "Like every claim made by that institution it will not bear the light of day." The word "morality" does not appear in the Bible. It is an Asiatic cult book, and not an American text-book. The approval of the horrors and cruelty of the present war may be found in this collection of Hebraic-Christian literature, and one is forced to seriously wonder to what extent the book is directly responsible for the actions of those barbarians who have threatened our civilization. The authority of this Protestant book originated in the country with which this nation is at present engaged in a struggle for the life of democracy. One cannot overlook this important fact.

The American question is not one of majorities. That is not the issue at all. If it were a matter between the Church and the unchurched the latter would be in a position to prevail overwhelmingly, probably two to one, and might succeed in reaching anti-religious determinations with natural injustice to religions. But it is the principle of the nation that must be considered. If it were a matter between Catholics and Protestants the latter would be able to dictate in religion and in dogma, if it could, so far as the public recognition of religion were concerned, as Protestants have done, with natural injustice to all *other* religions. But the Constitution has removed the possibility of this shifting of religious influence or interference consequent on numbers. Religion must not be an elementary part of the American state, and it is fortunate for the United States and for the world that it is not. The religious beliefs of any cult, or the teachings of any prophet, ancient or modern, or the teachings or practice of any ascetic or medicine-man, such as we experience, are not in any instance a subject for the minds of American children in the American schools. Religion is safe and protected under such a principle and the state should be maintained upon this splendid idea of independence and freedom. And there are better moral ideas than those preached or practised by religionists from religious motives.

There are millions of Roman Catholics in America who have Constitutional rights that Protestants are bound to respect. There are millions of Jews who have equal rights. There are hundreds of thousands of atheists, agnostics, infidels, Freethinkers, and undoubtedly millions of no religious belief one way or another. Our

American morality is undoubtedly the best the world has ever seen. It is free, healthy, intelligent and generous. Religionists have also intelligently contributed their share to this increasingly satisfactory condition of American life.

But "ethics is the science of right human character and conduct. It is in no wise primarily dependent upon religion but has suffered immeasurably by having been associated with it through all the ages."⁹

To put an end to the confusions of religion in state affairs The American Secular Union (a national organization) was organized July 4, 1876, and exists for the purpose of making effective the first amendment of the Constitution, concerning which I have tried to make some of the provisions better understood. This American organization in perfectly clear language proposes a complete separation of religion and the state in every particular, and submits what it has called "nine demands" to bring about our American ideals under the Constitution. It is encouraged with more recent events, and expects that others favorable will follow education and enlightenment. The organization will live until this has been accomplished. Its methods are lawful, its purpose is unselfish, and it asks the consideration of the American people as a whole. I am pleased to attach the statement of this organization:¹⁰

The Nine Demands of Liberalism.

1. We demand that churches and other ecclesiastical property shall be no longer exempt from taxation.

2. We demand that the employment of chaplains in Congress, in the Legislatures, in the navy and militia, and in prisons, asylums and all other institutions supported by public money shall be discontinued.

3. We demand that all public appropriations for educational and charitable institutions of a sectarian character shall cease.

4. We demand that all religious services now sustained by the government shall be abolished; and especially that the use of the Bible in the public schools, whether ostensibly as a text-book, or avowedly as a book of religious worship, shall be prohibited.

5. We demand that the appointment by the President of the United States or by the governors of the various states, of all religious festivals and feasts shall wholly cease.

⁹ *The Development of the Ethical Idea* (S. S. Knight), R. F. Fenno & Co. New York.

¹⁰ The Secretary of the American Secular Union is Mr. E. C. Reichwald, 79 West South Water St., Chicago, Ill., who may be addressed by all interested.

6. We demand that the judicial oath in the courts and in all other departments of the government shall be abolished, and that simple affirmation under the pains and penalties of perjury shall be established in its stead.

7. We demand that all laws directly or indirectly enforcing the observance of Sunday as the Sabbath shall be repealed.

8. We demand that all laws looking to the enforcement of "Christian" morality shall be abrogated and that all laws shall be conformed to the requirements of natural morality, equal rights, and impartial liberty.

9. We demand that not only in the Constitution of the United States and of the several states, but also in the practical administration of the same, no privileges or advantages shall be conceded to Christianity or any other special religion; that our entire political system shall be founded and administered on a purely secular basis; and that whatever changes shall prove necessary to this end shall be consistently, unflinchingly and promptly made.

MACAULAY'S CRITICISM OF DEMOCRACY AND GARFIELD'S REPLY.

BY CHARLES H. BETTS.

SOME time ago I called on the editor of *The Open Court* at his office and while we were discussing the world-wide conflict in which this country is now engaged, Dr. Carus asked me if I had ever happened to see a letter written by Lord Macaulay criticising Jefferson and democracy. I replied that I had the Macaulay letter, one copy in my scrap book and another copy in one of General Garfield's speeches.

I then related that on a recent visit with Dr. Andrew White at his home in Ithaca, while we were discussing the war, he asked me the same question asked by Dr. Carus relative to the Macaulay letter. I informed Dr. White that I had a copy of the letter whereupon he related how in a campaign when General Garfield was a candidate for president he spoke at Cornell University and in his speech quoted Macaulay's letter. Dr. White said he had always wanted to secure a copy of it and then described how General Garfield after quoting the letter had answered the criticism of democracy therein contained and concluded his speech by appealing to the audience to see to it that Macaulay's prophecy relative to our demo-

cratic form of government should not be fulfilled. Dr. White said that at the conclusion of his address General Garfield wanted to know how he liked his speech, whereupon he said to Garfield: "You have just made the greatest political speech I have ever heard." After I had related these facts to the editor of *The Open Court* he requested me to send him a copy of the Macaulay letter together with General Garfield's comments. I quote from General Garfield's speech as follows:

"At the risk of offending our American pride, I shall quote what is probably the most formidable indictment of democratic principles ever penned. It was written by the late Lord Macaulay, a profound student of society and government, and a man who, on most subjects, entertained broad and liberal views. Millions of Americans have read and admired his History and Essays, but only a few thousands have read his brief but remarkable letter of 1857, in which he discusses the future of our government. We are so confident of our position that we seldom care to debate it. The letter was addressed to the Hon. H. S. Randall, of New York, in acknowledgement of a copy of that gentleman's *Life of Jefferson*. I quote it almost entire.

'HOLLY LODGE, KENSINGTON, LONDON, May 23, 1857.

'Dear Sir, You are surprised to learn that I have not a high opinion of Mr. Jefferson, and I am surprised at your surprise. I am certain that I never wrote a line, and that I never, in Parliament, in conversation, or even on the hustings,—a place where it is the fashion to court the populace,—uttered a word indicating an opinion that the supreme authority in a state ought to be intrusted to the majority of citizens told by the head; in other words, to the poorest and most ignorant part of society. I have long been convinced that institutions purely democratic must, sooner or later, destroy liberty or civilization, or both. In Europe, where the population is dense, the effect of such institutions would be almost instantaneous. What happened lately in France is an example. In 1848, a pure democracy was established there. During a short time there was reason to expect a general spoliation, a national bankruptcy, a new partition of the soil, a maximum of prices, a ruinous load of taxation laid on the rich for the purpose of supporting the poor in idleness. Such a system would, in twenty years, have made France as poor and barbarous as the France of the Carolingians. Happily, the danger was averted; and now there is a despotism, a silent tribune, an enslaved press. Liberty is gone, but civilization

has been saved. I have not the smallest doubt that, if we had a purely democratic government here, the effect would be the same. Either the poor would plunder the rich, and civilization would perish, or order and prosperity would be saved by a strong military government, and liberty would perish. You may think that your country enjoys an exemption from these evils. I will frankly own to you that I am of a very different opinion. Your fate I believe to be certain, though it is deferred by physical cause. As long as you have a boundless extent of fertile and unoccupied land, your laboring population will be far more at ease than the laboring population of the Old World; and while that is the case, the Jefferson politics may continue to exist without causing any fatal calamity. But the time will come when New England will be as thickly peopled as Old England. Wages will be as low, and will fluctuate as much with you as with us. You will have your Manchesters and Birminghams. And in those Manchesters and Birminghams hundreds of thousands of artisans will assuredly be sometimes out of work. Then your institutions will be fairly brought to the test. Distress everywhere makes the laborer mutinous and discontented, and inclines him to listen with eagerness to agitators, who tell him that it is a monstrous iniquity that one man should have a million while another cannot get a full meal. In bad years there is plenty of grumbling here, and sometimes a little rioting. But it matters little, for here the sufferers are not the rulers. The supreme power is in the hands of a class, numerous indeed, but select,—of an educated class,—of a class which is, and knows itself to be, deeply interested in the security of property, and the maintenance of order. Accordingly, the malcontents are firmly, yet gently, restrained. The bad time is got over without robbing the wealthy to relieve the indigent. The springs of national prosperity soon begin to flow again: work is plentiful, wages rise, and all is tranquillity and cheerfulness. I have seen England pass three or four times through such critical seasons as I have described. Through such seasons the United States will have to pass in the course of the next century, if not of this. How will you pass through them? I heartily wish you a good deliverance. But my reason and my wishes are at war, and I cannot help foreboding the worst. It is quite plain that your government will never be able to restrain a distressed and discontented majority. For with you the majority is the government, and has the rich, who are always a minority, absolutely at its mercy. The day will come when, in the State of New York, a multitude of people, none of whom has had more than half a breakfast, or expects to have more than half

a dinner, will choose a legislature. Is it possible to doubt what sort of a legislature will be chosen? On one side is a statesman preaching patience, respect for vested rights, strict observance of public faith; on the other is a demagogue ranting about the tyranny of capitalists and usurers, and asking why anybody should be permitted to drink champagne, and to ride in a carriage, while thousands of honest folk are in want of necessities. Which of the two candidates is likely to be preferred by a workingman who hears his children cry for more bread? I seriously apprehend that you will, in some such season of adversity as I have described, do things which will prevent prosperity from returning; that you will act like people who should, in a year of scarcity, devour all the seed corn, and thus make the next a year, not of scarcity, but of absolute famine. There will be, I fear, spoliation. The distress will produce fresh spoliation. There is nothing to stop you. Your Constitution is all sail and no anchor. As I said before, when a society has entered on this downward progress, either civilization or liberty must perish. Either some Cæsar or Napoleon will seize the reins of government with a strong hand, or your republic will be as fearfully plundered and laid waste by barbarians in the twentieth century, as the Roman empire was in the fifth,—with this difference, that the Huns and Vandals who ravaged the Roman empire came from without, and that your Huns and Vandals will have been engendered within your country by your own institutions.

‘Thinking thus, of course I cannot reckon Jefferson among the benefactors of mankind.’¹

“Certainly this letter contains food for serious thought; and it would be idle to deny that the writer has pointed out what may become serious dangers in our future. But the evils he complains of are by no means confined to democratic government, nor do they, in the main, grow out of popular suffrage. If they do, England herself has taken a dangerous step since Macaulay wrote. Ten years after the date of this letter she extended the suffrage to eight hundred thousand of her workingmen, a class hitherto ignored in politics. And still later we have extended it to an ignorant and lately enslaved population of more than four millions. Whether for weal or for woe, enlarged suffrage is the tendency of all modern nations. I venture the declaration, that this opinion of Macaulay’s is vulnerable on several grounds.

¹ The copy here followed is that found in the Appendix to Harper’s edition of *The Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, by G. O. Trevelyan.

"In the first place, it is based upon a belief from which few if any British writers have been able to emancipate themselves; namely, the belief that mankind are born into permanent classes, and that in the main they must live, work, and die in the fixed class or condition in which they are born. It is hardly possible for a man reared in an aristocracy like that of England to eliminate this conviction from his mind, for the British empire is built upon it. Their theory of national stability is, that there must be a permanent class who shall hold in their own hands so much of the wealth, the privilege, and the political power of the kingdom, that they can compel the admiration and obedience of all other classes. At several periods in English history there have been serious encroachments upon this doctrine. But, on the whole, British phlegm has held to it sturdily, and still maintains it. The great voiceless class of day-laborers have made but little headway against the doctrine. The editor of a leading British magazine told me, a few years ago, that in twenty-five years of observation he had never known a mere farm-laborer in England to rise above his class. Some, he said, had done so in manufactures, some in trade, but in mere farm labor not one. The government of a country where such is a fact, is possible, has much to answer for.

"We deny the justice or the necessity of keeping ninety-nine of the population in perpetual poverty and obscurity, in order that the hundredth may be rich and powerful enough to hold the ninety-nine in subjection. Where such permanent classes exist, the conflict of which Macaulay speaks is inevitable. And why? Not that men are inclined to fight the class above them, but that they fight against any artificial barrier which makes it impossible for them to enter that higher class and become a part of it. We point to the fact, that in this country there are no classes in the British sense of that word,—no impassable barriers of caste. Now that slavery is abolished we can truly say that through our political society there run no fixed horizontal strata above which none can pass. Our society resembles rather the waves of the ocean, whose every drop may move freely among its fellows, and may rise toward the light until it flashes on the crest of the highest wave.

"Again, in depicting the dangers of universal suffrage, Macaulay leaves wholly out of the account the great counterbalancing force of universal education. He contemplates a government delivered over to a vast multitude of ignorant, vicious men, who have learned no self-control, who have never comprehended the national life, and who wield the ballot solely for personal and selfish ends. If

this were indeed the necessary condition of democratic communities, it would be difficult, perhaps impossible, to escape the logic of Macaulay's letter. And here is a real peril,—the danger that we shall rely upon the mere extent of the suffrage as a national safeguard. We cannot safely, even for a moment, lose sight of the *quality* of the suffrage, which is more important than its quantity.

"We are apt to be deluded into false security by political catch-words, devised to flatter rather than instruct. We have happily escaped the dogma of the divine right of kings. Let us not fall into the equally pernicious error that multitude is divine because it is a multitude. The words of our great publicist, the late Dr. Lieber, whose faith in republican liberty was undoubted, should never be forgotten. In discussing the doctrine *Vox populi, vox Dei*, he said, "Woe to the country in which political hypocrisy first calls the people almighty, then teaches that the voice of the people is divine, then pretends to take a mere clamor for the true voice of the people, and lastly gets up the desired clamor." This sentence ought to be read in every political caucus. It would make an interesting and significant preamble to most of our political platforms. It is only when the people speak truth and justice that their voice can be called "the voice of God." Our faith in the democratic principle rests upon the belief that intelligent men will see that their highest political good is in liberty, regulated by just and equal laws; and that, in the distribution of political power, it is safe to follow the maxim, "Each for all, and all for each." We confront the dangers of suffrage by the blessings of universal education. We believe that the strength of the state is the aggregate strength of its individual citizens; and that the suffrage is the link that binds, in a bond of mutual interest and responsibility, the fortunes of the citizen to the fortunes of the state. Hence, as popular suffrage is the broadest base, so, when coupled with intelligence and virtue, it becomes the strongest, the most enduring base on which to build the superstructure of government."²

The above reply of Garfield to Macaulay's letter merits all the praise bestowed upon it by Dr. White. It is a brilliant and scholarly defense of democracy.

In regard to Macaulay's criticism of Jefferson it might be well to state that Jefferson did not believe in a pure democracy as most of his followers believe. On the contrary he declared that it was unworkable beyond the limits of a township. He was a firm be-

² *Garfield's Works*, Vol. II.

liever in the American system of representative government. He knew that the engrafting of representation upon a pure democracy was a new invention in government unknown to the ancients.

Upon this subject Jefferson said:

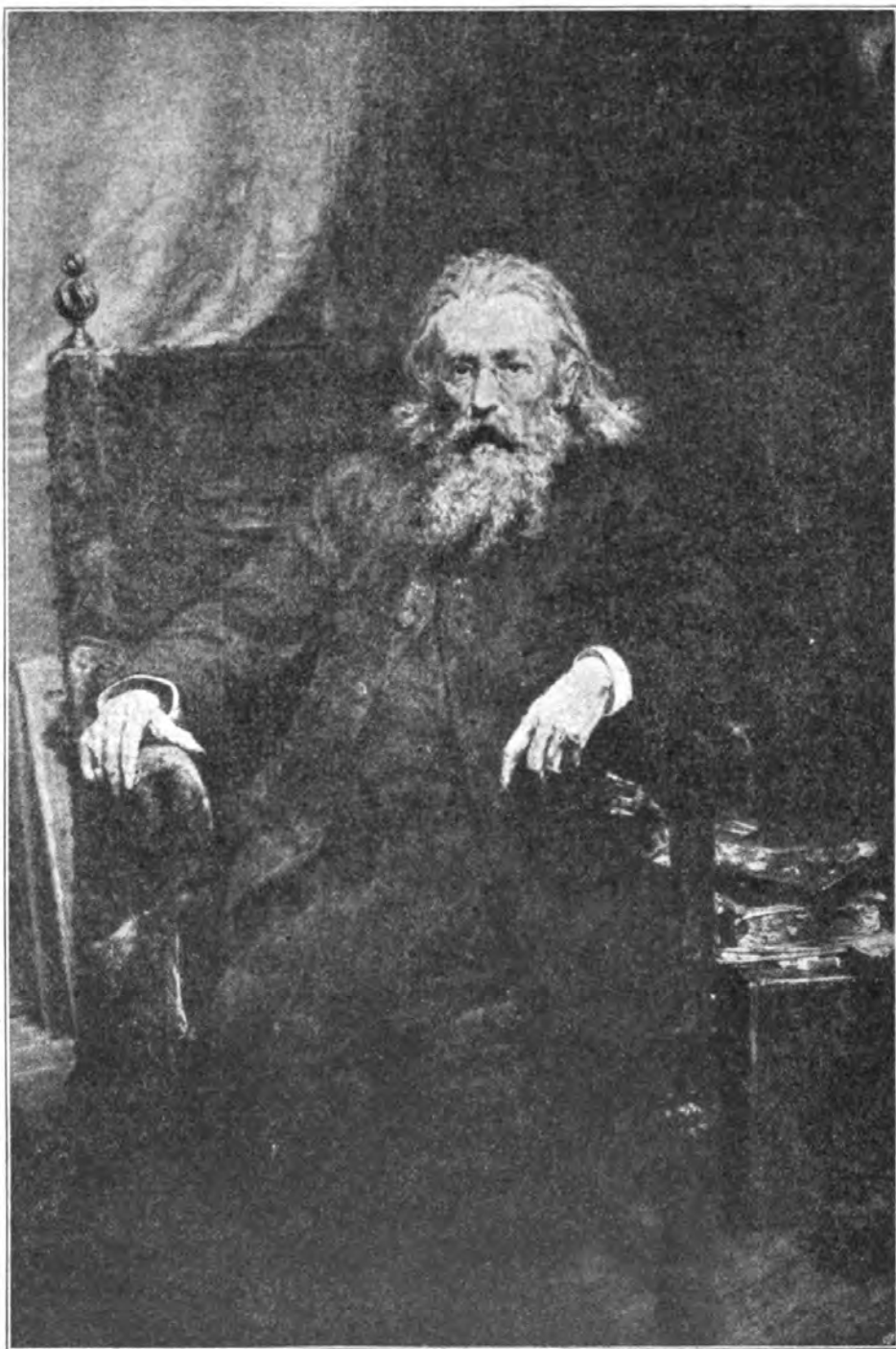
"They knew no medium between a democracy (the only pure republic, but impractical beyond the limits of a township) and an abandonment of themselves to an aristocracy or a tyranny independent of the people. It seems not to have occurred that where the citizens cannot meet to transact their business in person, they alone have the right to choose agents who shall transact it, and that in this way a republican or popular government of the second grade of purity may be exercised over any extent of country. The full experiment of a government democratical, but representative, was and still is reserved for us."

Thus it will be observed that Jefferson was a firm believer in the representative feature of our American system of government and appreciated that it was a new invention in government unknown to the ancients. On this subject Stimson in his *History of Popular Law Making* says:

"All the authorities appear to agree that there is no prototype for what seems to us such a very simple thing as representation, *representative government*, among the Greeks or Romans, or any of the older civilizations of which we have knowledge."

It appears to be clear that the ancients had never discovered a workable system of government between the extremes of a pure democracy *which was a failure* and an aristocracy or a monarchy, both of which curtailed individual liberty and deprived the great mass of the people of a controlling voice in the affairs of their government.

The founders of the republic having the wisdom and experience of all the ages to guide them, knew that a pure democracy had neither stability nor reliability, because it gave a free rein to the emotions and passions of men. They knew that an aristocracy and a monarchy had stability and reliability but evolved into tyranny, and so they aimed to found a government which had all the good features of democracy, which left the final control of the government in the hands of the people, but which at the same time possessed some of the efficiency and stability of the monarchy, and so they planned to make the people themselves a monarch, with certain necessary checks, balances and limitations, the same to be fixed in a written constitution.



PORTRAIT OF MATEJKO BY HIMSELF.

JAN ALOJSIUS MATEJKO.

1838-1893.

BY POLONIUS.

THE great Polish historical painter, Matejko, was born in Cracow, Austrian Galicia, whether on the twenty-eighth of July, or the thirtieth of June, 1838, is apparently not quite clear. His father, a teacher of music, was from the Bohemian town Hradec, while his mother, Joanna Karolina, daughter of the merchant and citizen of Cracow Johan Peter Rossberg, seems to have added a German strain to the Czecho-Polish blood of the artist. The boy attended first the St. Barbara school and later St. Anna's gymnasium, which he left at the age of fourteen, much against his father's wishes, in order to enter the School of Fine Arts in his native city. His instruction in the art of painting he received from Adalbert Stattler and Ladislaus Lunakiewicz. During the hours when he was free from his professional studies he devoted himself with great interest to the study of Polish history, from which he drew the subjects for the works of his apprentice years, such as *Szujski before Zygmunt III*, *The Entry of Henri de Valois into Cracow*, *Jagiello Praying before the Battle of Tannenberg*, *Karl Gustav and Starowolski Before the Grave of Ladislaus Lokietek* and *Zygmunt I Confers Academic Privileges on the University of Cracow*.

After these labors Matejko received in 1858 a stipend to enable him to defray the cost of further studies which he pursued at Munich for ten months under the supervision of Anschütz, when an unfortunate illness compelled him to return to Cracow. But during this short period he had completed his *Poisoning of Queen Bona*, which represents the contemporary explanation for the mysterious death in 1557 of this princess of the House of Sforza, wife of the Polish King Zygmunt I, and mother of King Zygmunt August and three princesses. For this work the Academy distinguished its pupil with a bronze medal. On the completion of his recovery in 1860 Matejko next sought Vienna where he remained for two months as a pupil of the historical painter Christian Ruben, famous for his painting *Columbus Discovering America*.

The next years of labor in his native Cracow saw the com-

pletion in 1864 of the splendid *Skarga's Sermon*, in which the Polish Jeremiah foretells to the king and the Polish Court the impending ruin of his beloved country. This work when exhibited at the Paris Exposition of 1865 rewarded the artist with a gold medal and made him a European celebrity. In November of 1864 he



MATEJKO'S WIFE (1865).

married Theodora Gielbutowska, whom he has immortalized in the strong, sweet *Portrait of My Wife* of the following year. The next years were years of study spent in Germany and France, whence he made a trip to Constantinople in 1872. In 1866 he com-

pleted another of the powerful works on which his fame will rest, *Rejtan at the Diet of 1773*, which was exhibited at the Paris Exhibition of 1867, where it was bought for 50,000 crowns by the Emperor Franz Joseph, who also conferred the cross of the order of Franz Joseph on the artist. This picture represents an episode drawn from the darkest days of Polish history when the disgraceful Diet confirmed the dismemberment of its country on April 21, 1773, with the exception of one brave heart, Tadeus Rejtan, who tore apart the clothing from his breast, threw himself before the door of the building and cried: "Kill me first, for as long as I live I will



THADDEUS REJTAN, from REJTAN AT THE DIET OF 1773.
(Hofgalerie at Vienna.)

never consent to this deed." However, the greater part of the Polish deputies stepped over his body and left him lying there for thirty-eight hours. Rejtan became ill from grief at this disgrace, lost his reason and committed suicide on August 8, 1780.

Among the great works of Matejko we mention ten. As a foil to the depressing *Skarga* and *Rejtan* pictures stands out the *Union of Lublin*, commemorating the union of Lithuania and Poland under Zygmunt August in 1569, one of the bright spots in Polish history. The defeat of Russia and the capture of Livonian Polotsk by King Stephen Bathori are commemorated in a canvas of the year 1871, which received a bronze medal at the Vienna Exposition of 1873.

The four-hundredth anniversary of the astronomer of Thorn, who is claimed by both Poles and Germans, was illustrated by *Kopernikus*, 1873. *The Battle of Grünwald* (Tannenberg) received the gold medal of the first class at the Paris Exposition of 1878. This picture



KOPERNIKUS (1873).

recalls the conquest of that portion of German territory which the Poles succeeded in holding from 1410 until 1772. *Sobieski Before Vienna*, in commemoration of the Polish king's great service to Christendom in the defeat of the Turks before Vienna in 1683, was presented by the artist to His Holiness the Pope Leo XIII, who

gave it an honored place in the Vatican and its author the order of Pius IX. *The Maid of Orleans*, 1886; *Albrecht of Brandenburg Doing Homage to Zygmunt I in Cracow*, 1881; *Kosciuszko Before Raclawice*, 1888; *The Constitution of the Third of May*, 1891; and *The Vow of Jan Kasimir*, 1892, complete the list of his best works.

In honor of his illustrious services to his country, Matejko received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, *honoris causa*, from the "Polish University of the Jagiellons" of his native city and he was also made a member of the French Legion of Honor for his picture *The Union of Lublin*. He was a member of the academies of fine arts at Paris, Vienna and Berlin. The *Akademie der schönen Künste* at Prague elected him in 1873 to be their director, but he



SOBIESKI BEFORE VIENNA (1883).
(In the Vatican.)

declined the honor and accepted later on in the year the emperor's nomination to a similar position at the head of the newly organized school of fine arts in Cracow. He died on the first of November in the same house in which he first saw the light of day and which is universally known to-day as the "Matejko House." It contains many memorials of the artist and a Matejko Museum and is situated in the Ulica Floryanska or Florian Street. He was buried on the eighth of November and his ashes rest in the Cracow cemetery.

Magnificence of coloring and passionate movement are the distinguishing characteristics of this true representative of a passionate, proud and excitable people. His critic and biographer Stanislaus Witkiewicz says in his characterization of the artist that Matejko

had by nature a soul filled with sadness. "This appeared not alone as a result of his pessimistic view of history, and in his first pictures he borrowed from history only what was saddest and most tragic, but he was in fact absolutely incapable of reproducing simply and sincerely the bright and happy sides of life."

He is like his subjects who "are to a high degree passionate



SOBIESKI AND DENHOF. (Detail from Sobieski Before Vienna.)

natures, filled to overflowing with deep feeling, gripped to the very depths of their souls by an abnormally strong psychic energy, which is keyed up to the highest pitch and leaves its stamp on the finely moulded features of faces distinguished by clearness and strength, even amid their wrinkles and seams; faces on which seems to rest the burden of whole layers of culture, that has arisen under the highest possible pressure of the tragedy of life." Of all cities,



ASSUMPTION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN (1875).

Cracow, where all the monuments of a glorious Poland are, seems best chosen to realize this confusion and distraction in a Polish soul. This can be discerned even in Matejko's portrait of himself, painted at the age of fifty-four, as well as in the face of the striking



STANCZYK, THE COURT FOOL OF SIGISMUND AUGUSTUS (1862).

painting of the court fool of Zygmunt I, Stanczyk, who was celebrated for the biting truths which he occasionally told to the Polish magnates and even to the king himself.

The representative painter of a nation so fervidly Roman

Catholic as is the Polish could not leave the field of Christian art untouched and we conclude this sketch with the magnificent *Assumption of the Blessed Virgin*, from the year 1875.

A SERMON OF SKARGA'S.

Our frontispiece is an idealistic representation of Peter Skarga Pawenski preaching one of his famous sermons before the King of Poland and the Polish diet, as painted in 1864 by the great Polish painter of national subjects, Jan Matejko, just after the unsuccessful revolution of 1863, which apparently gave Polish liberty its death blow. We may suppose that Skarga is just predicting the sad fate of Poland as directly ascribable to the "sins" of his countrymen, their strife, contentiousness, lack of union, and absolute disregard for national needs, although the picture professedly commemorates a scene from the year 1597.

The *Presbyterium* of the Wawel, the cathedral of Cracow, forms the background of the picture, for it was long erroneously supposed that the diet met here for divine service on the Sundays and holidays from February 10 to March 24, 1597. Our Polish friend explains the position of Skarga (11) as near the coffin of St. Stanislaus, that bishop of Cracow who was murdered in 1079 by King Boleslaus the Bold at the altar of St. Michael's Church before the gates of Cracow. Matejko did not then know that St. John's Cathedral in Warsaw was the real location, nor does this injure the picture. The subject of Skarga's sermon "seems to be the thought of Jeremiah xix: Then I shall utterly destroy you, saith the Lord God."

It must be admitted that some of the figures of the painting were really dead in 1597, but their employment in the picture at least reproduced the spirit of Poland in the last half of the sixteenth century. The king (5) strikes one as absolutely apathetic and weak. Behind him stands his awe-struck son Ladislaus (4) who later succeeded him.

Dowager Queen Ann, (6) of the house of Jagiellon, the wife of King Stephen Bathori, 1576-1586, is deep in prayer. Next to her is the famous Polish beauty, Halszka Ostrogo (7) who married the slayer of her first husband and was then compelled by the king, Zygmunt August, to marry the Wojewod Lukas Gorka of Posen. She and her mother then took refuge in a convent in Lemberg, where she was married to Simeon Olelkowicz, who was introduced within the walls of the cloister as a beggar. In spite of this union, the royal starost captured her and turned her over to husband

number three who threw her into prison when she persisted in her opposition to her unwelcome consort; there she lost her reason and died. She has been made the heroine of many tales and dramas. Stanislaus Stadnicki, (10) called "the Devil of Lancut" by the people because of his robber-knight crimes for which he was not less famous than for his acts of chivalry. Prince Zanusz Radziwill (8) and Nicolaus Zebrzydowski (9) rebelled against the king, nine years later, but were beaten, the last named being pardoned but excluded from participation in public affairs. The other dominant and foil to Skarga is the Chancellor and Fieldmarshall, John Zamojski, (1) to whom the king owed his throne, and Poland much, some say as much as Germany did to Bismarck. In front of him stands his predecessor in office, Peter Dunin Wolski, (3) Bishop of Plock, although he was dead in 1590. The Primate of Poland and Archbishop of Gnesen, Stanislaus Karnkowski, (2) is on the left and Cardinal Stanislaus Hozyusz, (12) Bishop of Ermeland, who died in 1579, is kneeling near Skarga.

Quoting Marjan Sokolowski, professor of the history of art at the University of Cracow, Ferdinand Hoesik tells in an article of September 29, 1912, written for the *Jednodniówka*, the story of the origin of Matejko's conception of Skarga's head and especially of his face. The main facts are as follows:

When Jan Matjko had almost finished his picture of Skarga he had trouble in working out the portrait of the hero of the scene, but one day while walking through the streets of Cracow he met a man who possessed a certain resemblance to the famous pulpit orator, and he took pains to gain a lasting impression of the stranger's features, but the man seemed displeased with the attention thus received from an ordinary passer-by, and he tried to escape from this unwelcome attention. The truth was that he was Bronislaus Szwarcze, a Polish fugitive from the fortress prison of Schlüsselburg, where Czaristic Russia confined its political prisoners on a rocky isle of the Neva, near St. Petersburg, and he had barely escaped his pursuers. His features were strangely attractive to our artist, and showed that he had passed through great trials in his life. While the object of Matejko's attention tried to escape, the painter was bent on making his acquaintance for the sake of using his portrait for his picture. Thinking that he was discovered by a representative of the Russian secret service, even though he was on Austrian soil, the stranger tried to elude his pursuer and had scarcely escaped to his lodgings when a knock at the door frightened him to the utmost. He said to himself, "here come the

police to arrest me and transport me to Siberia," but how relieved he was when the stranger came in, excused himself for the intrusion, and explained that he was Jan Matejko, well known to every Pole as their great national artist. Szwarcze gladly acceded to his request to sit for his portrait as a model for Skarga, the great Polish reformer, in fact he acknowledged it as an honor to be thought a fit subject for this noble purpose.

PETRUS SKARGA PAWENSKI S. J.

A PROPHET OF POLAND.

BY A FRIEND OF FREE POLAND.

NOTHING in this world is perfect, no thing nor person possesses that fulness of every good which really could and should be possessed. All creation is working unceasingly toward the realization of all its latent potentialities, toward the actualization of a better and nobler reality. No rational being casts a doubt on this fact to-day, nor is he in any position to doubt it, since no creature gives such eloquent testimony to this fact as man himself. The recognition of a true, vital evolution in the cosmic universe is accepted to-day, and with full justice too, as the most important conquest of our science. Man himself assumes an odd position in the process of universal evolution, for we may truly call him the lord of creation. Man it is who, to be sure, succumbs to the laws of nature and must reckon with them, but who in spite of this can command these laws and all the forces of evolution and exploit them for the realization of his wishes and ideals: the creation of a better reality lies within the power of man. It is the most sacred duty not alone of every individual but also of the whole of human society to create more and better being and living.

This task is not at all easy and for that reason it is no wonder that the leaders of human society along with peoples and states generally put forth vigorous efforts for anything else than the realization of that which we all accept as most sacred. Nor can we even blame these people for their choice of action, for: Do not temporal possessions, material treasures, position, power and physical force make man, and especially peoples, safe from all enemies? Are not economically strong peoples always victors? Thus it seems in reality, but this is only a superficial impression, for history teaches us that those peoples which do not strive for the realization of the

highest ideals have ruined themselves by their own behavior. The Greeks and the Romans, those peoples who so merit our admiration, afford perhaps the most striking illustration of our assertion. The ultimate reason for their ruin lay precisely in their not recognizing the folly of their policies, but persisting in their course. In such moments when a people forgets the fulfilment of its most sacred obligations, there come to the front in every people men who foresee with the insight of genius the true future of their fellow citizens and, spurred on by the spirit of love for people and country, warn their compatriots of threatening dangers. No country has lacked such geniuses and prophets, and yet their fellow citizens, like those of the patriarch Noah in the days of the Flood, "were eating, drinking, marrying and giving away in marriage until . . . the flood came, and carried them all away"! (Matthew xxiv, 37-39.) Generally speaking, all warnings of such men were in vain and the majority of them died in dishonor and disgrace, derided and jeered at by those to whom they extended a helping hand.

So it was with the Polish nation. There was no lack of prophets nor of preachers admonishing to penitence and pure living for this people either, but yet all was in vain (they imitated the contemporaries of Noah, made merry at the expense of the "seers" and remained in their evil ways and in sin until the "Flood," the fall of the Polish state, came. To-day we should like to introduce to our readers one of those great seers of the Polish people, a true prophet of this nation, and this man is Petrus Pawenski Skarga, humble monk and priest, a member of the Society of Jesus. How majestic the figure of Skarga was can be perceived from the circumstance that the Dominican Florian Birkowski, who delivered the funeral address, the most prominent pulpit orator of the day after Skarga, chose as the text of his sermon a paraphrase of the words of the apocryphal writer Ecclesiasticus, xlvi. 1: *Et surrexit Elias propheta, et verbum ejus quasi facula ardebat* (and the prophet Elijah rose up and his word glowed like a torch).

Petrus Pawenski was born in 1536 at Grojec, a little town in Masovia. His parents did not belong to the nobility but were of civilian origin and we now know for certain that it was his brother Francis who first received the diploma of nobility with the cognomen Pawenski, from King Zygmunt III. Petrus lost his parents in early youth. After the completion of his course at the Gymnasium, he studied for two years at the University of Cracow, where he received the degree of bachelor of arts in 1554. With this diploma he went to Warsaw where he was appointed rector of the

parochial school belonging to the collegiate church of Saint John. During two years, 1555-1557, he conducted this school with honor, then we see him in Cracow as private teacher of the oldest son of the castellan and senator Tenczynski. In 1560 he accompanied his charge to Vienna, where he remained two entire years. In 1562 he returned to Poland and, following the advice of Paulus Tarlo, archbishop of Lemberg, he resolved to enter the clergy. In 1563 Tarlo ordained him sub-deacon, and in the following year deacon and priest, and appointed the young clergyman to the position of cathedral preacher and canon at the cathedral of Lemberg (Lwow). A little later he received the parish of Rohatyn, which he soon renounced, however, to devote himself entirely to his official duties in Lemberg, a number of whose noble families owe to Skarga their return to the mother church.

In 1569 Skarga went to Rome, joined the Jesuit order and was appointed by Pius V Grand Penitentiary at St. Peters, especially for those of the Polish race. Two years later he returned to Poland and officiated as preacher, first in Pultusk, and from 1573 on in the Jesuit college at Wilna. When Stephen Bathori founded a new Jesuit college at Polock (Polotzk) in 1580, Skarga was the first rector of the institution. In 1584 he was transferred to Cracow as Superior of the Jesuit residence ad Sanctam Barbaram. Here he was tireless in his labors in the confessional and the pulpit and regained many dissidents for the Catholic Church. For the assistance of those too proud to beg when poor and ill, he founded in 1584 the Brotherhood of Mercy (Bractwo milosierdzia), and at the same time established the "pious bank" (Bank pobożny) which was to lend money without interest to the needy on the receipt of a pledge or pawn. Nor did he forget the daughters of respectable but impoverished families, for whom he founded the "Arca Sancti Nicolai" (Skrzynka Sw. Mikolaja), in order to furnish them with a suitable dowery. Thus the social reformer Skarga was a true philanthropist in the best sense of the word. In addition to this his services toward the accomplishment of the union of the Ruthenian Church with the Roman were incontestably of the greatest value.

This extraordinarily active man was also very busy with his pen. The writings of Skarga, some forty in number, may be classed as dogmatic-polemical, historical, homiletic and ascetic. The most important are *Pro Sacratissima Eucharistia contra hæresim Zwinglianam*; *Artes duodecim Sacramentariorum*; *Upon the Unity of the Church* (in Polish, this was burned by disunionists); *Contra Thraenos et Lamentationes Theophili Orthologi, ad Ruthenos Græci*

religionis cautela; Confusio Arianorum; Confusio secunda Arianorum; and Messias novorum Arianorum. The last three works combated Socinianism which had found a refuge in Poland. During his life there were printed nine editions of his *Lives of the Saints*, written in popular style, and the book is still much read among the Polish masses. His *Sermons for Sundays and Holidays* continue to be regarded as models of pulpit eloquence. All of Skarga's writings are very valuable even to-day, for they have had a very great influence on the development of the Polish language, and they contain exceedingly important contributions to the contemporary political history of Poland. This so great Catholic and priest was at the same time a great patriot, full of genuine love for the whole Polish people, for all estates without distinction, for his beloved fatherland.

In January of 1588 King Zygmunt III made Skarga his court preacher in which office he remained active up to shortly before his death in 1612. His *Sermons for the Diet*, which occupy the first rank in point of oratorial style, reveal most clearly and well his genius and bear witness to his patriotism. We should like to acquaint our readers briefly with the contents of these *Sermons for the Diet* since they cast much light upon the political and religious conditions obtaining in Poland at that time.

When Skarga undertook the office of court preacher Poland was a world power, and this fact brought down much misery and misfortune upon this kingdom. We cannot regard the foreign policy of Zygmunt III, of the house of Wasa, as fortunate, it seems to us to-day an uninterrupted chain of endless political mistakes, which entangled Poland in useless wars with other peoples without the slightest advantage to the country. In addition to this the king was headstrong, arrogant, suspicious and amenable to no counsel. Conditions ruling in the interior of the country were no better, the Reformation and the religious strife resulting from it weakened to a very great degree the national life, the power of the state and of the king, national unity and love of country. Such conditions could not but destroy Poland, but unfortunately the majority of the people refused to recognize this wretched state of affairs and even asserted that the kingdom existed through disorder, "*Nierzadem Rzeczpospolita stoi.*" In order to rescue Poland from certain destruction, swift measures had to be taken to relieve existing conditions. The man who undertook this burden was Skarga. Without flattery but with apostolic freedom he declared to king and nobles the Christian truths and principles and pointed out to the Estates of the Realm

the fruits which their actions would mature. This took place especially at the sessions of the Diet and thus his *Sermons for the Diet* came into being. To them, possibly, he owes his cognomen, Skarga, a word which means "accusation," "complaint."

There are eight of these sermons preserved in writing by Skarga and the question arises. When and where were these really delivered? We learn from the Dominican Birkowski that Skarga preached at eighteen diets, and this assertion gave rise to the belief that the sermons which have come down to us were held at different times and at different diets. In course of time the view prevailed that Skarga delivered all at the "Sejm" of 1592 and it was reserved for later and critical historical investigations to bring scholars to the conviction that they had been held at Warsaw in 1597 in the presence of the king and the assembled Estates. Warsaw was the capital of the Polish kings from 1596 on, and Skarga delivered the sermons in the cathedral church of St. John. For the view last expressed the sermons themselves are evidence. It is easy to refute the argument that he would not have had time enough to deliver them at this diet which lasted from the tenth of February to the twenty-fourth of March. At the opening of the *Sejm* Skarga held his first sermon, the next ones on the following Sundays and on St. Matthias day, the last on the twenty-third of March. In any event the opinion that they were delivered in 1597 is to-day almost universally recognized as historically certain.

Let us now hear what this humble priest and monk announced to these haughty, headstrong, uncontrollable men. Every one of us would think the preacher must have been a good flatterer if he desired to get a hearing from such people, but just the contrary was the fact, he demanded repentance and conversion from king and estates and publicly reproached them with sins committed against God and Fatherland, yes, he even threatened them with the destruction and ruin of their country if they did not improve their conduct. That is the substance of the sermons for the diet. Charles Henry Wachtel, who is well known to the Poles as author and poet, has very cleverly excerpted and arranged their most beautiful and powerful passages. The reader who knows Polish can obtain these selections in the *Jednodniówka*, published on the twenty-ninth of September, 1912, in memory of the three-hundredth anniversary of the day of Skarga's death, a very small number of which may be still procured from the *Dziennik Chicagowski*, or "Polish Daily News." It would be a praiseworthy task for some one to translate

this article of Mr. Wachtel into English. In lieu of it our readers will have a short résumé of the Diet Sermons of Skarga.

As has been stated, Skarga delivered the sermons in 1597 before the session of the Diet which was a complete failure. It was opened on Monday, February 10, with the mass in the cathedral church of St. John at Warsaw. From 1588 on, Skarga had been preaching regularly before each diet and was in this way compelled to be a witness of the ever more and more increasing anarchy in Poland. Voices were heard on various sides saying: "We are headed for ruin!" Even before Skarga there were people who foresaw the danger threatening Poland and directed the attention of the Polish government to this by pamphlets, sermons and speeches. This condition of affairs reached its culmination in 1597 and fixed Skarga's determination to deliver his sermons. Let us make a brief survey of the causes of this growing anarchy.

In all candor we must acknowledge the introduction of the Reformation into Poland as the first cause of confusion. Incessant riots against those of the opposite faith, started by Catholics as well as Protestants, partisan religious writings diffusing mutual hatred, and other reasons made a unified national life simply impossible. Zygmunt did not know how to win the confidence of the dissidents, nor was he esteemed or much of a favorite with the Catholics. The *szlachta*, or nobility, did not like him because of his devotion to alchemy, painting, goldsmithing and lath-turning and passionate fondness for ball playing. The masses disliked his marriage with the Austrian princess. The king's efforts toward absolute rulership deprived him of the sympathies of the party of the chancellor, Jan Zamojski, indubitably one of the greatest politicians and statesmen of Poland. The chancellor did not like the House of Habsburg, and the king based his policy on an alliance with the kaiser. The diets were another source of confusion. The diet was the ruling power. From 1572 on we notice that everything was consistently done to weaken the authority of the diet. The provincial diets, or *Sejmiki*, wished to assume all the powers of government, to have the last word in all affairs of state, and to seize the control of courts, financial administration and even of the army. In 1591 this hangman's work was completed and the death-blow given to the Diet, for after eight weeks the provincial diets were to be held, in the possession of powers, which gave the decrees of the royal diet entirely into the hands of this convention.

It is in order to give a few facts to show how matters went in the royal diets. An electoral reform was proposed in the year

1589, but the proposal was not accepted. In the year 1590 a poll tax was adopted in order to raise money in case of war with the Turks. This law was declared null and void by the provincial diet in Kolo. But later on the worst was yet to come in this whole affair: the royal diet, opened in 1590, confirmed the statutes of the provincial diet at Kolo! Things were no better at the diet of 1592: here it came to open blows between the party of the king and that of the chancellor Jan Zamojski. The king abased himself even to such a degree that he lost all regard in the eyes of the whole *Szlachta*. The "chancellorists" were not even willing to kiss the king's hand! On November 25, 1592, the father of the Polish king died and Zygmunt was compelled to depart for Sweden in order to be crowned there as king of Sweden. The royal diet also had to give its consent to the trip of the king. The Sejm was opened on the fourth of May with a dispute as to who was really marshall (*marszałek*) of the diet. It took more than ten days before they hit upon the "corresponding" person in Danilowicz, a young man who had scarcely left school. Not until the last day was permission granted to the king to proceed on his journey to Sweden. The diet of 1595, where the question of joining the league against the Turks, formed by Emperor Rudolf and other princes, was at issue, also failed of results, for the matter of joining the league was referred to an extraordinary diet. Matters were still better at the diet of 1596, at which we find deputies chosen unlawfully or through violence. *Propter bonum pacis* ("for the sake of peace") these gentlemen were allowed to take part in the sessions of the body which quarreled about trifles during its whole session and left the Sejm without results.

For all these reasons Skarga regarded it as his sacred duty to save his dear country at any price and to warn his erring countrymen of mistakes which were ruining them. Poland was threatened with war by Turks, Wallachians and particularly by the Tartars, the last named sending an embassy to the diet which demanded satisfaction for the injuries and rapine suffered by them at the hands of the Cossacks. Hence the situation of Poland at this time was not at all favorable. At the opening of the diet of 1597 we see Skarga in the pulpit, and the text of his first sermon were the words from the Epistle of St. James i. 5. "Ye have come together here in the name of the Lord," so the preacher declares it to be the purpose of the assembling of the deputies, "to prevent the danger threatening the crown, to support the tottering fabric of the state, to repair injuries, to heal wounds, to join anew what had fallen

apart, and as chiefs of your people, as watchmen of the sleeping, as leaders of the ignorant and beacon of those sitting in the dark, as fathers of simple children, to take counsel for their welfare." In order to perform this office conscientiously, one needs an unusual dose of wisdom, at least in these so difficult times. A multitude of dangers threaten the dear country, there is no unity in the country, no reciprocal love, no trust, envy is everywhere rampant, people cheat each other, there is no lack of troublemakers and grumblers, decency and order are absolutely non-existent, selfishness is the moving spirit of the entire public life, the diets pass their time without results and in addition, the worst thing is the fact that the danger of war with the Tatars and Turks threatens the land. To this disunion of the political nature there has been added as a source of various disorders and distractions, religious discord, which is the source of the decay of kingdoms in accordance with the declaration of the Lord in Luke xi. 17. All these misdeeds are committed under the cloak of noble freedom, appealing to the privileges of the *Szlachta* (the nobility). As the preacher ironically exclaims, "Isn't that a beautiful liberty which is distinguished for obstinacy and immorality, thanks to which, the strong oppress the weaker, transgress and do violence to the laws of God and man, refuse to accept punishment from the king or any other office, and all are without decency and without leaders like the children of Belial!! You know I am speaking only of what all men see." He warns them that they need much wisdom in order to devise the necessary means for the abolishment of these abuses. But there are two kinds of wisdom, one gained by experience and one the gift of God. He demands that those presents shall derive every advantage from homely good sense, and where this is not sufficient, that they shall implore God to reveal his Divine Wisdom.

The subject of the next discourse was love of country. As his text he chose John xv. 12 and xiv. 27, "There is nothing permanent under the sun" (Ecclesiastes ii. 11). "Not alone houses and families pass away, but also kingdoms and monarchies and one people succeeds another. Every people which perishes owes this fate to its political ills, which it did not cure in time. Poland suffers from six such ills, of which unfavorableness to the country (*nieżyczliwość*) is the first. "External dangers such as war and spoliation by hostile neighbors can be easily withstood if the internal ills of the country are cured, for how shall a sick man defend himself if he cannot even stand on his own feet? Therefore before all else heal your sick mother, our dear country!"

In lofty words the preacher declares to his hearers that it is God's will and law to love their country. We shall love our fatherland because we owe to it the greatest blessings of this temporary world. Our country in the full sense of the word is our mother, it has given us all manner of blessings and presents; to it we owe the Catholic faith, the beautiful golden liberty of not having as a people to serve tyrants, property and wealth,—yes all are well-to-do, only our mother alone of all is poor. “O dearest Mother, thy children are in a riot of gluttonous living, putting their property to bad use, it serves them only for sin, immorality, profligacy, vanity! This mother, our country, gave us life in peace, martial glory and the respect of all peoples, our king is honored by embassies from the West and the East.... (in the year 1595 from the Empire, the Papacy, Hungary, Transylvania, Moldavia, and others). What more could our mother do for us? Why then should you love her with all your heart, protect her and be ready in case of need to lose everything in order to keep this dear mother sound and alive? By loving your country you love yourself, by abandoning it you commit treason to yourself. The saints loved their country, of which Moses, Samson, Nehemiah, Zerubbabel, Matathias, Judith and Esther are witnesses. Patriotism was foreign not even to the Gentiles. O, my lords, love your country.... be not selfish and avaricious, seek not your private comfort as of first importance! Is it not first and foremost avarice which renders all sane and wise counsel actually impossible? And more too, one estate oppresses the other.” Skarga concludes his second sermon with an appeal to his hearers to cure this malady and act virtuously.

The subject of the third sermon is the second disease of Poland: domestic disunion, for which he drew his text from the words of the Apostle of the Gentiles in 1 Corinthians i. 10. “Unity and Unanimity is a thing willed by God. To this our Lord and Saviour first joined us through his sacred religion. The same faith, the same sacraments, the offering of the same sacrifice, participation in the same communion of the body and of the blood of the Lord, these are the bonds by which the Lord binds us to a unity of faith. But there are also other bonds of a non-religious nature which bind us into the unity of the same country. The same land, one king, the same laws and diets, the same kingdom, all these are bonds which make a unity of us.” Skarga regrets that these means to unanimity are either not used at all, or else perversely for the injury of national unity. This lack of national unity brings countless injuries to the people, makes the rescue of the country absolutely

impossible ; the realm must lose its freedom in spite of all diets and all counsels. In prophetic mood Skarga cries out to his hearers : "An enemy neighbor will arise, clinging like a rapid growing vine to your disunion, and he will say, 'Your hearts have become divided, now they shall be destroyed.' He will exploit this moment, so fortunate for him, so unfortunate for you. Why, he who wishes you evil is but waiting for this: 'Aha, aha!' he will say, 'let us now destroy them, ye know their foot hath slipped and they can no longer escape us' (Psalm xxxv. 21 etc.). This strife of yours will bring you into captivity, your liberties here will be lost and become a subject of universal mockery, and it will be as the prophet describes in Isaiah xxiv. 2: 'For ye will all groan in the hands of your enemies with what ye possess, subject to those who hate you.' Lands and principalities which have been united to this realm and have become one body, will secede and must disintegrate, and this, thanks to your discord, and yet your hands might be powerful and strong, but terrible to the enemy. . . . Ye will be like a childless widow ; ye rulers of other peoples will be an object of scorn and mockery to your enemies. Ye will lose your language. . . . and your nationality. . . . and like other peoples you will change into a foreign people who hate yourselves. You will also be not only without a sovereign of your own blood and the right to elect such an one, but also without a country and kingdom in the true sense of the word: exiles, everywhere in poverty, despised, poor, vagabonds who will be kicked in those very places where you were formerly honored. How then will you acquire a second country, in which you may enjoy such glory, such wealth, treasures and prosperity? Will a second such mother be born to you? If you lose this mother, then you can think of no other.

"You will serve your enemies in hunger, thirst, nakedness, and all possible privations, they will put a yoke of iron upon your necks, for you have not willingly served your Lord and God when you had everything in abundance as it is said in Deuteronomy xxviii. 48. . . . Your strife and contentiousness will bring you to such losses and curses. War and the robber attacks of your hostile neighbors would not ruin you so soon as your wretched dissensions."

After these truly prophetic words which were fulfilled, point by point, the preacher discusses the causes which produced disunion and contention in Poland. Heresies, contempt of royal power, avarice, arrogance and wealth, and in addition mutual jealousies, all united with hypocrisy and sins, conjured upon Poland her greatest misfortune, namely discord. If Poland is not to cease to exist

as a free country, then all must become better, unity and charity must prevail, all must be in reality one body and one soul, in which the different estates conscientiously perform their patriotic duties.

Skarga regards the Catholic religion as the best support for that unity which is so necessary to the Poles. He attempts to show this in his fourth and fifth sermons. When we read such assertions they seem to us educated in a modern age exaggerated, but when we read Poland's history, we must admit the absolute truth of Skarga's assertion that the Protestant Reformation was a real misfortune for Poland. We will omit the proof of this proposition, for it does not come within the scope of this article.

As a text for the fourth sermon, which was probably held on the day of Saint Matthias, Skarga chooses the words of Exodus xix. 6, "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and a holy nation." He takes the Jewish people as an example. God freed them from the yoke of the Pharaohs, but he put them under the restraint of His own sacred law. On the first tablet were commandments referring to God, and then on the second those which are necessary for the political existence of a people. Consequently the priesthood is the foundation of kingdoms and the king must act in harmony with the priesthood if order and quiet are to rule in the land. Kings are duty bound to defend religion since they receive their power from God through the priest for Christ has installed a royal priesthood in the New Testament. Besides history shows that all kingdoms have been based and built up on religion. So it was in Poland for six hundred years, now, alas, heresies had come and these most threatened the existence of Poland. Only the Catholic religion is capable of guarding realm and people from decay and destruction.

The preacher elaborates this idea in his fifth sermon, citing 1 Samuel xii. 20 and 21, "Serve the Lord with all your heart and run not after vanities which cannot help you." Unity and concord are a great blessing for any state, and it is the Catholic faith which keeps people best in unity and concord. Heretics are deprived of unity in faith and where there is no unity in faith there can be absolutely no question of its presence in political affairs, for in the case of strife between Catholics it is not difficult to restore peace, because they are accustomed to submit to an umpire in such moments, but with non-Catholics there is not merely lack of unity in faith, but in addition no umpire. According to Skarga's conviction, lack of unity in faith makes true friendship impossible, awakens mutual distrust between citizens, and produces barren strife among children of the same people. To speak plainly, heresy causes a

separation of minds and disunion in the realm and renders the rule of justice impossible. Skarga thinks heretics cannot possibly be sincere and virtuous, since false doctrine knows no true virtues, for only the Catholic religion is capable of making out of men good and honorable citizens who love virtue and their country. Catholics are accustomed to obedience, non-Catholics to the assertion of their obstinacy everywhere. Disobedience is something quite peculiar to them. In conclusion the preacher says that God blesses peoples which increase His honor, and the Almighty generally punishes apostasy by the sword of the heathen.

Criticize this reasoning of Skarga as we may, value his arguments as you please, be even outraged by the fanaticism of the preacher, always remembering that the sixteenth century cannot be judged by our standards, one fact stands out clear: these arguments dictated to Skarga his love of God, of his neighbor, of his people and of his country. "Not sophistry, not cunning argumentation, but deep conviction, dictated these words to Skarga," says Prof. Ignatius Chrzanowski of the University of Cracow, on page 60 of the Preface to his edition of the *Sermons for the Diet*, Warsaw, 1903, Gebethner and Wolff.

A vigorous government is the fourth foundation stone of the state. In Skarga's eyes the best of all forms of government is the monarchy, the *absolutum dominium*. To prove this is the purpose of his sixth sermon. "Constitue nobis regem, ut judicet nos, sicut et universae habent nationes," 1 Samuel viii. 5, are the words chosen by Skarga for the text of this sermon. "In every body," as he says, "there are two very important members which give life and strength to it, that is to say, heart and head. So it is also in the state where the hierarchy constitutes the heart of the state, while the king is the head. The weal of the state depends on the soundness of these members. But the natural state of the body shows us that in every body only *one* head rules." From this Skarga deduces the necessity of there being the same order in the state and for that reason a monarchy is the best form of government. We find this form of government among the ancient Jews, for God who is also a monarch in the fullest sense of the word has himself so ordained. Even Christ established the monarchical form of government in his Church. History shows us that monarchies have maintained themselves longest in a political sense, as long as they remained monarchies in a strict sense. In Poland, too, the kings were true monarchs in the beginning, it was the priests who interpreted the law of God to the monarchs and in this way guarded rulers from

abuse of their power. Later the limits of royal power were bounded by statutes and laws in order to render it impossible for the monarch to become a tyrant, and to provide sufficient protection for personal safety. But certain persons have nevertheless abused the liberty belonging to them.

Skarga finds three kinds of liberty good and praiseworthy, first, not to serve the devil; second, to be free from the yoke of heathen rulers; and third, to serve no king who is a tyrant. However there is a fourth liberty which is a product of hell, something absolutely devilish, and this consists in acknowledging no authority at all, in not yielding obedience to a legitimate king, and in wanting to weaken the royal power as far as possible. Many abuses contribute in a high degree to the weakening of the royal power, especially disobedience to king and law, the dishonest administration of royal and national estates. The deputies to the diet do not perform their duties and make it simply impossible for king and senate to realize the best plans, those of advantage to the state. "Just see," the preacher reproaches his listeners, "to what turmoil you have come, thanks to your indecent behavior and almost childish, actually ridiculous conduct, into which you allow yourselves to be plunged at the diets."

Next, Skarga assails the choice of deputies: during the times of election the rich and those possessing sufficient boldness do as they please; certain lords even elect themselves; others manage so they are deputies for life; but many manage to have only their own candidates elected. Matters are not better in the assembly of deputies, where quarrels, contention, screaming, tumult and even recourse to arms obtain to such an extent that one must blush for shame if one should tell it to anybody. "Then too, the election of the various officers of the house of deputies is a regular disgrace. The election of marshall of the diet, (*marszałek Sejmu*), lasts for several days, and as I remember, you once quarreled about it for two weeks and a half." Skarga here alludes to the marshall-election of 1593, in which eighteen days of quarreling were spent. (This was the first diet in which Szczensny Herburt of Dobromil introduced the motion that only those resolutions should be legal for which there was the unanimous vote of all members.) At last they elected Danilowicz, a young man who had but just come from school! The whole tendency of these lords was "to manage everything so that the king should have nothing at all to say, and should only be a spectator of how the estate of nobles (*szlachta*) rule through their deputies." "My lords," admonished Skarga, "make no German

free city of the kingdom of Poland! Make no painted holder of an empty honor, as has been done in Venice, for you have not the sense of the Venetians at all, nor do you remain continuously in one and the same city. . . . In states, where all want to share the government, every good counsel is vain, even diets miss their goal. As an illustration of my assertion, let the last few diets serve, which made it absolutely impossible to help this kingdom in its so great and urgent distress!! What shall be the end of this if the diets waste their time without results? Have you any better means to save our country than through the agency of the diet? If not, then tell me why you use this sole means for your own ruin and make of it an object of ridicule and scorn among all foreign peoples. What is the purpose of meeting if you only accomplish discord, strife and tumult? You are down, lost, if God does not have mercy on you, if he shall not incline your hearts to repentance and so change them that you bear in mind not a riotous and false liberty, but your real welfare, the preservation of your health, and the possession of your houses and estates.”—“Yes, but Poland was strong! Curtain lecture! Good for old women, Jesuitical balderdash, that is of a narrow-minded, fanatical ‘heretic-eater’! Crazy talk!” Such were the thoughts of probably the most of his listeners, and they probably made sport of the figure of the humble preacher of penitence, since Poland of course can not possibly fall because “it is so strong!” But history justified the words of the preacher.

Just laws are the best foundation of every state. But *Vae*, to those, as the prophet Isaiah says, x. 1 and 2, “qui condunt leges iniquas: et scribentes, injustitiam scripserunt: Ut opprimerent in judicio pauperes, et vim facerent causae humilium populi mei.” This was the text chosen to bring home to the consciousness of the diet the injustice of the laws prevalent in Poland. After introductory remarks on the various kinds of laws, such as natural, positive, divinely ordained, and canonical, Skarga attempts to show that the best status in the world is where the monarch promulgates the laws for citizens and realm. Without these written statutes no state can exist. But the executive power requires officials and judges. The laws do absolutely no violence to personal liberty, and they must not, otherwise they would cease to be laws. They indicate the way of justice. A true law must be just, advantageous to all, make upright persons and good citizens of subjects, spread the fear of the Lord and defend and advance the honor of God, the welfare of the state and the people. However, laws need persons whose duty it is to see to their proper observance, for without a proper executive

even the best of laws become a dead letter. The transgressors of the law must be punished.

The fifth malady of Poland results from the injustice of a number of laws and the fact that just laws lack executive officials. These are the reasons for the evil condition of Poland: many and terrible sins are committed purely and simply for the reason that such things can be done in Poland with impunity. The preacher takes under his especial protection the country folk who were bound in serfdom to the lords. "I should now like to touch upon the unjust law which makes veritable slaves of poor farmers and free men, Poles, believing Christians and poor subjects, as if these unfortunate people were prisoners of war or purchased *mancipia*. Their masters do what they please with them and with their property and life, and no forum troubles itself about the injustice done these people." Skarga cites the first Christians who restored real slaves to freedom. "We should be ashamed of such a law in sight of the whole Christian world. How shall we be able to appear in the presence of God with our souls stained by such tyrannical injustice? How can we help fearing that the heathen will treat us similarly in punishment for our sins?" Wonderful words from the lips of one living in the sixteenth century, worthy of a Skarga! Professor Chrzanowski is entirely right in adjudging this one of the most beautiful and wisest passages (p. 69 of the preface of his edition of the Diet Sermons).

It would take us too far to describe all that was done in the beginning of the seventeenth century with those who were bound to the land, and how these honest and industrious people were exploited. Skarga was mistaken in asserting that such things could only take place in Poland, for it is a well-known fact that the matter of "manorial bondage" in neighboring Germany was in no wise better. Without fear he urges his hearers, "the headstrong, earthly 'Gods,'" to proceed to an immediate reform of the law, "so that instead of bringing advantage the laws may not cause great damage." God himself has changed his laws when it was necessary, as can be proven by the Old Testament. Besides there is no tyrant as cruel as a bad law and amelioration is the most sacred duty of every intelligent being, since only the fool voluntarily remains in filth and perishes of his own fault.

The eighth and last sermon, delivered on the twenty-third of March, is the most wonderful and was especially distinguished for its prophetic character. It is a recapitulation of the sins treated in the previous discourses, followed by a prophecy of the future fate

of Poland with a demand for repentance. There is not the slightest doubt that other prominent men foresaw the downfall of Poland. Krzycki, Modrzewski, Kromer, Stanislaus Gorski, Solikowski, Rej and a host of others repeated in other words and in other form the words of Orzechowski: "If you were to cut my heart to pieces, you would find in it only the words: we are ruined, we perish." The greatest Catholic and Protestant preachers of that century, men like Clement Ramult, Malcher of Moscisk, Luke of Lemberg, Gregory of Tarnowiec and also the poet John Kochanowski; two of the most famous preachers of Poland, Sokolowski and Powodowski, preached along these lines before Skarga, but neither of these latter, if I may express my personal conviction, knew how to bring home to his hearers that love of God and love of country belong together and constitute two essential components of the law of God as given to us. Professor Chrzanowski's statement on page 107 rightly cites with approval the assertion of Mickiewicz that Skarga was the creator of political pulpit eloquence, of which the sermons of Sokolowski and Powodowski were the forerunners.

It is certainly no exaggeration, nor overestimate, to regard the eighth sermon as unique of its kind. We feel tempted to translate the whole of it so that the reader may gain a clear conception of the powerful, exalted, patriotic and prophetic figure of the man Skarga, who was absolute devotion to God's will. Citing the apocryphal Ecclesiasticus x. 8: "The kingly power is transferred from people to people on account of unjust doings, injuries, insults and various deceits," he treats the sixth malady of Poland, namely public sins, "which cry aloud to God for vengeance," which so stain the earth that it wants to devour the malefactors as the Prophet Isaiah says: "The earth is infected from its inhabitants, because they have broken the laws, upset right, cast to the winds the eternal covenant; on account of this a curse will devour the earth...." (Isaiah v. 5, 6). Continuing with the quotation of verses 8-10 of chapter xxiv, Skarga thunders, "The bad part of the whole business is that such sins are allowed to go unpunished in Poland, therefore, I, your unworthy and humble prophet, will to-day express my sentiments to you roundly on the wrongs, deceits, calumnies and treason in which this kingdom and its citizens have involved themselves, unwilling to abandon them for a better life; sins for which the earth will throw you out and God will people it with different people.... He will give it to your enemies, but he will destroy you and your sons, *if you do not become better*, exactly as he did with the seven Canaanitish tribes in the Holy Land" (Deuteronomy ix).

After this brief introduction the preacher assumes the role of the public conscience of the Polish people and enumerates all the crimes committed in the land with impunity and which call to God for vengeance. Among these he denounces the blasphemies of the New Arians and Anti-Trinitarians; the plundering of churches and church property; the entire paralysis of the ecclesiastical execution of the sentences of ecclesiastical courts; the postponement of judgment in cases at law which are subject to the jurisdiction of the Diet, where the oppressed poor, who appealed to the Diet, had to wait years for a verdict and most often lost all their property; unpunished murder and manslaughter; the incessant sufferings of hounded subjects, who are often robbed of all their property by furious landlords who kill their miserable tenants at will and go scot-free in absolute tranquility; conscienceless usury; avarice; luxury and abuse of wealth; the absolute disappearance of mercy and charity, involving the lavish use of money for everything else, but none for national expenses; the unpunished theft of state property and even of doweries and inheritances from orphans, by guardians; and even then Skarga is not through with his catalog.

After this so scathing indictment Skarga laments: "What shall I do with you, wretched kingdom?" But he was too keen a student of men, not to know that the accuser cannot be the judge at the same time, so he sums up the various counts of his indictment in the single sentence. "Who of those observing you . . . could dream of the sacrileges and sins rampant in this land?" and leaves the verdict to the prophet. Full of grief he cries: "Oh, if I were Isaiah, I would go about barefoot and half naked (Isaiah xx. 2) and call to you rakes and lascivious women, to you transgressors of the law of God, 'Thus they will plunder you and you will display your naked calves. . . . (Isaiah xx. 4), when God, the Lord, shall lead enemies down upon your heads and hand you over to this great disgrace' (Isaiah xx. 2-4). Therefore shall this iniquity be to you as a breach that falleth and is found wanting in a high wall. For the destruction thereof shall come of a sudden, when it is not looked for, and it 'shall be broken small, as the potter's vessel is broken all to pieces with mighty breakings: and then there shall not a sherd be found of the pieces thereof, wherein a little fire may be carried, or a little water be drawn out of the pit' (Isaiah xxx. 13, 14). The breaches in the wall of our country are continuously increasing and you answer, 'Nonsense, never mind; Poland exists just on account of anarchy.' And just at the moment when you do not suspect it, she will fall and crush you all."

"Oh, were I Jeremiah, I should bind my feet with bonds and put chains about my neck and proclaim to you sinners, as he proclaimed: Thus they will bind your masters and drive them before them like rams to foreign climes (Jeremiah xxvii, Lamentations 1). I should like to show you a tattered and filthy garment, then I would shake it and when it had become dust I would say to you: so shall your glory depart, dissolve into nothing but dust and with it all your property and riches (Jeremiah xiii). And I would take a 'potter's earthen bottle' (Jeremiah xix. 1) and after I had called you all together I would hurl the bottle against the wall (xix. 10) and say: 'Even so will I break you, thus saith the Lord of hosts; as the potter's vessel is broken which cannot be made whole again' xix. 11).....

"Oh, were I Ezekiel, I would shear hair and beard and then divide my hair in three. One part I would burn, the second chop fine, but I would scatter the third to the winds (Ezekiel v. 1 and 2), and then declare to you: 'a third part of you shall be consumed with famine, and a third part of you shall fall by the sword; and a third part of you will I scatter into every region of the world' (Ezekiel v. 12). 'And I shall go out of my house neither by the door, nor by the windows, but I will dig through the wall (xii. 5) and really fleeing, I would call to you: so shall it be with you, no castles nor fortresses will have power to protect you, all your enemies will crush you and destroy you."

"O were I Jonah, I would go about all the streets and cry out to you: 'Yet forty days, and Nineveh that is your kingdom shall be destroyed' Jonah iii. 4). Have a fear of these warnings! I have, to be sure, not received a divine revelation foretelling your destruction, but I am sent with an errand from God to lay bare to you your misdeeds and to proclaim to you the penalty awaiting you in case you do not repent. Before their fall all kingdoms have had such divine envoys and preachers, who publicly reproached them with their sins and warned them of approaching destruction. So with the Jews before the Babylonian captivity, of which the Holy Scriptures tell us, 'and the Lord, the God of the fathers sent to them, by the hand of his messengers, rising early, and daily admonishing them; because he spared his people and his dwelling place. 'But they mocked the messengers of God [saying, you have been threatening us for so long a time and up to now, thank God, nothing has been fulfilled!] and despised his words, until the wrath of the Lord arose against his people, and there was no remedy.' (2 Chronicles xxxvi. 15 and 16.)

Skarga distinguishes three kinds of divine warnings. The first is attended by no consequences if people do penance for their sins. The second have serious consequences only for the posterity of those sinning. The third cannot be evaded and are soon carried out because although God foresees the deeds of men bring them certain destruction, He will not change the course of events since He is unwilling to violate human freedom. Thus Jeremiah revealed to his people God's decree for Israel's certain destruction (Jeremiah xviii. 11). "I do not know, my Lords, with what sort of threats God has sent me to you, but this much I do know, that the threatened consequences of one of the three kinds of warnings will certainly strike you. My dear brethren, I wish the first for my people and for my dear country, so that the God of warning may also give you the grace of conversion. . . . so that we may not perish, but that terrified by these warnings we may strive in all our actions and thoughts to be reconciled to God."

The preacher now summons his hearers to penance since God will certainly omit the threatened punishment if we repent. "Therefore let us do penance and return to our Lord and God, and He will heal us. He will wound our hearts with genuine repentance for our sins and heal our wounds as the prophet says: 'He will revive us after two days, on the third day he will raise us up' (Hosea vi. 2). Let the first day be devoted to repentance and confession, the second be a day of improvement and reparation which are essential components of every true penitence, but the third shall be our justification. Who is a God like Thee who takest away iniquity and passest by the sin of the remnant of Thy Christian peoples in the North and of Thy inheritance? Thou wilt send Thy fury in no more because Thou delightest in mercy. Thou wilt turn again and hast mercy on us. Thou wilt put away our iniquities and Thou wilt cast all our sins into the bottom of the sea. Thou wilt perform the truth to us for the sake of Thy beloved Son, Jesus Christ, and His innocently shed blood and His death, who rules with Thee and with Thy Holy Spirit, one God for ever and ever, amen."

And what was the result, what were the fruits of all this so wondrously beautiful, true and extraordinary eloquence, which gripped hearts by powerful words, of these sermons so distinguished for lofty thought and enthusiasm? On Monday, the twenty-fourth of March, the day immediately following the eighth sermon, the Diet had to be dissolved without results. For fifteen years Skarga continued to warn the estates. In the year 1610 he repeatedly urged

everybody to do penance by his tract, composed in Polish, *Summons of the Inhabitants of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania to Repentance*. In 1611 he retired to the Jesuit Monastery at Cracow where he died in the odor of sanctity on September 27, 1612, and his body was consigned to rest in the church of St. Peter. His voice died away as of one calling in the wilderness. His voice was heard, but to no avail, people did not repent, which must have caused acute pain to the heart of one who loved God, his country and his people with all his heart. To view deeds which are certain to dig a sure grave for the fatherland cannot but be a never failing source of inexhaustible sorrow for such a soul.

Not only that, but he had to hear that it was not fitting for a priest to interfere in politics. "Yes," Skarga would answer, "he not only interferes, but it is even his duty to interfere, not in financial matters but in such a way that their sins do not ruin the people and that their souls may not perish. Do we not hear the words of God speaking to Jeremiah: 'Lo, I have set thee this day over the nations and over kingdoms, to root up and to waste and to destroy and to pull down [sins and wickedness] and to build up and to plant' reverence, sacred virtues, good works and repentance, so that our kingdom may escape the wrath of God and our politics may not destroy us" (*Invitatio ad poenitentiam*, page 14 and Jeremiah i. 10).

The preface to the first volume of his sermons bears the completest witness to how and what Skarga suffered from those criticisms. He wrote this preface on the first of August 1595, on the festival of "Saint Peter in Chains," addressing Him whose servant he was: "O Lord and Redeemer, I have proclaimed thy message to the Royal Council, the Senate....to the nobility.... and to the royal and provincial diets. I have adjured them to yield a common tender and faithful love to their two mothers, the Church of God and their country, lest they perish from their very liberties and conjure down upon their heads the yoke of foreign rulers. Lord, I have urged them to make better laws and to procure a speedier dispensation of justice against horrible sins.... I have threatened them with thy anger, O Lord, just as thou hast commanded, with ruin and destruction at the hands of the enemy, with the desolation and surrender of this land to their enemies. I have shown to them the sword of the heathen hanging over their headsso that they may remember their sins which will surely not be passed by unpunished, and rise above them. What more could I do for them, O Lord? Thou knowest I only desired their conver-

sion and salvation. I would gladly sacrifice everything if their welfare and that of the country needed it.... I know not how it is that thy message and my implorations are of no avail; rarely does any one repent: heavy labor has already tired the ox, and his labor has not even left a trace in a good harvest. The clever fishes escape thy nets and are not caught.... Who then is to blame? for thy judgments, O Lord, are terrible. I perhaps? Am I destroying thy harvest by my fear, despondency, negligence and lack of wisdom? But, O Lord, receive my excuses, the explanations of thy messenger.... Pardon me and do not punish, O Lord, I did admonish them and make all manner of daily sacrifices for them; my prayers and implorations in their behalf never ceased. Therefore, O Lord, I beg thee, do not sit in judgment upon me and upon them who hear me.... bring it to pass that we walk in thy law and never cease to be thy people that thou remainest our GOD for ever."

History relates how all these prophecies were fulfilled. It was truly not Skarga's fault that his voice was not heard. But he has even to-day a message for all peoples, and to the governments of the present he conveys the lesson that every people or every power that from blind confidence in its strength believes itself given permission to do what it pleases, is headed for ruin as certainly as the former glorious Polish kingdom. As a penalty for decadence Greece fell; for want of self-control and order, Poland; and ancient Rome fell as the result of a policy of ruthless aggression, as Hermann Schell aptly puts it on page 114 of *Christus*, Mainz 1916, "she fell from sheer failure of her powers. It could not be otherwise because all force directed against the outer world produces the ultimate fruit of the despotism of an overman and debases the masses to spiritual slavery. The energy of a ruthless culture of personality destroys its subject, of that, Rome, once mistress of the world, is an example.... The cult of selfishness," he says a few lines before, "is the cult of death, the nursing of decay.... It is true the civilization of the world flatters the strong and the arrogant, but it calls into being only to destroy from within as well as from without." The wages of sin are always death. Charity, justice, morality and their observance are still to-day the source and the development of an eternal life, of the kingdom of God here on earth.

While Skarga foretold the fall of Poland, he also foresaw the political regeneration of this so glorious realm. The people of Poland really suffered much and terribly after its fall, but it also became thereby morally and religiously, as well as politically and

nationally, strengthened. Therefore let us hope that the prophet Hosea's third day is about to dawn for a new Poland. May Skarga's prophecy be fulfilled and a future Poland become a jewel of West-European culture and civilization. May this future Poland recognize most completely its debt to its Savonarola and, by everywhere forming strong personalities and true spiritual values, produce and increase true life. If this takes place, then Skarga has not lived in vain, and his lofty spirit will be in future the warning voice, the teacher and guardian of his people, which he loved so dearly and for which he would have been so willing a sacrifice. A figure like that of Skarga, Father Peter Semenenko C. R. (1813 to 1886), one of the greatest Polish minds and thinkers, calls to his countrymen, "O Polish People, you have a message from God, God tells you it himself! Do not fear, you do live! . . . Be but true to God and you shall live. Do not believe your own fears when it shall appear that you are dying,—no, you are living, you shall live, yes, you must live! You are immortal since you have a message from God. Just be true, and the truer you are the more quickly will that come to pass which has been told to you." (Page 99 of his Polish work on *God's Ideal in Polish History*, Cracow, 1892.) To which we shall add in conclusion his words from page 32: "For the Lord hath graced Poland with a wreath and aureole of sacrifice and martyrdom—and thus consecrated and chosen her as his servant."

HEBREW EDUCATION IN SCHOOL AND SOCIETY.

BY FLETCHER H. SWIFT.

II. WOMAN AND THE EDUCATION OF GIRLS.

"House and riches are an inheritance from fathers:
But a prudent wife is from Jehovah."—Proverbs xix, 14.

"A worthy woman who can find?
For her price is far above rubies."—Proverbs xxxi. 10.

THAT woman held a relatively higher status in earlier than in later times seems evident from the custom, then in vogue, of tracing the descent through the mother⁸⁵ and from the part played in public affairs by such women as Deborah,⁸⁶ Jael,⁸⁷ by the "wise woman"

⁸⁵ The descent of Esau's children is traced through their mothers, Gen. xxxvi. Abraham married Sarah the daughter of his father, but not of his mother.

⁸⁶ Judges iv and v.

⁸⁷ Judges iv. 18-24.

of Tekoa⁸⁸ and by the wise woman of Abel.⁸⁹ But even in the period of nomadism woman was distinctly a chattel and a servant, first of her father and then of her husband who bought her from her father. Progress in civilization which brought an ever enlarging intellectual sphere to man confined woman more and more to narrow fields of religious and domestic duties, and in each of these fields placed upon her restrictions which stamped her as man's religious, intellectual and social inferior.

It is impossible to say when these restrictions began. Some of them probably date back to tribal days and customs. Among the most conspicuous restrictions of later times were those debarring women from wearing the phylacteries, from reciting the shema, from entering the main space of the synagogue.⁹⁰ Any consideration of the religious restrictions and privileges of women must take into account the principle which finds later development in the Talmud that women are excused from fulfilling all positive commandments the fulfilment of which depends on a fixed time or season. The reason for the exemption is obvious. Woman, on account of domestic and physical conditions, would at certain times, be incapacitated for performing rites the observance of which is dependent upon a particular time.

Peritz maintains that these restrictions were distinctly a later development. He writes: "The Hebrews . . . in the earlier periods of their history, exhibit no tendency to discriminate between man and woman so far as regards participation in religious practices, but woman participates in all the essentials of the cult, both as worshiper and official; only in later time, with the progress in the development of the cult itself, a tendency appears, not so much, however, to exclude woman from the cult, as rather to make man prominent in it."⁹¹

Even if Peritz's view be accepted, the fact remains that in the home as well as in the synagogue the position of woman was a subordinate one. The father was given the chief place in religious services and rites. The training and instruction of the sons from their earliest years were in his hands. The mother might assist in the education of the sons but only as a subordinate; her primary

⁸⁸ 2 Samuel xiv. 1-23.

⁸⁹ 2 Samuel xx. 16-22.

⁹⁰ Carl H. Cornill, *The Culture of Ancient Israel*, p. 99.

⁹¹ I. J. Peritz, "Woman in the Ancient Hebrew Cult," *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XVII, 114d. Peritz opposes the commonly accepted views of Stade, Benziger, Nowack and others. It is doubtful whether the evidence he presents will be considered convincing at all points.

duties were the education of the members of the inferior sex, her daughters, and the care of her household.

Daughters were less esteemed and less welcome than sons: "In the Talmud we find three times the saying: 'Well to him whose children are boys, woe to him whose children are girls.' In the Old Testament there is nothing like this directly expressed, but without doubt this is what the Israelite of old thought."⁹²

It must not be supposed, however, that love and respect were lacking. Many passages reveal the love and tenderness in which wife and mother were held. A loving wife is declared to be a gift from Yahweh,⁹³ and a worthy woman is more precious than rubies.⁹⁴ To express the highest degree of sadness the poet writes, "I bowed down mourning, as one that bewaileth his mother."⁹⁵

The following extract from Proverbs xxxi contains the most complete formulation of the ancient Hebrew ideal of womanhood.⁹⁶

"A worthy woman who can find?
For her price is far above rubies.

"The heart of her husband trusteth in her,
And he shall have no lack of gain.

"She doeth him good and not evil
All the days of her life.

"She seeketh wool and flax
And worketh willingly with her hands.

"She is like the merchant-ships;
She bringeth her food from afar.

"She riseth also while it is yet night,
And giveth food to her household,
And their task to her maidens.

"She considereth a field, and buyeth it:
With the fruit of her hands she planteth a vineyard.

"She girdeth her loins with strength,
And maketh strong her arms.

"She perceiveth that her merchandise is profitable;
Her lamp goeth not out by night.

"She layeth her hands to the distaff,
And her hands hold the spindle.

⁹² C. H. Cornill, *The Culture of Ancient Israel*, p. 97a.

⁹³ Proverbs xix. 14.

⁹⁴ Ibid., xxxi. 10.

⁹⁵ Psalms xxxv. 14; C. H. Cornill, *The Culture of Ancient Israel*, p. 93.

⁹⁶ Proverbs xxxi. 10-31.

"She spreadeth out her hand to the poor;
Yea, she reacheth forth her hands to the needy.

"She is not afraid of the snow for her household;
For all her household are clothed with scarlet.

"She maketh for herself carpets of tapestry;
Her clothing is fine linen and purple.

"Her husband is known in the gates,
When he sitteth among the elders of the land.

"She maketh linen garments and selleth them;
And delivereth girdles unto the merchant.

"Strength and dignity are her clothing;
And she laugheth at the time to come.

"She openeth her mouth with wisdom;
And the law of kindness is on her tongue.

"She looketh well to the ways of her household,
And eateth not the bread of idleness.

"Her children rise up, and call her blessed;
Her husband *also*, and he praiseth her, *saying* :

"Many daughters have done worthily,
But thou excellest them all.

"Grace is deceitful, and beauty is vain:
But a woman that feareth Jehovah, she shall be praised.

"Give her of the fruit of her hands;
And let her works praise her in the gates."

In the above passage, the home is represented as woman's highest sphere. There is not the slightest hint of the recognition of any need for higher intellectual development. This is all the more significant as the passage belongs to the Greek period. The most extolled virtues of the woman here described are piety, mercy, industry, foresight, thrift, sound practical judgment and devotion to her husband's interests. She spins and weaves wool, linen, silk and tapestry. She carries on commercial enterprises such as buying a field and selling linen garments. She superintends her household and is devout in the performance of her religious duties.

The home was *par excellence* the institution where girls received their education. The schools, elementary and higher, were open to boys and men only. In some instances girls may have received advanced instruction through private lessons given in the home, but if such cases occurred at all they were undoubtedly rare. Festivals,

the temple and the synagogue were the chief institutions which exerted an educative influence upon girls and women outside the home. Although women were not counted as members of the synagogue and were not permitted to lead in any of its services, nevertheless they were zealous attendants at its services. Many recorded incidents bear witness to the familiarity of the Jewish women with the Scriptures. The term *mater synagogae* appear as a title of honor beside the term *pater synagogae* among inscriptions found in southern Italy.⁹⁷

Woman's chief functions were to honor God, care for her home, train her children, serve and please her husband. The aim of girls' education was to produce efficient and industrious homemakers, obedient, virtuous, godfearing wives and daughters. The details of girls' education varied from generation to generation with changes in habitat, modes of living, social and religious institutions and laws, but the principles determining its scope and limits were to a large extent unchanging. From earliest times it included domestic duties, music, dancing, industrial occupations, religion, manners, and morals. The importance of many of these activities and the nature and method of the instruction and training has been sufficiently set forth in preceding paragraphs to make any further presentation here unnecessary. The sex division of labor and the exclusion of women from many religious duties and responsibilities resulted in many differences in the education of boys and girls. The domestic and industrial occupations of girls and women included cooking, spinning, weaving, dyeing, caring for flocks, guarding vineyards, gathering harvests, grinding grain, caring for children and managing slaves.

Later times added in some cases at least reading, writing and enough knowledge of reckoning, weights, measures and money to enable the prospective wife to carry on the business of her household. It is impossible to state how early and to what extent a knowledge of the three R's became prevalent. The fact that Queen Jezebel is stated to have written letters in Ahab's name to the elders of Naboth's village⁹⁸ might seem an argument for a knowledge of these arts by the women of the monarchical period. But as has already been pointed out, Jezebel may have employed a scribe, and the facts that she was a queen and that she was a foreigner, a Phoenician, forbid any general inferences.

⁹⁷ W. Bacher, "Synagogue," *Hasting's Bible Dictionary*, IV, 640b.

⁹⁸ 1 Kings xxi. 8.

MISCELLANEOUS.

MORALITY BY REGULATION.

IN ANSWER TO C. E. SPARKS.

One of the characteristics of fanaticism is exaggeration. Without knowing it I should not hesitate to say that the author of the article "Religious Education in the Public Schools," is also an enthusiastic Prohibitionist. In his article he displays many of the peculiar earmarks of that amiable body. For instance, the Prohibitionists say a person who drinks is of the scum of the earth. Yet all the great men in American history from Washington to the present were drinking men excepting, of course, such very great men as Rutherford B. Hayes and the distinguished ex-secretary of state from Nebraska.

In line with the Prohibitionists' attitude let me quote from his article as follows: "Some have thought it possible to teach morals apart from religion. Such attempts have proven failures. Now it is almost universally recognized that there is such a vital relation between morals and religion that the two cannot be separated."

Here is a typical exaggeration born of a fanatical turn of mind. Could Mr. Sparks furnish any proof of the failures? Have we any reason to be ashamed of the morality of the American people? Do we not measure up to the highest national standard? Yet we have never taught religious morality in our schools. Such a crass and sweeping condemnation is the height of arrogance and a gratuitous insult to American civilization.

This is like the Prohibitionists' claim that we are a besotted nation and although we have developed the highest civilization the world has ever known, and in a little over a hundred years, the United States has become the richest, the most powerful, the most influential and best Christianized nation in the world. Can a besotted, rum-drinking, beer-guzzling, whiskey-boozing nation do what we have done and are doing right now in this war? But the voice of history means no more to the Prohibitionist than it does to Mr. Sparks.

His religious morality is the panacea for all national ills, just as prohibition is the cure-all for every national disorder from prisons to alms-houses.

Another characteristic of the fanatic is the *a priori* assumption of all facts necessary to prove the subject under consideration. Thus Mr. Sparks, to prove his theory, at least four times in his interesting article reiterates the assertion in variant forms that "the people are demanding in no uncertain terms that it (the public school) perform the work (religious teaching) that has been entrusted to it." The author assumes, because he is of that mind himself, that all other persons whose opinions amount to anything, agree with him that religious training should be a part of public school teaching. He takes for granted since he is himself cock sure right, that the rest of the people are of the same mind. As he thinks so the world thinks, as the world should think in order to fall in with him and his ideas, so it is promptly assumed it does think. As a matter of fact the number of persons who want religious training in public schools is still a safe minority, and the proof of this is that religious

training in public schools is not yet an accomplished fact. The clamor of this minority is not heard, and if heard it is borne with as a nuisance but no heed is given to it.

The Prohibitionist is going to bring on the millennium ahead of God's purpose. By Mr. Sparks's methods all men and women will live "lives of spotless purity, being honest and truthful in all their relations with their fellow-men, and being clean and honorable in thought as well as in word and deed." One cannot say much more about the Son of God, and few men not of the Sparks's order of the *genus homo* ever expect to attain such absolute perfection.

The author speaks of the Decalogue and the Sermon on the Mount as all sufficient for the purpose of religious teaching in public schools. The content of the Decalogue is incorporated in every one of the seven world religions extant to-day, and the Sermon on the Mount would not be acceptable either to the Jew or the free thinking Gentile. Moreover, I must take issue with the assumption that the Bible is the fountain head of all moral law and that, therefore, Bible morality should be taught in public schools. There are stories in the Bible which are not fit for young minds to read, and which it must embarrass the male teacher to teach a mixed class of young men and young women. There are aspects of the moral law in the Bible which if applied and followed to-day would make of us a nation of liars, murderers, thieves, polygamists and adulterers.

As a tax-payer I should strenuously object to have any of my money spent on Bible-made morality. Of course, this is only a personal view point and need not be heeded, for it will not influence Mr. Sparks or those who think as he does.

He speaks truly when he says "the jealousy of the religious bodies toward each other has a tendency to arouse suspicion toward any proposal emanating from one of them." This is a sad arraignment of the morality to be gleaned from religious bodies who, drawing their own morality from the same Bible, look upon each other's special brand with suspicion. It is just this jealousy that kept God out of the Constitution of the United States.

If these religious bodies grow jealous of each other as soon as their conflicting moralities come in contact with each other what kind of religious morality shall we get in the public schools? If these religious bodies cannot agree as to the real simon-pure morality how will the authorities arrive at a satisfactory selection? The author opposes sectarian morality but approves religious morality. What is the difference between the two? Is not religious morality *ipso facto* sectarian? If he means by morality that general line of conduct which when followed will produce the greatest good to the greatest number, and called by the nineteenth century moralists the utilitarian, than I have no objection to its introduction into our schools. That kind of morality is known as ethics and may well be taught in schools or homes with profit to both teacher and pupil.

What the author and his co-religionists want and dare not openly demand is an hour a day devoted to Bible study and to catechism just as is done in the public schools of Germany. Nothing labelled "made in Germany" is likely to be very popular to-day, however unjust such a sweeping condemnation may be in fact.

One of the principles which helped to make this nation great is the separation of Church and State. In this European nations have slowly but surely

joined in the procession, and whenever the change was made liberty thrived and civilization advanced. Let us not be lured into a fool's paradise. Religious training in public schools is not any more the great panacea for all shortcomings than prohibition is the solution of all our problems in criminology.

Let those who cannot behave properly without the sanction of the Bible law stick to the Bible and become and stay good by the fear of hell and the lure of heaven; and let those who can be and remain law-abiding citizens by any other means have their choice of moral compulsion.

The following is of a kind with the rest of the author's extraordinary reasoning: "Knowledge of the laws of God and a reverent respect for His authority makes it necessary for the rights of others to be enforced through the agency of the policeman's club." There never was a religion known, not even that of Mohammed, in the promulgation of which so much gray matter was exhausted, so large an amount of good paper was used, and such vast stores of money were spent as there were in the one which, according to the author's tacit suggestion, represents better than any other religion the laws of God. And yet has there ever been a moment since the world tragedy on Calvary when we were able to dispense with the policeman's club? And does the author really think religious training in public schools will make of that useful weapon a mere ornament, and the policeman's job a jolly sinecure? In this we see again the twist peculiar to all forms of fanaticism. The Prohibitionist proclaims loudly that drink is the great curse of the world, that it disintegrates the human brain, degrades moral fibre and destroys the human soul. And yet what great nation from Babylon to our own did ever a prohibitionist nation create? Was there ever a nation without strong drink? It is this same sort of mind that arrogates to religious training in public schools the power to exterminate the law breaker and abolish the useful policeman's stick.

If I were suggesting an improvement for our public school system I should advocate a special course in will culture. The will is as much a function of the brain as is memory, perception, etc. We develop all these by scientifically selected studies but not a thing is done to develop and strengthen the human will. My idea of a well-regulated mental machine is this: When reason says a thing should be done the will must instantly respond by doing it. If a temptation is to be overcome because reason says it should be, the trained will immediately enters upon whatever action is necessary or stops a tendency to do in inaction. Will training is no more part of religious training than baseball is of Euclid. One does not need Bible texts to develop memory if one prefers some other instrumentality, nor does one need the Decalogue to teach the will that it is unwise and therefore wrong to steal a neighbor's property. We neglect will training entirely and substitute religion and prayer to help us overcome temptation. We are taught to pray "lead us not into temptation," thereby confessing our weak wills to resist. If our wills were in good working order and reason were functioning properly, we should not need to look for external help to keep us out of mischief. It is a confession of mental weakness to look for a God to keep us out of jail. Reason plus will are a safer combination than faith and prayer. Our religious friends want us to continue children even though we are old and gray, and as such we must continue to move about in this world and at the end of leading strings. Religious training may have been necessary before man discovered that he had the faculties of

will and reason under his hair. But now that he knows he possesses these two mighty powers for good it is only necessary to teach him how to use them and religious training will cease to be necessary.

In the last analysis a strong, well-regulated will that can master passion at command is a safer reliance than faith in prayer, for external help may not arrive until the mischief is done, and more prayer and a lot of repentance are necessary to restore the mental equilibrium. And is not a sense of forgiveness a sort of auto-hypnotism due to the anguish consequent on a wrong done? We say after shedding penitential tears and getting our hearts full of the right kind of contrition that God has forgiven us. What actually happens is that we have forgiven ourselves and by saying, "we will go forth and sin no more," get back the lost mental poise.

That may or may not be so but this much I know, I congratulate the American people that Mr. Sparks has worked out "A Tentative Plan" in such hopeless unworkableness that there is no danger of it ever being adopted by anybody with any sense of proportion left in his head.

And therein lies the great joy in Mr. Sparks's article.

ARTHUR J. WESTERMAYR.

BOOK REVIEW.

PLATONISM. By *Paul Elmer More*. Princeton University Press: Princeton, 1917. Pp. 307. Price \$1.75 net.

Paul Elmer More has written a book on *Platonism*, in which he concentrates himself on the ethical significance which dominates all of Plato's discussions and may be regarded as the mainspring of his philosophy. Though our author thinks that "for the present at least, the dogmas of religion have lost their hold, while the current philosophy of the schools has become in large measure a quibbling of specialists on technical points of minor importance, or, where serious, too commonly has surrendered to that flattery of the instinctive elements of human nature which is the very negation of mental and moral discipline," he presents his views on Plato because he trusts that "only through the centralizing force of religious faith or through its equivalent in philosophy can the intellectual life regain its meaning and authority for earnest men.

He bears in mind that Plato formed the origins and the early environment of Christianity, and in this spirit he offers to the reading public his book.

He treats this subject as follows: The Three Socratic Theses; The Socratic Quest; The Platonic Quest; The Socratic Paradox; The Dualism of Plato; Psychology; The Doctrine of Ideas; Science and Cosmogony; Metaphysics; Conclusion, etc. His "aim is not so much to produce a work of history—as to write what a Greek Platonist would have called a *Protrepticus*, an invitation, that is, to the practice of philosophy," for he knows "that the current of thought runs against" him "and not with" him to-day. He would especially "touch the minds of a few of our generous college youth who drift through supposedly utilitarian courses and enter the world with no better preparation against its distractions than a vague and soon spent yearning for social service and the benumbing trust in mechanical progress." In this he has our hearty commendation. κ

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THE GOSPEL OF BUDDHA

By

DR. PAUL CARUS

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This edition is a photographic reproduction of the *edition de luxe* which was printed in Leipsic in 1913 and ready for shipment in time to be caught by the embargo Great Britain put on all articles exported from Germany. Luckily two copies of the above edition escaped, and these were used to make the photographic reproduction of this latest edition. While the Buddhist Bible could not in any way be considered a contraband of war yet the publishers were forced to hold back many hundred orders for the book on account of orders in council of Great Britain.

When the book was first published His Majesty, the King of Siam, sent the following communication through his private secretary:

"Dear Sir: I am commanded by His Most Gracious Majesty, the King of Siam, to acknowledge, with many thanks, the receipt of your letter and the book, *The Gospel of Buddha*, which he esteems very much; and he expresses his sincerest thanks for the very hard and difficult task of compilation you have considerably undertaken in the interest of our religion. I avail myself of this favorable opportunity to wish the book every success."

His Royal Highness, Prince Chandradat Chudhadharn, official delegate of Siamese Buddhism to the Chicago Parliament of Religions, writes:

"As regards the contents of the book, and as far as I could see, it is one of the best Buddhist Scriptures ever published. Those who wish to know the life of Buddha and the spirit of his Dharma may be recommended to read this work which is so ably edited that it comprises almost all knowledge of Buddhism itself."

The book has been introduced as a reader in private Buddhist schools of Ceylon. Mrs. Marie H. Higgins, Principal of the Musaeus School and Orphanage for Buddhist Girls, Cinnamon Gardens, Ceylon, writes as follows:

"It is the best work I have read on Buddhism. This opinion is endorsed by all who read it here. I propose to make it a text-book of study for my girls."

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READINGS FROM THE UPANISHADS.

PAUL W. COTTON.

"Truth is the solemn vow of the good."

—*Sanatsugatiya*.

I.

GOETHE, in the "Italian Journey," writes from Rome: "In the evening we came upon the Coliseum, when it was already twilight. When one looks at it, all else seems little. The edifice is so vast that one cannot hold the image of it in one's soul: in memory we think it smaller, and then return to it again to find it every time greater than before." It is with similar feelings that the modern mind wanders through the magnificent ruins of ancient speculation.

There is a grandeur about the Upanishads that is not surpassed and but rarely equalled by any other book in the world. They are a gigantic, primeval forest of thought. There are trees in this forest that tower into the heavens, trees whose roots clutch the center of the earth, and there is a vast growth of matted underbrush whose inextricable confusion clogs the footsteps of the soul.

We have lost the key to so much of it, we impatient ones who are only too ready to clap the label of absurdity on all that we cannot understand, on all that he who runs shall not read. But the Upanishads are not for those who are in a hurry. There are yet in this world poor, time-starved souls who insist on seeing Rome in a day, who vainly endeavor to pinch the pyramids between the leaves of their Baedeker. It were well for them to keep clear of the Upanishads. They were not born to follow the star and they will never find the babe in the manger.

Let the earnest seeker who has opened these pages plod on patiently across the dreary sands of vanished rite and ceremony.

Many wells of living water lie ahead of him. By and by there is a flash of green, the oasis appears and a voice speaks to him out of the sky:—

“The intelligent, whose body is spirit, whose form is light, whose thoughts are true, whose nature is like ether (omnipresent and indivisible), from whom all works, all desires, all sweet odors, and tastes proceed; he who embraces all this, who never speaks, and is never surprised.

“He is my self within the heart, smaller than a corn of rice, smaller than a corn of barley, smaller than a mustard seed, smaller than a canary seed or the kernel of a canary seed. He also is my self within the heart, greater than the earth, greater than the sky, greater than heaven, greater than all these worlds.

“He from whom all works, all desires, all sweet odors and tastes proceed, who embraces all this, who never speaks and who is never surprised, he, my self within the heart, is that Brahman(n). When I shall have departed from hence, I shall obtain him (that Self). He who has this faith has no doubt; thus said Sandilya, yea, thus he said.”

What has happened? The soul feels a deep sense of peace and security steal over it slowly but inevitably, like the light of day entering a darkened room. It knows itself with a divine instinct to be “beneath the shadow of a great rock in a weary land.” All wars and rumors of war are very far away.

These words are the key to the Upanishads. Man has forgotten much that they taught, he cannot forget his vision of eternity. That is why the Upanishads still appeal, that is why they have withstood the tides of time for 3000 years. The Hindu sages that uttered them had a spiritual penetration that burned like a mountain of fire. Here is that “white radiance of eternity” of which Shelley sang. This vision is aloof from the world of phenomena only because it is verily the Immortal, the Thing-in-Itself, and sometimes its weight of pregnant utterance becomes too heavy for the medium of language and withdraws into the dim distance like scornful thunder lost in limitless skies.

“The sun does not shine there, nor the moon and the stars, nor these lightnings, and much less this fire. When he shines, everything shines after him; by his light all this is lightened.”

It is of the Self they are speaking, that Self of which man is the temporary representative, yet eternal fulfilment. And because

they held the truth these unfathomable winds of thought have risen out of the inaccessible realms of the Himalayas and passed over the world.

II.

You will find eternity in the Bible but it is an eternity conceived and complicated by considerations foreign to the thought of the Upanishads. The nearest approach to them is Job, and how utterly alien to Hindu philosophy are the conceptions of Job! Job strives with God, he has words with the Eternal and after futile arguments comes to know his own nothingness. There is throughout the Old Testament a distorted sense of personal relationship to the Deity which attains its full perversion in the Psalms.

In the Upanishads man is never, like Job, reduced to nihilism and despair. He cannot be dazed and deluded by appearances since his knowledge of the Self saves him. It is his lack of knowledge of God that drives Job to distraction. A Hindu Job would have consoled himself with some such thought as this:

"I know that great person of sunlike luster beyond the darkness. A man who knows him truly passes over death; there is no other path to go." It is knowledge, not faith, that saves.

Despite their intimate revelations of God the Upanishads view the Creator, as it were, from a distance. He is generally spoken of in the third person and is rendered chiefly by wondrous negatives. There is an indefinable haze of wonder over these pages which simplicity serves only to enhance. You are led within the shrine, the veil is drawn aside, but the seraph nevertheless remains a seraph.

Every religion or philosophy is an attempt, more or less successful, to fathom the godhead. The Upanishads contain the most beautiful presentation of God ever achieved by humanity. Science has not passed beyond these thoughts, science has but confirmed them. The Great Mystery is still as beauteous and mysterious as ever and this book is eloquent with the burden of the Great Mystery.

It is because man has ventured to speak of that of which he has no sensorial cognizance that the world is so great and so wonderful. The scientific truth followed the intellectual intuition. So knowledge came into being and knowledge is salvation. Such is the doctrine of the Upanishads. It is from this great root that Buddhism sprang. The best of Buddhism is to be found in the Upanishads. From this root also has risen our science and philosophy and the "X"

that hovers ever beyond them is revealed in these old treatises, in so far as man may speak of the Unknowable.

The doctrine of the real and the ideal has never been more clearly stated or more satisfactorily adjusted. The sublime conception which is so insisted on here: that beneath this fabric of appearance we call the world stand the pillars of eternity,—this is the *Leitmotif* of all great thinkers from Plato to Carlyle and seems to have been from early times one of the ruling ideas of mankind.

The far-sighted seers of the Upanishads dared to assert at a time when science was unknown the eternal unity of God and nature, the certain proof of which is the greatest achievement of modern thought. The Upanishads are the first and most profound poetic exposition of the monistic doctrine.

Their spirit is the spirit of praise and their truth is wrapped in a veil of poetic beauty that is like the changing light on sunlit seas. On the shores of the infinite they have built their altars and there they chant forever the endless peace of the Unconscious. The prayers of the Upanishads are beyond good and evil.

They do not shut their eyes to the bitterness of life and the struggle of existence. "Man is sacrifice," they say. "The first twenty-four years are the morning libation." But there is little in them about the suffering of mankind. The miracle of life has for them swallowed up all sorrow. It is enough that man can see and understand. Truth is the sovereign balm, and he who can find no comfort in truth will never appreciate the wonder and beauty of life. To these sages the world is ever a *new* world and their wisdom comes forth with the delight and naïveté of the child. This is the special happiness of early civilizations.

In that fine dialogue in the Khandogya Upanishad between Uddalaka and his son Svetaketu, the father is asked: How can this universe which has the form and name of earth, etc., be produced from the Sat (the Self) which is subtile, and has neither form nor name? He replies:

"Fetch me from thence a fruit of the Nyagrodha tree."

"Here is one, Sir."

"Break it."

"It is broken, Sir."

"What do you see there?"

"These seeds, almost infinitesimal."

"Break one of them."

"It is broken, Sir."

"What do you see there?"

"Not anything, Sir."

The father said: "My son, that subtile essence which you do not see there, of that very essence, this great Nyagrodha tree exists."

"Believe it, my son. That which is the subtile essence, in it all that exists has its self. It is the True. It is the Self, and thou, O Svetaketu, art it."

What could be more simple, more deep, more true? In such flashes of miraculous insight is the eternal made manifest, the direct relation of man to the universe of which he is a part.

Here it is not a question of sin and atonement, of repentance and contrition. Emotionalism is severely absent; the intellect rules. All that is demanded is a heart hungry for knowledge and ears that do really hear the truth. "When the intellectual aliment has been purified, the whole nature becomes purified." Jesus meant the same thing when he said: "The light of the body is in the eye: if therefore thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light." But it is a far cry from those words in John: "In my father's house are many mansions. I go to prepare a place for you," to that sentence in the Svetasvatara Upanishad: "That which is beyond this world is without form and without suffering." Here lies the typical line of demarcation between the Christian and Hindu philosophy.

Somehow the confident assertions of Paul with his glorification of a personal immortality pale before this superb doctrine of a cosmic identity. For this alone is commensurate with the hugeness of life: that a man should know he is part of the World-Soul and that this Soul lives and speaks in him; that his strength lies in the fact of his being one with nature and not above and apart from her. Beside such a conception the eternity of personality seems a trivial matter.

Do we need more than the present world war to convince us that the life of the individual is of comparative insignificance compared with the mysterious movements of race which animate mankind? The individual is but a spoke in the wheel that is ever rolling toward an unimaginable goal and it is only in man and the spirit of man that he lives eternally. If the individual would feel rock-bottom beneath his feet let him take to heart this admonition of the Katha Upanishad:

"The wise who knows the Self as bodiless within the bodies, as unchanging among things, as great and omnipresent, does never

grieve." Or if he will have it from his Bible he can turn to the words of the Founder of Christendom who eight centuries later enunciated the same truth: "This is eternal life: that they might know thee, the only true God."

III.

The Upanishads present no system of ethics, they have no ten Commandments to offer. They were written by men who were already masters of themselves. They do not plead or inveigh; they are a calm intellectual presentment of truth. In their treatment of holy things they lack the intrusive familiarity of Mohammed, the tender sentiment of Jesus. There is a certain reserve in their lofty eloquence, a diffidence in the face of a great subject which could only be felt by the finest of minds. And at times a breath comes from them cold and unreachable as the peaks of the Himalayas and eternal and pure as their snows.

Yes, God is indeed great, but he is great precisely because he is non-human and passionless, beyond love and beyond hate. He is "smaller than the kernel of a canary seed" but also "greater than all these worlds." In his creation they find him everywhere and in the spirit of the Orient they cry exotically:

"Thou art the dark-blue bee, thou art the green parrot with red eyes, thou art the thunder-cloud, the seasons, the seas. Thou art without beginning, because thou art infinite, thou from whom all worlds are born."

Men come forth from him as bubbles from the sea, as sparks from the fire, and return to him again, but men are lost only to find themselves in him.

"If the killer thinks that he kills, if the killed thinks that he is killed, they do not understand; for this one does not kill, nor is that one killed."

All is eternal life. "There is one eternal thinker thinking non-eternal thoughts." The forms may fade and crumble but there is no cessation or diminution.

Such are the greatest religious and philosophic thoughts of the greatest race of history. The halo of the infinite is never far away from this atmosphere. It is a remarkable sign of man's intellectual preeminence that in so early a stage of his cultural development he should have seen so clearly and so far. These sages already realize the eternal dissatisfaction of men.

"Man is the sea rising beyond the whole world. Whatever he reaches he wishes to go beyond. If he reaches the sky he wishes to go beyond. If he should reach that heavenly world, he would wish to go beyond."

These primitive images have in them the largeness and scope of Homer.

And shall man then ever attain? We speak of progress but the world rolls round and round like a wheel, and man is after all much the same, yesterday and to-day. Like a child building a house of cards, he rears through the ages with patient, meticulous care vast edifices of civilization and then with his mailed fist hurls them once more into chaos and destruction with a sort of fiendish delight.

As the river of time flows on it becomes apparent that in the ultimate analysis progress proves to be wholly spiritual and intellectual, and the inner conviction of the sages of India grows more and more to be a world force for the propagation of truth, all the securer because their thought rests firmly upon the axis of the macrocosm and not the microcosm.

The light of the Orient has dawned upon many minds. Schopenhauer found no study so beneficial and elevating as the Upanishads. The enlightened souls of the western world can regard only with the deepest reverence and admiration the supreme wisdom that could write: "There is no image of Him whose name is Great Glory."

In the Brihadaranyaka Upanishad King Ganaka, being granted a boon by the Brahman Yagnavalkya, questioned him thus:

"'Yagnavalkya,' he said, 'what is the light of man?'"

"Yagnavalkya replied: 'The sun, O King; for having the sun alone for his light, man sits, moves about, does his work, and returns.'

"Ganaka Vaideha said: 'So indeed it is, O Yagnavalkya.'

"Ganaka Vaideha said: 'When the sun has set, O Yagnavalkya, what is then the light of man?'"

"Yagnavalkya replied: 'The moon indeed is his light; for, having the moon alone for his light, man sits, moves about, does his work, and returns.'

"Ganaka Vaideha said: 'So indeed it is, O Yagnavalkya.'

"Ganaka Vaideha said: 'When the sun has set, O Yagnavalkya, and the moon has set, what is the light of man?'"

"Yagnavalkya replied: 'Fire indeed is his light; for, having

fire alone for his light, man sits, moves about, does his work, and returns.'

"Ganaka Vaideha said: 'When the sun has set, O Yagnavalkya, and the moon has set, and the fire is gone out, what then is the light of man?'

"Yagnavalkya replied: 'Sound indeed is his light; for, having sound alone for his light, man sits, moves about, does his work, and returns. Therefore, O King, when one cannot see even one's own hand, yet when a sound is raised, one goes toward it.'

"Ganaka Vaideha said: 'So indeed it is. O Yagnavalkya.'

"Ganaka Vaideha said: 'When the sun has set, O Yagnavalkya, and the moon has set, and the fire out, and the sound hushed, what is then the light of man?'

"Yagnavalkya said: 'The Self indeed is his light; for, having the Self alone as his light, man sits, moves about, does his work, and returns.'

"Ganaka Vaideha said: 'Who is that Self?'"

Let us answer him out of the Khandogya Upanishad:

"That Self is a bank, a boundary, so that these worlds may not be confounded. Day and night do not pass that bank, nor old age, death and grief; neither good nor evil deeds. All evil-doers turn back from it, for the world of Brahman is free from all evil.

"Therefore he who has crossed that bank, if blind, ceases to be blind; if wounded, ceases to be wounded; if afflicted, ceases to be afflicted. Therefore, when that bank has been crossed, night becomes day indeed, for the world of Brahman is lighted up once for all."

Note: (The quotations in this article are from the translation of the chief Upanishads by Prof. Max Müller, issued by the Oxford Press.)

THE UPANISHADS.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE Upanishads form perhaps the most classical book of religious literature in the world, and no one who has not studied their problem can really claim to have understood the central proposition of religious thought. Mr. Paul W. Cotton presents to us the beauty of the Upanishads with an enthusiasm that naturally seizes a man who grasps their underlying idea for the first time. Chris-

tianity has nothing like it, as Mr. Cotton points out, and so the very kernel of religion, a treatment of the nature of the soul, is lacking in the most important and most powerful religion that is now spreading over all the world. In fact if Christianity wants to fathom the problem of the soul in its philosophical significance its thinkers will have to go back to India, where this subject has been attacked in the most systematic way and is well presented in both its affirmative and its negative aspect. The former, presented in the Upanishads, is best formulated by the Hindu sage Shankara-carya, the latter by Gautama, the Shakya sage, who on having solved the world problem claims the title of the Enlightened One, the Buddha.

The question is the same as the problem of unity, a problem which was also raised by the Greek sages and received a special treatment by Plato. It is the same question which was treated by Kant in his problem of the thing-in-itself and his solution was similar to that of the Upanishads, that the thing-in-itself is unknown and unknowable—a solution which led some of the followers of Kant to say boldly that the thing-in-itself does not exist. This interpretation of Kantism agrees exactly with the view of Buddha who came to the conclusion that the self is non-existent.

Further I would say that science reaches the same conclusion, and modern psychology is for that reason called the psychology without a soul. Mr. Cotton thinks in his enthusiasm for the Upanishad theory that science upholds it and proves it, but the fact is that the theory of the self as an independent entity is mystical and absolutely untenable. The old Brahman conception of the soul is an illusion, while the Buddhist view is an anticipation of a truly scientific conception.

The difficulty may be reduced to simple terms. To use the Kantian method, we are puzzled in the face of all things with which we are confronted by the question, "What is the thing-in-itself?" We see a tree. It consists of roots, trunk, branches and foliage. The whole of the tree is a combination of all its parts, and these parts cooperate among themselves. Is there a tree in itself independent of its parts, or is the cooperation and combination of its parts the tree? Science does not uphold the idea that there is a tree in itself, that this tree in itself is a mystical and spiritual entity, a thing which is eternal and everlasting, world without end, that has never originated and will never pass away.

In a certain sense there is a tree in itself, and it exists, but not as an entity. The tree in itself is a possibility. It has existed as

a pure form in itself. It is the Platonic idea of a tree, and this idea of a tree is not a concrete existence, but a mathematical possibility. In this sense the realm of ideas is eternal and everlasting. It has never originated. It exists in potential combinations, and such possibilities are as eternal and everlasting as the truths of mathematics. Briefly, there are no things-in-themselves but there are forms-in-themselves.

In mathematics the triangle is a definite combination of three lines and there are many possible triangles. There is the right-angled triangle, the obtuse-angled triangle and the acute-angled triangle, with all possible combinations of angles and lines. The rules about the triangles, the results of definite combinations of lines, are studied in geometry and trigonometry. What we study in mathematics is not concrete definite material objects but possible combinations—pure forms, and these combinations can be realized in the actual world.

The same is true of other forms such as conic sections, which are actualized in astronomy. The astronomer can calculate the courses of planets and satellites. He can predict the position of a star from to-day to to-morrow and the night after to-morrow. The laws of mathematics are absolute and reliable and the same is true of all forms.

In the domain of living beings we find combinations originate as specks of living substance, and our physiology regards them as combinations just as crystals or non-living matter form combinations. We see that the cooperation of parts produces new and higher units. These units originate and decay. They pass away as soon as the cooperation stops. Buddha has pronounced the rule that all combinations which originate through cooperation of parts originate and pass away. They combine not in order to be animated by a thing-in-itself that is incarnated in them, but their cooperation is the reality which produces the union. Here the Brahman philosophy steps in and says, "the union of these parts is the real thing." It is, to use Kant's expression, the thing-in-itself, or as the Brahman says, the self or the *atman*.

The truth of cooperation producing new things is also visible in the work of human activity. A wagon is constructed by fitting four wheels on axles, by further putting a box on the axles and in front of it a tongue for furnishing a place to hitch the horses. The whole is a wagon, or, as the Buddhist philosopher in "The Questions of King Milinda" sets forth, it produces a new unit which exists although there is no wagon in itself.

The same is true of modern inventions where the cooperation is more visible such as a steam engine or a watch. There is no steam engine in itself but the cooperation of its parts makes it do work by producing a unit fit for some definite purpose.

The watchmaker does not take a watch in itself and fit it with bodily parts; but the parts of a watch, its wheels and its cogs, its dial and hands, are put together, and as soon as the spring is wound and placed in its right position the watch runs and indicates the time. To believe in a watch in itself would be silly, and there is no reason whatever to think that any living being is an atman or a thing-in-itself, which only uses its members for performing some work.

Buddhism denies the existence of a thing-in-itself, of an atman, of a self, but does not deny the importance of the cooperating whole which the parts of a thing produce. The unit produced in this way in a human body is the soul, and this soul consists in the function or, to use the Buddhist term, in the *karma* which it performs. Karma is transferable by inheritance and education, and it is the kind of karma a man does which characterizes him, and the realization which human beings try to accomplish is the essential portion of a man. In this sense Buddhism finds its application in the moral sphere of active life, while according to Vedantic Brahmanism the deeds of a man do not touch him but pass by and are of transient significance. The immortal soul remains what it is and has been through all eternity, a kind of small god who mysteriously has arisen out of the unknown depths of being and will continue to exist without let or hindrance. Buddhism, on the contrary, insists on the significance of deeds. What a man does he is. He changes his existence by changing his works. He lives in his works, and his works are himself. There is an atman or self, but this atman is a temporary cooperation of the parts of which the man exists, the interaction of his thoughts, the doing of his deeds and the purpose which he pursues. There is no atman that exists independently without his personality.

There is no need here to point out all the distinctions between Buddhism in its theory of the *anatman* and Vedantic Brahmanism in its trust in an eternal atman or a metaphysical thing-in-itself independent of a man's personality. We have discussed this problem again and again in *The Open Court* and in other publications. We will only say here in connection with the publication of Mr. Cotton's article that the imposing beauty of the atman theory preached in the Upanishads is an illusion which has fascinated

some of our best philosophers in India as well as in the Occidental world. We believe that the problem ought to be weighed and considered, but we trust that any clear-headed thinker will reject the theory. It is a question of either there is a thing-in-itself or there is not, *tertium non datur*. And in this dilemma we see no other solution than the Buddhist conception of the theory of the soul.

BEETHOVEN'S NINTH SYMPHONY.¹

BY BARON VON DER PFORDTEN.

CLOSE to Beethoven's *Missa solennis*² in miraculous power stands another of his works, the Ninth Symphony in D minor, Op. 125, known briefly as the "Ninth." There is hardly another composition about which there has been so much controversy as about this one. There is a superabundance of literature dealing with the subject, and the layman is almost submerged in the flood of attempts at its elucidation. The most serious feature is that the opinion is thus spread abroad again and again that the Ninth Symphony is quite peculiar, and if comprehensible at all can be understood only by the aid of complicated explanations. For this reason I shall here attempt to simplify its exposition as much as possible. Our course shall lead, as always, from the outside inward, from the external form to the content of the symphony.

It has been authentically proved that ever since the year 1793 Beethoven had it in mind to elaborate the theme of Schiller's well-known "Hymn to Joy." To all appearances he was so persistently affected by this hymn that he could not get away from it. Nevertheless, thirty years went by before the plan was consummated, and indeed quite differently from the way originally sketched. For instance, Beethoven's first idea had been to set the whole poem to music. It would then have become a cantata arranged for solo voices, chorus and orchestra, and at all events we would have had a magnificent work in it; scruples with regard to style would hardly have been aroused. It could then have been a matter only of feeling Beethoven's conception with him and comprehending from it his arrangement into form, just as with all his creations. But now he surprises us with something quite unexpected. He puts separate

¹ Translated from the German by Lydia G. Robinson.

² For Baron von der Pfordten's appreciative analysis of this remarkable composition see *The Open Court* for September, 1910.

selected passages of the text to music and inserts them into the finale of a symphony which has simultaneously arisen in the meantime. This is something new which it is well to notice particularly. Beethoven's fantasy for piano, chorus and orchestra, Op. 80, may be regarded as the forerunner of the Ninth Symphony, but we need not enter into it here.

If we examine the construction of the symphony closely it will be a long time before we discover the new element which perplexes us. The first movement is an *Allegro ma non troppo, un poco maestoso* in two-four time. It may safely be said that the theme itself and its construction are particularly rich, interesting and significant. In form it is one movement of a symphony, and as such it is not hard to understand, at least for those who have approached it through a progressive study of Beethoven's works. I purposely refrain from speaking here of the emotional content; we shall come to that later.

The second movement, a *Molto vivace* in three-four time, may be compared in style to the first movement of the Symphony in C minor. Here too we have a very short theme, only one measure, only three notes in an octave interval, more rhythmical than melodious. From this develops a tempestuous *Scherzo*. In place of the trio there comes a sharply contrasted *presto alla breve* in D major. The Coda is audaciously dramatic, a regular hunt; but we are familiar with this style from earlier experience.

The third movement is not only inexpressibly beautiful but it is also remarkable for a particularly delightful lucidity. There are two parts, an *Adagio molto e cantabile* B flat in common time and an *Andante moderato* in D in three-four time. If the director can trust his orchestra to take the first part very broadly, then in spite of the prescribed acceleration of the tempo the second will conform throughout to the unity of the movement. The two parts alternate, then are played with variations and completed. A counter theme like a fanfare comes in between. The whole thing is wonderful but not in the least unclear or hard to understand. Up to this point we have a symphony in proper form.

Now I would like to ask what auditor, not knowing what comes next, would expect anything different from the usual finale? Suppose Beethoven had made the fourth movement of this symphony also purely instrumental and only for the orchestra, who would have taken offence? After these first three movements would any one have had the feeling that now a vocal finale must follow? Honestly, are not even connoisseurs surprised at it over and over

again every time they hear it? At every performance of the Ninth Symphony do they not feel that the conclusion is doubtful? Let us not criticise it yet, but it seems certain that the climax is not a natural one. Let us see how it is brought about.

The D minor sixth resounds *fortissimo* with a sustained B flat passing to A, a piercing dissonance which seems all the harsher because we are entirely unprepared for it. It is like an agonizing outcry of the whole orchestra, the strongest conceivable contrast to the heavenly transfiguration of the preceding movement. And if this beginning is bewildering the following *unisono* of the basses is not less so, bearing the indication "In the character of a recitative, but in *tempo*." Here Beethoven dramatizes the single groups of his orchestra for a musical treatment whose course can hardly be described in words, much less interpreted. The outcry is reiterated with increased power and a second recitative of the basses replies. Like a memory from the remote past sounds the motive of the first movement, after a vehement recitative the theme of the second, and after an inquiring recitative the melody of the third. One more recitative of the basses of an almost threatening energy is followed by an entirely new idea rendered by the oboes, the motto for the finale. The basses interrupt this with a recitative which later on we shall hear again, and now for the first time the D major melody is played clear through, first by the bass softly and mysteriously, then taken up by the orchestra with increasing fulness and grandeur until it is completed in brilliant splendor.

Let us pause a moment. What does all this mean? It is like a controversy of the instruments one with another. Can we guess its import? Kretzschmar describes it delightfully. He says it is like a chaos from which the orchestra is seeking its way out. Thus Beethoven permits us to live through with him the creation of the finale, the birth of his theme, his tonal process of becoming.

The subject of the symphony is joy. It begins with the expression of joylessness in the first movement, in a plaintive and sorrowful discernment of it. This naturally impels one to free himself from such a condition; but in this he is not to succeed, for although the second movement is filled with demoniac humor and the third breathes a divine transfiguration, yet both remain far removed from joy. Hence the outbreak of despair at the beginning of the fourth movement, and hence the convulsive efforts of the orchestra to find the way of salvation.

There is something to be said for such a program. It is musical; it is an emotional program, not an objective one. The hearer is not

conscious of it from the beginning. He has no premonition that the first three movements have such a meaning.

Suddenly at the finale there is a change; the orchestra falls back into despair. The outcry is repeated, but much more passionately in a horrible chord which gives forth all seven tones of the harmonic D minor scale at once, the diminished seventh, C sharp-E-G-B, on top of the sixth, F-A-D. Now comes the determining change. The basses do not answer in recitative, but a baritone voice sings, "O friends, not these noises! but let us strike up a pleasanter and more joyous song!" These words are Beethoven's own. Their melody is almost exactly the same as that of the last recitative of the basses in the introduction. Here as there follows the redeeming D major melody, but now it is not played by the orchestra but is sung by the soloists and chorus: *Freude, schöner Götterfunken*, "Sing then, of the heav'n descended."

This is the moment when the symphony becomes a cantata. The orchestra has not proved equal to its task. It cannot banish joylessness; it cannot capture joy. Singing must come to its aid. This means nothing more nor less than that absolute instrumental music and the symphonic form are not sufficient. Beethoven must call other means of expression to his aid; and these he finds in song, the union of word and sound.

Now the question is, if this is what Beethoven meant to say, did he succeed in convincing us? I think the honest answer of every auditor must be, No, not in convincing. The immediate impression at every performance, even on those who are well acquainted with it, is one of surprise. Spirited, magnificent, bold and new though we may call it, there is nothing compelling in it, nothing positively overwhelming as Beethoven always is in his other work. It is an experiment and acts as such upon every one whose sensibility is not dulled by familiarity and whose judgment is not in principle obscured by prejudice. The fact is that Beethoven originally wished to set the "Hymn to Joy" to music and then conceived the idea of uniting it with a symphony. This he did, and now we have it before us as he intended it, but we perceive this intention and so it seems to us to be intentional caprice. He must himself have felt that the combination of instrumental and vocal music, of symphony and cantata, of musical poetry and poetry in word and sound meant a break in style. Therefore he attempted to make it plausible, but instead of concealing the gap or bridging it over in the least he shows it to us the more distinctly in all its boldness.

But when we have reached the summit without falling into the

yawning chasm, then a world opens up before us of such splendor and beauty as only Beethoven could reveal. It is remarkable that in the first three movements we had not the remotest idea of any approaching vocal music, but now we hardly give a thought to the orchestra. The cantata triumphs over the symphony. The way this joyous hymn develops is truly wonderful. As early as in the passage, *Und der Cherub steht vor Gott*, "And the Seraph dwells with God," we are given a glimpse into the sacred depths of emotion. The *Adagio non troppo ma divoto*:

<i>Ihr stürzt nieder, Millionen?</i>	"O ye millions, kneel before Him,
<i>Ahnest du den Schöpfer, Welt?</i>	Tremble, Earth, before thy Lord,"

is a veritable prayer. Here Beethoven leads us before his God, and this God is so exalted that it is bliss merely to divine him. But at the same time he is a "loving father" to us all, and therefore our adoring veneration must at the same time be the embrace of all humanity.

<i>Seid umschlungen, Millionen,</i>	"O ye millions, I embrace you,
<i>Diesen Kuss der ganzen Welt,</i>	Here's a joyful kiss for all!"

is sung in an *Andante maestoso* in a theme of fascinating power. Now Beethoven's idealism is disclosed as we have heard it in the *Fidelio*:

<i>Alle Menschen werden Brüder</i>	"Brothers all who joy delighteth
<i>Wo dein sanfter Flügel weilt,</i>	Reconciler sweet of hearts!"

All outward sundering must yield; new magic joins what was torn apart. The realm of joy is the realm of brotherhood; only love can bestow it upon us. Thus at last in one grand torrent Beethoven unites the two main themes, the melodies of joy and of the kiss of brotherhood. Here is a typical example of the combined poetical and musical effect and the significance of counterpoint. When the soprano sings, *Freude, schöner Götterfunken*, "Sing, then, of the heav'n descended," and the bass at the same time, *Seid umschlungen, Millionen*, "O ye millions, I embrace you," we have hardly a chance to notice how artistically the effect has been produced. It harmonizes as if it had been determined and constructed for this purpose from the beginning; we perceive it not only as possible, interesting and full of genius, but rather indeed as plausible, as even necessary. Here the master convinces us, but he cannot in the least satisfy himself. As in the *Missa solennis*, incredible things are expected of the vocalists. It is hardly possible to produce everything as Beethoven heard it in his mind and

exacted of the performers without regard to practicability. He composed for an ideal chorus, for ideal soloists, and the best that can be done is to come as near to this ideal as possible. The staggering *Prestissimo* in which this work ends is particularly venturesome.

So we leave this work with a spirit of thankfulness to and admiration for its creator, if not with the unrestricted unquestioned satisfaction which his other works afford. It seems to me that it is no wonder that the Ninth Symphony continued long and often to be misunderstood and unappreciated. On the contrary it is a wonder that it could finally be performed at all. And the greatest wonder of all is that it is so popular to-day, so often performed and so universally applauded. The conspicuous success of this particular work tends to make us reflect. Have we really advanced so far that we can comprehend it easily and positively? Have we solved its riddles? Do we understand all of it without exception, or have we at last ceased to be conscious that it is so very extraordinary? Has custom so dulled our perception or its problematic grandeur? I am much afraid that there is prevalent, to say the least, a very general false modesty in the affair. People are ashamed to confess what they will hardly admit to themselves. They would be thought greatly behind the times and this they are loath to appear. "Was it maybe some vanity?" as Pagner asks in the "Meistersinger." Oh yes, that too plays a part. Let us drop them both. Only the man who is honorable enough to confess that he is a doubter and inquirer will attain true understanding. And if any one believes it is not very important how we interpret the Ninth Symphony, let his attention be directed to the deductions which may be drawn, and which rightly or wrongly have actually been drawn from it.

To those who agree with the outline of the Ninth Symphony as I have sketched it many beautiful things remain to be said about the emotional content of the separate movements. No one has explained them more poetically than Richard Wagner who tries to guide the hearer to their comprehension through selected passages from Goethe's *Faust*. Indeed we may designate the moods in the Ninth Symphony as Faustian. Still it is noteworthy that Wagner expressly declares that Goethe's verses have not the slightest direct connection with Beethoven's composition. The nature of the more elevated instrumental music consists in giving expression in tones to what is inexpressible in words. He therefore makes use of the poet's words only by comparison, only as a very general indication,

and probably does not expect to accomplish by them a thorough understanding so much as merely to produce a sympathetic emotion. In this sense we may welcome his program. He was fitted to interpret the Ninth Symphony as hardly any one else has been. Everything that he writes about it is instructive and worthy of attention even to the smallest technical details.

For this reason we are all the more curious to discover how he will solve the critical question of the last movement. He writes in so many words: "The progress of the musical composition demands a crisis, a crisis which can only be pronounced in human speech." And he admires the way in which the master by the convulsive recitative of the bass instruments prepares for the approach of speech and human voices as a necessity to be expected. But this only indicates the problem correctly; it does not explain it. We ask, "Why is not instrumental music sufficient here? Why is it not adequate just for joy when it has proved so for heroism (in the *Eroica*)?" Why must "the last attempt to express by instrumental music alone a positive, clearly defined and untroubled joyous happiness" fail so abruptly? Were not Beethoven's dramatics of the soul sufficient for the perfection of his ideas in other instances? We have observed again and again how the language of his orchestra rises to such definiteness that we might feel that it must blossom into words. We have at the same time however convinced ourselves that no one could find such words. Now Beethoven himself adds them, and we must say that he leads music to the edge of the comprehensible definiteness of musical expression. When we are to think of joy only words can teach it to us. Music alone can certainly make us feel it but in this case we are to do more, and this cannot be provided by the absolute, or instrumental, music.

Now we are moving in a circle again. I might ask why the first three movements were sufficient with instruments alone? Are we supposed to feel joylessness and the effort at liberation there in a less definite degree? We would have to explain it thus: It is the experiment of the fourth movement that first opens our eyes. Now for the first time we know under what limitations we have previously suffered. But we have the same feeling with overwhelming force also, for instance, in the C Minor symphony just because we cannot grasp it in words.

Accordingly it is a question of a fundamental distinction, and Richard Wagner who never shrank from consequences did not hesitate to draw one here. We can condense it into an axiom: Beethoven's Ninth Symphony signifies the bankruptcy of absolute

or instrumental music. Beethoven himself, the master of the symphony, here shows us that the absolute musical expression of emotion is too indefinite, too general and therefore inadequate. But Wagner's views are purely subjective; nothing would be more unsafe than to adopt them offhand. At any rate he has given clear and succinct utterance to them, and many people have fallen in with his opinion. Nevertheless up to the present time opposition to this view has not yet been silenced. Equally justifiable is the standpoint that now as ever instrumental and vocal music are fundamentally different, and each is of value and significance within its own limits.

Wagner reaches the only conclusion that was logically possible for him. Generally speaking, absolute music is done for; generally speaking there is no sense in writing symphonies any longer; what could be said in instrumental music has been uttered by Beethoven's orchestra; henceforth no one can succeed in imbuing them with meaning; isolated interesting attempts simply prove the futility of their efforts. "The last symphony of Beethoven is the deliverance of music from its most peculiar elements into universal art. It is the human gospel of the art of the future. Beyond music no progress is possible because only the complete artistic production of the future can follow upon it directly—universal drama, for which Beethoven has forged the artistic key."

We should be glad to have Wagner express himself so unequivocally and without reserve. At least these are not empty phrases: for him nothing mattered but the drama, without which he could have created nothing. But we are not in duty bound for this reason to share his opinion. Perhaps he is even right in his conviction that in the symphony Beethoven has said the last word. It is possible that never again will there be a composer of symphonies to equal him. It is a fact that we measure every one who has written symphonies by Beethoven and hitherto have ranked them far below him. Of course this does not prove that the symphony as such is abolished, and least of all does it prove that it is this very Ninth Symphony that abolished it. Beethoven's experiment aspired beyond absolute music in this one particular case, but in so doing he did not put an end to the creation of symphonies. Still this is absolutely what we would have to expect. No more sonatas or symphonies after the Ninth would be conceivable from him himself if he had confirmed the bankruptcy explanation. So finally we shall have to call on him to make the decision; in the end the master is the surest witness.

He is said to have declared the Ninth Symphony to be a mistake, and even to have spoken of working it over, at least of never repeating the experiment: we need not discuss the credibility of this tradition or lay any weight upon it. On the other hand we may regret that Beethoven did not carry out the plan, which had been earlier suggested, of providing a commentary to his own works. Then we could have expected an authentic critique of the Ninth Symphony by the author himself. So we must confine ourselves to the facts. We know that he planned a tenth symphony, that death intervened to prevent its completion and that little or nothing is to be gathered from meager sketches. But instrumental compositions like the last great string quartette were produced after the Ninth Symphony, and this alone may well suffice to put to rest all misunderstanding.

At a memorable Academy meeting on May 7, 1824, three movements of the *Missa solennis* and the Ninth Symphony were produced for the first time. The master was present, stone deaf. He heard not a sound of the wonderful notes which there came to life at his bidding; he heard not a sound of the thundering applause with which the inspired audience greeted him. He stood with his back to the public until Caroline Unger, one of the soloists who took part in the production, motioned to him to turn around. Then he saw how all were applauding and nodding to him. What a moment this must have been, and how indelibly impressed upon every one present! As he stood there in the concert hall facing the crowd of people, so in his life and work he stood in relation to the world—alone and unapproachable, and yet its affectionate benefactor.

ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL.

BY A. V. C. P. HUIZINGA.

THE statement in the Declaration of Independence which asserts "All men are created equal," has been the subject of so much discussion that Jefferson himself, who drew up this American historical document, could hardly realize the full scope, or the various interpretations of this assertion. It is mostly misunderstood now, and therefore worth our while to review shortly its meaning in the light of its historical occurrence.

For a right understanding of the document, it is well to bear in mind that in the much vaunted political theories of "Natural Rights" in those days is inherent the right of revolution, an under-

taking which the American colonies at that time had taken in hand with much success. The colonies were anxious to justify the fact of this achievement against King George, for nations not less than individuals feel the necessity to justify their acts, because nations as well as individuals are under moral law. Consequently they are led to justify their acts before the world, and to themselves before God. Hence individuals and nations give always in important decisions an account of the circumstances and reasons which prompt their acts, setting forth their views in justification of the same.

Such an account is the Declaration of Independence. It does not apologize, but justifies the momentous act taken by the colonies in breaking away from King George, and adduces as the justifying principle of the action: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. That whenever any Form becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness."

It is plain at first sight that the government becomes secondary in authority because of the fact which is taken for granted, the self-evident truth that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with the inalienable rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. In fact, the government exists only to secure these rights, but if, and whenever the government fails to do this, it thereby forfeits its right to be, which is the case of British authority, as is made apparent in the long list of enumerated abuses. It is of interest to note that the Declaration asserts: the government must rest upon the consent of the governed. Thereby the people were declared sovereign, and taxation without representation became impossible. But it should be made clear in this connection that Rousseau, who coined the phrase "the sovereign people" in his *Contrat Social*, does nowhere argue for a declaration of individual rights, with which the state shall not interfere. This is characteristic of the way in which the American people incorporated these principles in a political program with its provisions of "checks and balances" against usurpations of the government against the individual. John Adams maintained the power of the government,

while Jefferson was watching for the individual rights. This is in striking contrast with the French notion of unlimited power of the people, which soon became more tyrannical and destructive of the "natural rights of man" than the ancient régime had been, when, in the name of "Public welfare," the Terror committed its worst excesses. Robespierre himself said: "The government of the Republic is the despotism of liberty against tyranny." The American view maintains, however, that the liberty of the individual is only safe when the sovereignty of the state is limited in the right of its citizens. Thus the "Bills of Rights" are intended as limitations of the sovereignty of the people in favor of the liberty of the individual.

When comparing these declarations of France and of the American colonies, it must forever be borne in mind that the American view remains practical, while the French went to the extreme of *Prinzipienreiterei* which declared: "Vivent les principes, périsse le monde!" Such a theoretic conception or interpretation of the principles common to both declarations was, on American soil, well-nigh impossible. Thus Woodrow Wilson observes in *Constitutional Government of the United States*: "We think of the Declaration of Independence as a highly theoretical document, but *except for its assertion that all men are equal* it is not. It is intensely practical even upon the question of liberty." Of course when public expediency determines the measure of individual rights the rule of right has really been broken. This terrible world-war exemplifies in striking manner how under the stress of circumstances individual rights, no less than general rules of right, are set aside by the exigencies of the hour. It also clearly foreshadows a considerable extension and growth in the power and function of government, and a limitation of the rights of the individual. But it should be kept in mind that these views have developed in and are born from actual circumstances. As President Grover Cleveland said when propounding a definite view in a certain case, "we face conditions, not theories." This practical application of the principles is far removed from the theoretic formulation of the French, where Rousseau's will of the people, the popular sovereignty or the general will (*volonté générale*) must be distinguished from the will of all (*volonté de tous*). While the former aims at the common welfare, the other looks only to private interest and is but the sum of all particular wills. He finds the general will, not, as in the American way, by the rule of the majority, but declares that, if the extremes be taken from the sums of the individual wills, there

remains the general will. It is readily seen, how mob rule might easily result from such a theoretic, artificial conception of the general will of the people, then, this absolute power unchecked by rule or law, it is apparent again how the wildest excesses became possible. Even the majority rule as bound by law under stress of circumstances or popular clamor will override legal restraints in behalf of individual or community. It is everywhere and forever difficult to learn that liberty cannot exist without respect for law and order. A more fitting object lesson; therefore, could not well be found than that placed over the courthouse in Worcester, Massachusetts: "Obedience to law is liberty." But to assert similarity to any extent between the principles manifest in the spirit of the French Revolution of 1789 and the spirit of 1779 in America, even by almost identical wording in the "*Déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*" and the "Declaration of Independence" is like putting Rousseau's confessions by the side of those of Augustine. Even identical declarations run of necessity apart in their bearing upon, and interpretation by, different people. And how great is not the difference between revolutionary France formulating its extreme theories against the oppressive *ancien régime*, and the American colonies resisting the despotic demands of King George upon his unrepresented subjects across the sea. In fact, the only thing in common in these movements, except the wording of the official documents—the "Declaration of Independence" and "*La déclaration des droits de l'homme et du citoyen*"—is their assertion of rights against oppressive government.

The similarity in wording is readily understood when we remember that, in the discussions of the Constituent Assembly which drew up the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, reference was had constantly to the American Declaration of Independence. Rabaut de St. Etienne, the able Protestant minister who took an active part in these discussions, declares explicitly that the Declaration and Bills of Right had served them as a model for the French Declaration. It is therefore not true to fact when the French assert that their declaration rests wholly upon French antecedents, notably upon the writings of J. J. Rousseau. It is still farther from the truth when Americans declare their Declaration of Independence to rest upon the principles of the French Revolution with Rousseau (notably his *Discours sur l'inégalité* and *Contrat Social*) and other political writers as precursors. It is false to assert that "the French gave shape to the thought which America was to work out in actual practice," or that Dumont's

story of "Freedom and Equality" passed over into our Declaration of Independence. Apart from the explicit testimony that the American documents were considered and served as model during the discussions held for the purpose of drawing up the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, the significant fact remains that the American Declaration antedates the similarly worded document of the French by thirteen years. George Mason drew up the Bill of Rights of Virginia June 12, 1776; Thomas Jefferson, the Declaration of Independence officially July 4, 1776; but the committee of five of the Constituent Assembly composed the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen in 1789, and it was prefixed to the Constitution of 1791.

Besides, it was Franklin who urged Mirabeau, one of the committee of five, to prepare the Declaration of the Rights of Man, to publish the address "Considerations on the order of Cincinnati" four years before the French Declaration of Rights; and one year before this event Mirabeau drew up a Declaration of Rights for the patriots of Holland, "Address to the Batavians Concerning the Stadtholdership," in which he enumerates the right to which the people are entitled as men. Such influence as is exercised has come from the American side upon the French; but, then, rather limited to the framing of the Declaration than involving a real influence upon the French Revolution. But certainly there was no French fire kindled in the American struggle for Independence.

The great German jurist Stahl declares in *Philosophie des Rechts*:

"The French Constituent Assembly was entranced with the philosophical procedure of North America and imitated it with the greatest exaggeration. While disclaiming any intention of drawing up metaphysical and not practical rights, hollow and erroneous deductions from Natural Law were placed at the head of the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen."

Stronger still is the case put in recent years by Professor Jellinek, who affirms in his *Die Erklärung der Menschen- und Bürgerrechte* that the French Declaration of the Rights of Man is a literal transcription of clauses contained in the Bills of Rights of the American States. Perhaps this position is somewhat extreme, but Dr. Scherger's argument against it in *The Evolution of Modern Liberty*, that the long discussion preceding the draft of the French declaration precludes such a supposition, does not seem weighty, inasmuch as precisely the formal rendering of public documents is of the highest importance. Comparison of, and selection

from, the Bills of Rights of the different States might easily have taken as much time as the formulation of a newly phrased declaration. Moreover, the French who had taken up Rousseau's phrases, "the sovereign people," and "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity," might well have been led by the consideration to avail themselves of apt phrases, ready to hand, which had done service in the struggle across the seas, and which therefore might be known to many. The people in general are even more sensitive to an apt and catching phrase than to a catchy melody. Less weight should be accorded his argument against Professor Jellinek's position that the German publicist fails to show how the French became acquainted with them. There seem to be numerous channels in the many eminent Americans who had resided, or were still residing, among them, besides, the French sought out the American ideas. As Von Holst quotes from Kapp, *Leben des amerikanischen Generals Johann Kalb* (p. 242):

"At this precise time it was not only the 'existing European sentimentality,' that was in search of a Dulcinea, most beautiful of women, in the primeval forests of America, under the names of Nature, Liberty, the Rights of Man and Humanity."

Carlyle observes in *The French Revolution*: "Borne over the Atlantic, to the closing ear of Louis, King by the grace of God, what sounds are these, muffled, ominous, new in our centuries? Boston Harbor is black with unexpected tea: behold a Pennsylvanian Congress gather; and ere long, on Bunker Hill, Democracy announcing, in rifle-volleys, death-winged, under her Star banner, to the tune of Yankeedoodle-doo, that she is born, and whirlwind-like, will envelop the whole world!"

"Squadrons cross the ocean: Gateses, Lees, rough Yankee generals, 'with woolen nightcaps under their hats,' present arms to the far-glancing chivalry of France; and newborn Democracy sees, not without amazement, 'Despotism tempered by epigrams' fight at her side. So, however, it is." Lafayette he describes as "fast-anchored to the Washington Formula."

To argue a relationship as to the form of these popular declarations does not involve, however, any real causal connection between the two movements to which they gave expression.

The circumstance that the documents bear relation to one another, can easily be overestimated in significance. In fact, the doctrines proclaimed in these declarations were centuries old. Natural rights and sovereignty of the people had been put forth in ancient and medieval times. In the seventeenth century they were held in England by the Levelers, among whom Lilburn was prominent.

Milton, Sidney, Locke, and others held these views. Did not R. H. Lee charge Jefferson with copying the substance of the Declaration from Locke? But although these views were known and held before, they had no general acceptance. In France and in America, however, under the stress of circumstances to fulfil the respective needs, these views were taken up and formulated in the declarations. The doctrines in their bearing fit each case, and are interpreted and used according to the exigencies of the respective movements, which are manifestly wholly unlike. Thereby the declarations become in regard to these movements merely the occasion in the struggle. And it is natural that a people risen in frenzy against agelong oppression, and quite another type of people determined to resist infringement upon their liberties, read and understand even the selfsame declaration quite differently.

The doctrines contained in the declarations are indeed expressive of the American spirit, with French theoretic exaggeration, as Stahl observes, they become a metaphysical battleax to cut down radically the last vestiges of the hated *ancien régime*.

The Declaration of Independence could be an expression of the American spirit because in America the social and economic conditions were much alike, there was no caste or native nobility, and above all there were no feudal customs or traditions. When Jefferson drew up the now familiar doctrines of human equality, of the natural and inalienable rights of man, and the guarantee of these rights as the sole ground of government, and *the right and duty of revolution* when these rights were subverted—"The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants,"—he voiced truly the American spirit of his time.

Jefferson himself said well, in answer to the charge of Pickering and Adams that the substance of the Declaration had been "hackneyed in Congress for two years before": "Neither aiming at originality of principle or sentiment, nor yet copied from any particular previous writings, it was intended to be an expression of the American mind and to give that expression the proper tone and spirit called forth by the occasion."

The constitution of the United Colonies of Windsor, Hartford, and Wethersfield, drawn up in 1639, was based already upon the sovereignty of the people. Thomas Hooker preached the year before a sermon in Hartford in which he declared "that the choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people by God's allowance," that the people have power "to set bounds and limitations of the

power and place unto which they call them" (*Coll. Conn. Historical Society*, I, p. 20).

The political principles then were not new, nor did they originate upon American soil, but they were embodied here in a political program, because there was a setting for them here to realize them when occasion called them forth. They were not only hurled in a defiant, assertive mood against the rich Tories and arrogant officials sent from England to live off the colonies, they were also believed in as practical principles of government. Then again the greater part of the English settlers here were Puritans, who were Independents in England. The Mayflower carried *Pilgrim* fathers to these shores, who before had tasted exile from England in Holland. James I and Charles I persecuted these Independents because they "bred liberal views." Would not their remembered experiences strengthen these liberal convictions, when on these far shores that self-same arrogant autocratic royalty and servile episcopacy against which they or their forbears had stood out years ago, tried again to misrule them by divine right! Then the Puritan tenet appeared indeed natural "that kings are but ministers of the commonwealth, and that they have no more authority than what is given them by the people."

James I, however, proclaimed from the throne in 1609 his doctrine of the divine right of kings as follows:

"God hath power to create or destroy, to make or unmake at His pleasure, to give life or send death; and to God both body and soul are due. And the like power have kings: they make and unmake their subjects like men of chess: a power to take a bishop or a knight, and to cry up or down any of their subjects as they do their money."

The Anglican Church preached these doctrines from the pulpit. Bishop Overall's *Convocation Book* of 1606 attacks fiercely the doctrine that "all civil power, jurisdiction, and authority were first derived from the people and disordered multitude, or either is originally still in them, or else deduced by their consent naturally from them; and is not God's ordinance originally descending from Him and depending upon Him." The *Canons* of June, 1640, affirmed that the most high and sacred order of kings is of divine right, being the ordinance of God Himself, founded in the prime laws of nature and revelation, by which supreme power over all persons civil and ecclesiastical is given them."

Who wonders still that against this monstrous thing of pseudo-Christianity, wantonly torn from the historical Church of Rome,

and nationalized by the baseness of the dissolute King Henry VIII, secularized in his and his successors' service, with priests mere lackeys of king's wages, the cry should rise: "No bishop, no king!" No counterpart of the French: *ni Dieu ni maître*!

In this connection it should be mentioned that the most consistent opponent of the American struggle in this country was the English rector Boucher, who resided in Virginia and Maryland from 1759-75 and died in England in 1804. He published a vehement denunciation of the American Spirit in 1797, *A View of the Cause and Consequence of the American Revolution*.

There can be no question that the struggle in America and the American Declaration were more influenced by religious factors than were the French revolutionary ideas and acts. Ever since the landing at Plymouth Rock, sometimes called the cornerstone of American institutions, the lives of the English colonists had been intensely religious, as were those of the German settlers in Pennsylvania. Without belittling the economic causes at work in the lives of the people in those days one must concede that religion played a large and genuine part in the lives of the colonists and naturally colored their life-interests and views. Therefore it played a large part in the American struggle for liberty and the principles of the Declaration here assume a totally different aspect from the same ideas which the French theorists gave theirs. Jefferson observed to Lafayette that "Liberty becomes with an unprepared people, a tyranny still of many, the few or the one." The French Declaration is one of the rights of man—and of the citizen. "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights. Social distinctions can be based only upon public utility. The aim of every political association is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. These rights are liberty, property, security and resistance to oppression" etc.

It gives a more detailed assertion of rights against the age-long abuses to which the people of France had been subjected, whereas the American document on the other hand rather maintains the rights of the colonists upon which the British king would infringe. Hence the practical way in which the Americans take up and work out the principles of the declaration. Jefferson, the champion of human equality, was opposed to the institution of negro slavery, but he left the ownership of slaves. "We the people" meant in those days only the white people. The Americans took the declaration as a practical working instrument, when the times should be ripe for ideal political truths they surely would be applied. Lincoln

stood firmly upon the principles of the Declaration. "The Fathers," said he, "did not mean to say all men were equal in color, size, intelligence, moral development, or social capacity." They did mean "all men are equal in the possession of certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." The founders of the republic then meant merely "to declare the right so that enforcement might follow as soon as circumstances should permit." It shows the sagacity of that great president that the ideal stated must be practically treated in its application,—not, in French fashion, theoretically carried out.

That he was able to battle for it with unwavering determination once the time was ripe for its realization shows his attitude during the Civil War. In singular contrast with the French theorists who carried the ideas to their logical and impossible extremes, defeating their own end, while they created abhorrent conditions which made the very name of "natural rights" odious, stands the practical advocacy of certain rights by the Americans. They were denied their rights as English subjects, therefore they appealed to their rights as men. What the law of the land denied them, they demanded according to natural rights and the law of nature. Hence they never entered upon a violent program to carry out these rights of man. On the strength of them they asked some very concrete popular rights, such as they knew were granted English subjects in the Magna Charta, the Habeas Corpus act, the Bill of Rights of 1689, and others. In the American Bills of Rights the people declare for concrete rights, as trial by Jury, freedom of speech and of the press, freedom of elections, security against excessive fines, cruel and unusual punishments, general warrants, and others. These concrete rights are often even copied verbatim from the Magna Charta and English Bill of Rights, but the demands for them are based on the abstract doctrines of natural rights. Hence they are preceded by the statements of abstract principles: the natural freedom and equality of men, the purpose of the government, the sovereignty of the people, the separation of powers, etc. But these principles were not asserted as a new political program: they were, in the words of Lincoln, the stated basal principles on which concrete rights were to be enforced; "as soon as circumstances should permit." On the other hand, the French were enamored of the bare, abstract ideas which they proclaimed, and went to excesses which made not only Burke rail against their "paltry, blurred shreds of paper about the Rights of Man," but which incurred also the opposition of Bentham, Austin, and Maine.

The foregoing discussion tries to explain that the American Declaration means precisely what it says when declaring, "All men are created equal," and that it does not mean "All men are equal *before the law*"—as is generally believed. This is a legal twist of the philosophical doctrine, soon after already in evidence in some of the "Bills of Rights" of the States.

So the *Florida Declaration of Rights*: "All men shall be equal before the law."

The Rhode Island Constitution: "All laws shall be made for the good of the whole."

The Connecticut Constitution: "All men have equal rights when they form a social compact."

The South Carolina Constitution: "No person shall be denied the equal protection of the laws."

The Virginia Bill of Rights, antedating the Declaration about a month, states plainly: "All men were by nature equally free and independent."

The Massachusetts Declaration of Rights renders the slogan of the struggle four years after the Declaration: "All men are born free and equal."

The Constitution of New Hampshire retains the logical sequence in declaring: "All men are born equally free and independent, *therefore*, all government of right originates from the people, is founded in consent, and instituted for the general good."

It is apparent that after *the event* of the Declaration has passed, the element of law becomes prominent in its interpretation. The legal mind treats men as under the law, and thinks of 'man as before the law.' But in the historic struggles, both here and in France, the legal notion was not uppermost. It goes without saying that legislation was involved; but, as a matter of historic fact, the asserted rights to whatever abolishment of old and reenactment of new political and legal rights they led, rested in their appeal upon the then acknowledged "natural rights," which, from Hugo Grotius onward, had been a household word with political writers. Calhoun understood clearly that the declaration "all men are created equal" was an abstract principle of philosophic rather than political significance. He calls the declaration of these theories as universal principle "glittering generalities," but he does not fall into the error of combating the declaration as if it possessed political or legal meaning.

Jefferson's declaration appealed to the natural right of man as created being, without reference to the law. The whole document is a declaration that the law should be suited to the rightful claims

of man as human being,—rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. As, in striking contrast to this declaration, the institution of slavery was left by the law, this circumstance was urged against Jefferson, although he himself was opposed to slavery. This shows that it was felt that the declaration treated of men as human beings, but did not deal with men as before the law. Else they would not have urged this contradiction, were it not that the declaration spoke of man as man, not of the equality of man before the law. The negro, to be sure, was still excluded in the practical application of the principle of the declaration, but, as Lincoln affirmed, the declaration enfranchised the negro too, because he also is a human being. Had it meant: “All men are *created* equal *before the law*,” the negro would not have counted, and the institution of slavery would not have been affected by the declaration at all, for the negro had no status before the law, a slave was a chattel of his master. In both ways of reading the declaration the negro was barred from recognition. Reading it as a declaration of equality before the law would keep him out of his rights permanently, because as chattel he did not come under the cognizance of law.

Reading the declaration as the proclamation of human rights pure and simple which all men share equally the negro was kept from recognition by the laws which rest upon this principle of human equality, only as long as “We the people” was reserved for the white men. “In that respect the Declaration of Independence is the greatest outrage ever committed since the world began; for half the people who signed the Declaration of Independence were slave-holders” (Fabian Franklin in *Proceedings of Academy of Political Science*, Volume VII, p. 152). Lincoln with characteristic fairness conceded to Douglas that the fathers in framing the constitution had in mind in their legislation only the white man, but the underlying principle for which the law itself is made, called for revision and reversal of the law. The principle that all men are created equal, however, endures forever. Besides there were antislavery clauses in the draft, but as Jefferson writes, “The clause was struck out in complaisance to South Carolina and Georgia, who never had attempted to restrain the importation of slaves and who, on the contrary, still wished to continue it” (Jefferson, *Works*, I, p. 170).

Men are not *created*, either equal or unequal, *before the law*. The Christian forefathers understood better than the present generation that “The sabbath was made for man, and not man for the sabbath” (Mark ii. 27).

Again, the declaration involved a new constitution, urged new

laws, but did not start out from them as a basis to declare that these should apply equally to all men. This could only be on the assumption of laws of the people already in force, which laws needed to be remedied in their application. Rather it is evident that the declaration calls for new laws, and such laws as will recognize the principles on the strength of which they are to be made, i. e., the recognition of the humanity of all men, the inalienable rights of man as a human being. In the light of historic circumstances it seems stultifying to read "All men are created equal" as meaning "All men are *created* equal *before the law*," when this law is urged on these self-evident truths, of which in the declaration "All men are created equal" is the first. If such a meaning should be put upon it, would in the careful phrasing of the document the word "created" not have been omitted? And would not have been added as in some Bills of Rights "before the law"?

As a matter of fact: All men are not equal before the law, but they should be. In the circumstances under which the document was drawn up it should then have been rendered: "All men should be equal before the law," but in that case the declaration would not assert the reason why all men should be thus equal before the law. The Declaration of Independence, however, shows unmistakably a logical reference to the abstract grounds on which the new legislation should rest. This is what Dr. H. von Holst declared in his well-known *History of the Constitution of the United States*:

"Neither Congress nor the people relied in the declaration upon any positive right belonging either to the individual colonies or to the colonies as a whole. Rather did the Declaration of Independence and the war destroy all existing political jural relations, and seek their moral justification in the right of revolution inherent in every people in extreme emergencies."

The legal twist which wants to repudiate the real meaning of the declaration that all men are created equal,—and read the philosophical doctrine in a legal way to mean: "All men are created equal before the law" is evident also in the superficial but very popular denial of the statement that all men are created equal. It is often asserted that men are not equal, because out of millions of men only a few stand out in their respective careers, and they in such marked degree as if to proclaim how unlike men are. The pugilistic strength of Jack Johnson, the musical ability of Paderewski, the voice of Caruso, the incisive logic of Jonathan Edwards, the oratorical powers of Daniel Webster, the strategy of Von Hinden-

burg, the comic drollery of Charlie Chaplin, the inventive genius of Edison, etc., are few and far between in their respective careers. They not only stand unique in their professions but were predestined to be so from the first, because they were so unlike the majority of their rivals. In the race for preeminence men are too unequal. Moreover, some are born imbeciles, some are physically strong, others physically weak, some are burdened with the curse of heredity, others are blessed with transmitted hereditary qualities, some are gifted with talents, a few with genius; most men are mediocre, while many poor specimens of humanity are a standing refutation of the declaration "All men are created equal."

Surely, if we view men in their social setting, in their careers, their ability, in their relations to one another, it is going off on a tangent from common sense to maintain the proposition that all men are created equal. But this is precisely what we must not do. We cannot read a philosophical declaration as if it were a political or legal document.

Rodney Thomson, illustrator of the *New York Sun*, treats the statement of the Declaration in the *Pictorial Magazine* of March 7 and March 21, 1915, from this mistaken, popular viewpoint. He therefore points out in pictorial representation the incongruities involved, and adds a question mark to the statement. A long train of humans are making their way toward success. Genius and wealth lead, poverty, physical debility, prenatal influence, hereditary disease, inherited weakness, weak mentality, idiocy and congenital deformity lag behind in the race. To be sure, other things being equal, the difference of means to an end, the instrumentality in any pursuit, must affect the outcome. In that sense,

"The race is to the swift;
The battle to the strong."

Forsooth, not all men are equal in the race for successful achievement in society. But whether first in the race or last, we remain forever human and entitled to life, liberty and happiness.

On the strength of the true facts of the first cartoon, and the mistaken meaning of the declaration that all men are created equal, the answer by the same artist in the *Sun's Pictorial Magazine* of March 21 is even more fallacious.

The country lad, ploughing the field, may indeed aspire to the occupancy of the White House. There are no formal, legal disabilities or barriers, but in view of the graphic truth of the first cartoon, the average country lad would be rather handicapped in

the race. Generally speaking, it would be better for himself and the country not to heed the beckoning angel to illusory aspirations, for in running the race for political or social eminence all men are not equal, though they remain forever equal as human beings, and being of one kindred, enjoy the same essential human rights.

When we accept the religious tenet that all men are equal before God, we do not stumble over the differences among men in their earthly relations. "For there is no respect of persons with God" (Rom. ii. 11). Individual differences, social distinctions, disappear in the sight of God.

When we view men as before God, they are all equal. Similarly this philosophical proclamation means to refer only to man in his specific human qualities. All men, rich and poor, gifted or stupid, strong or weak, of whatever mold or individual qualities they are, have forever inalienable in common the characteristics of human beings. All men are created equal (and alike) in that. All men like to live; all like to enjoy freedom; all like to be happy with such possessions and opportunities as are theirs. This is the true meaning, which is so explicit in the declaration that those have missed it altogether, who urge against this declaration of the essential equality of humanity, political, social, or legal considerations. They have missed altogether the true sense of Lincoln's reaffirmation of it in his Gettysburg address.

"Four score and seven years ago our Fathers brought forth on this continent, a new nation, conceived in liberty, *and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.*"

Lincoln repeatedly affirmed in his plain, direct language the belief in this equality of the formal outlines of human nature, that all men are essentially human. This psycho-physiological principle admits, of course, that the content of each individual as manifestation of this common humanity varies with each person. This variation constitutes his individuality.

The philosophic principle that all men are created free and equal admits also that this freedom may exist even in bonds. The poet declared: "*Der Mensch ist frei, und wäre er in Ketten geboren,*" though it should be also observed: "*Es sind nicht alle frei, die ihrer Ketten spotten.*". It must always be borne in mind that the external conditions effect, and are largely expressive of, the way in which the principle of the essential humanity of all men is recognized among men.

As this principle of human freedom and equality is recognized

among men, liberty in its highest sense, the inner liberty of the soul, will be less banefully affected by untoward social conditions and circumstances. Christ gets a better chance upon the hearts of men. With the discussion of this inner liberty of the human soul the subject does not remain politico-philosophical, but assumes, besides a purely philosophical aspect, a thoroughly theological one as well. In this sense an actual slave declares himself happy that he is not a slave like his emperor. With this regard the prisoner Paul exclaims with persuasive eloquence: "I would to God, that not only thou (Agrippa), but also all that hear me this day, were both almost, and altogether such as I am, *except these bonds*" (Acts xxvi. 29). To this inner liberty refers also Paul's summons in Galatians v. 1: "Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage." This theological view of liberty is closely related to the metaphysical discussions on the freedom of the will, and involves also the political and legal views, lying at the root of them all.

It should therefore be observed here that the American Colonists were in this respect much better prepared for the ideas proclaimed in the Declaration on the strength of human rights, because of their religious character and training. They were better prepared to realize the meaning and the practical application of the principles of liberty and equality than the French revolutionists.

Professor Münsterberg renders this observation well in *The Americans*:

"The social sentiment of equality, although variously tinged yet virtually the same throughout the United States, in no wise militates against social distinctions which result from difference of education, wealth, occupation, and achievement. But it does demand that all these different distinctions shall be considered external to the real personality. Fundamentally, all Americans are equal. The statement must not be misunderstood. It by no means coincides with the religious distinctions that men are equal in the eyes of God, and it is not to be association with any ethical ideas of life. Equality before God, and the equal worth of a moral act, whether done by the greatest or the humblest of God's children, are not social conceptions; they are significant only in religious, and not in social, life. And these two spheres can everywhere be separated. It can even be said that, as profoundly as religion pervades everyday life in America, the characteristic principle of equality in the

social community is wholly independent of the ethics of the New Testament. It is still less a metaphysical conception. The American popular mind does not at all sympathize with the philosophical idea that individuality is only an appearance, and that we are all fundamentally one being. The American thinks pluralistically, and brings to his metaphysics a firm belief in the absolute significance of the individual. And finally, the American principle of equality which we wish to grasp is not rationally humanitarian; whether all human beings are really equal is left out of account. It is a question actually of this one social community living together in the United States and having to regulate its social affairs. One commands and the other obeys, but with a mutual understanding that this merely happens to be the most appropriate distribution of functions under the circumstances in which we happen to be placed. The real man, it is felt, is not affected by this differentiation, and it would not be worth while either to command or to obey if all men did not tacitly understand that each esteems the other as an equal. The man who truly sees social equality as a real part of the social contract, will feel toward those above as toward those below him."

Because we believe and recognize the principle of liberty, it does not follow that it can and must unqualifiedly be accorded to every one. As strenuous an advocate of liberty as John Stuart Mill argues the point in his celebrated essay "On Liberty," that one should never *force* liberty upon any one. Liberty cannot be granted, it must be taken! The inner liberty must be lived; the outer liberty must be appropriated to one's activities. This the French forgot altogether. Hence Fichte's pronouncement at the time of the reaction of the revolutionary period in France, regarding the necessity of an inner freedom to prepare for the political outer freedom. "The enslaved of all nations rouse themselves at the shout of deliverance, the patriot's heart throbs higher at the cry; the poet dreams of a new golden age; the philosopher looks with eager eye for the solution of the mighty problem of human destiny. All, alas! are doomed to disappointment; and over the grave where their hopes lie buried, a lesson of fearful significance stands inscribed in characters of desolation and blood, proclaiming to all ages that where the law of liberty is not written upon the soul, outward freedom is a mockery and unchecked power a curse."

The proposition in the declaration points simply to the human rights, the just claims of a human being as the prime concern in all political, social and legal regulations in guaranteeing man his free

exercise of the psycho-physiological functions which are his as a human being. It concerns itself with the ground on which this higher spiritual life may bloom: "The earth beareth fruit of herself; first the blade, then the ear, then the full corn in the ear." (Mark iv. 28.)

The declaration of natural rights allows that this human equality of equally enjoying the exercise of one's human functions, is compatible with social and economic inequality. It is the pathetic story of the French Revolution that liberty was sacrificed to the false notion of these theorists to square the rights of man with those of the citizen. An equality of rights, or an equality before the law, flows naturally from the proclaimed human equality. The French revolutionists, however, did not see how there could be liberty without equality, and they wanted an equality not only before the law, but strove for an economic and social equality to secure liberty. They reversed the logical order in trying for economic equality to secure human equality, for human equality lies at the basis of equality before the law, and is its guarantee, but it does not involve economic or social equality. In fanatic anger thus perverting and misapplying the doctrines of human freedom and equality, the French Revolution shows us that romantic figure Madame de Roland exclaiming on the scaffold: "Liberty, what crimes are not committed in thy name!" A French writer well characterized the motto of the French Revolution: *Liberté, égalité, fraternité* as *un mensonge entre deux songes*, for this it was "a lie between dreams," because the French failed to understand the true meaning of liberty and equality, always starting in their interpretation from the social point of view. This is strikingly illustrated by as radical a writer as Saint Simon, who declares in his *Système industriel*:

"The rights of each associate can only be founded on the faculties which he possesses to cooperate for the common good." (*Les droits de chaque associé ne peuvent être fondés que sur les facultés qu'il possède, pour concourir au but commun.*)

There is evidently nothing left of the *inalienable* human rights, which were the appeal in the revolutionary time. Rights here flow from expediency, not from natural claims. Similarly Joubert boldly states:

"Men are born unequal. It is the great benefit of society to diminish this inequality as much as possible by granting to all, security, a competency, education and help." (*Pensées. Du gouvernement et des constitutions.*)

It is plainly again a reversal of the logical order, making society basal ground for the betterment of man. Why must the unequally born man be equalized by measures of society if not that society may benefit from men better safeguarded in their human rights. Against this French viewpoint should be urged the emphatic declaration of Channing, whom the French styled "le Fénélon Américain":

"He who has never looked through men's outward conditions to the naked soul and there seen God's image commanding reverence, is a stranger to the distinctive love of Christianity."

For justification of the claims of liberty and equality we need higher ground than society or politics can furnish. Bossuet, though the Catholic Church was then allied with absolute monarchy, brings this query on religious grounds:

"The murmurs of the poor are just. Wherefore this inequality of conditions? *All are made of the same clay*, and there is no way in which to justify inequality unless by saying that God has commended the poor to the rich, and assigned to the former the means of living out of the abundance of the latter, *ut fiat equalitas*, as Paul says, 2 Cor. viii. 13-16."

Because men are of the same clay, the extreme inequality in social conditions has no right of existence, unless, the famous bishop declares, it be in behalf of the "good works" which the Catholic Church proclaims in reference to the well-known quoted texts. France, however, by destroying Protestantism never could be the soil where the claims of the individual would be adequately recognized. This is one of the fruits of the Reformation and to be remembered especially in reference to the conception of liberty.

The declaration "all men are created equal" has as its ethical corollary the high authority of the Golden Rule. Matthew vii. 12: "Therefore all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." This ethical principle active in behalf of the individual in society would transform it gradually from within. All reforms, political or otherwise, must thus be brought about, and liberty and equality too must come that way.

Kant seized upon this principle of "man as an end in himself" as the cornerstone of his system of ethics. "So act that the maxim of thy action may serve as a general rule," became the formula to be observed. "You are to treat humanity, whether in your own person or in that of any other, always and under any circumstance

as an end and never as a means only." This recognition of the individual under his rigoristic ethics stamps Kant a Protestant philosopher, if he cannot be the philosopher of Protestantism, as Paulsen (*Kant der Philosoph des Protestantismus*), Kaftan (*Kant der Philosoph des Protestantismus*), and others have proclaimed him. Besides the rejection of all intellectual proofs of religion (*Religion innerhalb der Grenzen der blossen Vernunft*) and his rejection of the value of pious works for an emphasis upon "the good will" are opposed to the teaching of the Roman Catholic Church. Protestantism which recognizes "the priesthood of all believers" is more consonant with individualism and democracy than the hierarchy of the Romish Church and could therefore interpret and better guard the principles of liberty and equality.

It nevertheless remains strange, that the French should so misconstrue the ideas of liberty and equality, were it not that bred on revengeful hatred Rousseau's catchwords had inflamed the populace to the extreme sentiments which made in the outburst of the Revolution the reasonable interpretations impossible. For if Rousseau did not influence to any considerable extent the political theories, he certainly had a powerful hold upon the masses, and figures as a considerable factor in the French upheaval. Many writers of that period like Voltaire and Turgot do not believe in absolute equality. Turgot even affirms that inequality of conditions is necessary to stimulate the progress of society, nor would he surrender individual liberty for the principle of public welfare. He says in *Lettres sur la tolérance*: "We forget that society is made for individuals, that it is instituted only to protect the rights of all in assuring the accomplishment of all mutual duties." This recognizes the view that social circumstances, economic conditions, political relations, and legal statutes all should further these human rights, freedom and equality. They can neither create nor destroy them, but should serve them in respecting in the citizen, the man, the claims of the individual as a human being. This personal right is often in danger, it is especially threatened now under the stress of circumstances of this gigantic, murderous war, the personal worth of man and his claims as a human being are absolutely discounted, man is now only a citizen. Under the guise of patriotic sacrifice the respective governments enforce upon the people the most exacting and far-reaching demands, while the people surely are inadequately voiced in the policies of the combat. But in France to-day Max Nordau protests that it is never the duty of the individual to sacrifice himself for the community. This is in line with the modern theory of self-

realization which we do not share. Sacrifice there must be; perhaps here too, it is "to die to live," so far as the individual is concerned. But there should be an emphatic protest against the governments' encroaching upon the rights of man, for the maintenance of which rights governments exist at all. Only to secure these rights were governments instituted among men, and their just powers are derived from the consent of the governed, whose "safety and happiness" is forever the aim of government. Thus the powers that be are ordained by God. This governmental view accords with Calvinistic doctrine, it is also biblical and it holds the paladium of true liberty for those over whom it is exercised.

But it has been repeatedly asserted that the contest in political history has been to rescue liberty from the grasp of executive power. On the long list of champions of political and human freedom one name was dimmed by the reproach of having advocated the extension of executive authority. It would have been plainly against the march of human progress, for it is retrogressive development to control public and private life more and more by governmental restraints. The government at best is but a pedagogue, leading, restraining, perchance educating the people, but it is not in a positive way ethicizing the nation, or moralizing its people. Fichte's remark is significant: "Der Staat geht, wie alle menschlichen Institute, die bloss Mittel sind, auf seine eigene Vernichtung aus; es ist der Zweck aller Regierung, die Regierung überflüssig zu machen." (The state like all human institutions that are merely means will ultimately end; the aim of all government is to make government superfluous.) Fichte's statement is too strong, but we certainly need less and less government, instead of more of it, as time goes on. Governmental authority should not be set up as an independent end in itself, nor should it be under the Church as the Roman Catholic Church would have it. Under God it is to serve the people over which it is instituted, and it is amenable to the will of the people. Tom Paine's remark is a pointed one: "Need made society, wickedness the government."

The respective positions of Church and State, when closely observed, are not so far apart as the vehement conflicts between them would lead us at first to suppose. Both refer to God in justification of the authority which they exercise. The Church would fain leaven society into spontaneous and ready response to the Gospel of Christ. Similarly every government endeavors to cultivate in its citizens a free and hearty cooperation. We must here bear in mind, however, that the Church has a more direct

bearing upon the conscience of her members than the State has, even when its government is a never so perfect expression of the society which it regulates. In keeping with this fact the Church addresses herself more exclusively to the individual as such, and primarily for his spiritual interests. The State naturally views the individual as part of society and in the more external bearings as a citizen. It should therefore be clear that the sphere and the methods of church-endeavors should be distinctly Christian, and always rely exclusively on moral suasion. No constraint but the love of Christ is to be her compelling power over a gainsaying and disobedient people. Only with spiritual weapons may she "go out into the highways and hedges, and compel them to come in." All true gospel teaching asks only for a voluntary assent of those to whom it goes out.

The Christian church, however, feels assured of final victory because of the need of man. Thus the church responds in spiritual nurture to the native need of individual man to bring him to the fulness of Christ, while governments restrain individual man in behalf of society. In fine, Church and State both claim the authority of God, but the Church rests this claim on special grace in the revelation of Christ for the positive bringing in of the kingdom of God upon earth. The State on the other hand relies on the common grace of God as restraining the curse of sinful man. It follows that the position of the Church is more ideally conceived, but for this very reason less justified for application in the visible actuality of this world. For this same reason it remains a very debatable question whether any visible church could make true these ideal claims and extend them over those who do not freely recognize them. The classic biblical passage, Romans xiii. 1-5, makes plain that government and civil authority are conceived as a restraint upon the evil which would unsettle society, and an encouragement to the good works which conduce to its welfare. It therefore appeals invariably immediately or mediately to God for its sanction. The ultimate appeal is always to God, because He announces himself in the heart of every man, and the conscience whispers that "He removeth kings and setteth up kings" (Dan. ii. 21). He is in all and over all, supreme on earth as He is in heaven.

"By me kings reign
And princes decree justice,
By me princes rule
And nobles, even all judges of the earth."
(Proverbs viii. 15, 16.)

Nothing can bring home more potently the heavy responsibility of government authority than this plain injunction that all government is under God. Its *de jure divino* is open to varied explanation, and it is well worth while to emphasize at this time the biblical injunction: "By me kings reign." Then, do they reign as "by me"? It should be asked of any government,—for the form matters little—Is it acting *de jure divino*? As observed already, a stupid, selfish emphasis is laid upon the importance of government in the endeavor to enlarge its executive functions unduly. Thus *de jure divino* becomes a prop to bolster up the arrogant claims of governing classes, but it may also—and more truly—figure as challenging those in high places of government with condemnation from God's own words. Edwin Markham significantly asks in "The Man with the Hoe": "How shall it be with kingdoms and with kings, when this dumb terror shall reply to God, after the silence of the centuries?"

With that accursed fallacy that public expediency should determine the measure of individual rights, misguided power of a temporary majority has too often spoken for "public welfare" and called the instinct of loyalty into its service, throttling the liberty of man. For this "public welfare" Socrates had to drink the hemlock, the Christians were persecuted in Rome, the Huguenots driven from France, the Puritans from England, and Christ was crucified when Caiaphas "gave counsel to the Jews that it was expedient that one man should die for the people." (John xviii. 14.)

While the pendulum is swinging back from the direction of individualism and the state extends its power far into private, individual and human rights, it is well to remember the declaration of the essential equality of all men, of their rights to life, property and happiness, and to think of governments as mere means to that end. Laboulaye well declares in his work, *L'état et ses limites*:

"It is in the respect of the person that one can measure the true grandeur of civilization."

When the Declaration of Independence proclaimed this regard for man and his human right, the African negro remained legally excluded, only so long as the fact of his humanity was not recognized. Then he shared the equality of human rights with the white man, and slavery became impossible. But the same proclamation of human equality might be applied *outside* the United States as well. Just because it is an abstract, philosophical, not a legal statement, the declaration of human rights knows no limitation. It is absolute when it affirms: "All men are created equal." It rings

with the force of Paul's address on Mars' Hill: "God that made the world and all things therein, hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." (Acts xvii. 24 and 26). Will, then, in the present time legal restraints and hindrances still bar the recognition of the equal humanity of the Mongolians? And how long will the Japanese endure these discriminations against them from the nation which set out with this declaration of the equality of *all* men?

SOME SKETCHES IN COMPARATIVE ANIMAL AND HUMAN PSYCHOLOGY.*

BY ERNST MACH.

With Illustrations by Felix Mach.

THE idea of applying the theory of evolution to the physiology of the senses and to psychology in general, was advanced, prior to Darwin, by Spencer.¹ It received an immense impetus through Darwin's book *The Expression of the Emotions*.² Later P. R. Schuster (1879) discussed the question whether there were "inherited ideas" in the Darwinian sense. I, too, expressed myself in favor of the application of the idea of evolution to the theory of the sense-organs.³

Ewald Hering in an academic anniversary address characterized memory as a general function of living matter.⁴ Memory and heredity come under one concept, if we reflect that organisms which were parts of the parent-body leave it and develop into new, independent individuals, preserving their characters in the transformation. In grouping memory and heredity together, however, we gain wonderfully in breadth of outlook, for by this thought heredity is rendered as intelligible to us as the retention of the English language and other institutions by the Americans of the United States.

Recently Weismann has conceived of death as a phenomenon of heredity; greater length of life and lessened propagation, ac-

* Translated from manuscript by Lydia G. Robinson.

¹ Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Psychology*, 1855.

² Charles Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals*, London, 1872.

³ *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie*, 1866.

⁴ E. Hering, "Ueber das Gedächtniss als eine allgemeine Function der organisirten Materie," *Almanach der Wiener*, 1870. Translated into English and published with two other essays on allied subjects under the title *Memory*. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1913.

cording to his researches, are conceivable as mutually restricting adaptations.⁵

When a gymnasium student I heard my esteemed teacher, Professor P. F. X. Wessely, say that plants from the southern hemisphere bloom in our latitudes when it is spring in their native place, and I thought instinctively of a "memory" in plants.

The so-called reflex movements of animals may be explained in a natural manner as phenomena of memory outside the organ of consciousness. For instance, pigeons whose brains have been removed, drink even mercury and other liquids with clock-work precision when placed with their feet in cold water. Goltz, in a work on the nerve-centers of the frog (1869), described a whole series of such reflex habits.

Nevertheless A. Weismann is probably wrong in opposing the "inheritance of acquired characters," and advancing a new germ-plasm theory.⁶ According to this, the processes of evolution and descent are processes entirely independent of the influences on the evolution of the individual which would abrogate the unitary viewpoint of the evolution theory. I agree with Hering that this feature breaks the harmony of the whole doctrine of evolution, and that such an hypothesis means, as it were, to saw off the branch on which one is sitting.

The expositions of Jean Henri Fabre of Serignan, a master of experimental method and an extraordinary artist in the poetic presentation of the insect world, give us reason to distrust Weismann's theory. Thus Fabre⁷ describes in detail the life of the larva of the cerambycid beetle. When eating, it bores a passage into the trunk of the tree which will accommodate its increasing size; it stops the opening lightly with dust, so that the developed insect as it creeps out after its metamorphosis, can escape without difficulty.

By virtue of self-continuing memory this recurs in each succeeding generation. But if the larva is knocked out of the trunk of the tree by a woodpecker without being eaten on its excursion, then is it compelled to return to the tree or will it seek refuge elsewhere?



⁵ A. Weismann, *Ueber Leben und Tod*, Jena, 1884.

⁶ A. Weismann, *Die Continuität des Keimplasmas als Grundlage einer Theorie der Vererbung*, Jena, 1885.

⁷ J. H. Fabre, *Bilder aus der Insectenwelt*, Series 1-4, Stuttgart, Kosmos Verlag.

As an answer my wife once found between her skirts a fat, living lump, which seemed to protest strenuously against the exposure of its abode. Another time we found a larva under a garden seat which stood at the foot of a giant ash. When placed on the tree I saw it run quickly up the trunk and disappear in one of the many bore-holes to be seen in the bark. These two cases seemed to be connected with our observation of a fine big black woodpecker which we had found dead the previous winter.

Aside from disturbances by the woodpecker or other animal life, evolution can run its course exactly as Fabre has conceived. But when such disturbances intervene the variation they cause in the course of progress is very great. For the particular animal in question, it is of little consequence whether it meets its end in the stomach of a woodpecker or in that of a world-controlling (i. e., a world-tyrannizing) gormand, as a stewed or fried "cossus."⁸

Finally, I am indebted to my father, proprietor of the Slattenegg Estate in Carniola, and also to my sister Marie, for certain illuminating information with regard to Weismann's germ-plasm theory. My father raised the Chinese mulberry silkworm—a very dependent degenerate domesticated creature—and also the much larger and hardier Japanese oak-feeding silkworm out in the open oak woods. When the time arrives for the mulberry silkworm to pass into the chrysalis state it has for years been the custom to give them bundles of straw upon which to spin their cocoons. They wait, as it were, for this signal, and follow it obediently. Now it one day occurred to my father not to prepare the usual straw bundles for a small colony of these silkworms. The result was that the majority of them perished, and only a small number, the "geniuses," followed their own cravings and spun their cocoons. Since my sister believes she observed that the next generation spun cocoons in greater numbers, the case certainly deserves further investigation.

Of course it depends upon chance and also upon circumstances *whether* and *how* the personally acquired "engrams"⁹ are transmitted. Those which have been put in practice for generations of course make their appearance much more definitely and more true to type. If the question relates to personally acquired and inherited engrams, I cannot help thinking how little of these I myself possess, though that may be because my father was a philologist, and I am

⁸ J. H. Fabre, *Ein Blick in's Käferleben*, Stuttgart, pp. 27-29.

⁹ This is the term used by R. Semon, in *Die Mneme als erhaltendes Prinzip im Wechsel des organischen Geschehens*. Leipsic: Engelmann, 1911.

a naturalist. But if one tries to think of the son in the same line as the father, then he can understand how perfectly the later acquired engrams are transmitted.

I will now give a few observations previously recorded¹⁰ but now expanded, especially by illustrations, and I believe that for the latter reason they may be of interest to the readers of this journal. At the same time these sketches, as the results of a long and in part very painstaking study, give more than a detailed and circumstantial description, and only experiences (results of experiments) which are given permanent form in pictures are of real value because they are not affected by any personal coloring or increment.

In the autumn vacation of 1873, my fifteen-year-old son brought me a sparrow a few days old, which had fallen from its nest, and wished to keep and raise it. But it was not so simple a matter, for the creature could not be induced to swallow and would soon have succumbed to the indignities of an artificial feeding. Then I fell into the following train of thought: A new-born child would certainly perish if it had not the specially formed organs and inherited impulse to suck. Something similar in another form must exist likewise in the case of the bird. I exerted myself to discover the appropriate stimulus which could incite the reflex movement of swallowing. Finally a small insect (a grasshopper) was swung rapidly about the head of the bird. Immediately the bird opened its bill and beat with the stumps of its wings. I had thus discovered the right stimulus for setting free the impulse and the automatic movement. The bird now grew perceptibly stronger and greedier; it began to snatch at the food, once seized an insect which had fallen on the table, and from that time on ate of its own accord.

It was at this time that I also experienced, as I now remember, a horrible hallucination, although three years ago on the occasion of a visit from Dr. E. v. Niessl-Meyendorf, on his express inquiry, I denied any such thing absolutely; but I will now state it as it occurred. I had fed my sparrow with grasshoppers until it had become large and fully fledged. Then I dreamed that I saw a gigantic grasshopper with its forelegs against my breast playing in an uncanny fashion with its antennae and feelers around my face as if it fain would say:

"Shall my herds before thee fall?

Room there is on earth for all!"¹¹

¹⁰ E. Mach, *The Analysis of Sensations*, Chicago, 1914. [Where the author quotes literally from this work we adopt also without further acknowledgment the text of this translation, extracts on pp. 71-76.—Tr.]

¹¹ From Schiller's well-known ballad, "The Alpine Hunter."

Then I awoke, and the sinister character of the illusion could not continue in the face of my waking consciousness. But I was conscious of having torn out the saltatorial legs of hundreds, yes thousands, of little grasshoppers within a few weeks, and of thus violating my Buddhistic conscience, for since the years of childhood I have consciously perpetrated no act of cruelty nor practiced vivisection.

If I had been an adherent of the Winter King and after the battle on the White Mountain had been handed over alive to the



FEEDING BABY SPARROWS.

executioner by some clerical relative I might also not have come away without terrible hallucinations—and one does not know whether he should pity or envy the man who has never had such illusions. How often may not this emotional drama have been played in the imaginary space behind the mirror-like plane of a knight's castle in Bohemia!

After this digression I return to my nursling. In proportion as its intellect developed, a perceptibly smaller part of the original releasing stimulus was required. The creature gradually became independent and took on successively all the characteristic ways of sparrows. It would jump up on my finger when I held it out, would

whet its bill on it, and delighted the eye by assuming a great variety of the movements of sparrows which it had never seen and could never have learned. The now fully-fledged creature feeling itself in harmony with its surroundings began to indulge in all sorts of pastimes, and when it whetted its bill upon my finger with "childlike



SEEKING SHELTER.

affection" I experienced a real parental joy. Nor did it by any means behave with discretion; it often pecked my hair and beard and sometimes tweaked my ears. Hence the relation between us closely resembled that of potentate and court fool which is sometimes established between parents and children, although the bird

could not take into account the degree of intelligence or power of his human companion.

When I would take my walk in the morning in the meadow near a row of trees I used to take my sparrow with me. He would fly up into the trees but always come down again upon my fingers when I called "tsip, tsip." Finally it became evident that the supposed "he" was a "she," for after the grasshopper diet was changed for more solid and miscellaneous food she began in a parthenogenetic fit to lay an egg and thus after a time yielded to this manner

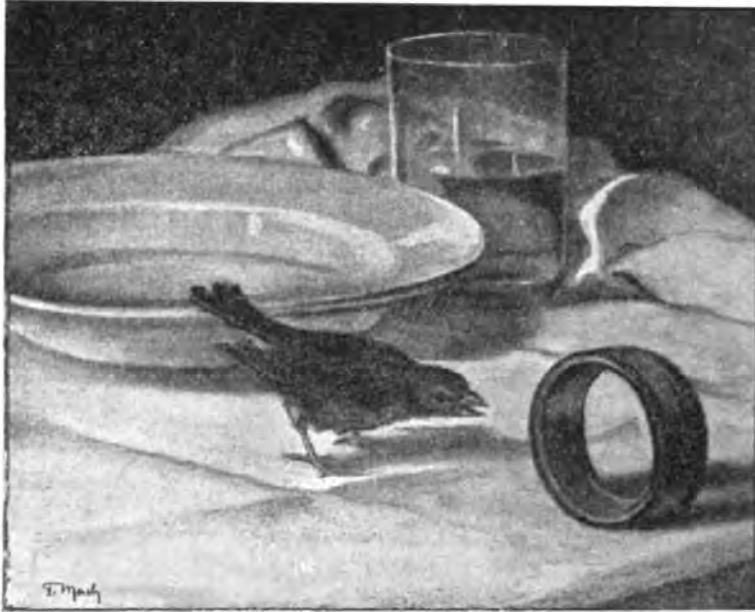


UNDUE FAMILIARITY.

of life. So I would have little more to tell if my daughter had not continued these experiments with other baby sparrows.

My grandchild brought her a whole nest which had fallen to the ground with five or six sparrows in it, among them males distinguishable by pretty black cravat-like marks. Now a mother could not indulge in the luxury of a grasshopper hunt to bring up sparrows, and so a simplified procedure was devised which served the purpose very well. White bread (a roll) was soaked in milk, and just a pinch of this between the fingers was enough for the

meal of one bird. In this case the process was greatly facilitated by the fact that the old birds helped to procure food as soon as



A SUSPICIOUS OBJECT.



VARIOUS PASTIMES.

the window was open or the young birds were set outside. After the young birds had been set free they would come back into the

room of their own accord when the weather was bad and as soon as the care of the parents became insufficient. Once when my daughter returned from the country she brought me a male bird which had been reared in this way, but hardly had the maid who accompanied her placed the cage upon the table in the garden when the neighbor's cat appeared on the scene and the bird was eaten before I had even seen it. So I was again prevented from studying a male as I had wished to do, and must content myself with completing the bringing up of the weakest, which was another female that had been kept back for fear that it was not equal to the struggle for existence. This one lived with me eight years, and



VARIOUS PASTIMES.

my son Felix and I were able to make plenty of observations of the little creature and continue where I had left off years before.

It delighted my grandchildren when the sparrow pulled my hair or whiskers, and often pecked me hard enough to feel it, for then they thought the bird wanted to wake me up. I could almost have shared this simple interpretation, but what an intelligence, what humor and what a standpoint we would have to believe any young creature capable of if we were to assume the idea of teasing! This might prove to be the case in an intelligent little dog which had been educated by a human being and so had attained a clearer idea of its own ego and that of others. Intelligent creatures like spar-

rows might perhaps reach this stage by training, but it certainly is not innate. Therefore I think that this one had only her own concerns in view and was exerting her native instinct for nest building, for instance, when she played with the hairs on my head and beard.

What more I have to say about this second female sparrow supplements the first and rests upon new personal observations which coincide almost perfectly with those made by my daughter and grandchildren quite independently.

My sparrow regarded a napkin ring as quite harmless when it stood or lay motionless upon the table, but as soon as it rolled or rocked to and fro on a projection around its outer circumference,

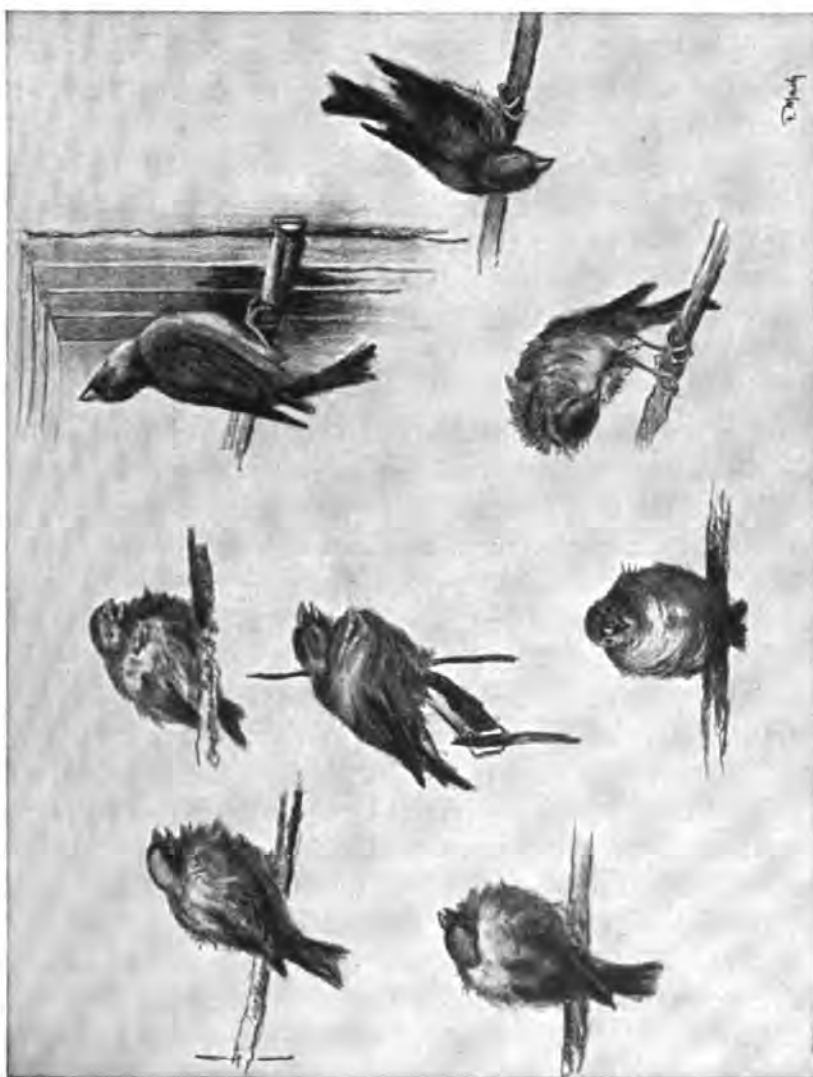


VARIOUS PASTIMES.

she set herself to fight it, with her legs sprawled out, head lowered and bill wide open, pecking at it furiously. She evidently considered it alive and perhaps regarded it with the suspicion that it was a competitor in the matter of eating! If any one is surprised at the sparrow let him recall the story of Peter Hele (also called Henlein, 1480) of Nuremberg, against whom a peasant and even his own wife brought complaint because they thought his ticking clocks were living creatures and believed him to be in league with devils and witches!

When I slowly advanced my finger toward the sparrow she attacked it vigorously in contrast to the gentle treatment the hand

of my daughter received, whereby the bird perhaps showed that she recognized the intimate friend who fed her. She would attentively follow up any fold in the tablecloth that started to move; yes, she would lie in wait for it and then rush upon it all of a sudden and belabor the suspicious place with furious strokes of her bill.



MOODS AND POSTURES.

If a napkin were pulled away from her she would often hold on to it resisting with all of the strength of her body. The little creature would pick up bread crumbs and caraway seeds, never forgetting to take a pinch from the saltcellar; sometimes stretching herself mightily, she looked into everything inquisitively, yet with a certain reserve and caution, often tasting of things. The little

pictures entitled "Various Pastimes" show instances of these instructive idylls on the dining table.

I easily discovered in the course of time that my little bird had quite a different physiognomy on beautiful bright days from that in dark, cool or foggy weather, and in every case the mood and temperament were to a great extent dependent upon the weather. The comfortable position when the sun shines in the cage, a siesta, soliloquies, after the bath, or when a favorite morsel came into her feeding bowl or was handed her from above, are easily distinguished in the last illustration.

My companion of many years finally was taken ill with a painful cancerous growth under one wing and became so weak that she was no longer able to get to a higher twig. So my son brought about her translation into the Nirvana of the sparrows by means of a dose of ether, and this quiet little life, and yet indeed so long a one, was at an end.

* * *

I have a few general observations to add. My sparrow early made the discovery that she could not get out of doors through the glass, and after the first attempt never flew against a pane of glass but always sat on the window sill. I mention this because invertebrates, like wasps, bees and butterflies, are incurable in this respect. Then too in the daytime (that is with mind awake) my sparrows were very trustful and friendly and not at all shy; they looked upon human beings as their own kind. But in the evening in the growing twilight other phenomena regularly appeared. The bird would then always seek out the highest places in the room and would not be quieted until it was prevented by the ceiling from going any higher. At my approach it expressed fear, horror, yes I may say the most extreme fear of ghosts, for it ruffled its feathers, puffed itself up, crowded into a corner, opened its bill wide and pecked furiously at any hand that came near it. These defenseless creatures have many kinds of enemies, and their behavior is therefore not without reason. The human child finds himself in very similar circumstances and it is doubtless an error to refer the fear of ghosts back to the stories of "Momus and Lamia" or "Hannibal at the Gates" or other more modern means of terror. This fear is much more probably an old inherent native "engram" passed down through preceding generations. The case is similar with religion, and this thought will admit of further development.

Just as according to Chamisso and Darwin the birds on an uninhabited island learn to fear men only through generations of

experience, so we must reverse the process and strive to unlearn the "shivers" in the course of generations, and this would be a very good thing for us.

According to the observations of my son-in-law the terror of the birds was further increased by covering one's head with a white cloth. My last sparrow became quite excited from this cause even in bright mid-day.

* * *

It is a great drawback to the observation of animals that for the most part they must be fragmentary, since the most important moments are missing. Therefore it is probable that the "engrams" experienced for many generations become alive in one moment, although it is possible to make great mistakes in such moments. *Continuous* observation simply cannot be replaced by anything else. It is remarkable how quickly the animals learn to take man into account as an analogous agent. Thus in one village the sparrows knew the call of my sister and came when they heard it, but they paid no attention to another call, and would fly from a priest who had shot at them.

All animals have a brain with the exception of the very lowest,¹² and there must be continuity in nature as well as in the systems of philosophers, so we must assume that every beginning of psychic life, analogously to the principle of Roux, may be capable of evolution at and from every stage.

Further I agree with the opinion of C. M. von Nuruk¹³ that to live with animals is incomparably more valuable than merely to observe them. In this sense the station among anthropoid apes on Orotawa on the Island of Teneriffe may be welcomed as a promising new undertaking.

Further an exact investigation of the processes in the cerebrum would be highly important—the development of experiments of which I need only call to mind the fine observation of Lloyd Morgan's dog,¹⁴ which first began to follow a rabbit on its zig-zag path, but after a few failures took the straight road to the kennel and in that way obtained his prize.

I think that one can often obtain an insight into the psychic life of animals through the emotions, for on the side of feeling

¹² Cf. L. Edinger, *Die Lehre vom Bau und den Verrichtungen des Nervensystems*, Leipsic, 1909.

¹³ C. M. von Nuruk, *Leben mit Tieren*, Stuttgart, 1905.

¹⁴ C. Lloyd Morgan, *Animal Life and Intelligence*, London, 1891.

and will man and beast come closer together than on the side of the intellect.

The miracles of the insect-world furnish an immeasurably rich source of material, inviting further investigations through their relative simplicity which makes them more easily accessible to an empirical analytical method. I will refer to single chapters of Fabre's like that on the musical instruments of the locusts; to experiments in the poison of scorpions resulting in the discovery that the sting which was fatal to the matured insect was of only slight injury to the larva; to the fertilization of the emperor moth which we know is accomplished by a fine pollen which the male has brought from miles away.

Thus we become acquainted with systems of reflexes adapted to different ends, which for this reason cannot act together in their combination as a unity toward one end as in the case of the vertebrate. It seldom happens with them that the death of one of the partners takes place in the transport accompanying the act of pairing, whereas in the case of spiders, beetles and grasshoppers the usually weaker male is very often, or almost regularly, eaten.

In spite, however, of this psychological difference, in spite of this enormous disparity, we must not believe it is not an advantage to the study of human psychology to observe the lower animals. On the contrary, whoever understands how to observe the single reflexes taken separately will also know how to combine and unite them in the case of the higher animal, man.

In a subject which is so rich and varied and possesses so many possibilities and conceptions I may close with the words of Solon:

πᾶσιν ἀδεῖν χαλεπόν.

THE SOLDIER-WOMEN OF MEXICO.

BY VINCENT STARRETT.

ON May 20, 1914, the Associated Press correspondent in the City of Mexico sent the following dispatch from Estacion Amargos:

"Women, who follow every Mexican army, took a prominent part in the fight at Zartuche. As the federal soldiers swarmed from the cars some of the women dragged out and broke open boxes of ammunition, carrying the cartridges to the federal soldiers in the face of the constitutionalist fire. Others crouched on the iron

roofs of the cars, took up the rifles of the wounded and loaded and fired with all the coolness and determination of veterans.

"A party of the women made a desperate effort to bring a machine gun on one of the flat cars to bear on the constitutionalist troops, but before they could swing the muzzle and place the cartridge clips in position the soldiers had surrendered and the constitutionalists had swarmed over the sides of the car."

In every conflict instances have not been lacking that the Amazons of old are still accessories to the terrible game of War. From the Russian battle front and from some of the Balkan states comes word of women warriors in blouse and boots, fighting as desperately as ever did the men. The Mexican survival, however, is another matter and is not to be judged by the same standards. In most recent instances patriotism (i. e., love of country) has been the guiding flame of female participants; in Mexico, where patriotism is, at best, an erratic flame, another passion must be ascribed.

Properly, the Mexican *soldadera* is a camp follower, and her primary function is the world-old function of her kind. She is a part of the army, a part of the nation and a part of the Mexican system of things, and in a study of the whole she must be considered. Psychologically, she is vastly more interesting than the *soldado*. Often she rises to the height described by the correspondent in the preceding dispatch, but more often she does not.

A *soldado* is a soldier. A *soldadera* is a woman who follows the army and the *soldado*. In Chicago, in certain circumstances, she would be fined \$25 and costs and sent to the house of correction. In Mexico she is an institution, recognized and something more than tolerated. Her standing in the army, of course, is unofficial, but there are hundreds of her—thousands—almost as many as there are *soldados*.

The *soldadera* has been treated rather more charitably and lovingly under another name by Ouida. The Mexican *soldadera* is no *Cigarette*, however, and she lacks utterly the glamor of the *vivandière*. The tendency of the romanticist is to exalt her virtues, properly enough, while glossing over her vices. In the following poem entitled "*La Cantinera*,"¹ James Stanley Gilbert has done just this, but also he has placed his finger squarely on her *raison d'être* and the primary cause of it.

"As she scrambled down from the transport's deck,
Her figure parodied grace;

¹ *Panama Patchwork*: Poems by James Stanley Gilbert. Ninth thousand. New York: The Trow Press, 1911.

Eighteen at the most and a physical wreck,
 Yet she had an angel's face!
 From head to foot
 Clung dirt and soot—
 There was dirt on her angel's face.
 —Yes, dirt on her angel's face!

"Her hair in inky loops hung low
 O'er a soldier's canvas coat,
 And a tattered shift yawned wide to show
 A short and sunburned throat!
 No lingerie—
 We all could see
 Her short and sunburned throat!
 —Yes, more than her sunburned throat!

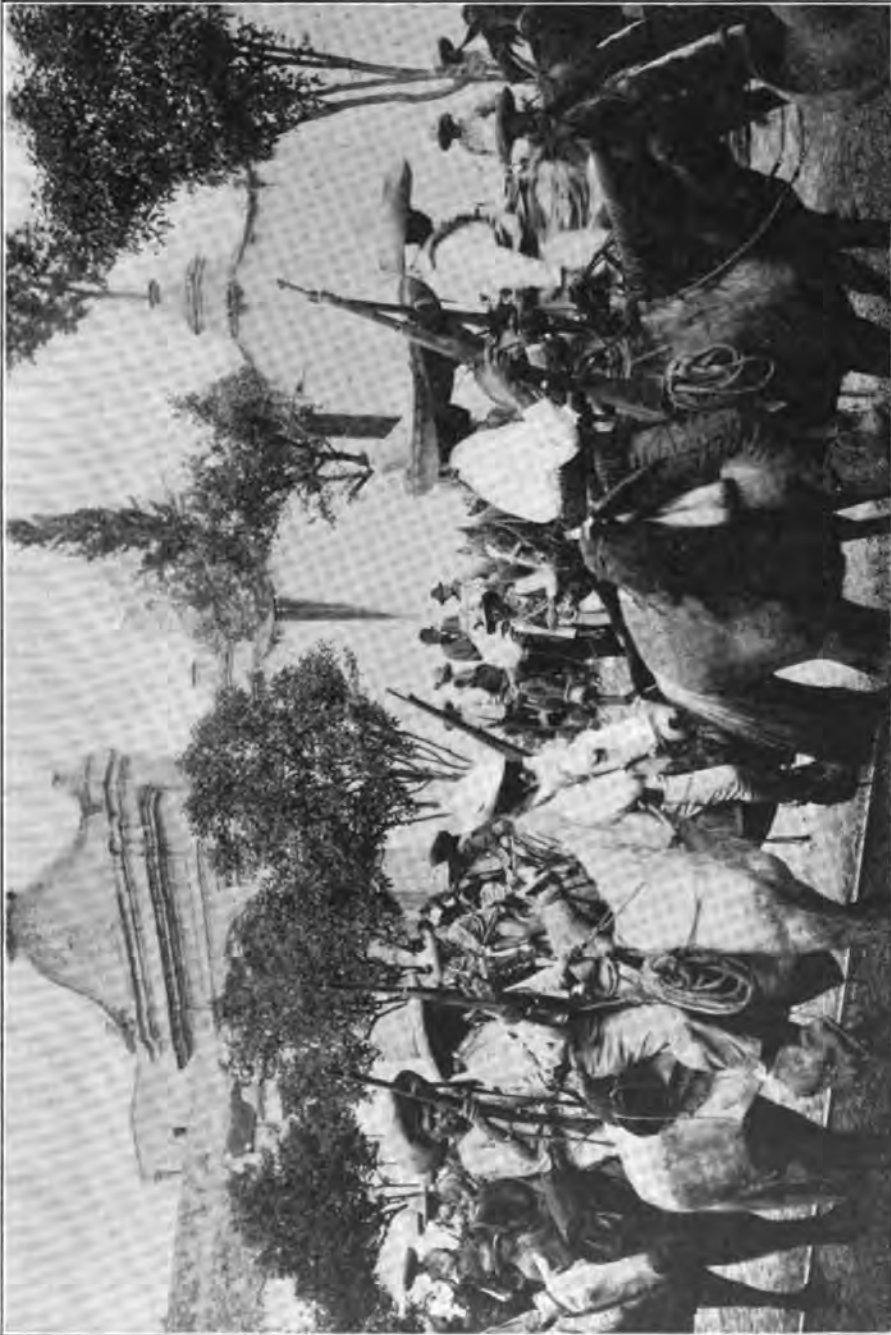
"Her dress—her what? She had no dress;
 Call it skirt for lack of a name—
 ('Tis a guess, the wildest kind of a guess)
 Put shamelessness to shame!
 So scanty and torn
 And carelessly worn,
 It put shamelessness to shame!
 —Yes, shamelessness to shame!

"She gathered her kit and passed us by
 Foul bedding and pots and bags;
 A babe on her hip—another one nigh—
 Nakedness, filth and rags!
 On the endless tramp
 From camp to camp,
 In nakedness, filth and rags!
 —Yes, nakedness, filth and rags!

"A drab and a drudge—a regiment's Thing
 To abuse, debauch, debase;
 And yet—as though guarded by Beauty's wing—
 Her face was an angel's face!
 Though sadly bedimmed,
 'Twas Beauty who limned
 The lines of her angel's face!
 —Yes, modelled her angel's face!

"What of it, you ask? Oh, nothing but this;—
 I think it not often the case
 That one clearly beholds in ignorance, bliss,
 And 'tis proved by an angel's face!
 For ignorance
 Of innocence,
 Shone from her angel's face!
 —Yes, gave her an angel's face!"

Gilbert, I believe, was not writing about a Mexican woman, but the slattern heroine of his crude and powerful canvas is dis-



TYPICAL MEXICAN SOLDIERS (Cavalry). Far back to the left may be seen some of their women.

tinctly of the *genre*. Heaven forbid that I should go on record as having found the beauty he describes, in the Mexican *soldadera*;

still I have encountered just such types—such exceptions—and his lines are particularly valuable for their final suggestion. Ignorance of innocence—that, at least, is beautifully descriptive of the curious, hopeless creature I am endeavoring to present.

But if, like the "Absent-Minded Beggar," her "weaknesses are great," her virtues are many and should merit some respect.

The Mexican idea of making a soldier is to pour him into a uniform, give him a rifle and let him fight as best he can. He is largely a product of the press gang, seized from street and field, more often than not is an Indian of the very lowest peon class and abysmally low in the intellectual scale. Frequently he is a convict released from the *cuartel* on the condition that he join the army. It is patent, therefore, that his woman cannot be expected to produce a birth certificate or a marriage contract or a genealogy dating from Cortez.

In point of fact, however, she is often his wife, *de facto*, and faithful to the vows she did not take. Frequently, again, she is neither his wife nor faithful. Always, she is a paradoxical creature to be accepted for what she is and not to be analyzed, vivisected or understood.

When a Mexican army goes to war considerable recruiting is necessary to bring it up to even nominal strength. The unhappy Indian, torn from the plow or dragged from prison to fight for "his country," has only a short time to get together his portable goods, including his family. Fortunately, there is little to be done; he whistles for his dog and his woman; the bugle sounds, and the "army" moves forward, leaden-footed, with a forlorn wake of women and children and donkeys, staggering beneath the weight of pots and pans and the sting of fly and whip.

Now the strange psychology of the true *soldadera* becomes apparent. She may have many admirers, whose transitory affection moves her not a jot. Ordinarily (exceptions cheerfully granted) she has only one lover—one "husband"—her man, her *Juan*. He may or may not be her husband, but at any rate he is her *Juan*, her chosen one, and him she adores with the unreasoning love of a dog that clings to a brutal master.

For him crimes may be committed without remorse. Remorse is an emotion she has never felt. She will beg, she will borrow, she will steal for him. It is said that she will not hesitate to take a life for him. On the battlefield she will be at his side whenever it is possible, and she has been known to seize his rifle when he has

fallen and fight over his body with an Amazonian fury equaled only by a mother wild beast defending her young.



TYPICAL MEXICAN SOLDIERS IN THE STREETS OF MEXICO CITY.

After the conflict she is a bustling bundle of energy, unpacking the kettles and the pans and preparing a meal for her adored one.

She rests not until he is comfortable. Her babe, even, is a secondary consideration when her lover is near.

It may be a parade one is watching in the white streets of the capital. It may be the crack regiment that is marching by the reviewing stand with waving banners and beating drums. More interesting than the brown *soldados* in the street are the brown *soldaderas* on the sidewalk, keeping pace with the regiment as it sweeps along, awaiting the end of the march or a temporary halt, that they may rush forth to "their men" and press a canteen or a pannikin of cooling water to their lips.

This may be said for the private soldier of Mexico: He does not flaunt his women in the streets of the city when he is off duty. Not so the officers. When I was in Mexico for the second time in the spring of 1915, the hotels of Vera Cruz were filled with dapper officers and their women. They paraded the streets in their showy attire or reclined gracefully, side by side, in the ancient victorias which are the most popular vehicles of locomotion in the port. In a majority of instances, I was informed, the officers' wives were in other cities.

"Where," I asked, "do these women come from? They are young and many of them are pretty. And there are hundreds of them."

My companion, a hardened mining engineer with fifteen years of turbulent Mexican experience behind him, smiled peculiarly.

"You will recall," he remarked, "that after the fall of the empire a washerwoman came into power."

Yet these officers' women are not the true *soldaderas*. They exist, but theirs is another case. They are younger and more attractive physically, but they are older in experience and sin. And theirs is distinctly the sin of the legal code, for, unlike the authentic *soldadera*, it may not be claimed for them that they are "ignorant of innocence." Intellectually, they are above the *soldadera*; morally, they are far, far below her.

The *soldadera* is not immoral; she is unmoral. She has not forgotten; she never knew. With her, ignorance is truly bliss, for her ignorance is truly ignorance of innocence.

Poor brutalized, degenerate sloven! She is yet the most loyal and faithful part of a faithless army!

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE EGYPTIAN MOTHER GODDESS.

Nut, the great mother goddess of the ancient Egyptians, is a personification of the heavens, and there are many pictures of her extant. She is commonly represented as star-spangled and bending over in such a way that both her hands and her feet touch the ground. Under her lies Seb, her husband, the god of earth. His body is painted over with plumes. Nut and Seb were once united in close embrace, but Shu interfered and separated the two, producing a space between them and thus dividing the watery mass above the firmament from the dry land below.

Shu, as well as his female counterpart Tefnut, originated from Tem, one of the several forms of the sun-god. Shu means "dry, empty" and personifies the empty space between heaven and earth, while Tefnut is derived from the root *tef* or *tef tef*, "to spit, to be moist."

Tem, the sun-god, was one god—indeed he is called "the one god," and by emitting the two gods, Shu and Tefnut, he became three, as we read in the second hymn to Amen-Ra, where Tem is addressed: "Thou art the one god who didst form thyself into two gods, thou art the creator of the egg and thou didst produce thy twin gods."

The word *ashesh*, "to emit," means also "to bear," and it seems that the light emitted or poured forth from the sun, as incorporated in Shu, was at the same time conceived as lifting up the sky, as if the sky were resting upon the rays of the sun. Nevertheless, while Shu is said to support the sky Nut is supposed to be leaning on herself, for her two hands and her two feet are called the four pillars of the heavens.

The story of the separation of Seb and Nut by Shu was a favorite subject of Egyptian artists. There are a great number of pictures of the scene, and in our frontispiece we reproduce one of them as presented by E. A. Wallis Budge in his *Gods of the Egyptians* (Vol. II, colored plate facing p. 964). Here the goddess bends over Seb who lies prostrate on the ground. Ra goes up over the body of Nut in his solar barge and goes down again over her neck and head on the other side where Osiris awaits his entry into the Tuat with open arms. In other presentations of the same scene the solar barge is sometimes supported by Shu underneath Nut.

Seb is the son of Shu and Tefnut and at the same time both brother and husband of Nut, and father of Osiris and Isis, Set and Nephthys. Yet in addition he played an important part in the Egyptian doctrines of life after death. The deceased says: "My father is Seb and my mother is Nut," which expression identifies the deceased with Osiris. Thereupon Nu, the overseer of the house of the seal, is made to say,

"The doors of heaven are opened for me,
The doors of earth are opened for me,
The bars and bolts of Seb are opened for me,
I exchange speech with Seb."

In Heliopolis Nut is said to have laid from Seb the great egg from which came forth the sun-god in the shape of a phoenix, the bird Bennu, representing the daily rebirth of the sun. As the father of this egg the god Seb is called "the great cackler" (Kenken-ur) and his sacred animal is the goose. The deceased says: "Hail thou god Tem, grant unto me the sweet breath which dwelleth in thy nostrils. I embrace that great throne which is in the city of Hermopolis, and I keep watch over the egg of the Great Cackler which has come into being wherewith the god Seb has opened the earth. I germinate as it (the earth) germinateth; I live, as it liveth; and my breath is its breath" (*Book of the Dead*, Chapters 54, 56, 59).

The deceased usually identifies himself with the powers that have overcome death, with Osiris, with Benu, with Horus, etc., and he argues that as Seb helped Osiris in the passage through the underworld, so he should now help him.

Nut has always been regarded as a protector of the dead. She is prayed to as a mother in tones of affection and confidence. We read for instance: "Mother Nut hath spread herself over thee in her name of 'Coverer of the sky,'" and she is assumed to feed the soul from sacred sycamores. In the *Book of the Dead* allusions to Nut are frequent, and she is supposed to provide the soul with meat and drink. The text seems to refer to sycamore trees under which the surviving members of the family of the deceased offered water and food, as we read in one place: "Hail, thou sycamore of the goddess Nut! Grant thou to me of the water and of the air which dwell in thee. I embrace the throne which is in Unnu (Hermopolis), and I watch and guard the egg of the Great Cackler. It groweth, I grow; it liveth, I live; it snuffeth the air, I snuff the air" (Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, Vol. II, p. 107).

Nut survived after the abolition of Egyptian polytheism in Christian legends, as explained by Professor Budge (pages 107-108):

"Since the mythological tree of Nut stood at Heliopolis and was a sycamore it may well have served as the archetype of the sycamore tree under which tradition asserts that the Virgin Mary sat and rested during her flight to Egypt, and there seems to be little doubt that many of the details about her wanderings in the Delta, which are recorded in the Apocryphal Gospels and in writings of a similar class, are borrowed from the old mythology of Egypt. Associated with the sycamore of Nut were the plants among which the Great Cackler Seb laid the egg of the sun, and these may well be identified with the famous balsam trees, from which was expressed the oil which was so highly prized by the Christians of Egypt and Abyssinia, and which was used by them in their ceremony of baptism; these trees were always watered with water drawn from the famous 'Ain Shems (a name really meaning the "eye of the sun"), i. e., the well of water which is fed by a spring in the immediate neighborhood, and is commonly called the "Fountain of the Sun." We may note in passing another legend, which was popular among the Copts, to the effect that the Virgin Mary once hid herself and her son from their enemies in the trunk of the sycamore at Heliopolis, and that it is based upon an ancient Egyptian myth recorded by Plutarch which declared that Isis hid the body of Osiris in a tree trunk."

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Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

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This edition is a photographic reproduction of the *edition de luxe* which was printed in Leipsic in 1913 and ready for shipment in time to be caught by the embargo Great Britain put on all articles exported from Germany. Luckily two copies of the above edition escaped, and these were used to make the photographic reproduction of this latest edition. While the Buddhist Bible could not in any way be considered a contraband of war yet the publishers were forced to hold back many hundred orders for the book on account of orders in council of Great Britain.

When the book was first published His Majesty, the King of Siam, sent the following communication through his private secretary:

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A SOUND CONSTITUTION.

BY ROLAND HUGINS.

I.

WHEN the fathers, in their wisdom, met to endow the new Union with a set of institutions, their task was to create a government. They were thinking chiefly of political forms, political rights. And they wrote a political Constitution. They would be astonished, were they here to-day, to find so much economic significance read into their work. In the eighteenth century it was the fashion to talk government. In the early twentieth it is the fashion to talk economics. The associates of Washington, Hamilton and Jefferson thought little about industrial democracy, one way or another. They did not debate at length over problems of property, wealth and commerce, shoes and ships. They were preoccupied with questions of sovereignty, and with the rights of man.

When one reads the Constitution of the United States he sees unfolding before him a carefully planned political structure. It builds the House of Representatives, the Senate, the Executive, the Judiciary; it defines their duties and powers, and fits them together. It rears a neatly jointed Federation on the foundation of the States. The outlines are sharp and definite, the plan substantial and solid. A representative republic takes shape, unified in principle, complete in detail. This political structure has, down to the present day, remained very largely unaltered.

The fact that the Constitution is a product of the eighteenth century is a reason for esteeming it, detractors notwithstanding. The eighteenth century brought forth the French Revolution and the American Commonwealth. Out of the idealism of the eighteenth century grew the liberalism of the nineteenth. And it was the nineteenth century, in spiritual weariness, that made the attempt to throttle liberalism.

II.

For the last decade or two the Constitution has been under intermittent bombardment as a bulwark of property rights. Critics have seen a causal connection between the provisions of our fundamental law and the inequalities of American life. From this document they have derived exploitation of labor and concentration of wealth. These critics have not been irresponsible agitators. For example, Arthur T. Hadley asserted that, "the constitutional position of the property owner in the United States has been stronger than in any country in Europe."

When these critics come to elaborate their case they lay great stress, of necessity, on the decisions of the courts. Their line of logic runs in general as follows. The Constitution forbids any State to pass laws that impair the obligation of contracts. In the Dartmouth College case of 1819 the court held that a charter is a contract. Hence a legislature has no power to revoke the privileges and immunities granted to a corporation, even though granted in perpetuity. The Fourteenth Amendment declares that no State shall deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws. By legal definition a corporation is a person. In 1882 the Southern Pacific Railroad, in California, took the position that a State cannot tax individuals (persons) at a different or lower rate than corporations (also persons). The courts sustained this view. Entrenched behind these decisions and interpretations, vested interests were indeed strongly fortified.

Such are the facts. But what do they prove? They prove very little concerning the intent of the founders. American courts have been very solicitous of the rights of small property holders. In this they have but reflected popular sentiment and philosophy. That large property holders should have profited more than any one else is a logical, although to a large degree a fortuitous and unforeseen result.

One cannot but be impressed by the slimness of the Constitutional stalk from which all our property privileges have bloomed. Out of all the hundreds of affirmations and prohibitions in the Constitution and its Amendments, only a tiny number have a capitalistic color. They are quickly quoted:

"No State shall....pass any.... law impairing the obligation of contracts." Article I, Section 10.

"No person shall....be deprived of life, liberty, or property,

without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation." Fifth Amendment.

"....nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." Fourteenth Amendment.

That is the sum of the plutocratic bias in the Constitution. And obviously these provisions were not written for the benefit of millionaires. If these few provisions were stricken out or amended, and if the elaborate superstructure that the courts have reared upon them were leveled, the property owner would stand quite defenseless before any legislature bent on his expropriation.

Indeed, it is not an exaggeration to state that the Constitution, with very small alterations, could be made to serve the purposes of a socialistic régime. Suppose that within the next fifty years ultra-radical ideas supplanted the present conservative beliefs of our people. Imagine that the radicals captured Congress, the Presidency, and the bulk of the States. What would stand in their way? What would bar them from putting their program into effect? The Constitution could be amended, or reinterpreted. Could the Supreme Court uphold the hands of privilege? Could it override statute law? The Supreme Court is powerless against the President and the Congress. In the first place Congress can, under the Constitution, direct that the decision of a lower court shall be final, except in a few restricted cases, both as to law and fact. In the second place the size of the Supreme Court is not fixed. Additional judgeships can be created. Just as the British House of Commons can, at any time, swamp a recalcitrant House of Lords by the creation of new peers, so the American Congress and President can swamp a reactionary Supreme Court by the appointment of new Justices.

I am not saying that it would be desirable to establish a Socialistic commonwealth in America. I am only saying that the Constitution is flexible enough to permit the establishment of such a commonwealth without political revolution.

III.

Our diverting friends, the Bolsheviki, appear to have a distaste for any sort of political institutions. What is the need, they ask, for a government—between friends? They have a deep suspicion of the state and all its works, as being intrinsically predatory. In this they follow the syndicalists, who are opposed in principle to all political action. They deem a simple guild government, like the

Soviets of Workmen's and Soldiers' Delegates, quite sufficient to carry out the purposes of a revolutionary proletariat.

One school of Continental political philosophers has maintained that the state is primarily an organization for the exploitation of wage-earners. Its essence is the enforcement of tribute to property. The Russian radicals apparently have embraced this philosophy. They regard government in itself as an evil thing. Dr. Johnson said, in the eighteenth century,—“I would not give a half a guinea to live under one form of government rather than another; it is of no moment to the happiness of the individual.” The Bolsheviki go further. They are not merely indifferent to governments; they reject them all. Democracy, they contend, must be economic in essence. Democracy will be evidenced by an equitable distribution of income, not by popular elections or by the supremacy of parliaments. Once achieve genuine industrial democracy, and political forms can be left to take care of themselves.

I should not care to debate with a Bolsheviki on the nature of democracy. He might have the right of the argument; and then again, undoubtedly I could not convince him if he were wrong! But I am certain that these Russian radicals, intelligent men though they are, will make a profound error in despising political institutions and political strategy. No matter what their economic program, they must necessarily use governmental means to put it into effect. And these means must be adequate. Furthermore political institutions alone give stability to a society. If the Bolsheviki want their régime to last half a generation they cannot afford to neglect devices for perpetuating their power. Revolutionary ardor will die down. Some sort of order will be established, for no civilization is possible without order. And in any orderly society power has a curious way of slipping from the hands of radicals into the hands of conservatives.

At present the Russian reformers are absorbed, quite naturally, in questions of predial distribution, ownership of natural resources, and industrial organization. But they will do well if they remember, a little later, that a profitable study may be made of such matters as proportional representation, the recall and referendum, the relation of the executive to the legislature, and budget making.

IV.

Our form of government may be termed representative republicanism. The Constitution prescribes exactly how this government shall function. Although economically the Constitution allows a

wide range of variation, politically it is rigid. What powers shall be exercised, how these powers shall be divided among the different officials, and in what manner and degree these officials are held responsible to the electorate,—all these and similar matters are definitely decreed. The absorption of students in the economic corollaries of the Constitution has diverted attention from its basic principles. For it is upon the political side that the Constitution is legitimately open to praise or blame.

The Constitution is fundamentally sound. It has stood the test for a century and a quarter. But it is not perfect. It has disclosed defects.

May I suggest the direction that constructive criticism is likely to take? John Stuart Mill, who hit the center of so many social truths, has given us an excellent formula for the measure of governmental institutions. He said:

“We have from the first affirmed, and unvaryingly kept in view, the co-equal importance of two great requisites of government: responsibility to those for whose benefit political power ought to be, and always professes to be, employed; and jointly therewith to obtain, in the greatest measure possible, for the function of government the benefits of superior intellect, trained by long meditation and practical discipline to that special task.”

To apply this formula in detail to the Constitution would be an undertaking too large for the limits of a single article. Undoubtedly the Constitution would stand the analysis well; for the principles of American government are wrought of verities. On the other hand it would be possible to make changes in our institutions which would bring them into closer alignment with the “great requisites of government.” The first of these is responsibility to the people. Would it not be advisable to provide machinery for a general election of Congressmen, or for a referendum, on great public questions? The people, as matters now stand, seldom, if ever, have an opportunity to record an opinion on definite and clear-cut issues.

The second requisite is, according to Mill, the recruitment of superior intellect. Would it not be wise to allow candidates for the House of Representatives and for the Senate to choose the constituencies for which they would stand? In England and on the Continent of Europe aspirants to national legislatures may seek popular support wherever they deem their chances of election best. This arrangement smoothes the path of able young men who endeavor to enter public life, and also insures unbroken tenure of

position to men of proven worth. In the United States candidates are restricted, by Constitutional provision, to local constituencies. In consequence the quality of our leadership suffers.

Politically it is a great Constitution, one of which we are rightly proud. It might, however, easily be improved—were the world any longer interested in politics.

THE GLOOM AND GLORY OF RUSSIAN LITERATURE.¹

BY MAXIMILIAN J. RUDWIN.

Russian Literature the Lady of Sorrows of Holy Russia.

“**A**BANDON all hope, ye who enter here.” These fateful words of Dante might well be inscribed on the fly-leaf of every Russian book. The foreign reader of Russian literature walks in the Valley of Shadow. He is overwhelmed by a wealth of woe. He is steeped in gloom.

The Tragedy of Russian Life.

Russian literature is a faithful record of the history of Russia. In her literature, hapless and helpless, Russia has recorded her grief and sorrow. In her song and story she has uttered her heaven-rending cry of anguish. Russia's fiction is the direct outcome of the sufferings of her people. The misfortunes of Russia are darker and deeper, her shrieks of agony are louder and longer than those of any other country. Her literature is sadder and gloomier than that of any land. It is the literature of a country which is always “complaining and sighing and wailing.” If the joys of Russia are bitterly ignored in her literature, it is because in truth they cannot be said to exist. The humorous details in Russian literature often hide a most tragical background, which all of a sudden breaks

¹ In this essay pre-revolutionary literature only will be considered. With the overthrow of the czaristic régime, the literature of Russia enters upon a new phase. It is impossible to overestimate the effect which the Russian revolution will have upon Russian literature. Russian literature under the old régime was but an incomplete reflex of the life and character of the country. It was a fragment. It was but that part of the whole which succeeded in escaping governmental authority. It was circulated for the most part in manuscript form just as if Johann Gutenberg had never lived. It was born in prison and was but the echo of the sighs which were heaved in gloomy dungeons. The Russian revolution opened the gates of prison for Russian literature as well as for its makers. A literature finally set free will gradually wipe out the traits which it acquired in the house of bondage. It will in the course of time rid itself of its grief and gloom. It is to be hoped that it will not lose its glory.

through. Russian literature is indeed a faithful reflex of the life and character of the land and the people. When Gógol read to Púshkin the manuscript of his novel *Dead Souls*, Púshkin exclaimed: "My God, how sad our Russia is!" In speaking later of this novel to others, Púshkin added: "Gógol invents nothing; it is the simple truth." Nor did any of the later novelists, following in the footsteps of their master, invent anything. They told the simple truth, the terrible truth about the fate of their country, and about their own fates.

The Tragedy of Russian Literature.

The same adverse fate which has brooded over Russia has in a like manner inexorably pursued her writers. In the writers of Russia are mirrored the life and character of their country. They on their part reflect in their works their own sad lives. In the creations of their imagination they reproduce their own sufferings, griefs and fears. With many a Russian author it is as though he had dipped his pen in his own blood. *Le malheur d'être poète* is not wholly a Russian trait. Sappho and Tasso are classical examples of the tragic fate of a poet. In all lands have the writers drunk of life's cup of bitterness, have they been bruised by life's sharp corners and torn by life's pointed thorns. Chill penury, public neglect, and ill health have been the lot of many an author in countries other than Russia. But in the land of the Czars men of letters had to face problems and perils which were peculiarly their own, and which have not been duplicated in any other country on the globe. It was a great misfortune in Russia to possess a talent. "The devil," cried Púshkin in despair, "has caused me to be born in this country with a talent and a heart." The literary career was especially filled with danger in Russia. Every man of letters was under suspicion. The government of Russia treated every author as its natural enemy, and made him frequently feel the weight of its heavy hand. The wreath of laurels on the brow of almost every poet was turned by the tyrants of his country into a crown of thorns.

Social Discontent in Russian Literature.

The hatred of the rulers of Russia against writers had its good reason. They saw in them their literary chastisers. Russian authors were enthusiastic supporters of the dream of social justice. They were, indeed, fighters for liberty on a battlefield where the pen was a sword. Russian literature in the last century was actuated more than any other by a powerful social instinct. It reflects more than

any other the main tendencies of the social and political movements of the day. In Russia more than in any other country, literature was a vehicle for social ideas. A country without free speech and free press must needs turn to literature for the discussion of its social and political problems. In its literature at first did it try to solve in an ideal way the problems which it hoped would some day be solved in reality. A novel, a story, a poem, an essay on literature, when reading between the lines was not neglected, was a political manifesto. The Russian expected to see in the work of every writer of note a new program of social and political reform. He was accustomed to regard a good writer as a prophet. The best of the Russian authors became indeed the guides of their people. They were not only writers, but apostles and martyrs, who in the cause of Holy Russia faced imprisonment, exile and death.

Oppression and persecution bred demigods. "The madness and pride to starve and to die will never be wanting me," writes Bêlinsky not merely of himself, for it was true of any of the best Russian men of letters. Their history is, indeed, a catalog of tragedies. It is hard to mention a single great writer in Russia, who was not condemned to death, or sent as a convict prisoner to the mines of Siberia, or put as a conscript into a disciplinary battalion, or was not exiled to remote provinces, or interned on his estate, or silenced by the censor. Of all the men of letters of the world, those of Russia can surely boast of the greatest number of martyrs. Alexander Herzen calculated that during the reign of Nicholas I, the most typical and the most determined adversary of the freedom of the press that Europe has ever seen, within a period of thirty years, the three most illustrious Russian poets were either assassinated or killed in duel, three lesser ones died in exile, two became insane, two died of want, and one by the hand of the executioner. The writers who saved their lives by flight to foreign countries pined away with homesickness and loneliness in their voluntary exile. Turgénev, for instance, declared that in a strange land a man lived isolated, without any real props or profound relation to anything whatsoever. These Russian exiles used to say, in bitter irony, that they could see their country, the object of their study and love, better from a distance. In foreign lands such an unfortunate did not feel at least the torments of being a burning dreamer in a land of eternal snow. Herzen, the creator of a public sentiment in Russia from his refuge in London, could well say to his countrymen: "Here in a foreign land I am your uncensored speech, your free voice." But it was the voice of a preacher in the wilderness. Herzen lived in

London a stranger. In the British metropolis he felt, before he was joined by Bakúnin and other countrymen, as isolated as he had been in exile in Russia. Russian fugitives felt their exile more keenly than their German or French comrades. Those who had to flee from Germany or France for their political views found a congenial atmosphere in Switzerland or Belgium. But there was no free Slavonic country which could offer the Russian exiles a pleasant asylum, one in which they would not feel totally strange ground under their feet.

Many a Russian writer, who did not seek safety in flight, smothered his inspiration, or broke his pen in despair before his time, or sought to forget his disappointment in drink, or lost his mind, or took his own life! Attempts at suicide were very common among the younger generation of Russian writers. If they did not end their lives themselves, consumption as a result of privations and overwork, or *delirium tremens* as a consequence of the drink habit, or insanity, which developed from melancholia, a disease so common among Russian authors, lay in wait for them. Many Russian writers died just when or even before they had reached the full development of their talents. The knell of every ambition sounded for them just when the first rays of glory touched the long despised brow. "Whom the gods love die young." They preserved by this means many a Russian writer from a worse fate. Death saved Púshkin, Gógol, Nádsen, and Chékhov from insanity, and death saved Bêlinsky from prison. The cause of early death of such a great number of Russian authors lay not wholly in the stark misery of their youth, although many authors of plebeian descent had to acquire an education under the most terrible privations. The brief span of life allotted to these Russians is chiefly due to the sudden transition from an uncultured state to strenuous mental activity. "It is but natural," says Brückner, "that a generation so suddenly brought into contact with an ocean of new ideas should turn giddy on the edge of the abyss and lose its balance."²

The Apostles and Martyrs of Russian Literature.

It would fill volumes to record the martyrdom of Russia's men of letters. The lives of the better known among them, considering but the last two centuries, will show the manner in which Russia stoned her prophets.³

² A. Brückner, *A Literary History of Russia*, p. 528.

³ This survey of the lives of the Russian authors starts with the reign of Peter I who gave a new turn to Russian literature by bringing it in contact with the literature and learning of Western Europe. Literature proper, how-

Iván Pososhkóv (1670-1726), an economist and self-taught writer, author of *The Book of Poverty and Wealth*, was the first of them to be thrown into the fortress of SS. Peter and Paul. He thus consecrated this mausoleum for living Russian authors.

Vasíli Tretiakóvsky (1707-1769), was paid for his endeavors to reform Russian versification with poverty and persecution.

Mikháil Lomonósov (1711-1765), who laid the foundations for a Russian grammar, suffered from political persecution and the hostility of his colleagues. He gave the first impulse to the liberation of Russian intellectual life from German domination. But as he himself owed all his knowledge to German schools (Marburg and Freiburg), he was not a fit person to undertake this task.

Alekséi Sumarókov (1718-1777), the first writer of *belles lettres* in Russia and the founder of the Russian national stage, was rewarded for his great services with poverty and public neglect.

Vasíli Máikov (1728-1778), the Russian Scarron, was cast into the gloomy dungeons of the fortress.

Gabriel Derzhávin (1743-1816), the poet laureate of Catherine, was accused in his old age of Jacobinism for having translated into verse one of the psalms of David.

Nikolái Nóvikov (1744-1818), the first Russian philosopher, was sentenced to death. The death-sentence, however, was afterward commuted to fifteen years in the fortress.

Aleksándr Radíshchev (1749-1802), a political writer, the foe of slavery, as Púshkin called him, tasted prison and exile, his death-

ever, interested this monarch very little. He looked upon all printed matter as a mere vehicle for the importation of practical sciences to his half civilized country from abroad. Russia's national literature begins with Lomonósov, who has justly been called the Peter the Great of Russian letters. As far as of interest to the western world, Russian literature begins with Púshkin.

The Biographic Dictionary of Russian Writers by S. Vengérov has not been accessible to the writer. The biographical details presented in this paper have been gathered from various books on Russian literature in the English language. To harmonize the conflicting records of the lives of Russian authors as presented in our literary histories was almost as difficult as to attempt a harmony of the Gospels. The writer's own knowledge of men and affairs in Russia has been of great help to him in the preparation of this paper. It was not always easy to ascertain the correct dates of the birth and death of each author mentioned. Some of the Russian men of letters probably did not know themselves in what year they were born. Of the living authors Górký, for instance, is not sure whether he was born in 1868 or in 1869. The Russian does not think of his age as a matter of great importance. He does not observe his birthday, as he does not consider his birth a piece of great luck.

Pains have been taken to present a uniform transliteration of Russian names. It is highly desirable that a stop be put to the Babel in the English rendition of Russian words. English writers on Russia should agree on a standardized transliteration. In all names the vowels *a, e, i, o, u* have to be pronounced as in *father, then, in, on, push*, and the consonants *ch, g, zh* as in *church, go, azure*.

sentence having magnanimously been commuted to ten years of Siberian exile. When his superior in office jokingly asked him one day if he longed for the Siberian landscape, he lost his mind and poisoned himself. Radíshchev's *Ode to Liberty* is the fore-runner of all the poems of liberty of the Decembrist group.⁴

Aleksándr Lábzin (1766-1825), a Christian mystic, died in exile.

Nikolái Karamzín (1766-1826), a novelist and the first Russian historian who can properly claim the title, lost through the persecutions he had to suffer all zeal and love for literature and turned wholly to history.

Iván Kozlów (1774-1838), paralyzed and blind,—the poet of calm resignation.

Vasíli Zhukóvsky (1783-1852), the Columbus of Russian romanticism, spent the last twelve years of his life in voluntary exile and ended like Gógol as an ascetic mystic.

Kondráti Batúshkóv (1787-1855), a poet, ended in insanity. His verses on Tasso are almost an autobiography. He dragged on for thirty-three years the miserable existence of a man hopelessly a maniac.

Piótr Chaadáev (1793-1855), a philosopher, one of the most original and brilliant thinkers of Russia, was declared to be a maniac by the czar and was turned over to the care of an alienist. When he was finally freed from the strait-jacket, he fled to Paris.

Kondráti Ryléev (1795-1826), the citizen-poet, as his countrymen called him, was one of the five Decembrists who were hanged by Nicholas I.

Aleksándr Griboédov (1795-1829) author of the comedy *Wit Comes to Grief* and also a Decembrist, was assassinated by a mob in Persia. His short life was moreover embittered by prison and banishment. In his exile he fortunately tided over the December revolt.

Aleksándr Bestúzhev (1797-1837), a prose writer and also one of the Decembrists, was killed in the Caucasus, where he had been sent as a conscript soldier, after having served his term of forced labor in the Siberian mines. He was so cut to pieces by Circassian sabres in an engagement with the mountaineers that his body could not be found.

⁴ The Decembrists or "Dekabrists" are the members of the Northern Society who openly revolted on the 26th of December 1825, when Nicholas I came to the throne. From this event dates the revolutionary movement in Russia. For a short account of the Decembrist uprising see Peter Krapótkin, *Russian Literature*, pp. 34-36.

Baron Anton Delwig (1798-1831), a poet and a personal friend of Púshkin, died of consumption.

Aleksánder Púshkin (1799-1839), the father of modern Russian literature and the greatest of Russian poets, was killed in a duel which was the result of a drawing-room conspiracy. He died, as Lérmontov expressed it, "a victim of honor." Of the few years of his literary activity six were spent in exile from the capital for his liberal views. His banishment, however, was a great blessing to him as it was to Griboédov. He would have shared the tragic fate of his friends if he had been in St. Petersburg during the December uprising.

Mikháil Venevítinov (1800-1822), a great poet and a pessimist, died of a broken heart and melancholia in his twenty-second year, his end hastened by insults and outrages.

Prince Evgéni Baratínsky (1800-1844), the most gifted of the Russian romantic poets, the earliest and most brilliant of Russian pessimistic bards, died of melancholia, after having spent twelve years in exile in Finland.

Prince Aleksánder Odoévsky (1803-1839), a poet and a friend of the Decembrists, met with an early death in the Caucasus, where he had been sent as a conscript soldier, after having suffered in the dungeons of the fortress of SS. Peter and Paul in the capital and in the convict prison in Siberia.

Nikolái Yasíkov (1803-1846), a poet, also died young, worn out from continual illness.

Nikolái Polezháev (1806-1838), a poet, died in the military hospital in Moscow of consumption and drink, to which he had fallen a prey during the eight years of forced military service in Caucasia.

Piótr Kircévsky (1808-1856), a philosophical writer, suffered exile.

Alekséi Koltsóv (1809-1842), Russia's greatest folk-poet, the Russian Burns, died of consumption at a very early age, worn out in body and mind, killed by hard work and sorrow. He was more unhappy than the Ayrshire poet, with whom he has also this point in common that his poetic vocation, too, sprang from a thwarted love, for he never married his Jean Armour.

Nikolái Gógol (1809-1852), the first master of Russian fiction, spent the last ten years of his short life in mental darkness, his brain becoming diseased with religious superstition. In fits of rage and despair he twice flung the second and third parts of his novel *Dead Souls* into the fire. His was an inspired insanity. He finally

died of what may indeed be called religious *delirium tremens*. He was found one morning lifeless before an icon which hung at the head of his bed, and before which he had often spent his nights in prayer.⁵

Vissarion Bêlinsky (1810-1848), the famous literary critic of Russia, who was called by some the Russian Lessing and by others the Russian Marat, was carried off by consumption in the midst of his impassioned literary fight with the official world and the official literature of Russia. But he did not die too soon. A pleasant cell had already been reserved for him in the fortress of SS. Peter and Paul. A merciful death rescued the unhappy man from this imperial "advancement."

Aleksándr Herzen (1812-1870), a political writer, called the Russian Voltaire, the very incarnation of the aspirations and agitations of the year "forty-eight," fled abroad after six years of imprisonment and exile in order to avoid a worse fate. Many sufferings embittered his short life. He was stigmatized an illegitimate child because his father, a Russian nobleman Ivan Yakóvlev, who married in Germany the daughter of a Stuttgart merchant, did not legalize his marriage in Russia.⁶ Both his mother and his son were drowned in a shipwreck,⁷ and his wife—his cousin Natasha—with whom he had eloped while still in exile in Russia, left him for a while for Georg Herwegh, the German political poet and revolutionist.⁸

Ivan Goncharóv (1812-1891), author of the famous novel *Ob-lómov*, took an involuntary trip to Siberia.

Nikolái Ogarev (1813-1877), the intimate friend of Herzen, while attending the University of Moscow was arrested for singing revolutionary songs and was banished to his father's estate. He later fled abroad and spent the rest of his life in exile.

Mikháil Lérmontov (1814-1841), the most fascinating personality among all Russian poets, died before he had even reached the

⁵ Recent writers claim to know that Gógol died of typhoid fever, which, with his chronic infirmities, was a fatal complication.

⁶ According to other writers, no marriage ceremony ever took place between his parents. As a natural son Alexander did not feel justified in taking the name of his father. Nor did he wish to assume his mother's name Haag. But as a token of love for her he chose the first half of the pet name by which she used to call him—*Herzenskind*, "child of my heart."

⁷ According to other biographers, two of his children were drowned with his mother in a shipwreck which occurred between Nice and Marseilles.

⁸ That most important part of his memoirs, on account of which all the rest seems to be written, and written, as Turgénev says, with tears and his heart's blood, the part which deals with this most tragic episode of his storm-tossed life, was suppressed by his relatives.

zenith of his powers. He was killed in a duel in his twenty-seventh year.⁹ But in his short life he had twice been banished to the Caucasus.

Táras Shevchénko (1814-1861), the Ukrainian poet, was put into the disciplinary battalions in the Caucasus for ten years. Already in his youth he had more than his share of the whip and the knout.

Mikháil Bakúnin (1814-1876), a revolutionist and political writer, escaped from his exile in Kamchatka, and after having been hounded from country to country died in poverty and neglect, forsaken by all his former friends and associates.

Iván Turgénev (1818-1881), the greatest artist among Russian novelists, spent a month in prison, a few years in banishment to his estate, and the rest of his life in voluntary exile in foreign lands. He had many trials to endure in his life. He suffered from nostalgia and melancholia. He was attacked on account of his books both by the conservatives and the liberals, by "fathers and sons." The last two years of his life were unrelieved agony. He died from an incurable disease, cancer of the brain.¹⁰

Alekséi Pisémsky (1820-1881), a folk-novelist, died amidst much mental and physical suffering, neglected and despised by the literary men of his time.

Iván Polónsky (1820-1898), a poet, suffered for the greater

⁹ He did not believe in duels, but as an officer had to accept the challenge. As he had done before in the first duel, he purposely missed; but his opponent slowly and deliberately took his aim, so as even to call forth the protests of the seconds, and shot Lérmontov through the breast. He died on the spot. This was the death he had always wished for himself. Already as a boy of eighteen he expressed his opinion that it was better for one to die with a bullet in his breast than of the slow decay of old age. He also had a presentiment of his death, as is seen in his poem *Dream* (1841):

"With lead within my tortured breast,
A burning wound, in midday sun,
I lay in the vale of Daghestan,
While drop by drop the blood did run."

On the 15th of July of that same year the poet actually died in this manner.

¹⁰ Turgénev was from his childhood on all through life very lonely. His parents had no affection for him and treated him like a miscreant. He knew many women in his life, but he never married. Still he yearned for a home, a hearth of his own. He is reported to have said that he would gladly surrender all his literary fame if he had a fireside of his own with a woman by it who cared whether he came home late or not. For the greater part of his life he was in the fetters of an infatuation for Mme. Pauline Viardot, a concert singer, the wife of a French writer. He felt a deep devotion and admiration for her and meekly submitted to her rule. But it was not a *liaison*, as a few malignant countrymen of Turgénev have claimed. His daughter, who married a Frenchman in 1864, was not from Mme. Viardot. She was born to him by a beautiful but illiterate Russian serf, with whom he had lived in 1841-1843 while banished to his estates.

part of his life from ill-health. He laughed at himself that he, half a denizen of the grave, ventured to sing of love.

Nikolái Nekrásov (1821-1877), a poet, whom M. de Vogüé, the French critic, calls the Russian Vallès, experienced utter want and misery in his youth, which left him broken and embittered for life.¹¹ His last two years were unspeakable agony.

Fiodór Dostoévsky (1822-1881), the poor, diseased, possessed, inspired spokesman of the "humiliated and offended," was acquainted with grief from the very beginning. As he was born in a charity hospital, his eyes first opened upon scenes of misery and suffering. Through life he was destined to see and know little else. Pinched by poverty, hounded and persecuted, he never knew a moment of peace or serenity. When fame and fortune came to him, they were accompanied by increased physical anguish and mental distress. He languished in the dungeons of the fortress, spent seven years as a convict prisoner in Siberia and four years as a conscript soldier in the Caucasus, and another four years in flight abroad from the debtors' prison. The agonies which he endured when in 1849 he heard his death-sentence pronounced for supposed participation in a political conspiracy, left their traces on his body and mind. He was all his life a victim of a violent form of neurosis, of epilepsy, and of hallucinations.

Aleksándr Palm (1822-1851), a dramatist, was in prison and exile.

Aleksándr Ostróvsky (1823-1886), the dramatist, was placed under police surveillance for a drama he wrote in his twenty-fourth year. His life was cut short by illness, brought about by years of privation and physical suffering.

Piótr Lavrov (1823-1901), the philosopher and political writer, was arrested and exiled to a small town in the Urals. He succeeded, however, in escaping to London.

Valerian Máikov (1824-1847), who promised to become a literary critic of great power, died very early in life, having literally killed himself by overwork.

Iván Nikítin (1824-1861), a poet, died of consumption as a result of overwork and privation. As a student he had to support

¹¹ Writing later of his student life in St. Petersburg, Nekrásov says: "For fully three years I felt continually hungry every day. . . . It often happened that I entered one of the great restaurants where people may go to read newspapers, even without ordering anything to eat, and while I read my paper I would draw the bread plate toward me and eat the bread, and that was my only food."

not only himself, but also the family, the head of which was constantly under the influence of drink.

Alekséi Pleshchéev (1825-1893), a poet, spent many years among the convict gangs in the Siberian mines and among the conscript soldiers in the Orenburg region.

Iván Kókorev (1826-1853), a folk-novelist, died very young of consumption as a result of overwork and privations, which he suffered in his childhood and youth.

Mikháil Mikhailóv (1826-1865), a translator of poems and one of the most brilliant writers of the Russian review *The Contemporary*, died in Siberia after four years at hard labor.

Mikháil Saltykóv (pseud., Shchédrin) (1826-1889), the chief Russian satirist, was exiled to Viatka for seven years.

Nikolái Chernyshévsky (1828-1889), one of the most gifted writers Russia has ever had, was totally broken by oppression. He spent two years in the fortress of SS. Peter and Paul, seven years at hard labor in the Siberian mines and fifteen years in solitary confinement in Eastern Siberia.

Count Lvóv Tolstóy (1828-1910) was spared by the Russian government for fear of public opinion abroad, but he suffered to see his followers persecuted for his own ideas while he himself was not molested in the slightest manner. In his yearning for a share in universal suffering, he exclaimed: "Oh, for a rope, to have it put around my own neck to make me share the fate of those who suffer and are put to death in my country!" This was the tragedy of the life of a man who otherwise was indeed the spoiled child of Fortune.

Nikolái Pomialóvsky (1835-1863), a folk-novelist, died before he had even reached the age of thirty from the effects of the abominable conditions in the clerical schools which he describes in his novels.

Aleksándr Lévitov (1835-1877), also a folk-novelist, tasted poverty from the first to the last of his short but sad life. He lived for many years in exile in the far north of Russia, and died from inflammation of the lungs, superinduced by drink for which he had acquired a taste from the monks while yet a child in school.

Nikolái Dobrolúbov (1836-1861), a realistic critic, early worked himself to death. His short life was barren of all joys and pleasures.

Gleb Uspénsky (1840-1902), the writer of scenes from village life, had a very sad and shattered existence.

Dmítri Pisárev (1841-1868), a literary critic, paid with four

years in the fortress of SS. Peter and Paul merely for an offense against the censorship. In the casements of this terrible prison he wrote the greater part of his essays. When he was freed, his health was already affected, and while bathing at a Baltic sea-side resort where he had gone for his health, he was drowned.

Fiodór Reshétnikov (1841-1871), a folk-novelist, died early in life from the effects of drink. He had been taught to drink in a monastery school to which he had been sent for a petty offense. In his novel *Among Men* he tells the story of his own terrible childhood.

Sergéi Kravchínsky (pseud., Stepniak) (1852-1890), who wrote chiefly in English, was forced to flee from Russia because of his revolutionary leanings. He died in a railway accident.

Vladímir Korolénko (born 1853), a short-story writer, was banished to the frozen regions of Siberia for many years. Like Tolstói he also frequently contemplated suicide.

Alekséi Pavlov (born 1854) was a political exile in Caucasia. He had shown such great talent in his *Three Tales* that the czar declared that the author might for the future be recommended to describe life in Caucasia and other remote provinces of Russia.

Vsévolod Gárshin (1855-1888), a war-novelist, committed suicide early in life in a fit of insanity, leaping headlong down a stairway. He had suffered all his life from melancholia and had been committed for a few years to a mad-house.

Nikolái Petropávlovsky (pseud., Karónin) (1857-1892), a poet of village life, died of consumption. He had taken an involuntary trip to Siberia.

Anton Chékhov (1860-1904), a short-story writer, also died of consumption. His early death saved him from insanity which he had feared all his life, for he, too, suffered from deep melancholia.

Piótr Yakubóvich (pseud., Mélshin) (1860-1911), a folk-novelist, was kept for twelve years at hard labor in Siberia as a political prisoner.

Aleksándr Amfiteatróv (born 1862), a popular feuilletonist, was suddenly arrested one fine morning, and nothing has been heard of him ever since.

Semyon Nádson (1862-1887), lyric poet, suffered from deep melancholia, which would have ended in insanity, if consumption had not carried him off before.

Maxim Górký (pseud., Alekséi Péshkov) (born 1868 or 1869) is also afflicted with the consumptive malady, which is the result of

the privations of his youth.¹² When twenty-one years old, he attempted suicide by shooting himself in the chest. He was repeatedly imprisoned and exiled for his revolutionary ideas and activities.

Leonid Andréev (born 1871), like Górký, came to know fearful misery early in his life and tried to put an end to it, but, as he himself ironically remarks, "without any appreciable result." He, too, suffers from melancholia.

Mikháil Artzibáshev (born 1878), the author of that famous novel *Sanin*, is suffering from pulmonary tuberculosis, inherited from his mother.

Pessimism in Russian Literature.

"Sadness, scepticism, irony," said Alexander Herzen, "are the three strings of Russian literature." Pessimism and scepticism are Russian national traits of character. The Russian is the spirit of negation become flesh. He is the spirit of doubt and denial. His heart is the abode of *der Geist der stets verneint*. "Truly," said Dostoévsky, "the Russian soul is a dark place." The Russian soul, alas! has always been fed on the milk from what Nietzsche calls "the udders of sorrow." Profound pessimism is as distinctive a feature of Russian literature as it is of Russian temperament. As far as we can trace back the history of Russian literature, we find these traits of the national character permeating it. The plaintive note of their national music, the soul-gripping melancholy of their folk-songs, the dreary sadness of their folk-tales, the overwhelming pessimism of their literature, all are the manifestations of these national characteristics of the Russians. All the chords of the Russian lyre are strung to the same tunes of mental sadness, moral scepticism, and spiritual despair. The only muse which the Russian poets seem ever to have invoked is the muse of Hypochondria. "I owe my early inspiration to the muse of sobs, of mourning and of pain—the muse of the starving and the beggar." What the poet Nekrásov says of himself is true of nearly all Russian writers.

All men of letters in Russia express this national trait, but it differs with each individual in accordance with his own temperament. The pietistic melancholy of Zhukóvsky, for example, differs from the indignant melancholy of Gógol; Lérmontov's militant melancholy stands in contrast to the sceptical, almost ironical melancholy of Púshkin; the idealistic melancholy of Turgénev is different from

¹² Górký has told the history of his childhood and youth in his narratives *My Childhood* and in its continuation *In the World*, which is an account of two or three years of aimless wandering and of various occupations, and ends with his setting out in quest of an education.

the fatalistic melancholy of Tolstóy; the meek melancholy of Gárrshin forms a sharp contrast to the bitter melancholy of Górký; Korolénko's melancholy is not the heartrending, cheerless kind of melancholy of a Baratínsky or Nádsón; Chékhov's pessimism is not as cynical as that of Pisémsky. But dark despair has taken possession of the souls of all Russian writers. There are pessimists among the great men in all literatures, but the Russians are especially sad.

"No novelist in Western Europe," says Brandes, "is so sad as Turgénev."¹³ Professor Phelps says he heard Professor Boyesen remark that he had never personally known any man who suffered like Turgénev from sheer despair.¹⁴ It is so characteristic of Turgénev that the last page written by him bore the very title *Despair*. His pessimism is fundamental. Melancholy was with him a matter of conviction as well as of temperament. It was due to his losing all faith in God and man. Seated one day in a garden, he became the solitary witness of a struggle between a snake and a toad. This made him first doubt the providence of God. Whatever he saw later in life confirmed him in the conviction that nature is totally unconcerned about insect or man, that nature treats the man of the noblest aspirations and the man of the most brutish disposition with equal indifference. And so all ideals of the human race are in his opinion a matter of total indifference to it. He loved the good and the true, but he had no faith in the triumph of the good and the true. Turgénev anticipated by half a century the naturalist's point of view of our own day.

Turgénev's views of nature are most admirably set forth in his sketch *Nature*, which appeared in his *Poems in Prose*:

"I dreamt that I entered an enormous subterranean hall with high vaults. It was all filled with an even, subterranean light.

"In the very center of the hall sat a majestic woman in a flowing garment of green color. Bending her head on her hand, she seemed to be buried in deep meditation.

"I saw at once that this woman was Nature herself, and, with a sudden chill, a reverential awe entered my soul.

"I approached the woman who was sitting there, and making a respectful bow: 'Oh, our common mother!' I exclaimed. 'What are you meditating on? Are you, perchance, pondering on the future destiny of the human race? Or, how it may reach the highest possible perfection and happiness?'

"The woman slowly turned to me her dark, piercing eyes. Her

¹³ Georg Brandes, *Impressions of Russia*, p. 273.

¹⁴ William Lyon Phelps, *Essays on Russian Novelists*, p. 70.

lips moved, and there issued from them a ringing voice, like the clanking of iron.

"‘I am thinking how to add greater strength to the muscles of a flea’s legs, that it may more easily save itself from its enemies. The equilibrium between attack and defense has been impaired—it must be reestablished.’

"‘What?’ I lisped in answer. ‘Is it that what you are thinking about? But are we men not your favorite children?’

"The woman barely frowned: ‘All creatures are my children,’ she spoke, ‘and I take equal care of them, and equally exterminate them.’

"‘But goodness—reason—justice—’ I muttered again.

"‘These are human words,’ was heard the woman’s voice. ‘I know neither good nor evil—reason is not my law, and what is justice? I have given you life, and I shall take it from you and shall give it to others, worms or men—it makes no difference to me—you defend yourself in the meantime, and do not bother me!’

"I wanted to retort—but the earth around me gave a dull groan and trembled, and I awoke."

Humor is as alien to Russian literature as it is to Russian temperament. "Our laugh," said Herzen in speaking of Russian writers, "is but a sickly sneer." The laughter of the humorist Gógol is full of tears and bitterness. It is so characteristic of him, the first Russian novelist, that his last words were the old Russian saying: "And I shall laugh with a bitter laugh."¹⁵

Renunciation in Russian Literature.

The uselessness of the struggle for existence, and the necessity for resignation is the prevailing theme of Russian literature. Through the mouths of the children of their sorrows the Russian authors express their renunciation of hope, their weariness of the world. Many a Russian writer reminds the reader of a monk who would fain drag down all men to the level of his own renunciation. As life had never given anything to him, he could not realize that it might have something to give to others. Some of the characters in Russian literature in their sad weakness resemble the aged saints in Russian sacred pictures. The call to physical joy and physical revolt, which is the predominant note in most recent Russian literature, is alien to the Russian temperament. This self-asserting individualism, which has found its strongest and fullest expression in Artzibashev’s novel *Sanin*, has its origin in the philosophies of

¹⁵ These words were placed on Gógol’s tombstone.

Max Stirner and Friedrich Nietzsche. How it will blend with the Russian temperament is hard to foresee. It is a part of the great Russian enigma.

Russian writers do not consider life the supreme possession of man. Lérmontov calls life "a stupid jest." Chékov speaks of the nothingness of life, the absurdity of life. Nádsón believes that the only goal of man is non-existence. Andréév shows us the weakness, vanity and vacuity of life, nay, the nonsense of life. Turgénev, although he loves life, sadly realizes its fleeting nature.

But in spite of this *taedium vitae*, these Russians fear death. This fear of death, which in an intensely intellectual people like the Russians is an obsession of terror, is found in almost all the works of the best-known Russian writers. It runs all through Tolstóy's diaries and novels. It is eloquently expressed in certain pages of Turgénev's *Poems in Prose*.

Poetry of Human Suffering in Russian Literature.

Suffering is the foundation of Russian literature, as it is the essence of Russian life. The poetry of the sorrow of man is the *Leitmotiv* of many and many a Russian song or story or drama. The Russian capacity for suffering is the text of the great works of Russian literature. The patience and passivity, the humility and long-suffering (*smirênie* and *dolgotêrpenie*) of their nation is stressed in the writings of all of Russia's representative men. Dostoévsky, who fully understood the hearts of his countrymen, in perfect accord with the national temperament, regards suffering as a blessing, shows the transports of dejection and despair, describes the purification of character through grief and sorrow.

Pity for Human Suffering in Russian Literature.

The great and glorious result of this suffering as set forth in the lives and works of Russian men of letters is universal compassion and commiseration for suffering humanity. Pity, as all the world knows, is a fundamental trait of the Russian character. Pity is also the keynote of Russian national literature. Gógol was the first writer to point out this trait in the Russian temperament—the tolerance and forbearance, the kindness and tenderness for the poor, the ignorant, the weak—nay, even for those who have sunk to the very bottom of the Inferno of Life. Russian pity extends even to the dumb beasts. "The death of a horse described by one great Russian novelist," says Bazan, "is more touching than that of any emperor."¹⁶

¹⁶ Emilia Pardo Bazan, *Russia; Its People and Its Literature*, p. 204.

This trait of the Russian national character has found its most perfect expression in the novels of Dostoévsky. In them we learn "the charity that passeth all understanding, and the pity that is a folly to the worldly wise."¹⁷ Dostoévsky loves more than any other Russian writer, for he has suffered more than any other. There is nothing on which he would not take pity. With him, suffering puts a halo even around sin, it sanctifies the wretchedness of the most wretched and the ugliness of the ugliest. In his novel *Crime and Punishment* the assassin kisses the feet of the harlot and exclaims: "I do not bow down to you personally, but to suffering humanity in your person." This evangelical charity for sinful humanity was raised by Dostoévsky to the highest degree of piety, to "pious despair," a phrase coined by the French critic Vicomte Melchior de Vogüé. Dostoévsky loved erring humanity, and did better than judge it—he pitied it. "If there ever was a person," a writer has said, "who would forgive any human being anything seventy times seven, the individual was Dostoévsky." To him Christianity is reduced to the three parables of the repentant thief, the prodigal son, and the woman taken in adultery. His whole religion is summed up in the one verse: "Judge not, and ye shall not be judged; condemn not, and ye shall not be condemned; forgive, and ye shall be forgiven" (Luke iv. 37). In the novels of Dostoévsky as in the writings of other great Russians we find the essence of Christianity. It is, indeed, remarkable what analogies the Russian writers offer to the early Christians. Turgénev was an atheist, but his life may have been more pleasing to God than that of many a self-styled believer. Professor Phelps claims that Turgénev was a true Christian in the definition of Edwin Booth, who said that a Christian was a man who rejoiced in the superiority of a rival.¹⁸ Turgénev was always happy over the success of a rival. Tolstóy may have been anathematized by the church, but with his principles he indeed had a better claim to Christian fellowship than the members of the church of his country, and of many another country.

The Russian has eyes for suffering only. No scenic beauty, no material grandeur, impresses him as much as human need. He has no eyes for nature or art. He seeks but man in his misery. What memories did Dostoévsky bring back from London? Was he impressed by Westminster Abbey, by the English fleet, by England's Constitution? queries Brückner. O no. One little scene in the streets of London left an indelible impression upon his mind. A

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

¹⁸ William Lyon Phelps, *Op. cit.*, p. 73.

poor girl, clad in rags, to whom he gave a silver coin, who fled like a wild animal from him and all men, to hide her little treasure! What memories did Tolstóy bring back home from his travels in Western Europe? queries Brückner further. For the rest of his life the Russian sage incessantly thought of the beggar-musician in the streets of Lucerne to whom no one gave anything. "Aye," comments Brückner in the words of Herodotus, "the barbarians have lizard's eyes."¹⁹

LABYRINTHS AND THE PITCHER OF TRAGLIATELLA.

BY THE EDITOR.

IT is not so very long ago that the reading public was still of the belief that the ancestors of mankind should be sought in the south and that, their original state being a kind of happy primitive paradise, their home should be identified with the Biblical Eden. Some facts, however, caused certain scholars from the camp of the natural sciences to reject this idea and rather seek for the cradle of the human race in the north. They pointed out that the north was the place where nature had in readiness for man that severe school in which primitive folk would develop higher and higher on penalty of perdition, and that it was from here that from time to time emigrations of tribes took place that sought for a happier and better state in the more prosperous south. The emigrants did find easier conditions of existence and more fertile and pleasanter countries, but the people that remained behind and stayed longer in the school of nature advanced in the meantime by eliminative selection to still higher degrees of development, which enabled them to send out new streams of emigrants even more fit to survive in the struggle for existence than those who had preceded them.

This view, which turned the search for the hypothetical cradle of the human race in the opposite direction, has been most vigorously opposed by the representatives of the philological world because in the new era of comparative philology the oldest language of the highest races was thought to be Sanskrit, and Sanskrit was discovered in India. It was considered as the classical language of ancient India, the language spoken by the ancestors of the Indo-Germanic races. From the frontiers of India, probably the valleys of the Hindu-Kush, they were supposed to have emigrated north,

¹⁹ A. Brückner, *Op. cit.*, p. 392.

north-east, west and south, having developed not only the modern languages of the Hindus, but also the European languages of the Greeks, the Latins, the Germans, the Slavs, Letts and the Celtic peoples, such as the Irish, the Welsh and the Highland Scotch.

All this is changed since the other view has been gradually adopted, first through the influence of natural science, and later even through the support of philologists; nevertheless, philologists have been the strongest antagonists of this modern theory, and it is only of late that we may say that the later view has won its way. Mr. Latham was the first philologist who stood up for the idea that the cradle of the Aryans was not in the south but in the north, that for philological reasons we must assume that northern people migrated south, transferring their northern names of animals and trees to similar southern objects, that it was much easier to explain the perplexities of comparative philology by assuming such a northern origin, and that the names of the typically southern plants and animals were additional inventions. This theory, first scouted by professional linguists, has later on been broadly accepted, and is now no longer heretical.

Now it is a fact that on the trail of the Aryans thus broadly fixed we find a peculiar kind of monuments made of huge stones, the best preserved sample of which is Stonehenge; but it seems that wherever Aryan people went south, even into Palestine, they left similar monuments which may rightly be called the cathedrals of primitive man. They are monuments of a primitive solar worship and bear witness to the religious devotion of our ancestors.

It so happens that in addition to such monuments of gigantic stones there are also relics of primitive monuments in which groups of stones represent winding paths, called labyrinths and which tradition frequently designates as Troy towns, or *Trojaburgen*, in apparent commemoration of the ancient Homeric city famous throughout the Greek and Roman world as the place of heroism where the great warriors of Hellas fought for ten years over the possession of Helen, the beautiful.

These monuments, scattered over all northern Europe and also sometimes found in the south in the wake of Aryan conquests, have frequently been preserved near Christian churches. Maybe, however, the reverse is true. Churches may have been built near the labyrinths because the labyrinth was a holy place, and we know that in some of these labyrinths the return of spring was celebrated in ancient times. Some labyrinths have also been modeled, especially in France and northern Italy, as mosaics within the churches, a fact

which favors the theory that they are somehow connected with the religious notions of primitive people. Some inscriptions in the churches present us with a Christian interpretation of the labyrinth



THE RESCUED BRIDE OF CHRIST.
After woodcut border of Lucas Cranach.

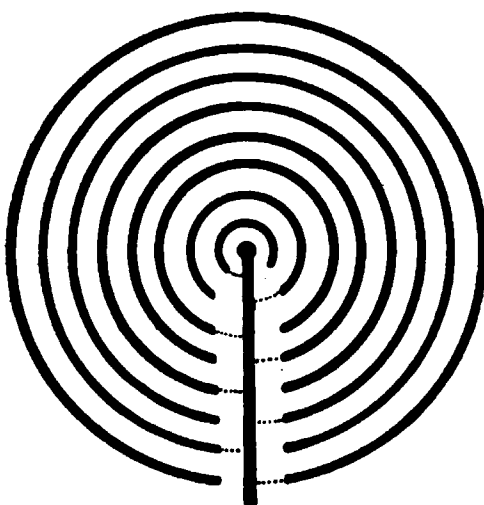
idea, drawing the comparison with the world and its escape from its wanderings through the victory of Jesus Christ. It is also brought into connection with the rescue of the Virgin, the Bride of Christ, confined in the labyrinth.

These strange monuments were explained by Carus Sterne as monuments which more than anything else prove the northern origin of the Indo-Germanic race. Carus Sterne is the *nom-de-plume* of Dr. Ernst Krause. Being more of a naturalist than a philologist, his views were based upon the whole on reasons of natural science rather than on philological arguments; so, as might be expected, the philologists of his day fell upon him with great vigor, denouncing him as being weak in his etymologies of names as well as in his philological comparisons. His first book on the subject was called *Tuiskoland*, and when he, on account of it, was severely and bitterly criticised by philologists of his time, he answered by a new book entitled *Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas* (Glogau, 1893), in which he explained the main specimens of such labyrinths, demonstrating thereby their general prevalence, especially in Swe-

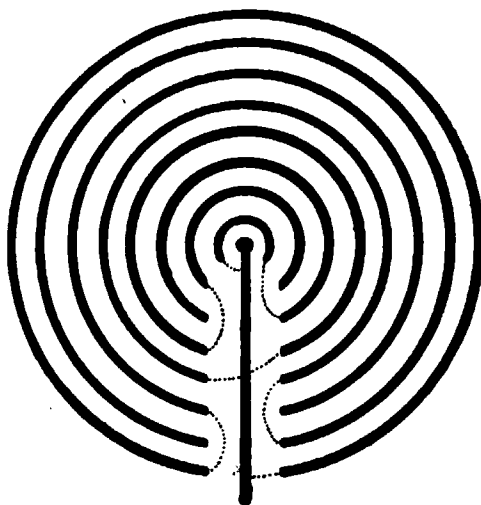


den, but also in England and other northern European countries, including Russia.

Carus Sterne claims that the construction of the labyrinth represents the place where the passing of the winter season and the liberation of the sun from its confinement in the power of winter was celebrated. Here we are confronted with a myth which could not have originated in the south, but is easily explained by the conditions of the north where the sun for long periods most perceptibly decreases in power or even totally disappears. It was but natural for primitive people to believe that it had been entrapped by the arch-enemy of mankind, until in spring the thunder-god reappears and liberates the captive from the clutches of the fiend. It would then appear that the labyrinths were built for the purpose of having



FUNDAMENTAL PLAN OF TROY
TOWNS.



INVENTION OF THE LABY-
RINTH FORM.

a place where to celebrate the vernal dance which ended in the liberation of the sun from the labyrinth, and the chasing out of the winter-god, the fiend who is responsible for the capture of the sun. We must remember that in some of the old languages, including Sanskrit, the sun is of feminine gender and that the solar deity is represented as a virgin. Her liberation ends in her marriage to the thunder-god, Thor, or whatever his name and identity may have been in different parts of Eurasia.

The figure of a labyrinth stood not only for the rejuvenescence of the year but also for the idea of human immortality. Hence it is natural that the myth of the labyrinth should easily have adapted itself to Christianity so that Christian priests did not find it amiss

to introduce such figures into their churches as symbolizing a belief which had become dear to the people and represented fundamentally the same idea which Christianity had come to teach.

The name *Troja*, Carus Sterne connects with the names by which the winter demon was known to Hindus, Persians and South Slavs, *Druh*, *Druja*, *Drukh*, *Draogha*, and *Trojan*. So it would seem that the nucleus of the Homeric epics, as of others, represents but an age-old tradition of the Sun Virgin being incarcerated in the enemy's fortress and held prisoner there until the thunder-god of spring came to liberate her and restore the pleasant season to the world.

Such religious views cannot have originated in the south where winter is rather the season of relief from the heat of the sun, and it rather proves that the people who left the north and took up their abode in southern countries must have carried with them a religion



THE PITCHER OF TRAGLIATELLA. $\frac{1}{4}$.

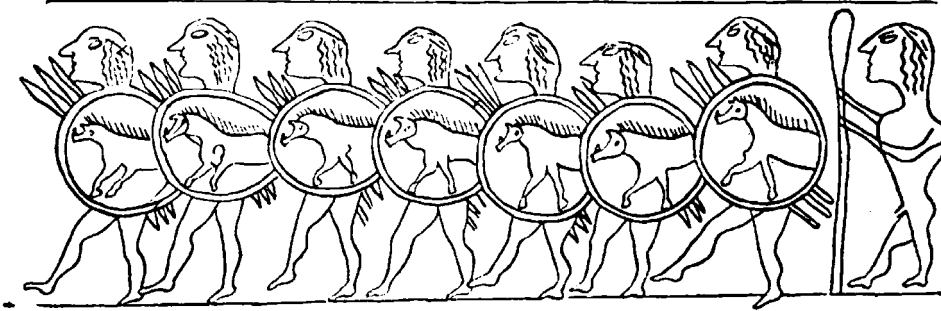
the chief features of which they preserved in these representations of the labyrinth, the Troy Towns, as they were otherwise called.

At this point of the controversy, when Carus Sterne's contentions were still considered to be very questionable, an archeological discovery, made in Italy some fifteen years previously, came into view again, at once verifying his theory and deciding the controversy in his favor. It was the discovery of a pitcher, the pitcher of Tragliatella, which in primitive drawings represents the ceremony of the labyrinth and thus manifestly proves that the ceremony did exist and was actually performed as a kind of spring festival among the early inhabitants of Europe. The pitcher found in Tragliatella shows us two people on horseback coming out of a labyrinth which

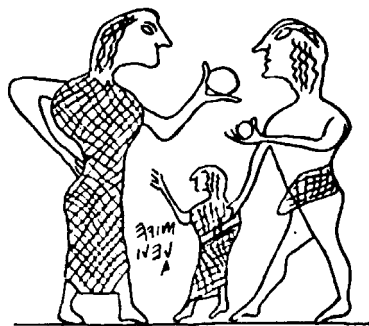
bears the inscription *truia* in the most ancient Italian characters. The two riders are preceded by seven dancers, each armed with three spears and a shield, and are followed by a single man holding a



RIDERS COMING OUT OF THE "TROJABURG."
After *Jahrbücher d. röm. Inst.*, Vol. LIII, plate L.



GROUP OF SEVEN DANCERS.
After plate L of *Jahrbücher d. archäol. Inst.*, 1881.

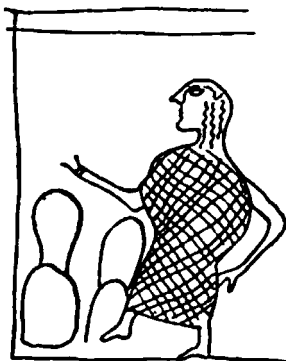


SO-CALLED JUDGMENT OF PARIS OF THE PITCHER.

staff in his hands and followed in turn by a man and a woman between whom is a person of smaller stature, evidently also a woman. The two persons hold in their hands round objects looking like apples, and there is an inscription on the jar in ancient Etruscan be-

tween the taller woman and the smaller one which seems to be the word MIFELENA, most probably *mi Felena*, which reproduces the old digamma (pronounced like a bilabial "f" or "v") and shows the identity of the name with Helena. The other two persons correspond in the legend in Homer, possibly to Paris and Venus at the moment when Venus is giving Helena to Paris after having received the prize of the apple in her contest with the other two goddesses. Why there are two balls in the hands of the two persons is difficult to explain, but in some primitive pictures things that change hands are put in those of both persons so as to indicate where they have been in two moments, before and after.

Carus Sterne also offers another interpretation, based upon one version of the Theseus legend, according to which it was Theseus who delivered Helena from the labyrinth. If this be accepted, the



WOMAN WITH TWO ICONS.

round body in question might well be the ball of twine handed to him by the goddess before he entered.

There is a third picture which shows a woman with two icons before her and which is more difficult to explain. Carus Sterne tries his best to make a plausible comparison with a ceremony told by Plutarch and Pausanias. It is difficult to say whether he is right, but whatever the meaning of this scene may have been we have no other key to its explanation and may as well be satisfied with stating that so long as we have no better, we have to reckon with the solution as it is given.

Labyrinths are most frequent in northern countries; in Scandinavia they are called *Trojin*, *Trojeborg*, etc., exhibiting the design of snail-shells. The same pattern of winding lines is preserved in the models of ornaments, which indicates that the idea of these winding paths was so prominent in the minds of northern people

that it became the type for ornaments on clasps, brooches and kindred fastenings for the garments.

One of the best known of these labyrinths in the north, on the island of Gotland near the city of Wisby, was described by Karl Braun of Wiesbaden in his *Wisbyfahrt*, Leipsic, 1882. The center of this construction was a natural cave of limestone, such as are yet common in the vicinity of Wisby. There are several labyrinths in Sweden and in Norway. These Scandinavian Troy Towns were first described by Dr. S. Nordström of Stockholm, who read a paper on the subject at the convention of Swedish

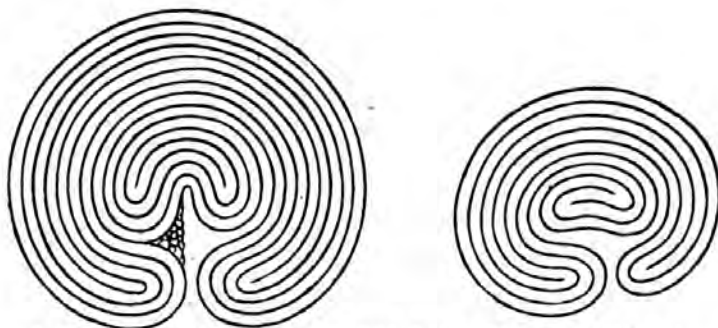


TROJABURG AT WISBY, GOTLAND.

After K. Braun's *Wisbyfahrt*, Leipsic, 1882, p. 120.

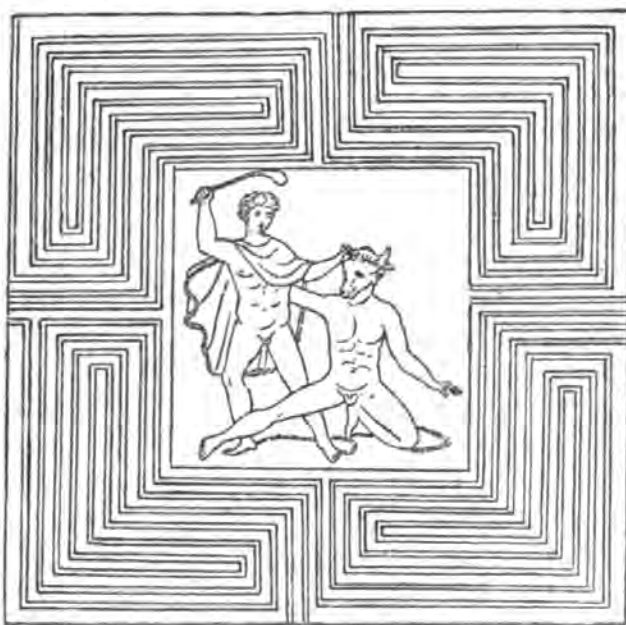
anthropologists and archeologists at Strengnäs, 1877, and proved that they existed not only in southern Sweden but also in Norrland and Norway, furthermore in the provinces of Sleswick-Holstein, formerly belonging to the Danes, and in Denmark itself. Besides the one mentioned we may enumerate quite a number of them, one at the Enköping church, another at Dalarö, the latter as much as forty feet in diameter; a third, *Kristinas Labyrint* at Kungsör, which was so called by the people in memory of the riding-grounds of Gustavus Adolphus's daughter and successor; fourth, one on the

island of Gotland as above; several in Småland, southern Sweden, several in Norrland, one in Wäderö on the western coast; several in Norway; one northwest of the Vånga Church, one near Nyköping and two near the Horns Church in West Gotland.



LABYRINTHS ON AN ISLAND NEAR BORGIO.

Dr. Nordström judged from the nearness of these labyrinths to churches that they possessed a religious significance, and this view is strengthened by the fact that there is a church-bell which



FIGHT WITH MINOTAUR.
Center-field of the Salzburg mosaic.

bears the plan of a labyrinth on the outside. Though we need not doubt that the religious significance was originally of pagan origin, we must assume that Christian churches adopted it and celebrated the traditional festivals connected with the ideas of the labyrinth,

which is also apparent from the fact that there are a great number of labyrinths preserved in the churches of France, although we do not know definitely how they were used.

Upon the whole the pictures of most of the northern labyrinths show paths that in curves wind around a center ; some of the church labyrinths, however, are in rectangular lines.

We here reproduce the labyrinths preserved in the cathedrals of Sens, St. Omer, St. Quentin and St. Bayeux.

SENS



ST. OMER



ST. QUENTIN



ST. BAYEUX

LABYRINTHS IN THE CATHEDRALS OF SENS, ST. OMER, ST. QUENTIN AND ST. BAYEUX.

From Ernest Bosc, *Dictionnaire raisonné d'architecture*.

The Salzburg labyrinth is an echo of Greek tradition because it represents the fight of Theseus with the Minotaur in the labyrinth of Crete, and an inscription interprets it in a Christian way as symbolizing the erring paths of the world and the dangers from which a true Christian has to make his escape. The labyrinth proper is surrounded by smaller representations depicting other scenes of the

struggle with the Minotaur, showing the hero receiving Ariadne's clue which enabled him to find his way back out of the labyrinth, the scene of the embarking of the saved persons, and the relinquishment of Ariadne to Dionysus. As an instance of a Christian interpretation of the labyrinth we here reproduce a Latin verse inscribed on the middle court of one. It reads:

"Ecce Minotaurus vorat omnes quos Laborinthus
Implicat: Infernum hic notat, hic Zabulum."⁴

The fiend, here called Zabulus, is, in Christian language, equivalent to the devil. The form *laborinthus* is the medieval spelling of labyrinth and must have been influenced by the idea of *labor* and *intus*, a form which is already used by Boëthius. The labyrinth consists of seven circles, and its inner court contains a representation of the Minotaur. According to the scholar who copied the manuscript, it was probably prepared in the year 1084 or 1085, its author looking upon the world as a labyrinth in which Zabulus, the devil, lies in ambush to devour man unless Christ, by God's assistance, will overcome him and break his power, just as Theseus with the assistance of Ariadne's clue led the fair captive to the exit of the labyrinth.

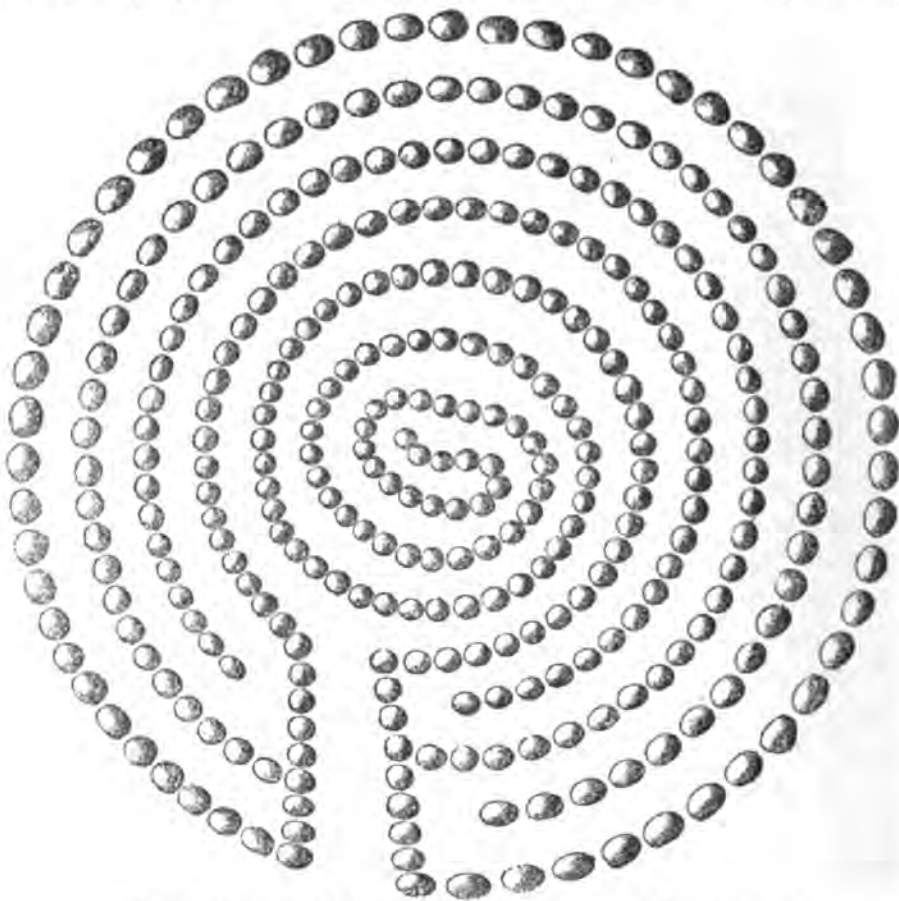
One labyrinth has been found in Pompeii, and the house in which it was found has been called after it the *Casa del laberinto*.

In Russia the labyrinths are called *Babylons*, and one of them has been described by the famous naturalist Ernst von Baer, who on a trip to the northern provinces discovered one of these Babylons on the uninhabited island of Wier. The island is bare rock and covered with boulders, but some of the roundest boulders have been selected to form the figure of the labyrinth in a very simple spiral design. It is noteworthy that the stones were fairly round, some as smoothly finished as if they had been turned on a lathe, and many of them of an oval shape. Professor Baer happened to come upon this place because his ship was forced to land there on account of a calm.

Eleven other Russian ships had been in the same predicament, and it is worth mentioning that the sailors who had all landed for the same reason did not disturb this little work of primitive art, but respected it with due reverence for the people who had made it. In circumference it was between twelve and fifteen ells (according

⁴ This verse has been copied by W. Meyer from a Freysingen manuscript preserved in Munich, No. 6394, in the rear of leaf 164.

to Baer's judgment) and he believes it could not have been built without the cooperation of several strong men. Furthermore, it must have been built a long time ago, for the stones were covered with moss and algae. All that the priest of the nearest village, Ponoï, knew of these stones arranged in spiral formation was that they must be very old, for no one knew who had set them up, nor for what purpose. A citizen of Kem afterward informed Baer



STONE LABYRINTH ON THE ISLAND OF WIER.

After E. v. Baer's drawing in *Bulletin de l'académie de St. Pétersbourg*, 1844.

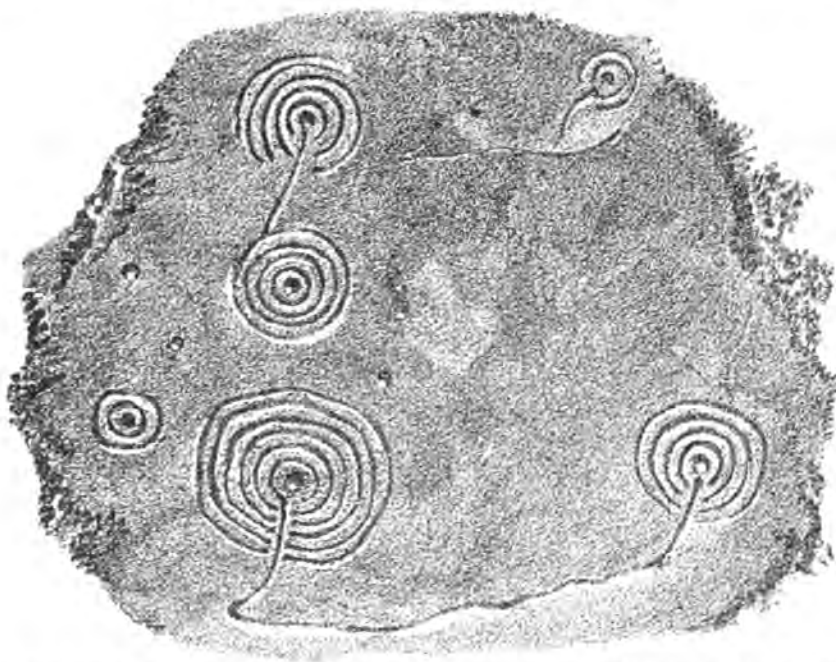
that this kind of a stone construction was called a Babylon, and he deposited an account of them in the St. Petersburg Academy, January 14, 1842.^o

Toward the close of the sixteenth century there arose a dispute between Russia and the Danish-Norwegian kingdom concerning the possession of Lapland. According to Karamzin, the famous historian of Russia, the Russian representative for the delimitation

^o Reprinted in the *Bulletin Historico-Philologique*, St. Petersburg, 1844, Vol. I, pp. 70-79.

of the frontier inquired of the natives to whom the country was tributable, and they claimed that a long time ago a certain Valit or Varent, who ruled Karelia as a vassal of Great Novgorod and was a man of exceptional strength and courage, had made himself master of the country. The Laplanders, thus the story went on, sought help from the Norwegians, but the Norwegians could not protect them from him either. He, however, in commemoration of his victory, erected this stone in the center of the Babylon and surrounded it with smaller spherical stones.

The Norwegians recognized Valit, whom the Russians called



FRAGMENT OF SCULPTURED STONE FROM THE TOP OF
WHITSUNBANK HILL, NORTHUMBERLAND.

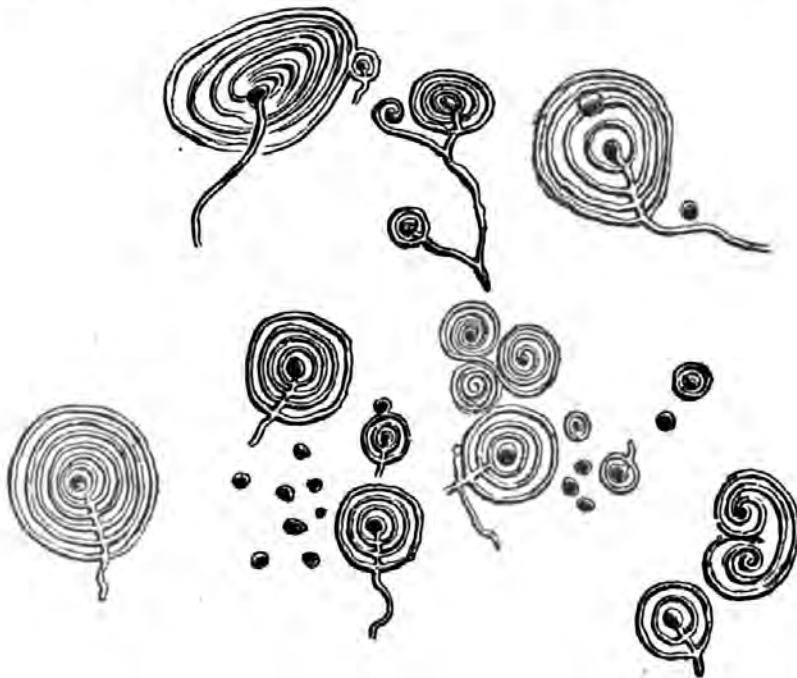
$\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size. After G. Tate.

Vassili, as their conqueror, leaving to his dominion Lapland up to the river Inger, and it became established that the Laplanders of this part of the country paid their tribute to Novgorod. Such was the statement of the Russian claim.

Karamzin continues that the Norwegians claimed the authority of Saxo Grammaticus and of Münster's *Cosmography*, but their testimony was not convincing either, and the arguments exhibit fairy tales on both sides. However, Ernst von Baer came to the conclusion that it was this doubtful strip of land which, in another old description of Russia, was called *Valitowa Gorodishtshe*. Un-

fortunately, he was unable to say what it means because *gorod* or *horod* in Slavic idioms means simply any place that is fenced in and hidden, a fortress, or a *burg*. It may mean a stone monument as well as a fortified place. Nor does *Valit* give us any more light, for in Finnish *valit* may simply mean "prince," while the name Varent probably signifies but a *Waräger* or *Waringer*, that is, a Norseman, or Varangian. At any rate it is interesting to have these Russian Babylons mentioned as of age-old existence in documents as early as 1592, even if the attendant facts of their construction are unattainable.

England is rich in labyrinths, and also in figures scratched on



ROCK SCULPTURES OF AUCHNABREACH, SCOTLAND.

After Sir. J. Lubbock and Sir J. Y. Simpson.

sandstone and representing such labyrinths. J. C. Langlands has first described these monuments in the beginning of the nineteenth century, but his reports were overlooked and forgotten until Wm. Greenwell in 1852 at the Archeological Meeting at Newcastle read a paper on the largest of these stone monuments at Routing-Linn in Northumberland. This piece of sandstone, about sixty feet long and fourteen feet wide, presents a great many labyrinth incisions, and all kinds of circular formations, most of which have an entrance into the circle. Some are interconnected so as to show several as parts of one group-formation.

The typical picture of these labyrinths re-occurs in many places and also on the lids of funeral urns, which obviously proves their religious significance. A great many of them are also preserved in the rock sculptures of Auchnabreach in Scotland. They have been described by Sir J. Lubbock² and Sir J. Y. Simpson.³

The prehistoric existence of these monuments has been re-



ROCK SCULPTURES OF OLD BEWICK HILL, NORTHUMBERLAND.

$\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size. After G. Tate.

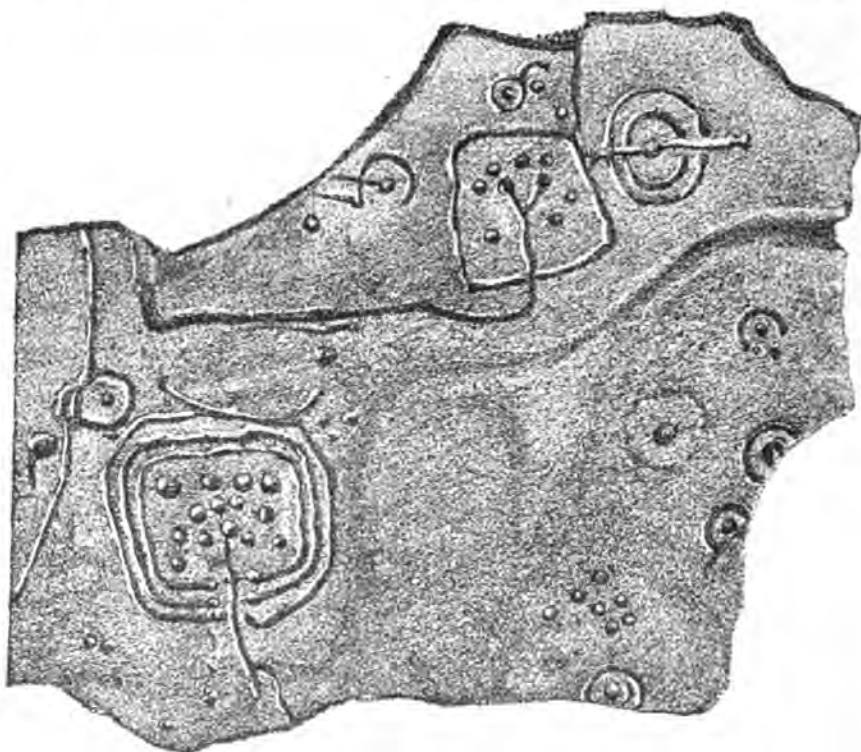
garded as fully established through their connection with tombs, the crania in which belong to the brachy-cephalic race, by many scholars looked upon as that of the original inhabitants of Europe. Simpson regards these monuments as very old, judging from a tomb in the county of Meath, Ireland, which bears the labyrinth symbols,

² *Pre-Historic Time*. See also *On the Sculptured Stones* by Stuart.

³ *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, Vol. VI, 1867. Appendix.

and contains some fragments of crude ancient pottery, flint arrow-heads, flint knives, and remnants of a necklace, also tools manufactured of bones, sea-shells, etc.

Possibly we find allusions to the circles of our labyrinths in the oldest documents of the ancient inhabitants of Great Britain, for in these seven or nine circles are reported to have constituted the world. But the sense of the verses, called Welsh Triads, because they are built up in verses of three lines, is too obscure for us to come to a definite conclusion. In one of these triads we read how



FRAGMENT OF A SCULPTURED ROCK OF DOD-LAW,
NORTHUMBERLAND.

$\frac{1}{\pi}$ nat. size. After G. Tate.

the novice who is to be initiated into the Druidic doctrines enters into circle after circle. On leaving that of the common material world (*Caer Bediwyd*), he first enters into the Circle of the Just (*Caer Mediwyd*), then into that of the Royal Assembly (*Caer Rigor*), and ultimately into the Cromlech, or Circle of Darkness (*Caer Golwr*), which means absolute subjection to the order. Continuing his progress within the order itself, he proceeds to the Zodiac of the Wandering (*Caer Vandwy*) and hence to the completion of the metempsychosis in the Circle of Life (*Caer Ochren*). The

highest perfection is reached by his reception into the Heavenly Circle (*Caer Sidi*), the time of which, in the song of Taliesen, is the first of May. In another part of the poem we find that sixteen heroes entered together with King Arthur into the center of a *square enclosure* on the "island with the strong gate where twilight and darkness rule," and only nine returned, while the rest became the "prey of the deep." It is not impossible that the small pits on the Dod-Law stone of Northumberland refer to such traditions, but ideas of this kind are mere assumptions, and we are not enabled to accept any definite views as to what these stone monuments really are.

We read that the astronomer Gwydon-ap-Don at Caernarvon was buried under a stone covered with enigmatic drawings, and we may imagine that the labyrinths preserved on this tombstone were like those described above.

How far these labyrinths were spread in ancient times and how sacred they were to the people we may learn from the fact that at



OLD COIN OF KNOSSOS, CRETE.

Knossos (Crete) the inhabitants used the labyrinth as a mark on their coins, and there are quite a number of these extant to prove the sanctity and the importance of this symbol. The philosopher Boëthius handed down the picture of a labyrinth as a symbol of his faith in immortality in his *Consolations of Philosophy*, a standard classic of the Middle Ages, which he wrote shortly before his execution in the year 525 after he had been accused of treason against his sovereign, the Gothic king Theoderic. In many illuminated manuscript copies we find the labyrinth as an illustration.

In Iceland the labyrinth was used by boys in a game, but it is a pity that we have no directions which would indicate how this was played. The builder of the labyrinth in Iceland was called Völund, a name identical with the English Wayland the Smith, the German Wieland, and the labyrinth itself was called *Völundar hús*. Iceland was settled by the Norsemen in the ninth century, which proves that the use of labyrinths was still common among the

Norsemen of that time, and we may be assured that this practice was carried down in their pagan religion to the time when in a peaceful meeting in the year 1004 the Icelanders decided to introduce Christianity. Here was the only place where the religious change was accomplished without bloodshed and without a struggle, and in consequence of it we have the old pre-Christian religion preserved in a certain love of the ancient myths, possibly with an adaptation of a Christian interpretation.

Apparently the labyrinths and also representations of the labyrinth are of very ancient origin. The labyrinths themselves were apparently used to celebrate sun festivals, probably in the beginning of spring. The labyrinth designs scratched upon stones were then made to give expression to the ideas conveyed in these festivals of the return of the sun and of the religious ideas conceived through the delivery of the sun from winter captivity by the saviour god, who is identical either with the thunder-god or the deity representing spring. The figure of a labyrinth on urns or on boxes containing the remains of the dead may be considered as an evidence that it was regarded as a symbol of resurrection or rather, immortality. The adoption of it in Christian times and the reproduction of labyrinths in Christian churches proves that the idea had become dear to the people and that representatives of Christianity deemed it appropriate to adopt the symbol. The story which gave rise to these labyrinths may be regarded as the oldest expression of prehistoric mythology. Naturally the myth was retained longest in the north where astronomical conditions preserved the idea most effectively in the minds of people, as is also brought out by the celebration of Yuletide changed in Christian times into Christmas. The North kept a further reminiscence of it in the winding lines of their jewelry preserved in almost all northern countries in such a way that we cannot say whether it is genuinely Norse or Danish, or British, or prehistoric.

We shall publish in the next number a translation of Carus Sterne's essay entitled: *The Northern Origin of the Legend of Troy Attested by the Pitcher of Tragliatella, a Monument of Three and a Half Thousands of Years.*

MODERN CRITICISM AND THE RESURRECTION.¹

BY FRANK R. WHITZEL.

[Professor Bowen's theory of the resurrection of Christ has been neglected by our modern theologians, probably because it presupposes spiritualism and would accept the principles of the Psychical Research Societies as possible.—Ed.]

IT is but a truism to say that the Resurrection is the central feature of Christianity. It is the living pulsing heart of the religion without which Christianity is little more than a formal system of morality, cold and lifeless. From the very first the Resurrection was preached as a vital fact and with a great and gladsome ardor which could come only from unshadowed conviction. And more than all else combined, the power of this preachment it was which carried the faith to victory over every obstacle. To fathom the reasons for this sure conviction and to bring to light the historical facts which occasioned it have been the task and the despair of rational inquiry for nineteen centuries. Some small progress has been made of late toward unraveling the mystery, or at least toward disentangling the warp of essentials from the woof of fancy woven into the fabric; and it is the present object to set forth in non-technical phrase the results arrived at by the critics, whose works, not always easy of access, are usually difficult of understanding to those unskilled in ancient and modern languages.

Students of the New Testament commonly begin by reading the Gospels, and they find therein four short and fragmentary accounts of the Resurrection. Possibly the story was told in a different form some time prior to the composition of these narratives, discussion of this possibility will be deferred for the moment. Three of the versions are no doubt based upon the same tradition, but all of them betray a childlike naïveté which reveals clearly the simple faith of the writers. The different accounts are not at all congruous. If any one be accepted as historically true, each of the others must be regarded as necessarily false. Yet Christians since the age of the Apostolic Fathers have had no difficulty in accepting all the accounts

¹For a thorough discussion of this subject in all its aspects, those interested are referred to *The Resurrection in the New Testament*, by Prof. Clayton R. Bowen of the Meadville (Pa.) Theological School, of whose views this study is in very large part an epitome. The book, price \$1.25, can be procured only from its author.

as equally veracious, the word mystery reconciling all contradictions. The authors of the narratives thought of Jesus as a man who had been dead and had come to life again, and after coming to life was exactly the same as before his death. Or not quite the same, either. They confused the properties of a living man with the properties they imagined a spirit might possess, and they endowed the newly awakened Jesus with both sets. He could talk and feel and eat the same as ever, walk along the road, expound the Scriptures, even work his customary miracles. But he could also make himself invisible, pass through closed doors or rise bodily in the air. His unhealed hands and feet, his spear-pierced side, though the wounds were sufficient to cause his death two days ago, now occasioned him no distress, and his clothing had mysteriously returned from the gambling soldiers. All this is charmingly ingenuous if viewed rightly. It illustrates the artless belief of the evangelists, and like the errors and inharmonies in other documents of the New Testament which witness irrefutably to their essential truth, it brings to us the strong conviction that *something happened*.

What could that something have been? That is the question which almost two millenniums of earnest study have not succeeded in answering satisfactorily. Men to-day cannot accept angels and reviving dead men or indeed miracles of whatever kind. They require evidence before accepting anything. Hence, critics seek to simplify the Resurrection problem by pruning away the miraculous features of the Gospel narratives, and then they inquire if the residuum can be historical truth. By comparing the various accounts thus truncated and by eliminating next the patent contradictions, they offer us as embodying the actual events which set the Resurrection legend on foot the following outline sketch. On Sunday morning following the crucifixion certain women visited the tomb of Jesus and discovered that it was vacant. They reported the fact to Peter and John who hastened to the sepulcher and found it indeed to be empty. Without further evidence, but recollecting the prophecies of their Master, the disciples believed that Jesus had come back to bodily life, and they immediately began that fervid preaching of the Resurrection which volumed into a world religion.

That, it is claimed, is the residue of fact. Whatever else the disciples may have experienced was but subjective, having no existence save in their own highly excited minds. They may have believed that they held frequent communion with their Master, but such fancied experiences were of a piece with those of ecstasies

and mystics of all ages and all religions. An empty tomb was the source of the Resurrection legend, and all we need inquire is how that tomb came to be empty. Many theories have been advanced in vain to account for this empty tomb, and the present writer pleads guilty to the charge of ascribing the abstraction of the body it had sepulchered to Joseph of Arimathæa, that mysterious personage who appears only to bury Jesus and as quickly to disappear.

But, let us inquire if the story thus outlined is adequate to explain the facts. Men of that period may have been credulous and uncritical, but they were not fools. They possessed common sense even as people of to-day, and the Gospels themselves bear witness to the surprise excited by the announcement of the Resurrection and to the great reluctance of the disciples to believe it. Let us ask, What would be our attitude to-day under similar circumstances? Suppose we chanced to find deserted and empty a tomb in which we knew some one had recently been buried. Would we jump to the conclusion that its late occupant had come to life? How absurd! No assertions of strangers, no protestations of friends, in fact no power on top of earth could make us believe otherwise than that some person or persons had taken the body away. How illogical, then, to imagine that these hardheaded fishermen and peasants, unskilled in metaphysical subtleties but fully competent to judge of matter-of-fact concerns, would at once reach so extraordinary and at the same time, by hypothesis, so fallacious a conclusion!

No, the empty tomb alone would not be adequate. But suppose the man buried there had predicted his rising, and then, after his death and burial, was actually seen clothed in his ordinary body, would this be sufficient to create a belief untroubled by faintest qualm that that man had come back to life after being genuinely dead? At first thought one is tempted to concede a hesitating yes, but further consideration evokes a doubt which grows quickly into a sturdy negative. To begin with the prophecies. Careful study has brought to light the probability that Jesus, in saying he would rise on the third day, had reference only to the long standing belief, derived by the Jews from the Persians, that the soul of any one deceased hovered near the corpse three days to make sure of death before taking its flight to its permanent abode. Stating the case in the mildest form, it is at least very doubtful if Jesus ever foretold his resurrection in the sense that he would be seen prior to his second advent by any man, disciple or not disciple, in any body, spiritual or carnal. Very many critics now believe his prediction

meant merely, "They will kill me, but I shall not die. After three days my spirit will rise to Heaven."

But whether or not this interpretation be correct, it is at all events certain that the disciples had no expectancy of any sort of resurrection. Especially is this fact evident after the crucifixion when they fled in dismay from Jerusalem. They had at that time exactly the same anticipatory state of mind regarding a future appearance of Jesus that any person would have now-a-days in respect to seeing a beloved companion who had crossed the boundary. What then would we ourselves believe were we to meet in the flesh a man whom we knew to have been pronounced dead and to have been buried? After our first incredulity were overcome and we were convinced of its being actually the same person, would we then say, "This man was dead and has come back to life?" Never. Not by any possibility. We would inevitably say, "Why, the man did not die after all." Explanations, protestations, even any conceivable proofs would be of not the slightest avail. No sort of argument would be able to vanquish our instantly formed judgment that this was a case of suspended animation and that the man had not really been dead. Or, if proof of death were irresistible, back we would swing to denial of identity. We could by no manner of means be persuaded of return from real death to real life; indeed, before accepting the allegation we would go so far as flatly to deny our own sanity of mind.

It is fair to assume that the effect of such an occurrence upon the Galilean fishermen would have been precisely the same as upon ourselves in so far as concerns believing in the veritable death of the person before them. True, they had not our knowledge of continuity or of the rule of law in nature, hence were prone to look upon miracles as a normal mode of action of the supernal powers. But it would still seem to be beyond the bounds of possibility that they would immediately and unanimously have believed as fact the revival of a man really dead, and have proceeded to preach that belief with such a certainty of conviction as not merely to persuade their immediate associates but also to determine the creed of the entire European world for some sixty generations.

Thus it is clear that neither the empty tomb nor the revived body of Jesus is at all adequate to explain the Resurrection. From such premises the story in its present form could not have arisen. Realization of this insufficiency has led students of the subject to go behind the Gospel narratives in quest of some more stable basis for the legend. When we consider the early date of the story itself

and its consequences to the world, the radiant certainty of those companions of Jesus who proclaimed it, their triumphant appeal to eye witnesses of events as occurring in the broad light of day, and the readiness with which evangelists of the teaching sealed their conviction with their blood, we are compelled to grant that that teaching, true or false, must have had an origin commensurate in some degree with its momentous import.

After all, say the critics, the Gospels are not our earliest witnesses of the Resurrection. They were written by the second generation, not the first, and took form from forty to seventy years after the events they narrate. But in the letters of Paul of Tarsus we have the thoughts of a contemporary of Jesus and an associate of his disciples. Paul wrote with absolutely no knowledge of the Gospels since they were not then in existence, though it is now difficult to read his letters without unconsciously carrying over into them ideas absorbed from previous reading of those Gospels. But let this be avoided. Let Paul be read as if for the first time. Laying aside utterly all conceptions of the Resurrection gained from later documents, let it be remembered only that here is the very first mention of the event, to be taken just as it stands without any supplementary coloring from other sources. What does Paul say? 1 Cor. xv: "Christ died....was buried....rose again the third day.... was seen of Cephas, then of the Twelve....of above five hundredof James, of all the apostles....of me also." (The Greek verb is better translated "appeared to" than "was seen of," in fact is so translated elsewhere, Luke xxiv. 34, and as used implies a vision rather than merely normal sight.) Jesus was "raised from the dead"; not, as our English necessarily puts it, from the abstractly dead, but from among the souls of those who have died, from out the whole collective body of departed spirits. The word employed is plural and means not simply "the dead," but "the dead people." Repeated in many forms, this is past all peradventure the meaning Paul gives to the Resurrection. Although he lived closer in time and contact to the events he mentions than any other man whose writings have come down to us, Paul tells us almost none of the incidents we are accustomed to connect with the passion and rising of Jesus. He has not a word of an empty tomb, of an announcing angel, of a corpse that revived and ate with friends or discussed the new evangel. And as Paul believed and taught so did Peter and James and all the rest of the apostles. Said Paul, speaking of the Twelve, "I labored more abundantly than they all....Therefore, whether it were I or they, so we preached and so ye believed."

Hence, whatever was Paul's understanding of the Resurrection was that also of the other apostles. Let us then examine more closely the conceptions underlying his theological message.

No one can properly comprehend the Resurrection story until he has made himself familiar with the metaphysical beliefs held either consciously or unconsciously by the people of that far-off age. To us of to-day resurrection and a future life, that is, a continuance of personality after bodily death, are approximately the same thing. Should it be proven to us that some deceased friend is still existing in another sphere of being, we would at once assume that he was essentially the same person in his mentality, inclinations, loves, longings, even imperfections that he was when he lived among us. We would look upon him simply as himself, perhaps somewhat modified by his enlarged opportunities for apprehending the truth, but still himself in all distinctive qualities. Not so the ancient Greeks. They did not as a rule question the fact of continued existence after death. But they looked upon this existence as a shadowy, unsubstantial condition, if not positively miserable at least barely endurable even for those who had led the best of lives. "I'd rather live on earth a peasant's hireling than king it o'er the dead," mourned the shade of Achilles.

But, it may be objected, Christianity arose among the Jews, and surely they believed in no such cheerless immortality. Indeed they did. Passing over the Sadducees who, in revolt of soul at such a dreary fate, chose rather to deny all possibility of a future life, the Pharisees and the Jews generally held to just this conception. The dead survived, yes, but in a far-away Sheol, neither damned nor blessed, merely vegetating, almost forgotten of Jehovah who took a personal interest in the living rather than in the dead. It is possible to find passages in the Old Testament ascribing to departed souls a more vivid existence, and indeed the details of the picture were hazy, confused and inconsistent; but without doubt this was the common belief of the day.

Came now Jesus, and after him with far more proselyting zeal Paul, preaching a Resurrection from the dead, meaning a translation of the souls immured in this hopeless, cheerless, ineffectual Sheol to the glorious Kingdom of Heaven, there to be endowed with a spiritual body capable of function; that is, of accomplishing physical feats like those of living persons and of enjoying in that exalted realm a superabundant life. Nay more, those still living on earth might by accepting Christ escape Sheol altogether, obtain the new spiritual body and go directly to that happy Kingdom where

God reigned in righteousness. They could do so because the Messiah in power and glory was surely coming soon, before the end of the generation, when all these things would be accomplished. Men could thus themselves be directly saved, and vicariously, by baptism for the dead, could win the Kingdom for their beloved gone before. Is it any wonder that such a teaching swept all before it in that unscientific and uncritical age?

Such in briefest outline was the transcendental scheme which Paul denominated salvation. We are not so much concerned with the theology itself as with the facts that lay behind it, or rather with the events which Paul believed had taken place and which were for him proofs of the reality of salvation as he conceived it. Said Paul to his hearers:

‘We shall at the parousia, the second coming, be translated directly to Christ’s kingdom and exchange our present bodies for spiritual bodies, while all Christians who die before the parousia, though they go for a time to that abode where all souls have hitherto dwelt, will likewise obtain new and real bodies of spiritual substance and join the saved in Heaven.’

“How do you know?”

“Because Jesus has already made the journey. He died and went to Sheol, just as do all souls; but the power of God withdrew him thence, resurrected him from among the spirits of the dead and crowned him as Messiah.”

“What reason have you to say so?”

“Reason enough. He has been seen since his death, clothed in his spiritual body, and he thus has demonstrated his continued life.”

“Perhaps you but imagined it.”

“Impossible! He appeared first to Peter, then to the Twelve, then to five hundred men most of whom are still here to bear witness. And I myself have seen him. As Jesus is now, so may we all be.”

This was a lofty conception; in that day over-lofty for all save the more intelligent and educated. The early apostles pressed home their teaching with passionate fervor, but most of their hearers were not intellectually capable of understanding their abstruse metaphysics, which indeed are not always easy to ourselves. The ordinary man turned naturally from the novel to the familiar, from the idea of a spiritual body to that of an earthly body. Not all at once. When the Corinthians, believing in the resurrection of Jesus, yet questioned the universal resurrection, Paul was able successfully

to combat them and so show that he meant not a corporeal but a spiritual anastasia. But the Corinthian error persisted. And when the appearances of Jesus had definitely ceased, when time and the oppressor had removed all original witnesses and cooled the early enthusiasm, and above all when the unaccountable delay in the coming of the parousia had weakened the authority of much of Paul's doctrine, the literal idea of the common man prevailed throughout the Hellenic world over the high conception of the great Apostle. Then it became current that the earthly body of Jesus came back to life, rose and walked out of its tomb. His appearances were transferred from Galilee, whither the affrighted and despairing disciples had fled, to Jerusalem from whence the church had begun its mission. Appearance was added to appearance, speeches and incidents were fabricated, even an ascension story was developed to dispose of the revived body, and all these tales were fragmentary, incoherent, mutually contradictory, simply because there was no basis in historical fact for any of them. The Gospel writers set down some of the stories as they heard them, not venturing to attempt any reconciliation. And thus the error of a too literal interpretation of the apostolic preaching became embodied in the written tradition, perpetuating the great misconception and leading all Christians to believe in the eventual resurrection of their present earthly bodies.

It is not possible to set down in a short paper the critical reasons for the conclusion here outlined or to examine the textual evidence which supports it. But it is proper to ask what if anything the critics have gained. Beneath the popular but incredible story of a body coming to life in a tomb near Jerusalem, they have found an earlier version which knew only of apparitions in Galilee of the spirit of the Master; and these apparitions they believe to be well authenticated by an eye witness, Paul, testifying also on behalf of many others who were there to confront him if he spoke falsely.

At once it can be said, waiving for the moment other considerations, that the Resurrection under this view is fully adequate to account for historical developments. Were a great teacher to return to us in spirit, his very appearance would attest to us the truth of his message, and doubts would never trouble us any more. We can thus appreciate the certainty of conviction on the part of the apostles, the vigor and earnestness of their evangelistic campaign, their confident challenge that the facts were well known and indisputable, their cheerful submission to every fate, even death in its most

hideous form, their unshakable faith in salvation through Jesus the Christ. Further, we can understand the extraordinary success of their missionary labors. We can see why the new teaching rapidly grew beyond the narrow Judaism from which at first it so little differed, why it appealed so irresistibly to the common men of antiquity, why it became the great and conquering religion of the Hellenistic world. All this, which the story of an empty tomb or a revived corpse is totally inadequate to account for, is at once explicable on the assumption that a spirit returned to earth to supply the initial momentum.

But are we any nearer to a rational explanation of the Resurrection? Can we better perceive the historical facts which gave rise to that story? Is the apparition of a spirit to the men of that dim and ancient age any easier to believe in as an actual fact than the story of a crucified corpse reviving and walking about and eating with former friends? All the difficulties are by no means removed, yet with some confidence an affirmative answer to these questions may be given.

Let me hasten to say that there is no intention of basing the argument on any mental form of religious experience. A rationalistic interpretation of the phenomenal world demands that inner conviction be unhesitatingly set aside. Not that subjective experience, religious or otherwise, has no validity. It is perfectly valid, but only for the individual who has the experience. It can have no general validity; that is, no proposition is in the least established by the fact that any number of persons have an intuitive perception of its truth. The solemn attestation of earnest men that the truth of their religion, Buddhism, Islamism, Christianity, is assured by inner revelation can have no weight before the tribunal of reason. Likewise, though here exception may possibly be taken, any alleged experience which is not and can not be repeated is fatally defective. Quoting from Myers's *Human Personality*, "Our ever growing recognition of the continuity, the uniformity, of cosmic law has gradually made of the alleged uniqueness of any incident its almost inevitable refutation." No dead man, aside from Jesus, has ever come to life. None do so now. Can we believe on the scanty and contradictory evidence offered us that the human body of Jesus came to life? We may say we believe it, but really our minds cannot conceive it since it lacks all contact with ascertained reality. At most we can think only of a more or less prolonged syncope, not true death, on the part of the resuscitated.

Do we mean to assert, then, that the appearance of a spirit is

any less impossible? Any more frequently to be observed? Any better known as a part of objective nature? Exactly that. The folklore of all peoples is filled with just such stories. Down the ages from the dawn of civilization and before have come accounts of spirits of departed men communicating more or less clearly with the living and appearing more or less vividly to mortal eyes. While these folk tales and ghost stories bring with them no proof, they at least afford a presumption that spirits may exist and under certain conditions may make themselves manifest. Possibly there is nothing in these tales. If that be the case we shall be left without any collateral evidence whatever of a spirit world. But truly it is in this body of phenomena alone, which claims to report actual relations with a spiritual realm and which ranges from the haziest of folk tales to well authenticated apparitions, that we may hope to find any scientific basis able to render a belief in the Resurrection rational.

The field is not unpromising. Many scholars have pointed out that human testimony to the activities of spiritual beings is as strong as to any other matters whatsoever. The point is that the testimony must be much stronger. The materials for study are abundant and ubiquitous. Behind them are forces claiming to be spirits, and the claim has not been refuted. If the phenomena are not caused by spirits, then let science do its duty and tell us what does cause them. They are as much a fact in nature as any other phenomena, as respectable. Recognizing the justice of such a plea, certain eminent men and women have organized societies to study with rigorous scientific methods all phenomena alleged to be supernatural. If the conclusion of these societies, after painstaking and comprehensive investigation, should be that no such event as the appearance of a spirit to living eyes is at all substantiated and that every such alleged occurrence dissolves into fraud or error, then we shall be left without a single support in reason for the story of the Resurrection of Jesus, let it be according to Paul or according to John.

But such has not been their report. In the various publications of the English and the American Societies for Psychical Research and also in the works written by independent investigators at home and abroad are to be found incidents as marvelous as the apparition of Jesus, authenticated by testimony sufficient to bring absolute conviction on any other subject. If proof is not yet generally claimed, it is only because the events are so different from the known activities of nature that cautious inquirers await before announcing final decision still more overwhelming evidence accom-

panied by a rational theory which will reduce the occurrences to that order which all men feel sure is uniform in the cosmos.

Herein, then, rest our hope and the duty of our scientific leaders. Conservative savants yet hold aloof, but even they are beginning to take notice. The evidence of something, of something which cries out for study, is becoming too copious and challenging for science much longer to pass it by; and upon the decision of science in this field rests the possibility, as Myers long ago pointed out, of our being able to accept the Resurrection and with it a re-born Christianity. If science declares that spirits have appeared to mortals, indeed that they are appearing even now, then we can put credence in Paul's solemn asseveration that Jesus appeared "to Peter, to the Twelve, to myself also." This is our best, nay more, our only hope; and by no means is it slender. Thousands in every land in these sad times of death have found consolation and hope renewed, not in the age-old story of a corpse that revived, but in what seems to them real evidence, observed this day at their own fireside, that their beloved dead do live again. Thus may bloom once more a purified and enduring faith in the Resurrection and the Life.

THE CYCLE OF LAW.

BY HOMER HOYT.

THE quest for legal justice leads to two principles, apparently as wide as the poles asunder. One principle states that unlimited freedom to decide each case upon its merits—according to equity and conscience—is indispensable to justice, while the other principle just as positively proclaims that unlimited freedom to decide cases according to equity and conscience leads to the abuses of the Star Chamber and the Third Degree. One principle decries the rule of precedent as the source of injustice, the other principle lauds it as the very fountain of justice. Thus do the oracles of justice seem to contradict each other and cause laymen to believe that the legal system blows hot and cold at the same breath.

The paradox set forth is no figment of the imagination but a real problem in the growth of law. The opposing principles of justice according to an iron standard and justice according to conscience mark the extreme points between which the law has fluctuated in the course of its development. *The Cycle of Law* embraces the period in which the law has started from a system in which one

of these principles dominated, has gradually changed to a system in which the opposite principle held mastery, and has finally come back again to a condition similar to the starting-point. It is the purpose of this paper to describe this cycle in very briefest compass, to indicate the fundamental forces that have moved through the maze of decisions, statutes, constitutions, codes constituting the outward barometer of the law, to give a hasty glimpse at the general trend of centuries of legal history, omitting from view the vast minutiae of special rules so vital to the individual case, passing swiftly by whole subjects of substantive law, and the entire science of pleading in order that the general contour of the legal woods may stand forth in clear relief.

There is no inevitable beginning nor end to such a study, nor is there any chosen people whose laws have prior claim to such a survey. It is probable that tablets of laws that crumbled to dust before the Code of Hammurabi or the Roman Laws of the Twelve Tables have gone through a process of development similar to that about to be described, but it is needless to search in the ashes of Assyrian cities for the judgment rolls of a forgotten civilization, when evidence written in bold type in the year-books of Edward I tells us the story of the genesis of the very laws under which we are living to-day. The theory of the cycle of law will accordingly be illustrated by the development of the American common law or, rather, its English prototype.

In describing a continuous process that winds back to a place similar to a preceding phase in its course, it makes no vital difference where a start is made. It will be convenient, however, to begin at that phase of the cycle that is characterized by stability and respect for precedent, because a legal system that has crystallized into a definite form presents a tangible substance for analysis and the record of judgments or stone tablets to chronicle the finality of its achievement. A period of static equilibrium was attained by the English law by the end of the thirteenth century. By that time the reaction between the frontier justice of the Anglo-Saxons and the refined law of the Normans had produced one fairly homogeneous system of English law; the blood feud, the wager of battle, and rough-and-ready methods of self-help had been partly eliminated and partly disciplined by technical procedure; scattered local customs, opposing traditions had become merged into the King's justice administered by the King's courts; and the young legal system had grown until its height was measured by its 471 writs and it no longer possessed the power to add another writ to its stature.

At the stage of the cycle which has been arbitrarily selected as a starting-point, the English law had emerged from the unstable period of growth during which its form and content hung in a balance of principles and customs; it had reached the age of assimilation, analysis and codification. The characteristics of a legal system that had arrived at years of maturity could be read in the respect for precedent, the technical rules of pleading, the formality of writs, the dignity and solemnity of judicial procedure, the pompous Latin phrases incomprehensible to laymen, the fees and delays of court trials, the rise of a professional class of lawyers and the codification of the law by Bracton. At that time in its life history, the law delighted to wield the new-found powers that arose out of seal and parchment, writ and oath. It demanded the strict observance of form rather than an inquiry into the fundamental merits of the case; inclining its judgment scales in favor of the debtor when he could successfully pass the prescribed ritual by producing eleven neighbors to swear he did not owe the money, and inclining its scales in favor of the creditor when one false move on the part of the debtor or his aids—a mispronounced word or the lowering of an arm before the proper time—broke the charm of the elaborate symbolism. Thus the static law brought order and respect for authority out of the chaos of Anglo-Saxon law at the expense of equity and conscience.

The movement away from the static equilibrium—like all organic movements—grew out of the very conditions of stability. The crystallization of causes of action into 471 specific forms had practically closed legal machinery to new causes of action, because as these various forms became related to each other by a net-work of logical analysis so that they grew into an organic whole, it became more and more difficult to graft an alien on to the existing system. The forces of habit, tradition and inertia under the guidance of clerks and lawyers schooled in the prevailing forms also tended to keep the law within its accustomed channels. While the law was thus steeling itself against change through external pressure, the power of forces of change was rapidly increasing. Even in the customary society of the thirteenth century some new legal situations would unavoidably arise out of the permutations and combinations of social dealings, but when the Black Death and the Peasants' Revolt produced great upheavals in the quiet flow of English life, the number of adjustments not provided for by the old legal system was bound to increase at a progressive rate.

The first external evidence of a movement away from a condi-

tion of fixity was noted by the statute of Westminster II (A.D. 1285) which provided authority for new remedies to meet new causes of action. This was only a partial solution of the problem, however, for the statute was directed against well-established habits and interpreted by hostile judiciary so that its actual purpose was limited to such narrow ground that it was almost made nugatory. The increasing inflexibility of law as contrasted with the growing needs of the times forced some changes by underground channels. When a change was camouflaged in an elaborate fiction, the pride of technicality was either appeased or the blind side of the judges successfully approached, for many changes crept into the fold of the common law disguised under old forms. The requirement that no title to land could be transferred without a deed was avoided by the fiction of lost grant—allowed claimants of land by adverse possession—wherein the litigant would brazenly allege that a deed had been granted to a remote ancestor, but that it had been lost. The court would wink at these and many other subterfuges of like nature, and by refusing to allow any investigation of their truth practically inaugurate a new rule of law. Thus the common law became more artificial and technical as society receded from it.

The rigor of the common law finally forced another system to spring up side by side with it—a system which embodied the contrary principle of jurisprudence, namely the decision of each case on its merits. The pressure of suitors unsatisfied by a system of common law that had now become decadent forced the development of a court of chancery or equity which sought without reference to precedent or form to achieve substantial justice between the parties. The court of equity was established by the king under the authority of his undistributed reserve power to decide cases when the common law courts could not afford relief. The new equity courts had jurisdiction of the person, their orders were binding on the conscience and could be enforced by jail sentences. Their power was not limited to existing forms but they could devise any new remedy to meet any new situation, and their decrees were binding on even the common law courts, for they could enjoin any judgment which was against their ideas of justice. The common law courts continued in existence without interruption, and handed out decisions based on precedents the same as before, but they were now subject to the control of another court which could set them at defiance when a proper case for equity arose. The anomaly—so hard for a layman to understand—of two systems of law, common law and equity, administered in the same place over the same

subject-matter sometimes by different courts and sometimes by the same court or the same man sitting on the same bench, thus crept into our legal system because of the inevitable antagonism between the two fundamental principles mentioned in the opening paragraph.

The common law, however, could not remain shut up in an air-tight compartment when confronted by equity. The common law judges found it to their self-interest and to the self-interest of their science to moderate the fixity of the common law in order to extend their jurisdiction before equity arrived. Consequently a race began between the common law and the chancery courts to liberalize their views and to grant new remedies. The whole equitable doctrine of quasi-contracts was developed by the common law under the spur of the competition with equity. Thus the interaction between equity and the common law finally produced a situation in which far more attention was paid to deciding cases on their merits than ever before. By the time of the seventeenth century, the half of the cycle was completed and law was at its greatest period of flux.

From this high water mark of justice according to conscience, unimpeded by precedent, the law again returned to a static equilibrium. Again the retrograde movement began while the very reign of equity was at its height. Complaints began to be made that the Court of Equity enjoyed complete freedom from any salutary control, and that decisions according to conscience varied with the conscience of each Chancellor which varied, as was later said by Selden, with the length of the foot of each Chancellor. The decisions of the Chancery Courts were unwritten, and no attempt was made to consult or follow precedent, the Court of Chancery being similar in this respect to the notorious Star Chamber. While complaints against the uncertain and capricious nature of equity were thus being made, equity was more or less unconsciously imitating many common law forms and among them a leaning toward precedents. Gradually equity crystallized into a definite form just as the common law had before it, the chancery cases were printed and acquired binding authority as precedents just as the common law cases had become binding. Equity, while not so formal as the common law, finally described its metes and bounds with the same care as the common law, and the conscience of the chancellor ceased to be the varying moral ideals of individuals and became the incorporated conscience of generations of chancellors. Thus equity in turn became closed to new forces and reached maturity. In the meantime by a process of judicial legislation under Lord Mansfield,

the common law had assimilated the Law Merchant which for a long time existed as an exotic system, unrecognized by the common law. Thus renovated and enlarged, the combined system of common law and equity by the middle of the eighteenth century again reached a static equilibrium and a complete cycle had been transcribed.

The cycle which succeeded the long period which spanned the thirteenth and the eighteenth centuries has proceeded much more rapidly. After an interval of quiescence—the period of static equilibrium in which precedent and custom held the throne—lasting in England to the middle of the nineteenth century and in America to the beginning of the twentieth century, the complete swing of the pendulum from stability to equity—covering half the cycle—was made in a few decades. Discontent with the fundamental assumptions of law elaborated after five hundred years of painstaking effort was precipitated by the industrial revolution which suddenly showered titanic changes upon society so as to disrupt old relationships and to usher in new legal problems in ever increasing numbers. The common law, adjusted to pre-revolution times, could not keep pace, even by judicial legislation and the twisting of old rules, with the demands created by the presence of machinery, widening markets, the growth of cities, large-scale production, trade unions, and the woman's movement. In the nineteenth century, the return to the principles of justice according to equity and conscience began through legislation and the movement rapidly gained in volume and intensity until by the early part of the twentieth century—in the present day—the flood of statutes has probably reached its high water mark. In the course of this "rain" of statutes, even the equity courts themselves, the original fountains of justice according to merit, were thoroughly renovated and purged of the accumulations of precedent which prevented them from fulfilling their particular function, and new administrative bodies with wide discretionary powers were created to supply the needed elasticity in our legal system. At last, however, the career of statute-law which has almost become an epidemic seems to have reached its zenith, and after the wildest experiments in legislature, we seem now ready to return to more stable and scientific standards. Already some legislators are beginning to recognize that their power is not omnipotent, and that there is a limit to the good that can be accomplished by a mere fiat—and this is a sure sign that we are receding from naive confidence in our ability to fly to the social paradise by passing a law. It is probable, however, that we shall not return to another

static equilibrium without a thoroughgoing reconstruction of the fundamental premises which underlie present legal theory.

The moral told by the Cycle of Law is probably unwelcome to the reformers who hope to bring about the social millennium by a single stroke of legislation, for a common law that has withstood the shocks of equity reform and the deluge of statutes and codes undoubtedly has sufficient toughness to meet the strain of future storms. On the other hand, since the longevity of the common law has been due to the fact that its elasticity permitted it to bend under a weight that would have crushed a rigid substance, the moral can afford but little comfort to the reactionaries who expect to keep an iron lid pressed down upon forces of change. In the far-reaching panorama of legal history that has been flashed before the reader, all the apparent contradictory elements in law appear as part of one great movement. Statutes, equity, judicial legislation, are the methods by which the law grows and expands, while common law decisions, and constitutions are the ways in which the new growth is assimilated to the old system. Thus the law grows like a sturdy oak, adding successive rings of sap to the inner heart wood until it develops strength and stability without losing its capacity to add new branches and to stimulate the flow of sap that keeps the whole organism alive.

Law attains its golden mean when it supplies a remedy for every injury while adhering to stable principles, when it represses violence and unstable conditions with one hand and dispenses new theories of justice to fit new conditions with the other, in short when it coincides with the predominant aspirations of society by happily uniting the opposing principles of stability and equity. The law fluctuates above and below this golden mean, the magnitude of the oscillations being great when society is in a state of flux and small when society is bound by custom, but whether the deviations are large or small the law tends ever to seek its level despite the dams interposed by legislatures or courts.

“ARE YOU GOING BACK TO JERUSALEM?”

BY CHARLES CLEVELAND COHAN.

ON the very day that the word came flashing along of General Allenby's capture of Jerusalem I met a Christian friend of mine who greeted me with the words, "Well, the Holy City has been delivered from the Turks. Are you going back to Jerusalem?"

I merely smiled at him and remarked that considering the fact

that from at least eight hundred to a thousand years or more must have elapsed since remote members of my family had resided in that locality I perhaps would find the place too much changed to suit me.

He might have been facetious in his query. I meant to be more or less so.

Subsequently his query recurred to me, and to my mind came the thought with much engaging force, "Why—perhaps the very question which my friend asked me is the spoken or unvoiced query which Christendom is putting up to all those of Hebraic faith!"

I do not for a moment mean to imply that such a question carries with it anything of peremptory demand. Far from anything of the sort. It merely is the propounding of a natural question induced by the knowledge of Palestine's quondam rulership, of Jerusalem's place in Jewish history, and of years of analysis of Biblical prophecies. Also there has been much discussion verbally and in contemporaneous literature of the Zionist movement. Indeed even casual inquiry leads one of Jewish faith to the belief that every Christian, even without stopping to analyze the proposition, takes it for granted that every Jew in the world is looking forward with intense hope to the time when he and his could betake themselves to Palestine to assume their places in the affairs of a restored Jewish nation there.

Truly it is to be granted that there is something fascinatingly picturesque in the thought of a mighty return to the land of the Fathers. Visualized, the picture is that of great streams of a sturdy people who have won a way to high estate in the progress of the world, wending their way in stately and even awe-inspiring march to the Holy Land, the land of the Covenant and the Ark, of the prophets and the Bible, of the greatest epochs of religion known to mankind. And then that view fades to be replaced by one of a newly reestablished nation, one of peace and peaceful pursuits—abiding calmly, nobly and safely on its holy hills and in its sacred valleys, secure from inner dissensions because of a desire to realize a hope of the centuries and safe from without because of the protecting arms of the civilized powers that recognize the validity of such a holy nation.

Yet no matter how beautiful a painting may be, the artist in preparing it needs must give due heed to the colors that form it, to the technique that designs it. His imagination as he paints may be in the artistic clouds, but he must make use of brushes and of muscle and other material things.

There can be no materialization of a picture of Jewish re-

occupancy of Palestine and especially Jerusalem without taking into close consideration the materialistic things which must be employed in its delineation.

The Zionist movement abounds in noble purposes and high-sounding terms. Can it take all Jews back to Palestine?

The discussion of the Zionist movement is of itself a matter for lengthy and most serious study, and yet my Christian friend could not ask me, "Are you going back to Jerusalem?" without causing the Zionist idea to come quickly to my mind, and with it something of its purport and possibilities suggesting itself again.

The first opposing argument which the Zionist meets is that the task of bringing all Jews back to Palestine at one time would be too gigantic to permit of serious consideration. But then if the Zionist declares that Zionism is not meant to be an immediate "back to Jerusalem" movement for those of Jewish faith, but is a matter of evolution, a serious flaw presents itself in his argument. If the ages spent by Jews among the enlightened nations of the earth have caused them to become most intense integral parts of those lands, then the longer any Jewish family remains implanted in the nation of its choice and love, the farther will be the ramifications of its roots in that land. certainly the more difficult to transplant its root, trunk and branches into any other soil, even that of Palestine.

Verily, the wonderful Shylock pronouncement of Jewish sensibilities might well be paraphrased to describe the status of the Jew to-day in whatever land he is a citizen and indicate his innate feelings regarding the subject, thus:

"Hath not a Jew loyalty? Hath not a Jew patriotism, sense of duty, love of his country, pride in his citizenship, appreciation of his rights, regard for law and order? Fed with the same propaganda of national righteousness, hurt with the same national calamities, subject to the same national exigencies, healed by the same proper legislation, warmed and cooled by the same political arguments, as a Christian is? If improper governments get into control, are we not bled? If we are tickled by great national achievements, do we not laugh for joy? If you order us to the front to fight for the national cause, do we not die? And if you wrong our citizenship, shall we not resent? If we are like you in the rest, we will resemble you in that."

By the manner of his citizenship in whatever nation he resides, the Jew, these many hundreds of years, has demonstrated that his nationality is that of the nation of which he is a citizen and that in religion only he is a Jew.

Are there arguments on that point to the contrary? On what logic can they be based?

A man born in this country is a citizen of this nation whether his parents be Jewish, Catholic, Protestant or of any other religion. When a man becomes a naturalized citizen of this country he swears allegiance to it and renounces his former allegiance to the land from which he came. When a Jew is born in this nation he by constitutional decree becomes a citizen of this republic—he is American by right of birth. When a Jew becomes a naturalized citizen of this country he does not forswear allegiance to any Jewish nation existing in imagination, or, as it were, spiritually, but he renounces allegiance to that country of which he formerly was a citizen. By what right of logic, then, can the native born or naturalized Jew be informed that “by nationality you are a Jew” by either Jew or Gentile?

And if the argument is advanced, as it has been by some, that the Jews are a nation in everything but possession of and residence in the same country because they have not had an opportunity to assemble in the one nation, then by what rule of thumb can the desire to assemble in this one country be ascribed to all those of Jewish faith?

The French Jew is thoroughly French in sentiment and even in mannerisms. The English Jew is British all the way through. The American Jew is as American as any one of his native born or naturalized neighbors of other creeds.

The generality of the subject can best be illustrated by a specific instance. The writer's father was one of those western, trail-blazing pioneers who braved every hardship and danger in the prairie-crossing days of the early sixties to aid in preparing the great Northwest for settlement. His pioneer history is the epic of all sturdy, determined and purposeful pioneers. His bride joined him in pioneer days. His sons and daughters were children of the West. They have an American heritage that is sacred to them by reason of each and every trial and tribulation and disappointment and achievement of the pioneers who made the West so vital a part of this great American republic. They are American from head to foot. They know nothing but American customs, American methods, and cherish no ideals of nationalism other than those which are American.

That is the exact status of the average American of Jewish faith. He is a lover of his country, of the Stars and Stripes. Whether he is in Congress, on the farm, in the office, delving for

ore in the depths of the earth, working beside the glowing furnace—in any and every vocation he is an American. He is an American statesman, banker, farmer, miner, butcher, baker, candle-stick maker, pugilist, journalist, and so on. He is a desirable citizen.

The same is applicable to the Jewish citizen of any other civilized country, his nationality being of necessity that of his fellow-citizens.

Publicists by the score herald the taking of the Holy Land from the Turks by Great Britain as the first step in the repopulating of Palestine by the Jews. They argue that under British protection, a Jewish nation could and would flourish there. The flourishing part would be true not only because of the British protection, which of course would be a vital factor, but also for many important economic reasons. The Jew as a good citizen is essentially a home builder, a developer of natural and other resources. Palestine has a good soil. It needs irrigation projects and other advantages. Its cities need modern sanitary methods. Palestine needs the invigorating influences of a progressing, determined and efficient population. Great Britain and all other civilized nations know that the Jews would be a splendid proposition for Palestine. Jerusalem is an important strategic point for the protection of the Suez Canal and other great purposes. If the British government could convince Jews in sufficient number that the proper thing for them to do would be to inhabit Palestine and to form a government under British suzerainty, that would be a masterpiece of British statesmanship. And indeed it would be a wonderful blessing for thousands of Jews—Jews who are misjudged and mistreated and made the victims of bigotry and superstition-induced torture in certain parts of Europe. No American of Jewish faith is likely for a moment to oppose any Zionist move for populating Palestine with Jews there to establish a state of their own if they can. For, enjoying the protecting friendship of the other great nations of the world, they could make it a safe haven for thousands of Jews from Russia, Rumania and other European countries where oppression is still their lot. And it would be a magnificent plan for the Jews who are living there now in a condition which, because of many years of Turkish misrule, is all but calamitous.

But when it comes to asking all the other millions of Jews, "Are you going back to Jerusalem?" what answer can be expected if not such a one as points out concisely, and in a way that should be convincing, the facts which militate against any such general Jewish move.

There is a physical side to it involving important economics.

Palestine has about ten thousand square miles, as nearly as can be estimated. There are about thirteen million Jews in the world. They all could get into Palestine, but they could not all go in for intensive farming with such quick results as to cause them to be self-supporting. In fact many of them could not farm at all. The building up of cities, of manufacturing enterprises to make such articles as could be sold to other countries—indeed the placing of the country on a self-supporting basis would have to be a matter of progress involving years of endeavor—and with no Jews remaining in any of the other countries from whom to solicit sufficiently large funds for carrying Palestine along pending that country's success in getting on its feet. This is not to imply at all that people of other faiths would not contribute to such Jewish relief work, but they could not in fairness be expected to do so to such an extent and with such frequency as would properly be looked for from co-religionists if any of these were left in a position to contribute from abroad.

To all this the reply is bound to be made, "Why, any one can realize that. No one expects every person of Jewish faith to pack up forthwith or even in the course of the next few years and leave for Palestine."

And this certainly is the right sort of an answer.

But my Christian friend asked me, "Are you going back to Jerusalem?" and doubtless many thousands of Jews right here in the United States were asked that same question on the same occasion and for the same reason. Perhaps the same happened in Great Britain and France and Italy and elsewhere.

No—I am not going back to Jerusalem. I cannot even positively say I came from there. That I entertain the theory that some of my remote ancestors did is after all based only on hearsay evidence, though I am mighty proud to think they did.

And there are some millions of us of the Jewish faith who have a true love for this American republic of ours. Aside from our pride in our ancestral home and even if economic conditions there were such as to enable all Jews to return at once, and admitting that the scenery of the Holy Land with its sacred associations is most alluring, and agreeing that the climate is most pleasing and opportunities are great, and believing it to be a great and a glorious place where Jews oppressed and unoppressed in other nations could rest secure and demonstrate in full their ability in art and music, in literature, industrial enterprises and commerce, to say nothing

of athletics and such matters, there are certain innate characteristics born right in our souls and the flesh and bone of us that make us really Americans and not merely sojourners here. We show that to be true by our conception of citizenship. They are characteristics which naturally make us love this Land of Liberty—cherish to the utmost those principles of humanity which are the foundation and bulwark of this republic—glory in our American citizenship—feel thrilled by the history of the United States—thankful not only to be able to enjoy this republic's blessings of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but deeply grateful that we are imbued with the desire to do our part in whatever way we can and whenever we can to uphold those blessings and the nation which has so wonderfully promulgated them.

We are inspired by the splendor and grandeur of this American nation. We have had too much to do with the establishment and progress of the republic to consider ourselves even for a moment only sojourning aliens here. Our lives are too much interwoven with the fabric of the nation to permit us or anybody else to think we are merely visiting here in order to take advantage of the safeguards provided by the republic.

There are thousands of us in the service of Uncle Sam. Much of our blood has been spilled in the fights of this nation from the Revolutionary war to the present day to maintain the greatness and the power of the republic and the humanitarian principles it upholds. Much of our blood will be spilled on foreign battlefields in the carrying of Old Glory to its great triumph in vitally participating in the democratization of the world. Those of us who are not on the firing line and are destined to do their share at home, are devoting sincere efforts to aiding in the success of all those endeavors which make for the sustaining of the fighting men, and we are doing it with real American unselfishness as well as devotion to duty.

The Bible student points to the prophecies in Old and New Testament and bids us prepare to return to Palestine. He says that Holy Writ so orders it for he so interprets it.

But we Jews look up and see the Red and the White and the Blue floating over us and the Flag symbolizes to us the grandeur of a land of the free and a home of the brave, and we are inspired by the thought that we are a part of such a republic. Our Jewish children learn the "Salute to the flag" in the school-room and love for the nation is inculcated in them not as transients but as conscientious Americans. In our hearts is the exulting feeling that the

Almighty, who granted the forming of such a republic as this, who has guided it safely through stress of conflict from within and attack from without, who has made it a refuge for the disheartened and the oppressed and the exile, and the land of opportunity and encouragement for them as well as for the ambitious and the able, means us to be true to our trust in American citizenship. Surely we could not but be possessed by the unshakable conviction that He means us to continue doing our part in upholding the republic and to show our appreciation of the blessings it has given us and gives us by being Americans now and for ever.

MISCELLANEOUS.

OUR FRONTISPIECE.

On the 14th of July the French celebrate the anniversary of the storming of the Bastille, which was the beginning of the French Revolution. As this date marks a new epoch in history, the whole world celebrates it now, and the tune of the Marseillaise, the battle hymn of the republic which finally emerged from the upheaval that started on that fateful day, is popular to this hour wherever free men rise against tyranny.

The Bastille was the prison which under Louis XIV began to acquire its fame as the jail to which the king as well as the noblemen of his *entourage* would send their political and personal opponents, without trial, simply by a *lettre de cachet*. It was looked upon as the bulwark of the *ancien régime*, its name as the symbol of oppression. The man who in 1789 occupied the throne of France, weighed down with all the curses heaped upon his ancestors, was of a harmless, even good-natured disposition. He might have been popular, had he not been married to that beautiful and refined, but superficial princess, Marie Antoinette, the daughter of the famous empress Maria Theresa. The people hated her, *l'Autrichienne*. Neither of the royal couple was able to cope with the great problems of the day. Louis XVI was not a tyrant and saw no need of filling the Bastille with prisoners, but he lacked insight and foresight. He did not even know that the masses were starving, he did not dream that something like a financial calamity might foreshadow a revolution.

There were no political prisoners in the Bastille when it was taken by the Parisian mob. The guards who garrisoned the stronghold capitulated and, lowering the drawbridge, gave free access to the crowds who came as liberators. The commander had been assured of his own safety and that of his men and his officers, but the mob did not keep its promise. The men in charge were massacred without mercy.

The king had been hunting on that day. When he was informed of the capture of the Bastille, he is reported to have said, "*Mais c'est une émeute,*" but the officer replied, "*Non, Sire, c'est une révolution.*"

The Bastille was practically empty when it was taken and its few inmates, common vagrants and thieves, were set at liberty with great display. It was not their persons that mattered. It was the place where they had been held captives—a monument of tyranny of whose fall and destruction they bore living witness.

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The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

VOL. XXXII (No. 8)

AUGUST, 1918

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THE GOSPEL OF BUDDHA

By

DR. PAUL CARUS

Pocket Edition. Illustrated. Cloth, \$1.00; flexible leather, \$1.50

This edition is a photographic reproduction of the *edition de luxe* which was printed in Leipsic in 1913 and ready for shipment in time to be caught by the embargo Great Britain put on all articles exported from Germany. Luckily two copies of the above edition escaped, and these were used to make the photographic reproduction of this latest edition. While the Buddhist Bible could not in any way be considered a contraband of war yet the publishers were forced to hold back many hundred orders for the book on account of orders in council of Great Britain.

When the book was first published His Majesty, the King of Siam, sent the following communication through his private secretary:

"Dear Sir: I am commanded by His Most Gracious Majesty, the King of Siam, to acknowledge, with many thanks, the receipt of your letter and the book, *The Gospel of Buddha*, which he esteems very much; and he expresses his sincerest thanks for the very hard and difficult task of compilation you have considerably undertaken in the interest of our religion. I avail myself of this favorable opportunity to wish the book every success."

His Royal Highness, Prince Chandradat Chudhadharn, official delegate of Siamese Buddhism to the Chicago Parliament of Religions, writes:

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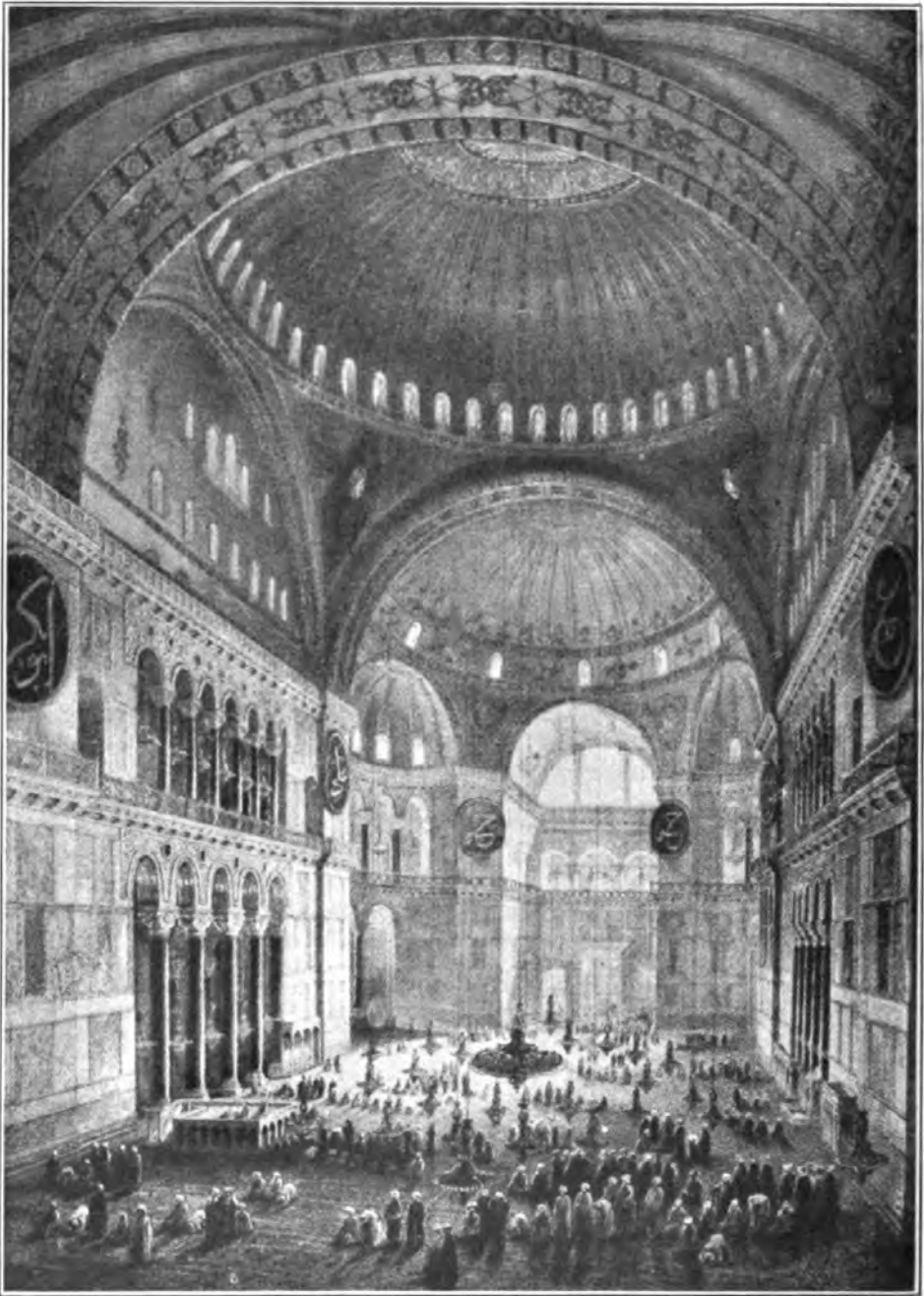
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INTERIOR OF THE HAGIA SOPHIA AT CONSTANTINOPLE.
From Fossati, *Aya Sofia*.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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THE NORTHERN ORIGIN OF THE STORY OF TROY.

ATTESTED BY THE PITCHER OF TRAGLIATELLA.

Translated from the German of Carus Sterne.

I. *A Survey of the Story of Troy.*

IN all world literature, omitting religious books, there is probably no book that has been the object of deeper and more frequent investigation than "the immortal songs of divine Homer." A library of more than a thousand volumes treats solely the content of Iliad and Odyssey, and even in antiquity doubt was raised whether there was any foundation in reality for these pictures too replete with color for a mere work of fancy. Old Herodotus, who estimated himself as only four hundred years younger than the poet of Troy, asked the priests of Memphis whether all that the Greeks told about the Trojan War was to be consigned to the realm of fable. They gave him an affirmative answer and assured him that Paris had never abducted Helen to Troy and that accordingly the Greeks never could have marched against Troy to demand her back. They claimed the whole affair had taken place in Memphis, and Herodotus concludes his long observation with the judgment: "With regard to Helen I assent entirely to the opinion of the Egyptian priests and for the following reasons. If this princess had been in Troy, they would certainly have returned her to the Greeks, no matter whether Alexandros (Paris) had agreed or opposed. Priam and the princes of the royal family really could not have been so deprived of all sense as to sacrifice themselves along with their children and their city to destruction, merely to secure the possession of Helen to Alexandros...."

Very many ancient scholars passed similar judgment on the so-called historical kernel of the poem and shrewd Eratosthenes

made sport of those who pretended to see anything else than myths and stories in the wanderings of Odysseus. With a smile of roguishness even the poet of the Iliad has his Apollo ask Poseidon himself if he imagines that it was the Greeks who had fought with the citizens before the gates of Troy, for it seems to him as if in the Iliad it had not been a matter of the struggle between men but of gods with one another. In these words the poet announces that he intends to tell us a myth and not history, but how few investigators have believed him! The heroes of the Iliad have come to a life more real than real, not merely in the ideas of Schliemann, but in the meditations and efforts of thousands who insist on the principle, "The story must be true after all, or else it couldn't have been told."

The eleven thousand scholars and pedants who have since been cudgeling their brains to find a solution for the riddles and mysteries here in control, seem to me to have given "full and complete" proof of at least one thing, that the matter cannot be settled merely by philology and linguistic lore. This gave a foundation for the right to try another way. My ambition to do this resulted from no amateur notion of yesterday. I believe I was but little more than ten years old when I first read the Iliad and the Odyssey—of course in Voss's translation—"devoured them" would express it better, for I cannot deny that from boyhood up I was accustomed to devour books and was always tormented by a burning desire to become acquainted with the poetry of all peoples and times. But nothing exercised such perennial attraction as the Iliad and the Odyssey and I have always returned again and again to this love of my youth. In this I very soon gained an impression as if Homer's heroes were very much of the same mould as those of the songs of Ossian, of the Nibelungenlied, and of Gudrun. The similarity in certain customs, for example in the disposal of the dead, struck me early and I remember being astonished beyond all bounds when I read in Tegnér's *Frithjofssaga* that the Scandinavian heroes were said to have sworn solemn oaths and vows on the cut off head of a wild boar just like the Homeric Greeks. Finally, however, I thought this was a trait which Tegnér had borrowed from Homer.

It did not remotely occur to me that such coincidences in customs and views could be interpreted as pointing to a northern origin of the Greeks, for I was not as farseeing as Dr. Otto Ammon in Karlsruhe who now, after the northern provenience of all Aryans has been accorded a high degree of probability from many sides, asserts that he discerned this solution of the problem as a schoolboy! I had rather a firm belief in the axiom of philology that Central

Asia was the homeland of the Aryans. Anyhow at that time I harbored not only a deep feeling of gratitude and respect for the scholars who had unlocked the thought and fancy of such distant civilization to us, but also blind confidence in the correctness of their conclusions, which were based on merely linguistic evidence. Even to-day, as a matter of course, I have not at all abandoned this esteem for linguistic investigation, in spite of many bitter experiences with individual representatives of the philological sciences, for it has furnished us information of the highest value and performed the most valuable services to other fields of research; but I have gradually changed my opinion in regard to the certainty of its conclusions and to the unconditional reliability of some of its representatives. I must here relate somewhat more in detail the circumstances through which my original confidence received the hardest shock, since it also belongs to the Homeric problem.

[Carus Sterne then proceeds to recapitulate the famous controversy about the "blueblindness" of Homer, the absurdity of which he showed in *Kosmos*, June, 1877.]

This little triumph over the philologists in Homeric research was for me the occasion no longer to look upon the rest of their work with the complete reliance which had previously inspired me. If their infallibility got a fall from such a simple obstacle, what was then its status in the fields of prehistoric man and of comparative mythology which had till then been almost exclusively cultivated by philologists and from philological angles? Were really all peoples, as they asserted, whose languages belonged to the Indogermanic family of languages, of the same race? Had the original stock, to follow out their further conclusions, really come to Europe with bag and baggage, domestic animals and seed stocks and everything, from the Plateau of Central Asia? And if that was all correct, why had it been impossible up to then to get much certainty in respect to the relationship of the religious ideas of the various Aryan branches? For if the languages are the same, then the mythological range of ideas, which surely did not take growth in a later era but in the myth-forming primeval time, must needs reveal the same inner connection.

But in spite of all learned efforts nothing worth mentioning had been accomplished on this ground. Max Müller's attempts to derive all Greek gods and goddesses from India (for instance, Greek Hera, Artemis, Athene, Aphrodite and the rest solely from an Indian goddess of the dawn) proved just as complete failures as the efforts of Herodotus and other scholars of antiquity to trace

back all their divinities to Egyptian and Phoenician origin, a view which, as the result of the philologists' blind faith in authority, has continued its ghostly existence clear into our century and is still not able to die. Of the entire chaos of comparative mythology, as far as Aryan divinities were concerned, there remained as a certain result but little more than the fact that the celestial divinities of the ancient Indians, Greeks, Romans, and Germans: Dyaus, Zeus, Jupiter, Tyr or Zio, showed an unmistakable, but on the whole little known relationship.

This grand fiasco could be explained only as due to false methods and faulty foundations, i. e., a departure from preconceived erroneous ideas, and it became ever clearer to me that an entirely new substructure would have to be built if a durable edifice was to be reared. First it had to be made clear that mythology is nothing else but the precipitate of the attempts of people in the childhood of the race at an interpretation of nature, mixed up with ideas of ancestor-worship. Its goal is to explain and make comprehensible all facts and phases of the life of nature and humanity to an undeveloped intelligence from the action of personified natural forces, phenomena, and conditions, i. e., to make answer to the natural questions, Why is it turning winter now and later spring? Why have sun and moon not the same appearances and the same course in the sky all the time? For what reason is there so little sunlight in winter? By whom are sun and moon suddenly swallowed up during eclipses? Who is angry in thunderstorms? and so on and so forth. It had to be made clear, too, that such things can only be treated successfully by naturalists and ethnopsychologists, but not by philologists who had not even observed that every clime and every race, in so far as it possesses recollections of the original home of its mythological epoch, must have as its own a special theogony corresponding to its climatic conditions, that this too must have passed through a period of development from lower forms, etc., etc.

However, this evolution cannot be immediately recognized in literary evidence, which in the nature of things must possess a stamp so highly colored by individuality, by national and local patriotism that it is rarely to be trusted. Then, too, such evidence springs only seldom from the myth-forming era proper; as the result of a long process of thought it offers only clarified or, rather, clouded views, is in fact to be used only with extreme caution. Much more important in this direction are the various objects buried without ulterior motives in graves, prehistoric witnesses in general which

place before our eyes the civilization and religious reverence of primitive man in unvarnished reality, to the extent to which we are successful in interpreting these silent witnesses aright. Thus, the distribution of tools from the stone, copper, bronze, and iron ages, relics of pottery, modes of burial, and megalithic monuments furnish bases which in value for the knowledge of primitive history and the history of religion are surpassed by no literary monument, but which have on the contrary already corrected the data of literary monuments from the most diverse angles.

Because of their peculiar occurrence from the coasts of the North through France and Iberia to the north coast of Africa, on the one hand, across the Caucasus to Asia Minor and India, on the other, the megalithic monuments have always seemed to me to be worthy of particular attention, especially since from implements found in their attendant burial-places the thesis can be made probable that the North German ones are older than all the rest. As early as 1879 in my essays on the stone age in the Orient I called attention to the fact that the stone monuments of Palestine so often mentioned in the Bible displayed a similarity to those of northern Europe which could hardly be explained by assuming an equality in the cultural niveau of their builders. I made an exhaustive comparison of the cromlech of twelve stones supposedly built by Joshua at the ford of the Jordan "in commemoration of the twelve tribes of the Jews" with the cromlechs of Britain also generally constructed of twelve stones, for example with Stonehenge; of the dolmens with the round hole in one side-wall with the corresponding dolmens of India and France; and of the balanced rock of Jerusalem over which the Jewish Temple, now a mosque, was built with similar balanced rocks of Keltic lands.

Eight or nine years later, as everybody knows, Flinders Petrie discovered on Egyptian temple-walls colored representations of the Amaurs, those tall Amorites of the Jordan-land often mentioned in the Bible, and it was found that these predecessors of the Jews were blond, blue-eyed people. How many Bible antiquities would be more easily explained if people were willing to look more sharply at this Aryan original stock of Palestine. I mention only the sacrifice of horses on high mountains, offered to the Sun and the Moon, which were abolished by Josiah (2 Kings xxiii); the chariots of the sun mentioned there, and the prophet Elijah who is wholly identical with the northern Thor (cf. the author's *Tuiskoland*, pp. 271-275).

The views of classical philologists who after the precedent of old Herodotus would not cease deriving the Greek gods from Egypt

and Phoenicia appeared to me more and more untenable. What, pray, had a land which, down to the beginning of our era, persisted in a debasing animal-worship, to offer to the Greek pantheon! Quite on the contrary, Egypt, Syria, and Phoenicia borrowed infinitely much from the northern Aryans who had crossed their boundaries in a hoary antiquity, and only from that arose the deceptive similarity of many of their cults to those of Greece and the North. I sought to explain this state of affairs further in a longer series of articles, "Mythologie und Entwicklungsgeschichte," 1886-87, showing by many examples the agreement of Greek-Roman cults with those of the north Aryans, which, to be sure, got to Greece in many cases only by way of Asia Minor.

Especial weight was laid on the northern origin of the cult of light (Zeus and Apollo) already attested by so many ancient authors, and the so-called sun champions and defenders of the patriarchy (as, e. g., Apollo, Herakles, Theseus, Perseus, Achilles, and others), who according to tradition destroyed the ancient matriarchy and the Amazonism of the Semitic peoples, were characterized as likenesses of our northern sun warriors, Tyr, Thor, Freyr, Siegfried, that is of those celestial divinities who combat the demons of darkness and cold, and liberate the "lights of heaven" from their might in order to help man. The following year (1888), when I wrote the series "Fussstapfen blonder Indogermanen in der Urgeschichte," the northern origin of the Troy legend, long a surmise, became a conviction with me, and with reference to the Indic Karna, the principal hero of the mighty Mahabharata (who is likewise a faded Siegfried-type, that is, a later development of the divine sun warrior of the North) I wrote the following:

"As can easily be seen, there is in this an essential support for the view here upheld, that the Aryans migrated from northern Europe to India and not the reverse. Furthermore, not the Mahabharata alone but also the Iliad has the greatest resemblance to the Lay of the Nibelungs—the three stateliest epics of the world have the same personality as their chief hero. Some years ago I pointed out in this paper (*Vossische Zeitung*) the surprising similarity of the dragon-slayer and maiden-rescuer Siegfried with the bright dragon-slayer and liberator of Andromeda, Perseus, with the victor over the Minotaur and Amazon-conqueror, Theseus, and with blonde, curly-headed Achilles with the small vulnerable spot on his heel. These three sun heroes seem to me, indeed, much closer doubles of Siegfried-Sigurd of the Edda and of *Das kleine Heldenbuch* than the Indic Karna....Siegfried conducts his own bride to King

Gunther; Achilles likewise yields his own bride Briseïs to the commander of armies, Agamemnon; and Karna, like Siegfried, wins the Gandhari-king's bride in battle to yield her up to the king.

"In all three national epics the cause of the struggle is the same, whether the name of the ravished or insulted wife be Brunhild, Helen, or Draupadi. . . . Achilles and Karna fall long before the decisive battle and by treachery and envy of the gods, just like Siegfried. While Hagen learns of the spot between the shoulder-blades where Siegfried is without protection, in the Greek story Apollo suggests to cowardly Paris to aim at the heel (of Achilles) which Thetis had forgotten to harden because she held the child by it, and in just the same wise god Indra, in the form of a Brahmin who can be refused nothing, approaches Karna, in order to beg from him the horny skin that makes invulnerable,—plainly the most clumsy change of the original story. . . ."

The comparisons given here very much abridged have of course reference only to the form which the myth received in the popular epic, the beginnings of which must therefore have been extant already before the separation of Teutons, Indians, and Greeks. Then the story of Troy passed through very different changes before arriving at the form given it in the Iliad. I proved the northern source of the Iliad more in detail in *Tuiskoland*, 1891 (pp. 449-521), and especially in the chapter on Achilles I indicated that some time there must have been a form in which it is he who liberates Helen, for she appears married to him on the island of Leuke, before the mouths of the Danube, just as Brunhild ascends the funeral pyre with her liberator, Siegfried. The name of Achilles points that way, which I derived with Preller from *echis*, "serpent," connecting it with the slayer of the winter dragon Ahi, to whom an Achilaras corresponds in India. It was from the power of this winter dragon that he had freed her, and if her counterpart is recognized in Briseïs, we may easily see the way in which the Iliad grew out of the Achilles story in the hands of the Homeric poets.

Jason and Theseus are two doubles of Achilles in Greek poetry. Both fight, like Achilles, against the Amazons, in addition Jason has the same home and the same teacher as Achilles (cf. *Tuiskoland*, p. 497), both rescue a radiantly beautiful woman from the power of a monster; they owe their lives to her, but they nevertheless surrender her to another, just as Siegfried, Achilles, and Karna do. In the case of Theseus, in a way not to be misunderstood, the story is not clear whether it was Helen whom he abducted from the castle at Sparta during the dance, or Ariadne whom he led in dance from

her prison in the labyrinth of Crete, which, as we shall see later, bore the name of Troy in antiquity. A fourth or fifth form of the legend has Pyrrhos, son of Achilles, conquer Troy, and release Helen in dancing. A sixth relates that Menelaus found abducted Helen in Memphis and there liberated her from the hands of the ravisher.

More instructive and important than all these forms of the story is the seventh, often cited in the Iliad as the original form, the story of the liberation of Hesione before the gates of Troy by Herakles. Her father Laomedon is narrated to have delivered her to the wrath of Poseidon, after the latter had built the walls of Troy and had devastated the coast on being cheated out of his pay. Then Laomedon invokes the help of Herakles, to whom he promises one of his miraculous horses, if he should liberate his daughter from the monster. This Herakles does, is deceived by the perfidious, lying king like Poseidon before, and now destroys the fortress, Troy. In *Tuiskoland* (pp. 449-459) I showed by many details that this oldest Greek story of Troy is a quite senseless distortion of a purely logical northern nature-legend, told in the Edda. According to this the Asas promise sun, moon, and Freya to a giant architect for the building of a castle for the gods, the architect is then cheated out of his miraculous horse by Loki, and finally the young god of summer, Thor, returns, slays the giant, and frees Freya along with sun and moon. A large number of variants of this story, living on in fairy-tales and myths of the North, leaves not the slightest doubt that we are here dealing with a native nature-story, celebrating the liberation of the sun-goddess from the bonds of the winter demon. In *Tuiskoland* (p. 460) I laid down the thesis that Helen corresponded to the northern sun maiden.

In order not to make things too easy for zealous rivals, I kept to myself that my attention had been drawn for more than ten years to peculiar labyrinthian constructions scattered over the whole North, which bear the names, *Troja*, *Trojeborg*, *Tröborg*, *Trelleborg* in Scandinavia, where, as in Russia, they were built of stones; in England, where they are cut out of turf, they are called *Troy Town*, Welsh *Caer Droia*, or *Walls of Troy*.

The Troy Town of Gotland here given reproduces clearly the most frequently returning tracing of these constructions, which are kept in shape in England until to-day because, it is said, the figure is a picture of the city of Troy and because the English, and especially the Welsh, are supposed to be descendants of the Trojans. Again there is found scattered over all of England, even in Ireland, Scot-

land, and the Orkney Islands, in thousandfold repetition a similar figure cut in natural rocks, dolmens, menhirs, and cromlechs, yes, even in burial-mounds of the bronze age on the covers of urns and the like, which also has been called *Troy* from ancient times. Russia, too, in its northern provinces is strewn with such constructions, although they now bear other names there. Also in the Prussian province of Brandenburg traces of Troy Towns are to be seen here and there, called *Wunderberge* (wonder hills), in the rest of Germany apparently *Wurmlagen* (dragon lairs).



TROJABURG AT WISBY, GOTLAND.

After K. Braun's *Wisbyfahrt*, Leipsic, 1882, p. 120.

However, the connection of these Troy Towns with the Greek story of Troy seemed for the time too problematic for use in support of the northern origin of the story of Troy, and till then every attempt to link them with the story of Troy had been energetically repulsed by antiquaries. The Troy Towns which in Scandinavia are often found in the immediate vicinity of Christian churches were rather supposed to be imitations of similar labyrinths which are executed on the floors of numerous French and Italian churches and served there either as symbols of the erring paths of the world or as paths for penitents which they had to pass on their knees.

In this way Edward Trollope had explained the English field labyrinths in 1858, Dr. Nordström the Scandinavian in 1877, and in 1882 W. Meyer in like manner pointed out the numerous labyrinth drawings of similar moralizing tendency in medieval manuscripts, extending down into the ninth century. These drawings were said to have had their source in copies from the Cretan labyrinth as they



OLD COIN OF KNOSSOS, CRETE.

appear on coins of the Cretan city of Knossos from the fourth century B. C. on, and resemble the copy of the Troy Town of Wisby in Gotland, given above, as one egg does another.

In addition the church labyrinths, as well as book labyrinths, were attested not infrequently as Daedalus Houses by inscriptions, and it was only in Iceland that the name of Völund Houses replaced that name; this, however, is to be accounted for as if the house of Daedalus had simply been translated into that of the smith Wayland (Icelandic Völund) so nearly related to him in the saga.

In this disagreeable predicament it will be found comprehensible that I was in no too great haste to assert an ever so probable connection with the story of Troy before I could not refute those attempts at explanation which sounded so plausible. For this ways and means were gradually found. For one thing, church imitations of such labyrinths were to be found neither in England, nor in Scandinavia or Russia, while field labyrinths in Italy are mentioned already by Pliny; besides, the name Troy Town was strikingly suggestive of the name of an old Roman game, *ludus Troiae*, which according to the descriptions of the ancients took place in winding ways similar to those of the Cretan labyrinth. To be sure, a new error now threatened the attempts at solution: the northern Troy Towns were said to be named for the Roman game which, strange enough, was cited just like the English Troy Towns, as evidence for the Trojan origin of the Romans, without any explanation being given as to what connection the Cretan labyrinth (which even in the Theseus story competed with Troy, in respect of the liberation of Helen and Ariadne) could have with all these stories. The

consideration that spring-festivals were celebrated in the Troy Towns of Brandenburg and of England down to recent times, in conjunction with the fact that the Cretan labyrinth dance was danced at Delos in honor of a goddess of spring and of Apollo returning in spring, and that the labyrinthian Troy Play of the Romans was likewise said to have been founded in honor of a spring goddess, finally gave sufficient inner solidity to the hypothesis for me now to risk coming before the public.

This was done in three essays which appeared in the *Vossische Zeitung* under the title "Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas" in August, 1891. They sketched the plan of this new field of investigation in its entire extent, tracing back to these old northern religious customs not only an old Roman military dance in labyrinthian paths (the Salian dance, which must also have borne the name Troa Dance) and the Troy Play derived from it, but also the Cretan labyrinth story, the Iliad, and the stories of the Trojan origin of European peoples referred to such bases; their principal results were summed up as follows:

"Assuredly most people who have ever heard of the name Troy Town for the labyrinthine stone-figures of Scandinavia and England and, linked up with it, the story of a maiden locked up in one of them and to be rescued, will want to explain the connection by the simple transfer of the name Troy to them. But that has insuperable obstacles, for the Greeks, to be sure, knew two kinds of stories of a lady, Hesione or Helen, to be rescued from danger of, or imprisonment in, a Troy Town, but they knew nothing of a labyrinthine plan of the establishment, nothing of the labyrinth dance of liberation. On the other hand the Romans had the labyrinthine Troy Dance, (presupposed, it is true, only by the author as the original form of the Troy Play); but with them, again, the association with the stone labyrinth and the liberation of the maiden were forgotten. In the Cretan labyrinth dance the idea of the liberation of the maiden was united with that of the stone labyrinth, but here the name Troy is wanting. So in this case as in so many others the key for the understanding of the Roman, Cretan, and Trojan stories and customs would be found in the North, . . . and a significant field of investigation of ancient Aryan mythology, rich in new vistas, is joined to the half-forgotten prehistoric stone labyrinths of the North to which the name *Trojaborg* remained attached, and if anywhere, the proverb can be applied here: 'When men are silent, stones will speak.' We must merely understand how to make them speak."

The further investigation, the results of which I published in connection with finds made up to that time in a book entitled, *Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas* (Glogau, 1893), which appeared a short time ago, was particularly taken up with the question, what sort of a nature-myth probably formed the ultimate background of the story of the maiden incarcerated in a labyrinthian citadel and freed from it. According to the story of the Edda we have to look to Freya (Vanadis or Fru Disa), the northern goddess of love and spring; in name and character the Roman Venus or Frutis who was celebrated in the Troy Play corresponds to her exactly, also the Aphrodite of the Delian labyrinth dance and tolerably well also the beautiful Helen of the Iliad. Just the same I could not rest content with this result, for an allegory like the one that the giant Winter had imprisoned Spring or the goddess of love and that the summer-god of thunderstorms would have to come in order to liberate her in the first thunderstorm of spring, that is no mythical idea such as primitive peoples form, but as said, a modern allegory.

The affinity of the Freya myth to the story of Siegfried which goes to the point of absolutely blending in the *Fiölsvinnsmal* of the Edda—for here in place of Freya, Brunhild within her citadel awaits her liberator—, furnished better hints for further investigation. It was shown that the story, so widely spread in Aryan lands, of the dragon-slayer who liberates the captive maiden is entirely identical with the story of the building of the citadel, and in many of these dragon-slayer legends, like in the Norse Ragnar Lodbrok Saga, the citadel with its rings is actually replaced by a mighty dragon who throws his coils about the house of the maiden, leaves no entrance open and must first be slain before the captive can be liberated. There can be no doubt that the dragon is only the guardian who holds the maiden in captivity and often appears also in human form as a giant or an old man who desires her as a wife. Brunhild herself appears in the different northern forms of the saga, now guarded by a dragon, now enclosed by the “flickering fire” or by an impenetrable thorny hedge, now on an unascendable glass-mountain, now in a sea-castle all surrounded by water, now in a tower without doors. In most cases it is a leaping horse which carries the liberator over all obstacles—in the Russian story over nine walls, in order that he may redeem and lead forth the maiden (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 117-146).

Brunhild-Dornröschen has been almost always explained by the mythologists as personifying the earth lying in the fetters of winter and aroused from her sleep by the kisses of the young spring sun-

shine. But proceeding cautiously we were able to prove with certainty that this is a more recent reinterpretation and that we must recognize in Brunhild the sun maiden who is completely incarcerated and sent to sleep by the winter demon in the extreme North. This accounts for the fact that the Brunhild myth has retained its significance better and longer in the higher latitudes, and in the Eddic lay of "Brunhild's Death Ride" her hall surrounded by the flickering fire is indeed assigned a location in the south, where in far northern countries the sun is seen last before for weeks and months it disappears completely (is incarcerated), and is seen first when it is released from its prison in spring. In one of the Sigurd songs preserved on the Faroe Islands King Budli builds the hall surrounded by the flickering fire on Hildar Hill; in it his daughter Brinhild is seated on a golden chair, asleep until Syurdur rides through the fire on his miraculous horse, smashes the door and shutters with his sword, and cuts her golden armor in two. The description of Budli's daughter in the same song fits the sun maiden exactly, as shown by the following lines:

"Brinhild is sitting on Hildarfiall, she is Budli's daughter:
 The skalds in their songs would sing of her that the light casts a shadow
 beside her,
 Brinhild is sitting on Hildarfiall, right in her father's realm:
 A radiance shone from her shoulder-piece, as if one looked in the fire.
 Brinhild is sitting on her throne, and she combs her hair:
 It is fine-spun like silk, and looks like gold."

For the same reason, viz., because Dornröschen, too, is really the fair-haired sun maiden sleeping in the winter-time, her children are called, in the French fairy-tale, Dawn and Day, in the even earlier version of the Pentamerone, sun and moon. From this it is seen that the tale of the sun's incarceration originating in the North was no longer understood even in France and Italy, because in these countries no giant Winter is strong enough to make the sun disappear entirely. In middle Europe, too, the myth assumed another form, more closely corresponding to the astronomical facts. We are referring to the Syrith saga, of which the oldest form that we know was written down by Saxo Grammaticus toward the end of the twelfth century. According to this, the sun maiden with the golden hair whom nobody can look in the face is carried off by a giant who keeps her a prisoner in a craggy wilderness where she must tend the goats of her abductor. Wandering about the rocky shores of the northern sea, she is found by her lover Othar, who slays the giant but fails to win as little as a glance from his un-

responsive sweetheart, even after she has entered the house of his parents. At last he determines upon a drastic course of procedure, telling her that he wants her to serve as the bride's torch-bearer at his nuptials with another maiden. She then burns her fingers (probably rather those of her supposed rival) and lifts up her eyes to her liberator who warns her to pay better attention and now consummates the marriage with her, putting away the sham-bride.

This tale is not only one of the most faithful nature-studies of the winter sun that can be imagined, but also one of the most ancient and most widely spread Aryan myths in existence. The sun maiden, whom nobody can look in the face during summer, keeps her lustreless eyes cast down in the winter, when she is aimlessly wandering over the crags of the shore, tending the goats of her abductor. Even after the first days of her liberation she remains frigid (early spring, temporary return of cold weather), until on a certain day, when all the after-effects of winter are overcome, the "sun's bridal" may be celebrated all over the earth. This is a festival which is observed in wholly pagan forms clear until to-day by the Serbs, Bulgarians, Rumanians, and Greeks on the day of St. George, the Christian dragon-slayer who also rescues a maiden. The day is the twenty-third of April and is marked by the chanting of songs which are nothing but copies of this Syrith saga of the North, showing especially copious detail in the episode of the "sham-bridal."

It is only in one respect that these south Slavic songs show a decided difference: the liberator of the sun who slays the dragon has been transformed in accordance with the myth of ancient Greece into the sun-god himself, it being well known that Apollo in turn is easily recognized as the later development of a dragon-slayer. He has replaced the northern sun maiden, consequently it is he who, like her, has to tend the herds of the king of Troy, i. e., his wintry prison does not keep him in captivity closer or darker than that in which Syrith is kept, the southern sky with its fleecy clouds ("sheep") is open to him to roam, his only restriction being that he is not allowed to leave these precincts.

Returning to Othar and Syrith we readily see that behind these two names of the Danish saga a god and a goddess are hidden who are half forgotten in the Edda: Odhr and Freya, the latter of whom sometimes appears in old Norse sagas bearing the name Syr, or Syr Fentanna ("Syr of the crags," i. e., the winter sun gliding low over the crags along the seashore). One song of the Edda deals with her love for Ottar, i. e., Othar or Odhr, for whom she shed golden tears when he was gone and who, under the name

Svipdagr, released her from the flickering fire and other bonds holding her in the "Fiölsvinnsmál" mentioned before (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 156-171).

It is quite-evident that the goddess Freya of the Eddic Troy legend must be derived from her prototype Syr, who is identical with the old Germanic and old Indian sun-goddess Svarya, Surya. In many languages her name returns in the names of the sun, always thought of as a female in northern countries; I mention only British *Sulis*, Lithuanian *Saule*, old Norse *Sol*, Greek *Seirios* (which originally did not signify the dog-star but the sun). According to the opinion of many linguists, Helen's name, too, is derived from the old verb *svar*, "to shed light," "to shine" (*svalinn*, the sun shield of the Edda), for in remotest antiquity the name was spelled Velenā. Bergmann rendered Syrith many years ago by "sun-fire" (*svar*, "sun," and *aitar*, Greek *aithra*, "fire") and compared the name Syrith to that of the queen Sparethra, mentioned by Ktesias. All these are indications pointing to a very great age of the Syrith myth, and it is by no means impossible that the name of the Scythian solar divinity mentioned by Herodotus, Oitosyros, refers to the divine couple Othar and Syrith. As everybody knows, the ancients often confused the Scythians with Germanic peoples.

We realize that everything is plainly pointing to the sun maiden as the person who is kept a prisoner by the dragon and must be liberated by the thunder-god; therefore it cannot be very difficult to form a more accurate idea of the identity of her incarcerator. The myth of the Edda informs us that a world twirler, Mundilföri, had two children, a son Mani (the moon) and a daughter Sol (the sun). This myth, which was recently characterized as a late invention by E. Mogk, proves its great age when we consider the fact that also in the Indian myth the moon-god Soma or Manu and the sun-goddess Surya come to life in a gigantic twirling-process. Besides, it is known that to this day the Hindus have not given up their conception of the deity of the moon being a male, picturing him at once as the first man and the judge of the dead. The Romans and Greeks, on the other hand, transformed the moon-god Men, who was worshiped on the shores of the Black Sea in late historic times, into a moon-goddess first called Mena, and replaced the northern sun-goddess, who was assuming different functions under the name of Athene or Minerva, by a male solar deity. The further relations of the sun maiden to the world builder and word smith, her father, once formed the center of the explanation of nature as native in the North, and it has left most remarkable traces in the

Indian and Persian mythology as well as in that of the Greeks and Romans.

The primeval world smith, standing at the head of the original Aryan pantheon, a fire-god, had lost his first rank everywhere under the influence of a new interpretation of nature, and had been replaced by a god of the bright sky (Tyr, Thor, Zeus), who, however, still retained a great deal of the element of fire and lightning inherent in his predecessor. This was connected with an explanation of the change of the seasons and the sun's path in the North, by the tale that the celestial smith had been driven out because, in the height of summer, he had tried to ravish his daughter, the sun-goddess, thus causing the heat of July and August. Dethroned and expelled for this crime by the other gods, he tried to take revenge by claiming his two children, sun and moon, or by luring them into his magic castle, so as to cause the world which had cast off his rule to turn cold and dark (beginning of winter). This is the meaning of the Eddic myth telling of Smidhr the builder who demanded the surrender of sun, moon, and Freya for building the world, because the author of the Younger Edda did not remember that Freya had sprung from the old sun-goddess Syr. Thor, or Othar-Siegfried, has to liberate the sun maiden in spring from the builder's power, who has again become a god of winter and cold.

The same myth reappears in the Greek-Roman story of the ravishing of Athene-Minerva by Hephaestus-Vulcan, in the Persian-Indian myths, and furthermore in the cycle of fairy-tales which have been discussed in the chapter, "An Emperor Wants to Marry his Daughter" (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 175-194). Now since an explanation of nature cannot very well do without a fire-god, Tvaṣṭri in India, Hephaestus in Greece, and Vulcan in Rome, were reinstated, with limited powers, in their office as forgers of the divine thunderbolts. The system became complicated. As an expedient a celestial smith and world builder, retired, as it were, was assumed (Uranus-Varuna) and his misdeeds, among which figured the refusal of the nectar which he had invented, were imputed to a dragon-shaped demon. This demon is encountered under the most different names, such as Ahi, "the dragon," Maha-Dru and Draogha, "the great deceiver," etc., but lived on in tradition also under the name of the old Norse world builder Valas, Valand, Pallas, Phalantos. In India he is sometimes regarded as a son of the world smith, sometimes he is simply identified with him under the influence of the original relationship. The Greek-Roman secret doctrine found another way out—it made Pallas-Hephaestus-Vulcan the husband of

his daughter Pallas-Athene-Minerva, and explained the later sun-god Apollo as their son, the child of the sun-goddess of the Aryans.

In the ancient writings of the Persians and Indians, these developments in the religious views of the Aryans are still very clearly discernible. In the Rig Veda we read that the great dragon (Maha-Dru) stole the sun, and that Indra, corresponding to Thor as god of thunderstorms, liberated the maiden. In Persian sacred writings we find this monster Drukhs, Druya, or Draogha described as a devil with three heads; the Persian dragon-fighter Thraëtaona (the prototype of Feridun, the Persian Siegfried) fortunately slays him every year in spring whenever, by the long retention of the sun and the resulting cold of the winter, he is just about to destroy all earthly life. Windischmann interpreted this three-headed Draogha years ago as the representative of winter, whom Ahriman created so as to give a wintry climate to the land of the Aryans, with but two months of summer. The earth would be buried entirely under snow and ice if the benignant gods did not come to the assistance of man by sending Thraëtaona who breaks the power of the monster. It is the same beneficent function which the Edda attributes to Thor. At the same time, however, it is obvious that this whole religious system must have originated in the North. The three-headed winter-dragon Draogha is easily recognized in the three-headed demon Troyan, alive to this day in Serbo-Bulgarian tales; the latter in turn has his counterpart in the winter demon of the Greeks, Geryoneus or Alkyoneus, likewise three-headed, who is conquered by Herakles. This leads us on to the story of the winter emperor who locks up Helen in his castle Troy and forces Apollo to tend his cattle (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 218-228).

Now both the Indian Druhs and Varuna, the expelled god of heaven, are described as ensnarers and trappers; the Valand Houses, or Troy Towns, of Iceland are interpreted as traps (OHG *dru*); and the sun bride of the Slavic Syrith songs is abducted in a snare (or a swing): so the idea naturally suggested itself to interpret the Troy Towns as towns of Draogha, i. e., as sun-traps, especially since old Indian and old Greek myths tell us of a captivity of the sun in the fire-surrounded palace of Varuna or Aëtes in Colchis. As a matter of fact the Troy Towns exhibit an accurate reproduction of the winding paths through which the sun, describing lower and lower arcs in the sky, at last is led into its southern prison from which, in the higher latitudes, it does not come forth until after several months (*Trojaburgen*, p. 182). The labyrinth in Crete must be characterized as a copy of these northern "sun-traps"

which were no longer understood in the South, and the more so since here, too, we find the myth of the bull-shaped father who pursues his daughter (Asterios and Asteria), and since the Cretan labyrinth dance showed the leading forth of the radiant maiden in spring through the same winding paths through which she was led away in fall (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 262-276). These dances, however, are the same as the northern and old Italian vernal sword dances which ended in the expulsion, stoning, or killing of the winter smith (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 236-247).

The transformation of the divine dragon-slayer into the sun hero is preserved with especially remarkable completeness in the Persian mythology, in which Indra, who is here also called Vritrahan or Verethrayan (the dragon-slayer), is without difficulty recognized in Feridun. In the Tuti-Namah, a Turkish collection of stories probably derived from a Persian source, the fight with the dragon by which Ferid wins the daughter of the sultan is described just as in various German Siegfried tales, collected by the brothers Grimm. In this connection the story of "The Two Brothers" is of particular interest, including its variants (Vol. III, No. 60). This tale must be very old indeed, for the details of which it is composed are found from Scandinavia to Rome, from Hellas to India, in tales of the ancient Greeks and in the Vedas; we mention only the hero eating the magic bird, the hero drinking before the dragon-fight to gather strength, the "faithful animals" helping him in the fight, his profound sleep afterward, a rogue stealing the dragon's heads and claiming to be the real slayer, his being unmasked by means of the tongues previously cut out, and so on. We thus discover that even these minor details are in reality embellishments of the simple original myth of the sun maiden's liberation, added to it several thousand years ago.¹

ARABIAN PICTURES.

BY THE EDITOR.

ORIENTAL institutions, be they social, political, or religious, are very conservative, and especially so in Arabia. We may indeed assume that the family life of Abraham was practically the same as that of an Arabian sheik to-day. We may notice with special interest that the characteristic features of the general world-

¹[In our next number we shall publish the second part of Carus Sterne's argument, dealing with the Pitcher of Traghiatella exclusively; a summary will then draw the final conclusions.—Ed.]

conception and the daily habits of Oriental peoples are deeply religious.

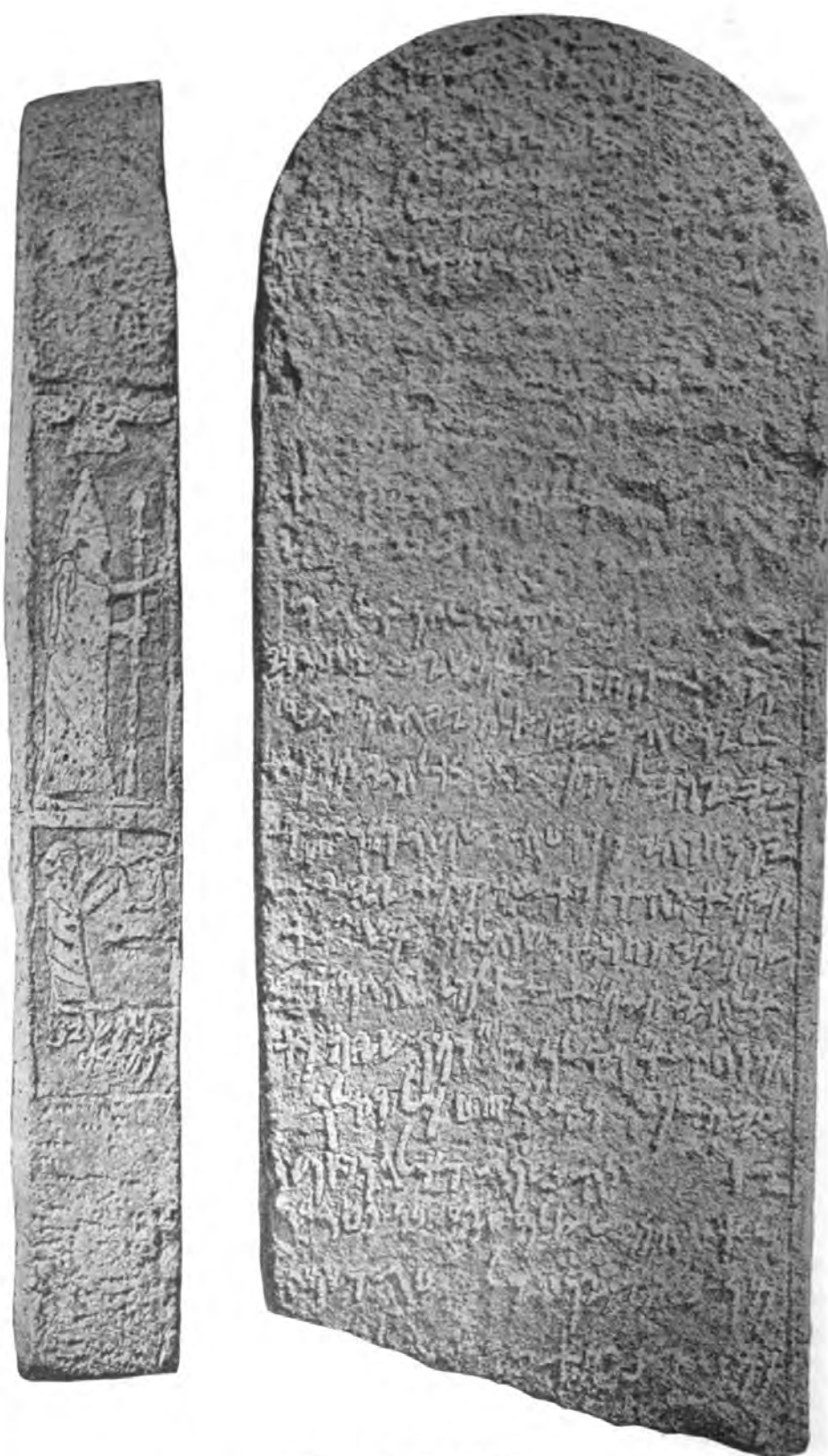
Though the Arabian of to-day may be neglectful of many essential things—including the laws of sanitation and even of ordinary cleanliness—he will never forget his daily prayer. When traveling through the desert he will dismount at specified hours and offer his thanks to God, while in the cities the call for prayer resounds from the minarets at the same hours to remind the faithful of their duties toward the Almighty.



A FARMER AT WORK IN THE FIELD.

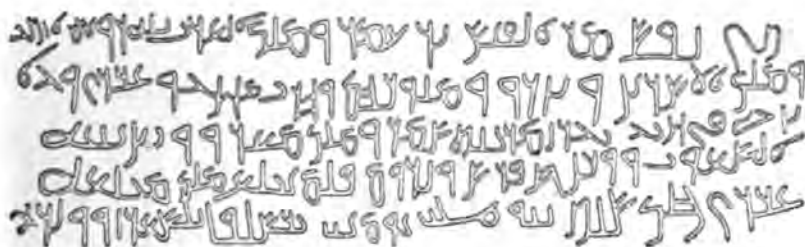
A slab with a Sabean inscription.

The civilization of Arabia is very old, but its early history is written only in monuments most of which have not come to light but in recent years. On one of these ancient stones, bearing a Sabean (South Arabian) inscription, we see a farmer plowing his field with oxen in a scene which must have been characteristic of the oldest time of Arabian civilization. Further there is an Aramaic inscription on a monument known as the stele of Teima, which is attributed to the seventh century B. C. and throws much



STELE OF TEIMA.
With Aramaic inscription. Seventh century B. C.

light on the conditions then prevailing in northwestern Arabia. It tells of the building of a temple dedicated to the god Salm of Hagam, and portrays besides the god one of his priests, Salmushezib. It not only informs us of the existence of the temple, but also of its income and maintenance, assured from its own pos-

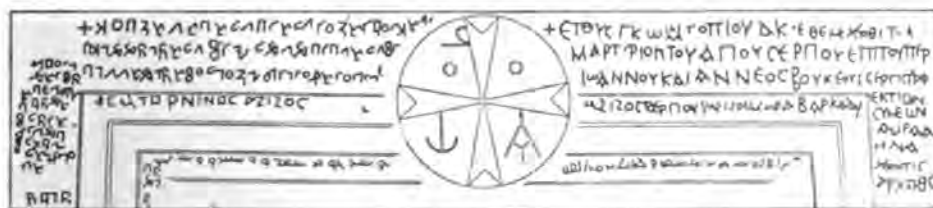


NABATEAN INSCRIPTION ON BASALT.

The oldest Arabic text in existence. It is reproduced from the tomb of an Arabian sovereign for whom a monument was erected in 328 A. D. in En-Namara near Damascus.

sessions and the royal domains. We learn that in those days well-established legal conditions prevailed in the country. The stone is preserved in the Louvre at Paris.¹

Arabia, as far as we know of its civilization, is connected with the outside world chiefly at two points, on its northwestern front which in antiquity was inhabited by the Nabateans, and in the south-



ARABIC-SYRIAC-GREEK INSCRIPTION.

Found in Zabad, near Aleppo, dated 512 A. D. and discovered in 1879.

western part (Yemen), the land of the Sabeans, which was invaded by the Ethiopians from across the Red Sea in the beginning of our era. The Romans, too, heard the fable of the enormous wealth of this part of the country, which they accordingly called *Arabia Felix*, and in the year 24 B. C. Aelius Gallus, the prefect of Egypt, pushed into the desert in search for these treasures. He fared miserably, but under the emperor Trajan at last a Roman province

¹ A copy of it is in the Chicago Art Institute.

was formed of the regions to the east and south of Damascus and of Judea extending southward to the Red Sea (105, A.D.). A Roman immigration took place and developed a more highly civilized life among the native Nabateans. The capital was at Petra, south of the Dead Sea, from which the province took the name *Arabia Petraea*. In the year 1812 the ruins of some stone houses



VOTIVE TABLET OF 'AMRAN.

The Sabean inscription informs us of Watar, the son of Martad, who has dedicated this tablet to Alamakh, the Lord of Hrn.

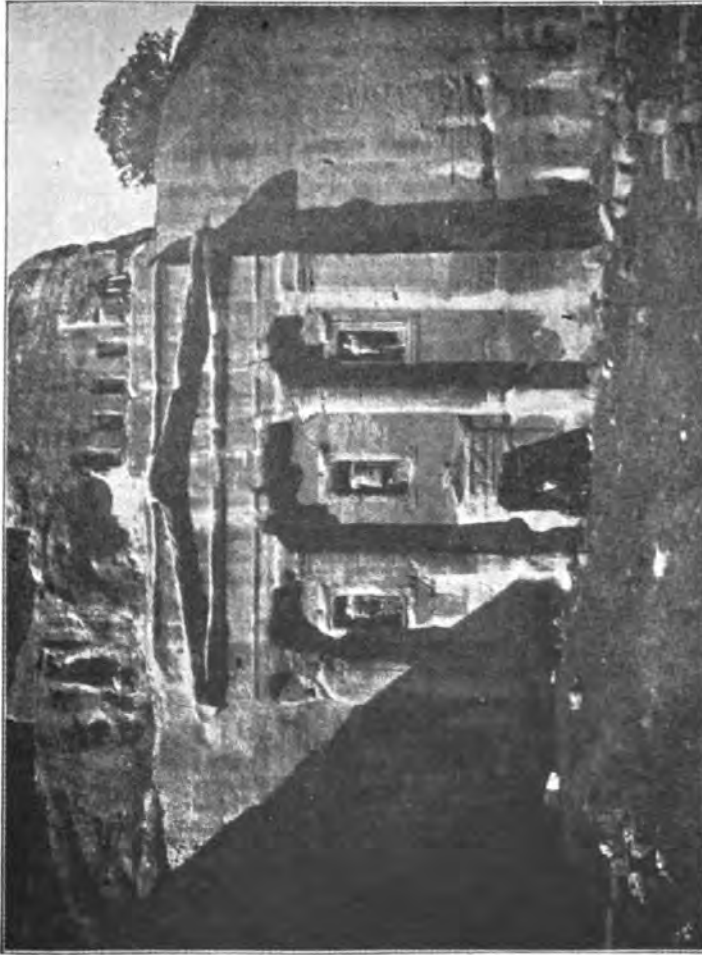
and temples were here discovered, dating back to the time of the late Roman emperors.

That Christianity exerted a great influence in Arabia during the first centuries after Christ is indicated by many inscriptions which make prominent use of Christian symbols. One hundred



INSCRIPTION ON A SABEAN
TOMBSTONE.

The original is preserved in the
court museum at Vienna.



RUINS IN WADI MUSA.

The Valley of Moses is near Petra, the old capital of the Nabateans in north-
western Arabia.

years before the Hejira we find Jewish and Christian (Abyssinian) powers trying to overwhelm one another in Yemen.

Perhaps we might grant that the Christian influence was neither deep nor permanent, but we should not forget that Christianity was one of the essential elements from which Islam, the religion of the Orient, has proceeded. Islam has not accepted Christianity, but neither has it denied Christian doctrines except the belief in the divinity of Christ, or rather the dogma of the trinity. The Moslem's interpretation of Christ's position comes very near to the religious views of the Christian Unitarian.



SABEAN LIMESTONE.

The inscription reads: "Magic Protection of Ilza'd and his brother Halqah, both of Chab'at." The original is in the court museum at Vienna.

Christians have found an expression for their religious feelings in art—not so the Moslems. Originally Christians too forbade the representation of God or Christ and the saints, no less than the followers of Mohammed, because they thought images of any kind savored too much of the idolatry of ancient paganism. Gradually these sentiments changed and in Christianity the advocacy of artistic presentation gained the upper hand, although only after violent struggles, especially in the Eastern Church. But in Islam the

originally Jewish injunction against idols became so firmly established that even the portrayal of ordinary human beings was not



MOHAMMED'S ASCENSION.

From a manuscript in the Bibliothèque nationale at Paris, originally from Herat (Afghanistan). Beginning of the 15th century.

allowed. This was not an injunction given by Mohammed himself but became established later on. In fact the Persians continued

to follow their old artistic instinct and have produced many representations even of the prophet himself. The severe condemnation of all portrayals not only of God but of human personalities as well has limited Islam to the use of linear ornamentation, especially forms of decoration composed of Arabic letters in conventionalized



MASCHIA AND MASCHIANA (the First Human Couple).

By the Persian-Indian painter Mani of the 16th century. Library of the former khedive at Cairo.

forms. For instance, the Mosque of Sheik Safi at Ardebil shows in endless repetition the word Allah in an ornamental way, and it is well known that in this mode of decoration Arabian art has developed an original design called "arabesque," which occurs nowhere but in countries touched by Arabian culture. The central

mosque of modern Mohammedanism is the old Christian church of St. Sophia at Constantinople, and an important feature of its decora-



MOSQUE OF SHEIK SAFI AT ARDEBIL.

tions consists of pious inscriptions (quotations from the Koran) hung up on its walls (see frontispiece).

THE WIDOW.

BY W. B. CONGER.

GHOSTS! Whose imagination is so lacking that even in the twentieth century he has never felt a shiver at an unexplained noise or a shadow? But how far back in the history of the human race must we go to find the origin of such fears?

Much farther back than well-established ancestor-worship. Such fears then were constant fears, and the belief so firm that one's soul—the male soul—must be secured by the prayers of a son, the placation of the ancestral spirits by prayers being the safety valve, that the absolute integrity of the wife was the corner-stone upon which the husband's salvation and that of his ancestors and descendants rested. When her integrity failed—death to the guilty woman! This was the real foundation for the double moral standard, not that adultery *per se* was condemned, but the belief that the imposition of a spurious son incapable of performing the sacred family rites through which the spirits remained benevolent, the confusion engendered by the imposition of a false heir, caused these spirits to become malignant demons. If this seems far away, we must remember that India, China, and Japan are the great representatives of ancestor-worship even to-day, and that upon it their domestic, social, and political as well as religious beliefs and customs are founded.

And the widow? How did she become involved with ghosts? Before fear-forming ideas became well defined, before the jealousy of possession was formed, the widow, as among the Yahgans,¹ almost immediately found a husband. The widow among the Pidhireanes, a Ruthenian people on the line of the Carpathians, indicates that she wishes to marry soon by untying the knots in her dead husband's clothes before the coffin is shut down, thus not only symbolically but literally, in their eyes, loosening the ties and removing all impediments to her future marriage.² This implies a form of freedom—when the conditions of life are hard and perhaps

¹ E. Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, p. 135: "As regards the Yahgans, none but mutes and imbeciles remained single. . . . No woman remained unmarried, and on the death of her husband almost immediately found another."

² R. F. Kaindl, "Volksüberlieferungen der Pidhireane," *Globus*, Volume LXXIII, p. 251, quoted by J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough: Taboo, or the Perils of the Soul*, Part II, p. 310 (1914).

hardest upon the widow—in which public opinion does not frown upon an openly expressed wish which we would not only consider naive but immodest. The belief in the virtues of asceticism as a continuous practice was of much later growth. Besides, the widow of this lower culture was prohibited from marrying only for a certain specified time. After fixed, stereotyped ceremonies, incumbent upon each woman, had been complied with she was free to marry again.

We can almost trace the steps by which the widow has made her way as an instrument in the “great plan” toward the attainment of monogamy. The superstitious and freakish ideas which gave rise to the sacrifice of the widow, were conducive both to the attainment of this end and to the forming of public opinion often hostile to her individual happiness. The widow is one of the great adventitious characters among women, moulded as she has been to her proper attitude by the active agent in society, her preceptor, if not exemplar, the male of the species. No human career is perhaps more curious, with the possible exception of that of the old maid. But at least before the different gradations of superstition had hardened into a conservative religious and social custom, she was sometimes led into the prohibitions of her new state by sympathetic and kindly friends, being followed from the grave by a person who kindly flaps a handful of twigs around her in order to drive away her husband's ghost. Or, like the Matambe widow, in order that she may remarry she is ducked in a river or pond to drown the soul of her loving lord, who appears to be clinging indiscriminately to his best-beloved wives.

Mourners in general are more or less taboo, and we find that sometimes the widower undergoes practically the same rules as the widow, though in time these die out. That he was under restrictions among early peoples is also shown by the fact that in India at the present time, danger appears to attach to a man if he marries for the third time. For about thirty days a Koyak widow and widower go into retirement, we may believe, principally on account of the death infection;³ but these people, too, seem to regard the widow as a particularly dangerous medium for her husband's spirit, and she has to seclude herself in a special hut. During this entire period she is considered unclean, her food, which she must not touch with her naked hands, being given to her in the minutest fragments. A Shuswap widow and widower appear to undergo the same pre-

³ E. Reclus, *Primitive Folk*, pp. 67-68.

liminary regulations.⁴ In the Mekeo district of British New Guinea, for some unexplained reason it appears to be the widower rather than the widow who is an object of fear.⁵ Among the Thompson River Indians the rules were similar, but differed inasmuch as the widower might not fish at another man's fishing place or with his net, as he would render both useless for the season. The widow was overtaken by a special punishment, for if she broke sticks or boughs her hands and arms would break also.⁶

Among the Minas on the Slave Coast a widow is shut up for six months in a room where the husband's body is buried. Among the Kukis the widow is compelled to remain by the grave for a year, her family furnishing her with food. The Patagonian widow seems to inspire the greatest horror, for she must remain in the strictest privacy for an entire year, is required to cover herself with soot, and is positively forbidden to show herself without absolute necessity. The meat of several animals is forbidden to her, and should she fail in any of the specified obligations to her husband's memory she would be instantly killed by his relatives. An Australian widow who fails to keep her husband's grave in order would also be punished with death. It is probable that the widow is in some danger herself, especially if she is light-minded, for the widows in some tribes speak only in a whisper, some, as in Central Australia, not at all.

The position of man has always been difficult at marriage, filled with fear. The groom was subject to the danger attendant upon the escape of a demon if his bride was a virgin, and of the ghost of the departed husband, if he was foolhardy enough to be a suitor for such an uncanny creature as a widow. The dangers attendant upon the catamenia are constant and wherever women are at large, as shown by the prohibitions of the Parsees, Hindus, Chinese, etc.⁷

A Bantu Yao or a Lilloat Indian married a widow at the peril of his life so long as the property rights of the deceased were invaded, for the wrathful ghost could cause illness to the presumptuous second husband and has been known even to burn down the house of a frivolous widow, while the ghost of the Ama-Zulu⁸ husband can cause his widow, pregnant by another, to miscarry. Central Australians believe that if the widow does not smear herself properly with mourning ashes, the conjugal ghost will kill and strip her to the bone. The Australian widow's veil is made up of small bones,

⁴ Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 142. ⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-145. ⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 142, note 2.

⁷ See *The Sacred Books of the East*.

⁸ Emily C. Parsons, *The Old-fashioned Woman*, p. 102.

hair, and feathers, hanging over her face. When discarded it is buried in the grave. The Aqutainos, who inhabit Palawan, one of the Phillipine Islands, consider it fatal to meet a widow within a certain specified time, so poisonous is the atmosphere of death to which the ghost of the departed is thought to adhere.⁹ In some places the widow is disinfected or purified. Recalcitrant widows are badly off, being beaten, abused, and sometimes strangled.

Interwoven with these ideas is the question of property. On the death of a woman after her marriage, a part of the money received for her is returned to the husband as compensation for the loss on his investment.¹⁰ The widow of the Solomon Islands is absolutely at the disposal of the husband's relatives if the marriage price is not refunded.¹¹ The Athenian widow during what is considered the most glorious period of Athens could be willed away by her husband, if he wished. The widow as a chattel among some peoples was the property of the husband's son, sometimes of the husband's relatives, as among the Smoos of Central Africa, and in order to free her from the claims of the latter, her relatives had to pay what was known as "widow money," or if owned by the uterine kin, the bridegroom had to pay a fine in order to release their claims. The care of the widow sometimes devolves on a man's heirs.¹² Letourneau speaks of Du Chaillu's description of a festival celebrating the end of the mourning of seven widows, the property of one man:

"The wives of the deceased were radiant; they were going to quit their widow's clothes and join the festival like brides. The heir had the right to marry them all, but to show his generosity, he had ceded two to a younger brother and one to a cousin. They drank bumper after bumper of palm-wine, and then began to dance. The wives danced. But what a dance! The most modest step was immodest."

Here we find, however, symptoms of social control, the enactment and carrying out of a taboo among a people many would think have no regulations whatever to be regarded. Why was this taboo kept? *Because it was the business of every person in the community to see that it was obeyed.*

The dead man's widow and saddle-horse are led around the tomb among the Ossetes of the Caucasus and both are taboo hence-

⁹ Frazer, *op. cit.*, p. 144.

¹⁰ Rev. R. H. Nassau, *Fetichism in West Africa*, p. 7.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 271.

¹² W. I. Thomas, *The Source Book of Social Origins*, pp. 454, 829.

forth; let no one marry the one or mount the other!¹³ An Arawak widow must cut her hair. There are various deep-grounded beliefs regarding the hair.¹⁴ One, that it is the seat of strength, another, that there is danger in disturbing it as it is the seat of a proud and hearty spirit. Besides these there is the widespread conviction that sympathetic communion exists between the body and any severed portions, which may fall into the possession of the maliciously inclined, and probably everywhere the hair is considered one of the greatest adornments. These may be some of the reasons why men require less mourning of themselves and sacrifice but a lock or two, but a woman's hair is either plucked out, cropped, or shaved. A cap is sometimes worn to cover the bald head, which also becomes a badge. Chippewa widows are obliged to fast and must not comb their hair for a year or more, nor may they wear any ornaments. The Comanche women in addition to the customary wailing scarify their arms and legs with sharp flints until the blood trickles from a thousand pores. The mourning of a West African widow is so vehement that even an inattentive ghost, if there is such a thing, must hear her bawls.¹⁵ Bawling is a part of the education of the maiden, the emotions of women having been cultivated in certain lines, sometimes by outward requirements, though severely repressed by the same process in others.

Women of Asiatic Turkey do not attend the funeral but must remain in their tents, wail incessantly and scratch their cheeks to mar their beauty, while the widow must sing dirges for a whole year. Bancroft states that among the Mosquito Indians the widow had to keep her husband's grave supplied with provisions for a year, after which she dug up the bones and carried them with her another year before she could put them on the roof of the house, and not until then was she allowed to remarry. A Melanesian widow wore the mummied skull of her departed husband.¹⁶ The widow of the Tolкотin Indians in Oregon was subjected to such maltreatment that some of them committed suicide. For nine days the widow must sleep by the corpse and follow certain rules in regard to eating and dressing. If she neglected any of them, on the tenth day she was thrown on the funeral pyre and scorched until she lost consciousness. The widow of other tribes is expected to mourn night and day, after the friends and relatives of the deceased have stopped howling.

In the higher stages of barbarism the widow-sacrifice either

¹³ E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I, p. 463.

¹⁴ Frazer, *op. cit.*

¹⁵ Nassau, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-122.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

dies out or increases until it reaches its maximum, as with the Hindus. In the former case, the cutting off of a finger is the substituted sacrifice to avert calamity, ghosts being placated by the shedding of blood which they are also said to drink, or, if the woman is unwilling to give this, the sacrifice becomes symbolic, and a notch is made in a post. With the Quakeoloths,¹⁷ she is made to lay her head on the funeral pile until she reaches the point of suffocation; if she survives she collects the ashes and carries them about with her three years, during which time any levity or deficiency in the proper amount of grief displayed would make her an outcast. Among some Indians the widow sets fire to the pile and anoints her breast with the fat which oozes from the body. When, owing to the heat, she attempts to draw back, she is thrust forward by her husband's relatives at the point of their spears until the body is consumed or she herself almost scorched to death. Her relatives are present to preserve her life, and when she is no longer able to stand, they drag her away. Such intervention often leads to bloody quarrels, but as soon as another member dies the widow, of course, has to go through the same ordeal. When allowed to remarry as with the Bedouin Arabs, her remarriage is not thought of sufficient importance to warrant a ceremony. In Cambodia widows retire perforce to a nunnery for three years and cannot marry for that time.

The Roman widow was ordered by law into solemn mourning for ten months and to observe various restrictions, such as refraining from wearing jewels, attending banquets, or wearing crimson and white garments. If she did not comply she lost civil status. There was a reflection upon the Roman widow, as only a *pronuba*, a matron who had married but once or whose husband was still living, could clasp the hands of the bride and the groom at the wedding-ceremony and attend the bride to her husband's home on the nuptial evening. There was a lingering on of the objection to remarriage, as a woman married the second time could not be a *pronuba* or touch the statue of Pudicitia or Fortuna Muliebris or Mater Mutata. On the second marriage, also, there were external forms less full of honor than the first, and only after the whole period of mourning had expired could the widow again become a wife. All of these restrictions go to show that many, if not all, widows had no desire to mourn for a husband to whom they had been given in a religious utilitarian marriage, but such regulations tended to cultivate certain moral qualities which in time bore fruit.

¹⁷ Tylor, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 461.

The Hebrew sages decreed that a widow had less monetary value than a maiden. She was married without music and dancing. Under the levirate the dead man's brother, if the deceased was childless, or his nearest kinsman married the widow to raise up seed in order to prevent his name being blotted out in Israel. This custom, of course, worked a hardship upon both. Of the widow who did not marry, Judith is the Jewish ideal:

"So Judith was a widow in her house three years and four months. And she made her a tent on the top of her house, and put on sackcloth upon her loins, and ware her widow's apparel. And she fasted all the days of her widowhood, save the eves of the sabbaths, and the sabbaths, and the eves of the new moons, and the new moons, and the feasts and solemn days of the house of Israel. . . . But she increased more and more in honour, and waxed old in her husband's house, being an hundred and five years old. . . . so she died in Bethulia."¹⁸

She was the ultra-conservative type complying with the stilted forms of public opinion, even when society is unable to explain its demands. That remarriage in itself *alone* was not reprehensible is shown by the remarriage of widows with public approval under certain specified circumstances.

Several reasons are advanced for widow-sacrifice among uncultured peoples. One is that the dead might have a companion on the path to the new life, a god lying in wait on the road to the other world implacable to the unmarried; a second is that the deceased might have a servant to perform the same tasks as rendered in his lifetime. This is the reason why the Indian woman was buried with the implements she used in her heavily burdened daily life. A Mongol widow found no second husband because she had to serve the first in the life to come.¹⁹ A more modern reason as given by some is that it is a punishment inflicted because a widow had not cared better for the preservation of her husband's life. Widow-sacrifice is an expression for the sex-importance of the male, for the principle never worked the other way. The idea of sacrifice for the salvation of the souls of many is best exemplified among the Hindus, and it follows that among them a widow's marriage is considered ill-omened and unworthy the participation of honorable men. The Hindu husband owes nothing to his wife.

On the Fiji Islands the wife or wives were much bedecked for death; it was as if they were going to a second wedding with their

¹⁸ Judith, viii. 4-6; xvi. 23.

¹⁹ Nassau, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

lord. In this much lower stage of culture we find a forerunner of some of the ideas which actuated the highly civilized Hindus, and while no hint is given it may be that they too believed a widow's death brought blessings upon the relatives of him for whom she died. In Fiji, as in India, the woman who was not strangled or buried alive was considered an adulteress, and was cut off from all hope of heaven. She was hounded to her grave with every persuasion and menace, and the eagerness to die manifested by some showed a full realization of the neglect, disgrace, and destitution which would be theirs as widows.²⁰

Caste plays a tremendously important part in the social life of a people, and we are apt at certain levels, as in higher barbarism, to find extreme manifestations of it. So strong is it in fact that it will even include women, for caste alone will save her life if, through inadvertence, there happens to be no one present of sufficiently high rank to despatch her at her husband's obsequies. Slaves and women, horses and their trappings add to the display and solemnity of such occasions. On the burial of a Warua chief the course of a stream is diverted and an enormous pit dug, the bottom of which is covered with living women. At one end a woman is placed on her hands and knees, and upon her back the dead chief, covered with beads and other treasures, is seated, being supported on either side by a wife, while his second wife sits at his feet. The earth is then shoveled in upon them and all the women but the second wife are buried alive, it being her privilege to be killed before the grave is filled up. No less than one hundred women were buried alive when Bambarré, a particularly great chief, was interred. When Ra Mbithi, the pride of Somosomo, was lost at sea, seventeen of his wives were killed, and after the news of the massacre of the Namena people, in 1839, eighty women were strangled.²¹ In the cases of men of important rank not women alone were sacrificed, but subordinates were despatched too, to continue the same duties in the hereafter that they had performed here. When the ancient Scythians buried a king they strangled one of his concubines, his cook, groom, waiting man, messenger, and favorite horse.²² Sometimes men have committed suicide on the death of their chief, to attend him, and doubtless to make an imposing entry into the next world.²³

²⁰ T. Williams and J. Calvert, *Fiji and the Fijians*.

²¹ Tylor, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 459-460.

²² J. W. Wheeler, *History of India*, Vol. I, p. 69.

²³ Tylor, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 463.

When there is no pressure the widow like the widower does not choose a horrible death. When the brother of Ching Yang, a disciple of Confucius, died, his widow and steward wished to bury some living persons with him. On consulting the sage he suggested that they were the proper persons; the matter dropped.²⁴ Injunctions contained in religious tracts and dissertations in moral books warned any one in China from acting as a go-between for the marriage of a widow. The *Shih-King* gives the ideal widow in her peculiar inconsolability. Her thoughts will not go beyond the grave, nor will she do aught but weep.

"With his two tufts of hair falling over his forehead, he was my mate, and I swear that till death I will have no other. O mother! O heaven! why will you not understand me?... He was my only one. And I swear that till death I will not do this evil thing." (Book IV, Ode I.)

To show, however, that persuasion in holy books was not the only weapon used to make the Chinese lady assume the proper attitude, she who married again exposed herself to the penalty of eighty blows. Nor is there any doubt that the public regarded the widow with something of the contempt and horror bestowed upon her by the Hindu, for the *Lî-Kî* lays down the rule that no one should associate with the son of a widow unless he was of acknowledged distinction. In modern China the suicide of widows is a recognized custom, and is sometimes performed in public.²⁵ And yet the persistent will of women eventually wins, for the modern widow quite frequently remarries, but she is not allowed to use the red sedan chair, reserved only for respectable brides. However, the outward praise of men, including the remarried, is reserved for those widows who conduct themselves according to the ancient precepts as told by a portal raised to the memory of Madame Ping:

"Her virtue was pure, and her heart as cold as ice, for though left a widow at an early age, she declined matrimony a second time."²⁶

In the remarriage of the pagan Arab widow we find a hint of the levirate. Mohammed attempted to lighten the burden of widows somewhat, even while he placed restrictions upon them: "Such of you as die and leave wives, their wives must wait concerning themselves four months and ten days," the widow remarrying shortly or being married by her nearest male relative with or without her

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 464.

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ W. A. P. Martin, *A Cycle of Cathay*, pp. 209, 273.

consent. Mohammed provided they were to have a year's maintenance "without putting them out of your houses," and that under all circumstances they were to receive one-eighth of the property left by the husband. His own bitter experience as a small orphan probably made a lasting impression, for his father's property went to Mohammed's uncles, involving him and his mother, Amena, in dire poverty and distress. That the position of the widow was an unenviable one was evidently recognized by people who made an effort to lighten the harshness of custom, as shown by the boast of some of the Pharaohs of the Old Kingdom, that they had protected the widow.

Of all the pathetic figures of history there is, with the exception of the illegitimate child, none more pitiable than the Hindu widow. Widow-burning in retrospect seems almost an impossibility, and yet it was and is, in the majority of cases, almost as great a horror for widows to live—for they die daily. Widow-sacrifice in India became, under perhaps the most unscrupulous of all priesthoods, a religious utilitarian institution. What has been proved to be a falsification of the Vedic texts,²⁷ taken in conjunction with the most fanatical of all combinations, religion and custom, was authority for what is the apex of the patriarchate. Even in the *Laws of Manu*, that most extreme of all misogynists, there is no authority for putting the widow to death, while in the *Institutes of Vishnu*, a later sacred writing, an alternative is offered the widow, "after the death of her husband, to preserve her chastity, or to ascend the pile after him." And, "Neither by sale nor by repudiation is a wife released from her husband; such we know the law to be, which the Lord of creatures (Pragâpati) made of old."²⁸

Manu, however, promises heaven to a virtuous wife, who constantly remains chaste after the death of her husband, even though she have no son. He thereby practically places her on the same footing with the thousands of Brahmanees who were chaste from their youth, and entered heaven without having continued their race while on earth.

The widow who flew into the face of society and ignored the behests of the priests was considered only one degree above the wanton woman, though this word was originally also used in the sense of "self-willed," suggesting an offense unpardonable from the

²⁷ *Rig-Veda*, Vol. VI, p. 48; H. H. Wilson, *Essays*, Vol. II, pp. 60-61, 293-305, etc.

²⁸ *The Laws of Manu*, p. 335.

age in which the African god, Mumbo Jumbo,²⁹ manifested himself in person to punish recalcitrant women, especially wives, up to those followers of precedent established they know not when. The great weapon used was ostracism, always the most effective, and with an ingenuity worthy of a better cause the Brahmins involved the members of the woman's household, thus succeeding in casting partly upon them also the odium of her second marriage, this second marriage giving her the opportunity of personal choice. It must be remembered that a marriage from choice was condemned by the priests as one of the four degraded rites.

Among those forbidden to attend a *Srâddha*³⁰ is the son of a remarried woman, her husband, he in whose house a paramour of his wife resides, the son of an adulteress, and the son of a widow. Manu states that a present given to a Brahmanee born of a remarried woman resembles an oblation thrown into the ashes, and that the remarriage of a widow is reprehended by the learned of the twice-born castes as fit only for cattle. In the full-moon sacrifice described in the *Sapatha-Brahmana*, the Brahman conducting the ceremonies tells the son of a remarried woman, "Avaunt! unholy one, *daidhis harya* [literally, 'son of a remarried woman']." So that a woman who was brave enough to marry to suit herself, placed herself in the position of having her son rise up and curse her for having made his life a burden to him and condemned him even before he was born. And yet the average Hindu is unable to offer any better reason for the forbidding of marriage to the Hindu widow, except that "it has never been."

The development of races has differed in details, but we can scarcely doubt that they started out with very much the same fundamental ideas, ideas founded on fear. The Parsees, however, are franker as to the personal motive, a psychological opposition evolving slowly out of the original ghost-fear. According to their belief (*Pahlavi Texts*, Part IV, pp. 55, 58) a girl who has been given to a man with her parents' consent, never even having been betrothed to another, belonged with her children to her husband in both worlds. In one of the "Minor Law Books" remarriage appears to have been allowed, but this allowance is ignored, whereby history repeats itself regarding sacred tenets conducive to the happiness of women.

And what is the foundation of this custom in civilization? The Hindus believe that a girl married by the rite having the special

²⁹ H. Webster, *Primitive Secret Societies*, pp. 118-119.

³⁰ *The Laws of Manu*, pp. 103-108.

sanction of the priesthood, enters the kin of the husband for seven generations, and it is irreligious to change this relationship again because of consequences entailed which run seven generations into the future. This does not even depend upon the consummation of the marriage but upon the betrothal and wedding.³¹ Even, in fact, a baby girl can be born a widow!³²

In 1881 in British India alone there were 20,930,000 widows, 669,000 under nineteen years of age, 78,976 under nine years of age.³³ Any woman who survives her husband is a hissing and a reproach to the community in which she lives, lower even than the pariah to whose scorn she is subject, yet whose very shadow as long as her husband lived would have defiled her. The *sati* is a "good woman," as opposed to the *rand* who survives and who is ranked with the female harlot. Incomprehensible as it may seem to us, it is the child-widow or the childless young widow upon whom the hatred of a community falls as upon the greatest criminal under the sun. The mother of sons, though a sinner, is a lesser one because she is the mother of males; the aged widow, having resisted numberless provocations and temptations, through her strength of character receives an involuntary respect; the widowed mother of daughters is a matter of indifference, and sometimes of genuine hatred, especially if the daughters have not been given in marriage during her husband's lifetime.

The widow who died knew for once the sweets of adulation. Her path to the pyre was an ovation, a public festival. The sick and sorrowful prayed to touch her, criminals were loosed if she but looked upon them, the horse she rode was never used again for earthly service. She was regarded as a divinity. Every appeal was made to urge her to death. She had before her one of her few chances of entering the paradise of Vishnu.

And why should the widow be sacrificed? The reason among the Hindus to-day is that widowhood is regarded as a punishment for some horrible crime or crimes committed in a former existence, such as disobedience or disloyalty to a husband or murdering him. And why should the community as well as her relatives be interested in her death? Because the relatives on both sides even unto the seventh generation, be they ever so sinful, would be saved. No wonder the surviving *rand* or "bad woman" is hated, when they could be received in paradise without an effort of their own by

³¹ W. G. Sumner, *Folkways*, p. 389.

³² Cornelia Sorabji, *Between the Twilights*, pp. 162-163.

³³ H. T. Finck, *Primitive Love and Love Stories*, p. 660.

her death. And furthermore, she played with her own soul, showing the evil desire which was in her, for according to popular belief in India, there is no other heaven for a woman than the seat or mansion of her husband where she shares the heavenly bliss³⁴ with him, if she has been faithful to him in thought, word, and deed. A Hindu woman is independent of her husband in hell alone! Vishnu forbids the sacrifice of a kinsman; his wife alone may follow him on the path of Yama.

Not only religious tenets but dramatic and literary illustrations as well have been used to train women into conformity with specified conduct. As women, owing to their uncleanness, were excluded from the men's houses, temples, and holy ground in early society, so were they prohibited from participating in the drama, which is considered to have been of sacerdotal origin. The Tatu Indians have a secret society which gives periodic dramatic performances with the object of keeping the women in order. In this instance it is the devil that awes the squaws. The Guatala and Patwin Indians have dances performed by the assembled men to show the women the necessity of obedience. Numerous Sanskrit stories and dramas instil the same lessons, and that of the man who went to Yama and saw suttee widows sitting in bliss, conveys its own moral.³⁵

And what happens to the surviving *rand* freed by the British government? Her husband's elaborate funeral may last all day in the broiling sun. Of all present she is the one denied food and drink. She is the viper who has done him to death, no matter how youthful she may be, and he decrepit, diseased, insane, a drunkard, the lowest of the low in the moral world.

The great majority of Hindu girls, regardless of caste, are reared in the most profound ignorance. In a Hindu woman's life there are three honors or privileges to which she is entitled, ornaments, dainty food, and an occasional bow from the lord of all the earth. The widow, regardless of youth or age, is stripped of her ornaments and wears but one garment, red, brown, or white. Her great pride is her luxuriant hair, which, among the Brahmans of Deccan, is shaved once every two weeks. For a woman to have to part with her hair is one of the greatest degradations among the Hindus.³⁶ She is made unsightly so that she may be unattractive to every man who may see her. Her vanity and her pride are crucified daily. She has no part in family feasts or festivals. On auspicious occasions she must not show herself. A man will post-

³⁴ Pundita Ramabai Sarasvati, *The High-Caste Hindu Woman*, Chap. V

³⁵ Tylor, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 53-54.

³⁶ Sumner, *op. cit.*, p. 457.

pone his journey if his path is crossed by a widow at the time of his departure. Her life is made intolerable by hide-bound customs, the superstitions of her own family, and the hatred of her husband's relatives. Ease should on no occasion be hers. For a year she should sleep on the ground. Constant labor is her portion, with the fault-finding and abuse incidental to those whose lives and interests are confined and given up to pettinesses. She is allowed to eat but one meal in the twenty-four hours, and should fast frequently. She is forced to mortify her flesh. Her thoughts must dwell solely upon her departed lord, whom she has been taught to worship as a god-man and who has now become a man-god. As long as she lives she must never mention the name of another man; she must annihilate her instincts! The young widow is an object of suspicion to be closely guarded lest she bring disgrace upon her family. It is not uncommon for the widow to throw aside the restraint cast around her by superstition and to verify the teachings of Manu:

"It is the nature of women to seduce men in this world: for that reason the wise are never unguarded in the company of females."

Part of the ethical teachings of the Hindus deal with the widow: "What is cruel? The heart of a viper. What is the most cruel of all? The heart of a sonless, penniless widow." When the widow dies her corpse is disposed of with hardly any ceremony. The Hindu widow who marries is chased out of society. What is required of the Hindu widow? Absolute self-control in thought, word, and deed.

In a lower stage of society, when the esthetic taste is less well-developed but male importance is well understood, the wife suffers death under her husband's vanity, displeasure, or hunger and is eaten, as on the Fiji Islands:

"Vanity and love of human flesh will sometimes cause a man to kill and eat his wife; he accomplishes two things by this process, satisfying his appetite and establishing his reputation, he desiring to be known as a terrible fellow."³⁷

The crudity of the belief in a haunting ghost was obliged to wane as men advanced intellectually and religiously. It is true that the Chinese to this day often attribute a man's illness to the spirit of a former wife, as the widower as well as the widow in early times were accused of being the cause of the spouse's death. Broadly speaking, fear of the bride and fears for the groom developed

³⁷ Williams and Calvert, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-165.

marriage ceremonies into elaborate rituals, and as the religious importance of the husband increased under well-defined ancestor-worship, the wife became more and more absorbed into the husband's body. At a marriage in Issim, where the religious idea is not yet paramount, the bride and groom eat a fetish together as a token of friendship and as an assurance of the woman's fidelity to her husband.³⁸ Taking Rome as an example, however, we find the marriage by *confarreatio* fully developed, the most essential feature of which was the eating by bride and groom of a sacred cake, which established the unity of the man and the woman to such an extent that in life and death the wife was only part of her husband. This is the Japanese idea, the Chinese belief, and the Hindu sages leaving no doubt in the minds of their readers of the oneness of husband and wife, the historian teaches us that it is to the Aryan we must look for the reconstruction of our past and the foundations for our own beliefs.³⁹ It is also no stretch of the imagination which convinces us that the legal absorption of the Christian wife, as stated by Blackstone, found its rise in the total exclusion of women from inheritance as set forth in early Roman law, ecclesiasticism bringing to pass the legal as well as religious subjection of the wife.

Through this religious absorption of the wife we reach the doctrine of spiritual affinity.

There is perhaps but one other subject which so exercised the Fathers of the early Church as the widow. She not only wanted to marry, but men wanted to marry her, and the synods fairly bristle with threats against her unhaloed head. While it is apparent that remarriage is condemned in every one, yet it is the *sanctimoniales* against whom many of the canons are directed.⁴⁰ Such widows, if they remarried, according to Canon 104, Fourth Carthaginian Synod, were to be entirely shut out from the communion of Christians; those who, after once adopting the religious habit, refused to return to it, were to be shut up in a convent (Canon 5, Synod at Toledo, A. D. 656), and those who were negligent of their chastity (Canon 13, Synod of Burgundy, A. D. 671) were to have the same fate.⁴¹ Occasionally a less arbitrary spirit was exhibited, and at the Third Synod at Toledo, A. D. 589, *capitulum* 10, no widow is to be compelled to marry, yet on the other hand "they are at liberty to marry him whom they themselves freely choose," but any one who hin-

³⁸ Lubbock, *Uncivilized Races*, pp. 304, 364.

³⁹ Z. A. Ragozin, *Vedic India*, pp. 50-51.

⁴⁰ Rt. Rev. Chas. Jos. Hefele, *A History of the Christian Councils, from the Original Documents*. (Trans. W. B. Clark), Vol. IV, p. 456.

⁴¹ Hefele, *op. cit.*, II, p. 418; Vol. IV, pp. 474-475, 480.

dered a virgin or widow from remaining unmarried, was to be excommunicated!⁴² It is evident that the idea of affinity was not universally accepted even by the orthodox, though on the other hand it was carried to an extreme, partly due to the teaching that marriage was a lower state than virginity, owing both to the belief in the uncleanness of women and that marriage was inherently impure. It was held that marriage between those having spiritual relationship was more repulsive even than a close blood-tie, so that a man who acted as sponsor to children could not marry their mother, nor could a girl marry her godfather.⁴³ The idea of the close bond of the formally betrothed as held by the Hebrews and others is also carried out, for matrimonial contracts could not, e. g., on account of illness, be given up at the will of the parties, while a man who married the betrothed of another during his lifetime, could be punished as an adulterer.⁴⁴ The old levirate marriage became incestuous under the new teaching, and every man was forbidden to marry the widow of his brother. It was spiritual affinity which gave rise to the famous law regarding the "deceased wife's sister," whereby every Englishman was forbidden to marry his sister-in-law, the repeal of which caused such lively if not learned discussions in Parliament a few years ago. Canon 61, Synod of Elvira, forbids the marriage of the deceased wife's sister, this prohibition, however, appearing to have been first promulgated at Cæsarea, while another canon makes it appear that to break this rule and to have a concubine besides a wife are only equally offensive.⁴⁵ It may be that such was the case, for the same canon (53) which forbids the marriage of a sponsor and his godchildren's mother, states that the "spiritual relationship is higher than the bodily."⁴⁶ It appears also that the widow of a sub-deacon, exorcist, or acolyte, whether she was a *sanctimonialis* or not, was forbidden to remarry under penalty of being imprisoned in a convent, and at the Council of Auxerre A. D. 578, the widow of a priest was specified in like manner (Canon 22). Penalties also attached to the clergy who espoused this relict, and those clerics who ventured to do so were to have the lowest place in clerical service. To marry a widow killed advancement, and the preliminaries to the enforcement of the celibacy of the clergy in the Latin Church is sounded when it was decreed that those

⁴² Hefele, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 419.

⁴³ Hefele, Canon 53, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 231. Crawley, pp. 117-118.

⁴⁴ Hefele, Canon 11, Second Synod at Orleans, A. D. 533, *op. cit.* Vol. IV, 187. Canon 98, Trullan Synod, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 236.

⁴⁵ Hefele, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 164; Vol. II, p. 429; Vol. IV, pp. 91, 378.

⁴⁶ Hefele, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 231.

who received higher orders were not to continue in married intercourse with a widow, priest or deacon who remarried being excluded from communion until they separated. One canon condemned the widow of a bishop, priest, or deacon who married a second time, to be shut out from the church and to be denied communion until she lay upon her deathbed, while discriminations made against a cleric who married one who was not a virgin, a deserted woman, or a prostitute, show that public opinion was not yet formed as to the unfitness of the immoral woman for matrimony.⁴⁷ A bishop who knowingly married any to whom marriage was forbidden was to be punished, while those so married were considered in *bigamia successiva*, and no priest was to eat at such a marriage feast. We get another glimpse of affinity in Canon 72, Synod of Elvira, in the fate decreed upon a widow who, having sinned with one man, married another; she was never to be admitted to communion even at death, and excommunication was meant to ostracize sinners in this world and to damn them in the next. Her husband, if baptized, was subject to a penance of ten years for having married a woman who, properly speaking, was no longer free.⁴⁸ Tertullian forbids second marriage for both men and women, nor were widows twice married admitted to an order, as, in the words of Tertullian, "it behooves God's altar to be set forth pure." St. Jerome gives reluctant permission for any widow to remarry lest she do worse, while under Theodosius and his successors such prohibitions became so stringent that they entailed the forfeiture of the dower of children of the first marriage.⁴⁹

The result of such teaching was not only that the order of deaconesses was composed principally of pious widows, once married, and that the vowesses as a class continued to exist in England until the conclusion of the sixteenth century,⁵⁰ but that in the Middle Ages all men saw in any widow a naughty woman or a hypocrite, who was recommended to frequent none but deserted churches and to contemplate the crucifix during the night. During the Renaissance the widow who remarried was scarcely tolerated,⁵¹ but this probably applied especially to women of the Latin races.

⁴⁷ Hefele, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 5, 10, 15, 113, 408, 413, 454; Vol. II, pp. 386, 387, 419-420, 421.

⁴⁸ Hefele, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 415; Vol. I, pp. 224-225, 226-227; *ibid.*, 167-168, note 1.

⁴⁹ Goodsell, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-160 (Muirhead, *Historical Introduction to the Private Law of Rome*, p. 388).

⁵⁰ F. J. Snell, *The Customs of Old England*, pp. 11-12.

⁵¹ R. de M. la Claviere, *Women of the Renaissance*, pp. 129, 133-134.

A Spanish widow rarely married. She was a marked object and must comply with certain petty regulations. Marriage among the early Saxons was allowed the widower at the end of one month, but by law the widow who married within a year forfeited her dower, and after the Norman conquest the Church seized the land of erring widows who married before the end of the first year. Late in England, if either of the contracting parties had been married before, sacramental benediction was not accorded their union, nor was the care-cloth held over the bride and groom as was customary in first marriages.⁵² The care-cloth is said to have been used to hide the blushes of the unsophisticated, if conscious, bride, but in the case of the widow, a hardened creature, it was useless. This was, however, assuredly not the origin of the use of the care-cloth, which doubtless had its source in one or more fears connected with marriage and the opposition and danger arising from the powers of evil, averse to the propagation of those taught to worship the powers of good. At Lübeck in the Middle Ages even if a young widow married, the occasion was made an excuse for an uproar before the house, and the groom was forced to stand at show on a certain four-cornered stone in the midst of noisy music, to "establish a good name for himself and his wife."⁵³ Homilies as to conduct and bearing of widows were written by prudish gentlemen, desirous of enhancing the decorous behavior of the much-bereached widow:

"When God takes away the mate of your Bosome, and reduces you to Solitariness, he sounds you a Retreat from the gayeties and and lighter jollities of the World, that with your closer Mourning, you may put on a more retired Temper, stricter and soberer Behavior, not to be cast off with your Veil, but to be the constant Adornment of your Widowhood."⁵⁴

We also find spiritual affinity troubling the Mormons, for while *The Book of Mormon* forbids a man to have more than one wife, Joseph Smith had a revelation on July 12, 1843, permitting polygamy, and in the celestial marriages thereafter celebrated the wife became joined for all eternity to one husband.

Remarriage was probably regarded, especially for a woman, by

⁵² Goodsell, *op. cit.*, pp. 194-195. E. J. Wood, *The Wedding-Day in All Ages and Countries*, pp. 245-246. J. C. Jeaffreson, *Brides and Bridals*, pp. 95-96.

⁵³ Quoted by Sumner, *Folkways*, p. 370, from Barthold, *Hansa*, Vol. III, p. 178.

⁵⁴ Emily C. Parsons, *The Old-Fashioned Woman*, p. 102, note 1, from *The Whole Duty of Woman*, p. 93.

those so desperately in earnest to prevent it, with something of the fear with which a savage dreads the breaking of a taboo. It is to be noted that good works for the benefit of others was not the main idea in the founding of the various orders, nor did the idea that an elderly woman should wish to spend her life with a special companion to whom she could confide her joys and sorrows, appear to be comprehended. Under ancestor-worship the necessity of children had been so strenuously cultivated that women were regarded merely as a necessary vessel to people the world. Religious utilitarian marriages to produce heirs to keep the souls of the departed in bliss, and civic utilitarian marriages to produce citizens for the State, did not take conjugal affection into consideration, and utilitarian marriages of all kinds prevented the growth of romantic love everywhere. Marriage in the religious sense was followed by marriage in the civic, and woman was the field whereby offspring should be reared for those two purposes. Both of these precepts were somewhat lost sight of in the course of time, but we can find the lingering on of the idea that marriage is for the production of children solely, in the fact that many people to-day do not appear to understand that two people should marry for their own personal happiness when there is some reason to believe the marriage may prove childless. The idea of marriage as a source of happiness and the completion of the lives of two beings did not occur to our ancestors. While the sexual license accorded men has been detrimental to the race and the curtailment of the sexual liberty of women has been of unintentional benefit to it, yet it is scarcely possible that the racial instinct would be as powerful as it is in the normal person if the individual were intended to have no rights. Children fulfil a marriage and keep the selfish element from attaining the ascendancy, but children alone will not make a marriage happy. As we lose our false shame of the body, marriage will reach a status not yet attained or attained by very few only in opposition to current uninvestigated beliefs accepted by the conventional who are often unconscious hypocrites. Women have everywhere been considered the evil principle in society, this belief by no means being dead in Christian countries, and in the early Church and well through the Middle Ages it was strongly current. In desiring to marry again only what was considered the lowest motive was imputed to the widow—for there is nothing to be ashamed of in the racial instinct in itself but only in its abuse.

The prohibitions placed upon the widow to-day among the more advanced of the Christian nations have ceased to be religious and

legal hindrances and have become social formalities. It is bad taste to marry within a certain specified number of months. She is still a slightly marked figure in the social world, less free than a widower, whose comparative license allows him to act more naturally. To develop naturally is taboo to women.

AN OLD-FASHIONED LIBERAL.

BY ROLAND HUGINS.

I.

A FEW days ago I was wandering about a Washington Club in search of a chair and a good reading light. In my hand I carried Volume I of Lord Morley's autobiography.¹ Here I ran into one of the ablest men I know in America, now working for the government on problems of reconstruction after the war. He is a man who reads everything worth while. So I asked him if he had read Morley's Life.

Yes, he had read it. We agreed that it was refreshing and stimulating. Then he made the following comment:

"I confess I prefer this sort of thing to most of the writing of the younger generation. Intellectually it is more honest. In fact during the last year I have oriented myself afresh. I find that I am really a Mid-Victorian."

Precisely what my friend meant by that last remark I do not know; but I think I can surmise the essence. I think he meant that the world must go back to the older Liberalism before it can go forward.

Morley remarks: "Critics to-day are wont to speak contemptuously of the Mid-Victorian age. They should now and then pause to bethink themselves." Morley was reared on the "unadulterated milk" of the Benthamite and Cobdenite word. And he is still orthodox in his political faith.

II.

Morley's idea of Liberalism is comprehensive. It is to him more than a creed. It is bigger than the party cry "Free Trade, Peace, Retrenchment, and Reform." He says, "Respect for the dignity and worth of the individual is its root. It stands for pursuit of social good against class interest or dynastic interest. . . . Treitschke, the greatest of modern absolutists, lays it down that everything new that the nineteenth century has erected is the work of Liberalism."

¹ *Recollections* by John, Viscount Morley, Macmillan Co., 2 vols., \$7.50.

He looks back at the Victorian epoch as at a Golden Age. "Those years—say from 1860 to 1890—were animated, hopeful, interesting, and on the whole, either by reason of, or in spite of, its perpetual polemics, a happy generation. Only those whose minds are numbed by the suspicion that all times are tolerably alike, and men and women much of a muchness, will deny that it was a generation of intrepid effort forward." . . . "Whatever we may say of Europe between Waterloo and Sedan, in our country at least it was an epoch of hearts uplifted with hope, and brains active with sober and manly reason for the common good. Some ages are marked as sentimental, others stand conspicuous as rational. The Victorian age was happier than most in the flow of both these currents into a common stream of vigorous and effective talent. New truths were welcomed in free minds, and free minds make brave men. Old prejudices were disarmed. Fresh principles were set afloat, and supported by the right reasons. The standards of ambition rose higher and purer. Men learned to care more for one another. Sense of proportion among the claims of leading questions to the world's attention became more wisely tempered. The rational prevented the sentimental from falling into pure emotional. Bacon was prince in intellect and large wisdom of the world, yet it was Bacon who penned that deep appeal from thought to feeling, 'The nobler a soul is, the more objects of compassion it hath.' This of the great Elizabethan was one prevailing note in our Victorian age. The splendid expansion and enrichment of Toleration was another."

In that many-sided generation Morley played a conspicuous and important part. He was born in Blackburn, Lancashire, in 1838. Of Morley's forebears no more need be said than that he sprang from a homely but sturdy stock of the north of England. His father, a surgeon of local repute, was a native of Yorkshire, and his mother was a Northumbrian. His schooling was of a solid kind, first at the University College School in Blackburn, then at Cheltenham College, and then at Lincoln College in Oxford. He underwent thorough drill in the classics, mathematics and history. His first profession was that of a man of letters. He worked as free-lance on a number of London publications and produced several books, mostly biographies,—on Burke, Walpole, Voltaire and Rousseau. He was editor of the *Fortnightly Review* and later of the *Pall Mall Gazette*. He edited the notable series of volumes on *English Men of Letters*. In 1883, at the age of forty-five, he went to Parliament for Newcastle-on-Tyne. His ability, although not of the showy variety, won him recognition and in 1886 he became

Secretary to Ireland. In 1908, after a service in the House of Commons of twenty-five years, he went to the Lords. He spent several strenuous years as Secretary of State for India and pushed through the very important reforms which helped to liberalize British rule in India at the end of the first decade of the twentieth century. In 1910 he went to the Privy Council. He resigned from the Cabinet at the outbreak of the European war in 1914.

It is of this career that Morley writes. He has moved in an atmosphere of large affairs for many years. His tone is always high-minded and generous. His acquaintanceship with the people who count in England and on the Continent has been extensive and he has the advantage of knowing both the political chiefs and literary mandarins. He speaks well of friend and foe alike, of Liberal and Tory, of Little Englander and Imperialist.

Before Morley finally secured a seat in the House of Commons, he stood twice unsuccessfully, once in Blackburn in 1869 and in Westminster in 1880. Both of these attempts were forlorn hopes. This experience reminds one of Disraeli's first futile attempts to enter Parliament. Indeed Morley's political career finds parallels in those of Disraeli, of Bryce, and of numerous other Englishmen. He begins as a humble but able commoner, devotes long years to political toil, and although he never compromises his ideals, is rewarded at the last with a place in the peerage. Such careers disclose clearly the real secret of England's strength. The English political and social system draws to it, and makes use of whatever ability and character there is in the kingdom. Emerson compressed the reasons for British success in an epigram: "The history of England is aristocracy with the doors open."

III.

In his early days Morley wrote articles on assignment for a weekly journal. He remarks: "Another contributor was the important man who became Lord Salisbury. He and I were alone together in the editorial anteroom every Tuesday morning, awaiting our commissions, but he, too, had a talent for silence, and we exchanged no words, either now nor on any future occasion, though, as it happened, we often found something to say in public about each other's opinions and reason in days to come."

There can be no doubt that this is England. A great deal of the charm of Morley's reminiscences consists of the side-lights he throws upon English life in its better-bred and serener phases. With Morley the reader dines at the Atheneum, lunches at the

Carlton, wanders about the lobbies of the House of Commons, and spends a week at the seashore or on a hilltop in Surrey. He takes dinner with a carefully culled group at George Eliot's, spends a Sunday afternoon with the circle collected by John Stuart Mill, or runs down to Brighton to argue for a day with Herbert Spencer. In a lonely sea-coast town in the north of England, he discovers a young man fresh from Oxford who knows six languages and who, in that remote corner, keeps burning a solitary lamp of learning. He spends many week-ends at English country houses and now and then runs over to Paris or some other city on the Continent. It is a life of which the most marked characteristic is leisurely intercourse and conversation on high topics. "Grey and Haldane came down to us at Wimbledon for a night and we set the world to rights. You know how easily that is done after dinner, and over a flagon of sound wine."

Near the end of 1904 Morley visited America in company with his friend, Andrew Carnegie. He rather agrees with Arnold that the most interesting thing on this continent is Quebec, that unassimilated colony that still speaks the French of Louis XIV. His observations on the American Republic are kindly and free from the taint of patronizing. He spent a week or more as the guest of Roosevelt in the White House. When he left the American shore, he was asked, "What is it that has impressed you most during your visit?" and he replied, "Undoubtedly, two things: the President and Niagara Rapids." Morley's observations on Roosevelt himself are plain-spoken. He says: "Not often have I passed a week so interesting in the chief figure and the striking circumstances around him. It was impossible, and we did not try, to be unconscious of the fact that something or another had drawn him and me into two different political schools. The President had shown himself both student and writer enough to have been a power in professional letters, if he had liked. His political premises and axioms, as I ventured to think, came from overpowering energy of physical temperament rather than from firm or exhaustive ratiocination."

Morley had occasion to taste the characteristic hospitality of America. His most illuminating comments on America are set forth in his account of an after-dinner speech he made. "I had the honour to attend a powerful public feast one evening at New York, on which the comment next day was that 'Demosthenes and Cicero were great orators, but neither of them ever addressed an audience good for a millionth part of the minae, drachmae, sesterces, or

whatever else stood for the dollar in the currency of Greece and Rome, represented in the assemblage addressed by Mr. Morley last night.' It was no business of mine to discuss the right of a man to be rich, or of a community to admire wealth acquired.... This at least was clear to the most casual observer with any knowledge of the contributions of the magnates round the tables toward endowment for great common purposes, that private munificence moved by the spirit of high public duty has never been shown on a finer scale than by American plutocracy working in a democratic atmosphere. Materialist, practical, and matter-of-fact as the world of America may be judged, or may perhaps rightly judge itself, everybody recognizes that commingled with all that is a strange elasticity, a pliancy, an intellectual subtlety, a ready excitability of response to high ideals, that older worlds do not surpass, even if they can be said to have equaled it."

IV.

Morley's volumes are rich in vignettes of contemporaries both early and more recent. He gives us admirable pen pictures of Matthew Arnold, Leslie Stephen, Henry Sidgwick, Cavour, Mazzini, Cobden, Gladstone, Roseberry, Harcourt, Campbell-Bannerman and numerous others. There are some curious omissions; for example Lloyd George is not mentioned. His character sketches are shot through with shrewd observations on character in general and particularly on the foibles of statesmen and politicians.

In his early days Morley was an intimate friend and disciple of John Stuart Mill. The following passages portray that high priest of rationalism: "Carlyle says of Mill's talk that it was rather wintry and 'sawdustish'; we may forgive the old prophet for this passing fling of a splenetic moment, for he admits the talk was always well informed and sincere, and passed the evenings in a sensible, agreeable manner. So it did, and much more. Mill was Carlyle's first and long his only friend in London, and not only lent him his great collection on the Revolution, but gave him, 'frankly and clearly, and with zeal all his better knowledge than my own; being full of eagerness in that cause, as he felt I should be. He would have made any sacrifice for me and what I had then most at heart.' It was Mill who first set him on Oliver Cromwell. Not so wintry, then, after all. Meredith, who did not know Mill in person, once spoke to me of him with the confident intuition proper to imaginative genius, as partaking of the Spinster. Disraeli, when Mill made an early speech in Parliament, raised his eyeglass,

and murmured to a neighbour on the bench, 'Ah, the Finishing Governess.' We can guess what they meant. Mill certainly had not Bacon's massive cogency, nor the concentrated force of Hobbes, nor the diversified amplitude of Adam Smith. That is true enough, but then no more was he shrill or teasing on small points, or disputatious for dispute's sake, or incessantly bent on proving or disproving something. Yet he could be both severe and plain-spoken as anybody in Parliament or out, and knew how to run an adversary clean through with a sword that was no spinster's arm.... Mill would take endless trouble to procure the reversal of an inhuman sentence in a police court; he abhorred insensibility to the sufferings of our fellows in the lower order of creation.... From anything like literary vanity no mortal could have been more free. He once told me that after revision and re-revision of a piece of his own, he felt so little satisfied of its exact conformity to his purpose, that he could only bring himself to send it to the printer by recalling how he had felt the same of other writing that people thought useful. Apart from this, which is a secondary point, we met a personal modesty that almost spoke the language of fatalism. This was one of his attractions—so singular a contrast to the common self-applause that exaggerates a secondary service into supreme achievement, or sets down good fortune to one's own foresight and penetration.... I do not know whether then or at any other time so short a book ever instantly produced so wide and so important an effect on contemporary thought as did Mill's *On Liberty* in that day of intellectual and social fermentation (1859). It was like the effect of Emerson's awakening address to the Phi Beta Kappa Society in New England in 1832. The thought of writing it first came into his head in 1855, as he was mounting the steps of the Capitol at Rome, the spot where the thought of the greatest of all literary histories had started into the mind of Gibbon just a hundred years before.... The little volume belongs to the rare books that after hostile criticism has done its best are still found to have somehow added a cubit to man's stature."

The following glimpse of Thomas Carlyle is interesting: "You walked away from Chelsea stirred to the depths by a torrent of humour. But then it was splendid caricature: words and images infinitely picturesque and satiric, marvelous collocations and antitheses, impassioned railing against all the human and even super-human elements in our blindly misguided universe. But of direction, of any sign-post or way-out, not a trace was to be discovered, any more than a judicial page, or sense of any wisdom in the judicial,

is to be found in his greatest pieces of history. After the grand humorist's despair was over, it was a healthy restorative in passing homeward along the Embankment to fling oneself into the arms of any statistician, politician, political economist, sanitary authority, poor-law reformer, prison-reformer, drainage enthusiast, or other practical friend of improvement, whom genial accident might throw in one's way."

A considerable portion of Morley's biography is taken up with long struggles of Gladstonian Liberalism to force home rule for Ireland through Parliament. Morley was Irish Secretary for many years and knew Charles Parnell as well as any other Englishman. Of him he says: "For myself, in our protracted dealings for some four or five years, I found him uniformly considerate, unaffectedly courteous, not ungenial, compliant rather than otherwise. In ordinary conversation he was pleasant, without much play of mind; temperament made him the least discursive of the human race. Apart from the business of the moment, he contributed little, because among other reasons he had no knowledge of common education and the man of the world. He would speak of his interest in finding minerals to work, and of experiments in assaying; but his schemes did not go far, and came to little. For personal talk he had little inclination, nor was he apt, as most politicians are, to run off into critical comments not always good-natured upon individuals. He took little interest or none in that buzz of miscellaneous talk about individuals which accounts for so much of the tidal agitations of the parliamentary world. Of the Catholic priests and prelates, and the Roman Conclave, he found no more to say than that he was not in the least afraid of any of them. He was one of the men with whom it was impossible to be familiar.... His sympathy with the misery of the Irish peasantry was real and it was constant, though he was too hard-headed and too disdainful to make a political trade of this sympathy, or even to say much about it. A general liking for his species he neither had nor professed. Of merely personal ambition, whether in its noble or its vulgar sense, he had, I think, little share or none. He had taken up a single cause against enemies who seemed invincible; his people had given him their trust; he bent his whole strength on winning; he was as confident as his nature would allow him to be confident of anything that his arms would conquer; for laurels he did not care. I have been at his side before and after more than one triumphal occasion, and discovered no sign of quickened pulse. His politics were a vehement battle, not a game, no affair of a career.... A secret consultation with a

Conservative viceroy one day; with a spy from a murder club in New York the next; with a Whig Catholic Bishop in Ireland the day after. The irony of it gave him no private enjoyment; irony was not in his line; the phantasmagoria was all in the day's work. The mixture of the calculating spirit of an election agent with violence, and of invincible pride with something like squalor, made an amazing paradox. We have to remember that he was a revolutionary leader, using constitutional forms, and no varnish of respectable words can make him anything else."

About 1873 Morley made the acquaintance of Joseph Chamberlain. He was associated with Chamberlain for more than a decade as political ally. Later Chamberlain developed strong unionist and imperialistic views and, politically, broke away from Morley. Their personal friendship, however, persisted through their party dissension. The references to Chamberlain are always pitched in a tone of affection and admiration. "Now, as when later he came into wide popularity and power, he had none of the childish and overdone discretion in which politicians of a certain order are apt to flatter their self-importance. He could be as secret as anybody when he pleased, or when secrecy was a binding duty toward other people. But he was an open man, a spontaneous man. I have always thought of him, of all the men of action that I have known, as the frankest and most direct, as he was, with two exceptions, the boldest and the most intrepid. This instinct was one secret of his power as a popular leader. When he encountered a current of doubt, dislike, suspicion, prejudice, in some place of some section of his party, his rule and first impulse was to hasten to put his case, to explain, to have it out. This gave him a character that was, as might have been expected, a genuine source of strength, apart from keenness of dialectic. . . . People who are careless about using right words called him cynical, when they meant no more than caustic, just as they clumsily call a touch of irony a sneer. He was impatient of those clever men, more numerous than we suppose, who have an unlucky aptitude for taking hold of things by the wrong end. Of equanimity he had not more than his share, but then this virtue is not always a mark of strength; perhaps less often so than not, in spite of Aristotle. He was a master of self-control if occasion demanded. When he was busy on temperance and the Gothenburg system, we had one of our talks with Carlyle. The sage told him that he rejoiced that this mighty reform was being attempted; then all at once he took fire at thought of compensation for the dispossessed publican, and burst into full blaze at its iniquity.

Fiercely smiting the arms of his chair, with strong voice and flashing eye, he summoned an imaginary publican before him. 'Compensation!' he cried, 'you dare come to me for compensation! I'll tell you where to go for compensation! Go to your father the devil, let him compensate you'—and so on in one of his highest flights of diatribe. Chamberlain, still as a stock, listened with deferential silence for long minutes, until he was able in patient tone to put the case of the respectable butler whom a grateful master had set up in a licensed and well-conducted tavern: was Mr. Carlyle sure that to turn him out, bag and baggage, was quite fair play? And so on through the arguments. The old Ram Dass with the fire in his belly attentively listened, and then admitted genially that he might have been all wrong. If Carlyle had been an angry public meeting, Chamberlain's methods would have been the same. I once saw him handle a gathering of exasperated shipowners in my constituency at Newcastle with equal success. Of the small personal jealousy that is the torment of men who lack confidence in their own qualities, it is little to say that Chamberlain had none. From that root of evil nobody in the world stood clearer. . . . His annual holiday was a matter of principle; it was a needed refreshment of spirit. We made a dozen or more expeditions abroad, together. Friendships do not always survive the ordeal of long journeys. We two underwent the test year after year without a ripple. He was a delightful companion, patient, good-natured, observant, interested in pictures, buildings, history; alert, and not without a pleasant squeeze of lemon to add savour to the daily dish. We had not an insipid hour. . . . In after-years Mr. Gladstone found a standing puzzle in the long intimacy between Chamberlain and me. 'You are not only different,' he used to say: 'man and wife are often different, but you two are the very contradiction.' Of these contradictions I must obviously be the last person in the world to attempt a catalogue. Looking back I only know that men vastly my superiors, alike in letters and the field of politics, have held me in kind regard and cared for my friendship. I do not try to analyse or explain. Such golden boons in life are self-sufficing. The general terms of character are apt to have but a lifeless air. Differences as sharp as ever divided public men by and by arose between us two on burning questions of our time. Breaks could not be avoided; they were sharp, but they left no scars. Fraternal memories readily awoke. As his end drew near, we sent one another heartfelt words of affectionate farewell. Meanwhile for thirteen strenuous years we lived the life of brothers."

Of certain living Liberals Morley remarks: "Since 1886 had sprung up, among a younger generation of Liberals, a small new group that was destined as time went on to exert much influence for good or evil on the fortunes of their country. They were a working alliance, not a school; they had idealisms, but were no Utopians. Haldane, Asquith, Grey, Acland, had the temper of men of the world and the temper of business. They had conscience, character, and took their politics to heart." Asquith he calls a "truly satisfactory man." Again he observes: "The understanding and affinity between Asquith and me, from the intellectual and political point of view, is almost perfect. He is more close in expression than I am, but we both have in different ways the *esprit positif*; we are neither of us optimists; we start from common educational training, though his was in the critical hours of education much better.... Asquith is an excellent talker—not glittering nor fascinating, nor exactly winning nor inspiring, but genial, clear, competent, and above all, always hitting the nail on the head."

His references to Sir Edward Grey are equally complimentary. "Grey followed Percy, in that curiously high, simple, semi-detached style, which, combined, as it always is in him, with a clean-cut mastery of all the facts in his case, makes him one of the most impressive personalities in Parliament. Or must I qualify that immense panegyric of mine? He has got no great ample pinions like Mr. Gladstone; he hardly deserves what was said of Daniel Webster, that every word he used seemed to weigh a pound. Still, he is a remarkable figure, wholly free from every trace of the Theatre; and I confess it warms my heart to think that we have two men like Grey and Percy to fill the seats of Power in our country, when the time comes." Of this younger generation of Liberals Morley also remarks: "As it happened, in the fulness of time our distinguished apostles of Efficiency came into supreme power, with a share in the finest field for efficient diplomacy and an armed struggle, that could have been imagined. Unhappily they broke down, or thought they had (1915), and could discover no better way out of their scrape than to seek deliverance (not without a trace of arbitrary proscription) from the opposing party that counted Liberalism, old or new, for dangerous and deluding moonshine."

This Liberal leader does not reserve all of his compliments for members of his own party. He is equally warm in his tributes to many of the Conservatives. Toward Disraeli he speaks with uniform courtesy. "Disraeli was climbing his giddy ladder up to the high places to which his genius and persistent courage well entitled

him.... I have a considerable liking for Dizzy in a good many things: his mockery of the British Philistine, his aloofness and detachment from hollow conventions, and so forth. How on earth such a man ever became an extremely popular Prime Minister, I can never tell."

He several times mentions his respect and fondness for Curzon. "You will be sorry, as am I, to hear that Curzon writes of himself to me as an invalid. You may have seen that he was seriously bruised in a motor collision some time back. He is now off on a voyage for some months, as I understand. I cannot help a great liking for him, an admiration for his gifts that is not far from affection."

He speaks in the highest terms of Minto, who was Governor General of Canada, and later Indian Viceroy. "A viceroy needs to be a judge of men, whether with dark skins or white, and Lord Minto mixed tact and common sense and the milk of human kindness in the right proportion for discovering with what sort of man he had to deal. He liked people, though he did not always believe them, and he began by a disposition to get on with people as well as they would let him. If he found on trial what he thought good reason for distrusting a man, he did not change. His vision was not subtle, but, what is far better, it was remarkably shrewd....

We were most happily alike, if I may use again some old words of my own, in aversion to all quackery and cant, whether it be the quackery of hurried violence dissembling as love of order, or the cant of unsound and misapplied sentiment, divorced from knowledge and untouched by cool comprehension of realities."

In a vivid little sketch he depicts the parliamentary manner of Arthur Balfour. "Balfour's favourite weapon was the rapier, with no button on, without prejudice to a strong broadsword when it was wanted—and for fine point and edge his nearest rival was Sexton on the Irish benches. For so fine a performance—and it was one of his finest—as Mr. Gladstone's (March 3, 1890) when he swept away the ragged, dingy tapestries of the Parnell Commission, the Irish Secretary could never be a match. His eye for the construction of dilemmas was incomparable, and the adversary was rapidly transfixed by the necessity of extricating himself from two equally discreditable scrapes. To expose a single inch of unguarded surface was to provoke a dose of polished raillery that was new, effective, and unpleasant. He revelled in carrying logic all its length, and was not always above urging a weak point as if it were a strong one. Though polished and high-bred in air, he unceremoniously

applied Dr. Johnson's cogent principle that to treat your adversary with respect is to give him an advantage to which he is not entitled. Of intellectual satire he was a master—when he took the trouble; for the moral irony that leaves a wound he happily had no taste. . . . It was not surprising that, in Burke's famous language about Charles Townsend, he became the delight and ornament of his party in the country, and the charm of every private society which he honoured with his presence, and clouds of incense daily rose about him from the prodigal superstition of innumerable admirers."

V.

Lord Morley's autobiography is well worth reading for its inherent interest and its vivid pictures of men and politics in the last half century. One lays it down, however, with a sense of disappointment. Perhaps it is not fair to quarrel with Morley for failing to give us advice on to-day's problems. An elderly man in his recollections must necessarily face the past. And yet the reader cannot help but regret that this noble-minded Liberal has no constructive suggestions to offer either for the future peace of the world, or for the future structure of society.

From this point of view Morley's attitude toward the Great War is unsatisfactory. He is not, of course, in any sense a partisan of Germany. He wrote in his diary in 1908, "Anyhow, I'd rather have parliamentary rule with all its faults than Prussian bureaucracy." But war in the abstract Morley detests. He declares that its "very essence is the disintegration of common fundamentals" and that it "ostracizes, demoralizes, and brutalizes reason." With such sentiments few Americans would disagree. Nor would they dissent from his indictment of secret diplomacy: "Is not diplomacy, unkindly called by Voltaire the field of lies, as able as it ever was to dupe governments and governed by grand abstract catchwords veiling obscure and inexplicable purposes, and turning the whole world over with blood and tears to a strange Witches' Sabbath?" America, however, is hoping with all its best ideals and aspirations for a better world after the present holocaust. Morley has little better than cold water for the bright hopes of those who look forward to a league of nations. He observes: "In our present overwhelming days such hope as is left to Europe and America seems to yearn for some formal confederacy of States that shall keep the world's peace. There are many reasons for suspecting illusion. The dream is old, and historic awakening has been rude."

Morley's attitude on the economic and social changes of the

coming century is scarcely more heartening. He sees no great promise in the newer socialistic ideals. "If it comes, the substitution of the State in the administration of capital for the Manchester gospel of individual self-help will mark an epoch as does the Reformation or the French Revolution—each of them associated with long, vehement, confused struggle, neither of them ending in unclouded blessings."

Morley none the less cannot be unaware that the Manchester school has lost its authority. We no longer look for guidance to the principles of *laissez faire* or of non-intervention, nor to the vague formula of the greatest good to the greatest number. What the world really needs is a new liberal vision, a new interpretation of social harmony. Morley apparently feels that the spirit of the old Liberalism is sound and vital enough to organize the new era; but he nowhere gives us any indication of how we can translate the precepts of Cobden and Gladstone into a program that will meet the needs of to-morrow. Possibly Morley in some later work will give us a program of this sort. We can, at any rate, say that the new society will be fortunate if it comes under the guidance of men of his mould.

GOD AND SATAN.

BY F. W. ORDE WARD.

IT seems more than probable that the idea of a Devil is one aspect of God, chipt off, so to speak or abstracted from the totality. The vision arose from an unjustifiable separation between the two great constituents of love—namely justice and mercy, a foolish and fatal dichotomy, and from the innate tendency of the human mind (as psychology shows) to dualize things, instead of resting in opposites. Dichotomy is so easy and convenient though superficial, like the dilemma the joy of all feeble thinkers. So we gradually obtained two distinct and hostile deities confronting each other—God the true Infinite, and Satan the bad or false Infinite. But why this monstrous and unreasonable divorce?

"Finis nosse Deum, principiumque Deus."

"A Deo omnia incipiunt, in Deum omnia exeunt."

Yet we shall see presently, as we proceed in the course of our inquiry, that this divulsion of the two component factors was quite inevitable,

and if there had been no Devil, man would have found it necessary to invent one, as an explanation of whatever seemed imperfect, ugly, or wicked in the world, and to save his own face. Such a creation was obvious. It is the fashion now with many who like to be considered advanced in their opinions, to repudiate as an absurd lingering survival often with much indignation the fact of a Devil, and to set in his place a Principle of Evil, a singularly vague and vicious abstraction. This hardly appears to be a working hypothesis, it is rather an idle hypothesis, a bloodless bogey or phantasm. It is but a pitiful personification of a "pseudo-concept" which, while denying the personality of the Devil, practically confesses it. For the so-called "Principle of Evil" actually impersonates what it abhors. It meets us as a colorless ineptitude that bears no relation to any kind of thought which is dialectical or nothing.

We shall now first have to inquire into the meaning of God, and we shall discover in Him the *coincidentia omnium oppositorum*, or the sum of all contradictions. Were He not this, how could we possibly explain Evil? Let us begin with the assertion, which is Scripture as well as fundamental, that God is Love. Everyone seems from the beginning to have taken for granted that we instinctively understood the nature of what was termed Love, which they supposed to be a weak and washy benevolence toward all men and toward all things. But the least reflection will show the absurdity of this notion. We are by no means born into the world with a ready stock of cut and dried interpretations of facts. Instead of Love being a simple matter, it is the profoundest of all vital problems. To feel an emotional tenderness sometimes overflowing in tears, does not constitute such a sublime and complex subject. It embraces heights and depths beyond calculation, and far above the petty arithmetic of every-day chatter—it is a calculus of the Infinite. We must perceive at once, that, if God is Love, His title contains abysses and ranges of thought past all imaginings. The infinite and the infinitesimal must here unite. Love never was and never could be pure unmixed kindness. No doubt, God is merciful, but He is also and equally just. No doubt He is tender, but He is also and equally severe. No doubt, He is kind, but He is also and equally cruel. And still He remains Perfect Love. The so-called Evil in the world assuredly should convince any one accessible to reason that the namby-pambyism, the feeble forgiveness, the unjust and impossible amiability in these thoughtless days usually attributed to God, possess no foundation whatever. On the contrary, He is just because He is merciful, He is cruel because He is kind, He is severe

because he is tender. Were He otherwise He could not claim our worship, and it is certain that He would not receive it. "I know, O Lord, that Thy judgments are right, and that Thou in faithfulness hast afflicted me." The mawkish and maudlin sentimentalism of the twentieth century does not understand this. But the prolonged agony of the present terrible war, in our fight against beasts and devils, will teach us better, and should teach us the truth. That which we should immediately condemn as laxity of principle and practice in a neighbor, we should not expect or praise in God. Even the greatest gentleness, when the occasion arises, exhibits "the wrath of the lamb." And the Christ Himself, while meek and lowly in speech and in Spirit, could be sometimes, a "consuming fire." We are told expressly that He carried a rod as well as a staff, a sword as well as an olive branch, and He used the one no less than the other. For in the hour of need His *verba* were *verbera*. Jesus likewise armed Himself with a scourge and employed it ruthlessly at least on two occasions recorded in the Scriptures. We may choose to think differently, but however much we whine and whimper and appeal to a sickly compassionateness and a criminal leniency, we shall appeal in vain. God governs according to eternal laws, and if we violate His laws we must take the consequences. Causes work out their natural and inexorable effects, and our sorrows though genuine cannot avert the pains and penalties inextricably involved. God's tender mercies are over all His works, but if He were not sometimes pitiless, they would not and could not be so—universal and really kind.

Men have fancied they could mend matters and clear the subject, by attributing all the so-called Evil (of which very much indeed is far from Evil) to the Devil, and all the supposedly good things to God. The result has been a painful surprise, in this violent disruption of the Deity or the Divine Conception. What does Benedetto Croce say in his last great book, *Logic as the Science of the Pure Concept*? His pronouncement is unequivocal and unambiguous. "Every one has in him evil, because he has good," p. 98; Satan is not a creation extraneous to God, nor the minister of God called Satan, but *God Himself*. If God had not Satan in Himself, He would be like food without salt. An abstract Ideal, a simple ought-to-be which is not and therefore impotent and useless. The Italian poet, who has sung of Satan as "rebellion," and "the avenging force of reason," had a profound meaning when he concluded by exalting God as "the most lofty vision to which peoples attain in the force of their youth," "the sun of sublime minds and of ardent

hearts." He corrected and integrated the one abstract with the other, and in this way unconsciously attained the fulness of truth. "Thought in so far as it is itself life . . . and reality . . . has in itself opposition; and for this reason it is also *affirmation* and *negation*: it does not affirm save by denying, and it does not deny save by affirming." We see now that it does not help us or simplify the question before us by dividing the Godhead and eliminating the disagreeable fact of Satan.

"Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret."

It is not by ignoring the tiniest constituent of any substance or fact that science can advance. It may be true, but we don't say it is, that *de minimis non curat lex*, but it is damnably false to maintain *de minimis non curat scientia*, or God.

This miserable partition of the two vital and necessary elements must be held responsible for the unquestioned fact that, neither the ordinary interpretation of God nor that of Satan has been acceptable to the vast majority of human beings in all times and throughout all civilized space. God has never been given as a Working Whole, as the complete Love whom we could all unanimously respect and reverence and adore. He has been a truncated deity, imperfect, indefinite, and impossible. To be robbed of his sterner attributes was to depreciate and degrade the remainder. And when He was left with the Staff alone, worshipers missed the supplementary Rod. The shepherd's crook, without the accompanying sword, left an emasculated, praeterhuman, and praeterdivine deity. If the present terrific war has taught us one thing it is that religion must be reconstructed from its very foundations. No more abject whimpering, wheedling devotion, no more spurious gratitude that is but a lively expectation of future favors, but a robust and strenuous faith in a perfect and uneviscerated God. The old theologians first disemboweled the Deity, and then offered the forlorn residuum for us to hold in honor. Our new thanksgiving must assume the virile form of thanks-living. Of course the present conception of the Devil to a great extent is a lineal descendant or derivative from the Puritan belief. We find now a natural reaction. But, as always, the recoil has gone much too far, and the pendulum of thought has swung round to the very opposite extreme. And, in the same way, the conception of God has reached to a violent antagonism of the Puritan idea, which was anything but weak. The Supreme Being has been watered down to the uttermost dregs of Deity, and turned into a nature absolutely feeble and contemptible. To call

such a God by the immeasurable name of Love, is a pure libel or indeed a plain contradiction in terms. He no longer works by laws or the uniformity of the cosmos, a measured and definite action and reaction, but by ill-regulated affections, by caprice and an arbitrary Providence. He denies in every manifestation by an unbalanced conduct, all the most vital essentials of His character. He ceases to respect justice, and obeys the whim of the moment, in conforming to certain pious shibboleths which have been christened orthodoxy. Thor and Odin would be far preferable to such an odious creation of modern religion, which puts in the bankruptcy court the Infinite and the Eternal, and liquidates His noblest attributes. Such a monstrosity is worse than any Devil, One who is at the mercy of any peddling prayer and foolish cant formula.

Accordingly, we have now to abolish the Devil as a personal being, and restore him to his proper place in the Godhead, whence he should never have been torn. In his ultimate nature, he merely represents the justice of God, as the complement of His mercy, which can never stand alone by itself. That is to say, we must whitewash the Devil, and show he is not as black as he has been painted. No logical mind can reasonably postulate two Gods, the one of light and the other of darkness, like Zoroaster, in spite of J. S. Mill. Were this really a philosophical truth and were Zoroaster a true prophet, there would be no cosmos but only an *acosmos*, a welter of hopeless and helpless confusion—everlasting and universal chaos. No doubt, Satan must be deified himself and proved to be no longer a Principle of Evil, but a worthy and worshipful component of the Godhead. He is Divine from one point of view and in a certain fundamental aspect, which cannot be separated from other aspects and elements. He is emphatically good, and necessary to the Supreme Totality. The human hunger for a cheap and easy way, as it was supposed, in religion, broke up the Deity into antagonistic parts, and then isolated one fraction as the Devil, and threw on his head the onus of all Evil, in order that men might think themselves better than they were. This appears to be a relic of polytheism, an outrageous superstition which has been imposed on us by the religionism of our obtuse ancestors. We have no Devil worse than ourselves, and our own aberrant hearts. *Pectus facit diabolum*. But “resist the Devil and he will flee from you.” Because he possesses no real existence, and only flourishes on idle fears and the sufferance of fools. He is clearly superfluous and as we know—*entia non multiplicanda praeter necessitatem*. Face him boldly and he fades away immediately into the dim shadowland

of the ghosts, the blind phantasmagoria that shelters in suspended solution all the old and pitiful unrealities of religion. And then Sâtan remains far more magnificent than even Milton's sublime conception, the hero of *Paradise Lost*, as the true Rod of God, while His mercy continues to be the Staff. For they co-exist, they co-operate, and the one without the other has no meaning or value—just because God is Infinite Love.

BOOK REVIEW.

THE BOOK OF THE OPENING OF THE RICE INSTITUTE. 3 vols. Houston, Texas. Pp. 1100.

The Rice Institute of Houston, Texas, has raised a stately and indeed a most worthy monument of its existence by publishing a three-volumed account of its opening ceremonies which constituted "an academic festival, held in celebration of the opening of the Rice Institute, a university of liberal and technical learning founded in the city of Houston, Texas, by William March Rice and dedicated by him to the advancement of letters, science and art." The first volume is adorned with two photogravure reproductions of portraits of the founder. The frontispiece is an ideal and sympathetic portrait of Mr. Rice when a young man, and the other shows the same features strengthened into maturity. Other inserts of this volume are facsimile engravings of the invitations issued and responses received from many universities and learned societies of Europe and America. It also contains a complete list of the delegates and the program of addresses, toasts and dedicatory exercises which constituted the opening exercises on October 10, 11 and 12, 1916. The other two volumes are devoted to the inaugural addresses on the fundamental sciences, the liberal humanities, and the advancement of modern learning presented at the Institute by its distinguished guests on the same occasion. These are accompanied by excellent photogravure portraits of Professors Altamiro y Crevea of Oviedo, Borel of Paris, De Vries of Amsterdam, Jones of Glasgow, Kikuchi of Tokyo, Mackail of Oxford, Ostwald of Leipsic, Ramsay of London, Störmer of Christiania, Volterria of Rome; also Benedetta Croce, editor of *La Critica*, and the late H. Poincaré of Paris. The volumes are crown octavo, buckram bound, and the composition and press-work by the De Vinne Press are almost perfect.

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The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

VOL. XXXII (No. 9)

SEPTEMBER, 1918

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THE GOSPEL OF BUDDHA

By

DR. PAUL CARUS

Pocket Edition. Illustrated. Cloth, \$1.00; flexible leather, \$1.50

This edition is a photographic reproduction of the *edition de luxe* which was printed in Leipsic in 1913 and ready for shipment in time to be caught by the embargo Great Britain put on all articles exported from Germany. Luckily two copies of the above edition escaped, and these were used to make the photographic reproduction of this latest edition. While the Buddhist Bible could not in any way be considered a contraband of war yet the publishers were forced to hold back many hundred orders for the book on account of orders in council of Great Britain.

When the book was first published His Majesty, the King of Siam, sent the following communication through his private secretary :

"Dear Sir : I am commanded by His Most Gracious Majesty, the King of Siam, to acknowledge, with many thanks, the receipt of your letter and the book, *The Gospel of Buddha*, which he esteems very much ; and he expresses his sincerest thanks for the very hard and difficult task of compilation you have considerably undertaken in the interest of our religion. I avail myself of this favorable opportunity to wish the book every success."

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ANATOLE FRANCE
FRENCH CRITIC AND NOVELIST

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A CHAPTER ON ANATOLE FRANCE.

BY LEWIS PIAGET SHANKS.

[On the following pages we give the first chapter of a book that we intend to publish soon, discussing the art and philosophy of Anatole France, the great French writer who is still known far too little in this country. To allow an estimate of what may be expected to follow we prefix portions of the "Foreword." Mr. Shanks, professor of Romanic languages and literatures in the University of Pennsylvania, could not be introduced better than by his own style, a style truly suited to convey some of the exquisite and noble impression, intangible in its essence, that we experience when alone with Anatole France himself.—Ed.]

[FROM THE FOREWORD.]

AMONG the would-be volunteers of 1914 was the virtual Dean of French letters, a man of seventy years. We were surprised, not at his age but at his transformation; for nearly twenty years he had preached pacifism, and the brotherhood of man. We were surprised because he was Anatole France. Yet scarcely twenty-five years before, this Radical was known as a skeptic, an intellectual hedonist, a dilettante; in 1889, no one could foresee the future dreamer of reform in the nihilistic pages of *Thaïs*. So his final heroic inconsistency is only a part of a greater problem, a single phase in a life's drama, whereby a skeptic and a pessimist developed into a man of action.

... The story of an intellectual Odyssey, this book was prompted by the same optimism as the modern traveler's log. In most books of travel the best things are the illustrations. So with quotations in biography or criticism—prudence no less than reverence requires them. Moreover, even the temptation of a ready camera is less than the desire to translate—to attempt a translation of Anatole France, a perpetual challenge despite the quality of one's results. To quote wherever possible, to condense and still quote, and to strive to set one's mosaic in a surface not absolutely disparate is of course a bit presumptuous; but how else could one present a writer

so personal, whose thoughts and impressions and memories are day by day woven into his work?

With such a literary Proteus, no stippled portrait is worth a series of sketches. One must tell the history of his ideas—the story of his mind's development. So, beginning with his heredity and early environment, we follow the poet and thinker through his first imaginative enthusiasm for science, until his belief in her dies away in skepticism and he returns to the world of poetry and art. After this conflict of youthful illusions, when a victorious intellect has rejected the faith and effort which its philosophy finds vain, comes the second phase: content now to enjoy his own talents without attempting to coordinate them to any principle but style, the erst-while Darwinian develops his skepticism philosophically in order to range more freely in the galleries of the Past. This is Anatole France in his forties, dilettante and disciple of the later Renan. But he wearies in the Palace of Art, grows sick of self and eager for a stronger draught of reality. Hence the descent into the arena, provoked by the Dreyfus affair and the corruption of French politics: the idealist, the man of heart and imagination now dominates the *intellectuel*. Then comes the reaction, after less than a decade of contact with life—when the student realizes that man is not the reasonable creature he had imagined, but a selfish animal, bound by inertia and hostile to reform; and the genial irony of his forties turns to satire, ending in the sneer of a cynic who can only caricature humanity. Anatole France is then an idealist turned inside out by life, an inverted idealist like Swift in his last phase, distilling acid sarcasm until again he is swept from philosophy into action by the world-war....

[THE FIRST CHAPTER.]

"The first idea which I got of the universe," says Anatole France in *Pierre Nozière*, "came to me from my old pictorial Bible. It was a series of seventeenth-century woodcuts, with a Garden of Eden fresh and fertile as a Lowland landscape.... Every evening, under the lamp, I would turn its ancient leaves, until sleep, the delicious sleep of childhood, carried me off in its warm shadows, and the patriarchs, the apostles, and the lace-decked ladies lived on through my dreams their supernatural lives. My Bible had become for me the most vivid reality, and to it I strove to conform my universe."

His universe at that time was the sleepy old Quai Malaquais. There, in the heart of Paris, Anatole France was born, the six-

teenth of April, 1844; and his baby eyes first opened on the Seine and the Louvre, the Cité and the carven towers of Notre Dame. But the universe grows with the growing legs of its children. At five, this little world extended from the Rue Bonaparte to the Ile Saint-Louis, and the "River of Glory," which he followed every day with his nurse, gave him back the Noah's Ark of his Bible in the floating baths of La Samaritaine. To the east, beyond the Pont d'Austerlitz, he saw in imagination the mysterious realms of the Scriptures, and the Jardin des Plantes was clearly the Garden of Eden, for hadn't his mother told him that Eden was a garden with trees and all the animals of the Creation?

So at least we read in *Pierre Nozière*. Here, in the exquisite *Livre de mon Ami*, and in *Le petit Pierre*, now publishing in the *Revue de Paris*, is set down a man's story of the boy that he was; and if sentiment in an ironist is an index of candor, these books contain as much truth as poetry. For theirs is no mere symbolic truth, transformed by time and the artistic temperament.¹ Real memories alone could yield pages so charming, so significant; not one but reveals the future poet, already living in his world of dreams.

"My cosmography," he says in *Pierre Nozière*, "my cosmography was immense. I held the Quai Malaquais, where my room was, to be the center of the world. The green bedroom, in which my mother put my little bed next her own, I looked upon as the point on which Heaven shed its rays and graces, as you may see in the pictures of the saints. And these four walls, so familiar to me, were filled with mystery none the less.

"At night in my cot-bed, I used to see strange faces, and all at once the warm and cozy bedroom, lit by the last dying gleams of the fireplace, would open wide to the invasion of the supernatural world.

"Legions of horned devils danced their rounds; then, slowly, a lady of black marble passed by, weeping, and it was only later that I found out that these hobgoblins were dancing in my brain....

"According to my system, in which you must recognize that candor which gives to primitive cosmogonies their charm, the earth

¹ Confirmation of this may be found in a letter of Anatole France to a man of letters, reproduced in François Carez's *Auteurs Contemporains* (p. 82): "Je vous confie que tout ce qui, dans ce volume (*le Livre de mon Ami*), concerne le petit Nozière, forme un récit exact de mon enfance, sous cette réserve que mon père était non médecin mais libraire sur le quai Voltaire et que les choses domestiques étaient plus étroites et plus humbles chez nous qu'elles ne sont chez un petit médecin de quartier. Le caractère de mon père n'est pas moins conservé dans celui du docteur Nozière. Mon père est devenu un homme instruit, presque savant, à la fin de sa vie."

formed a large circle around my house. Every day I would meet, coming and going in the streets, people who seemed occupied with a strange and amusing game, the game of life. I decided that there were a great many of them, perhaps more than a hundred.

"I did not think that they were under absolutely fortunate influences, sheltered like myself from all anxiety. To tell the truth, I did not think that they were as real as I was; I was not absolutely sure that they were real people, and when from my window I saw them pass, very tiny, over the Pont des Arts, they seemed to me playthings rather than persons, so that I was almost as happy as the boy-giant in the fairy-tale, who sat on a mountain and played with trees and cabins, cows and sheep, shepherds and shepherd-girls."

Such in embryo is the creative vision, the artist's vision. It is certainly no ordinary stock which produced this dreamy, imaginative boy. An only son, born in his father's fortieth year, Jacques-Anatole Thibault owes to that father much more than the famous pseudonym. Noël Thibault too was a man of letters and a lover of the past. "France, libraire," for thus he signed his articles on bibliography, kept a book-shop at 9 Quai Malaquais, in the fine old building so long occupied by his successor Champion. A Royalist, devoutly Catholic, a Vendéen in origins and in every sympathy, he had served in the body-guard of Charles X, and he loved the *ancien régime* as he hated the Revolution.² Originally from Anjou, Noël Thibault had all the proverbial gentleness of the Angevin; he is depicted for us in Sylvestre Bonnard's memories of his father, ironical, indulgent, disillusioned: "il était fatigué, et il aimait sa fatigue."

The serenity of the Anjou country, with its placid rivers and its rolling hills—*la douceur angevine*—thus finds a reflection in the artist and his art. Yet if Anatole France shows this regional type in its amenity, he has no less the Angevin shrewdness and irony. Every lover of Taine's theory must rejoice in France's reminiscences of his grandmother, neither Royalist nor pious, but keen-witted, practical, and pagan, a very disciple of Voltaire. "She had no more piety than a bird," says her grandson: "she clearly belonged to the eighteenth century." Significant, too, is her prediction that the boy Anatole would be "a very different man from his father."

Grand'mère was right. The child had more than distinction of intellect, a much greater gift than his father's sterile scholarship. He had the creative vitality, the exuberance of fancy and imagina-

² Yet no one knew that period better, as his learned bibliography shows.

tion which alone makes the artist. Like the old Bible, this came to him from his mother, from the merry, active, beauty-loving mother whom we know so well in these books of her son. Naive, mystic, candidly religious, like the true daughter of Bruges that she was, she used to read to him the Lives of the Saints, and the charm of the old stories "filled the soul of the child with wonderment and love." A dreamer already, he felt profoundly the mystic poetry of religious legend; his first hope of military glory gave way to a dream of sainthood, and he lived out the sacred stories with all the seriousness of real experience. His refusal to eat, his distribution of coppers and toys to the poor, his attempt to make a hair shirt from the wiry cover of an old armchair, and the whipping he received from an inconsiderate maid, are related with inimitable grace and irony in the eighth chapter of *Le Livre de mon Ami*: finally, "the difficulty of practising sainthood in family life" made him resolve to seek a hermitage in the Jardin des Plantes. There, on the morrow, he would live alone with all the animals of the Creation; there he would see, like Saint Anthony, the faun and the centaur, and perhaps the angels would visit him beneath the Cedar of Lebanon, on the hill where, in imagination, he saw "God the Father with his white beard and his blue robe, with arms outstretched to bless him, beside the antelope and the gazelle." But when the future author of *Thaïs* confides this plan to his mother as she combs his hair, and she asks him why he wants to be a hermit, it becomes plain that his dream of glory is not the glory of the saints:—"I want to be famous," he replies, "and put on my visiting-cards 'Hermit and Saint of the Calendar,' just as papa puts on his: 'Laureate of the Academy of Medicine.'"

True or apocryphal, this ended his ascetic projects—less successful even than the boyish prank of Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, who actually put a similar plan into execution. After all there were other things to interest him, prisoned as he was in the solitary visionary life of an only child. "It was not large, that life of mine," he tells us, "but it was a life, that is, the center of things, the middle of the world." The very opening of his mother's closets, piled high with mysterious forbidden boxes, filled him with poetic curiosity. He had his playthings—and the playthings of his dreams. He wondered at "the number of lines and faces that could be got out of a pencil." He felt, too, the charm of flowers, of perfumes, the delights of food and dress. But what he loved most, he confesses, more than any of these things, was everything together, the house, the air, the light, the life of his very downy nest. After all, the

practice of asceticism might have been hard for this young Epicurean.

Not a desert cave, but a desk and a library, is the proper stage for a poet's seclusion. And to such things the future writer turned instinctively. "I lived with my books," he tells us, "my pictures, my paste-pot, my color boxes, and all the belongings of a bright yet delicate boy, already sedentary, naively initiating himself by his toys into that feeling for form and color, the source of so much pain and so much joy. Already I had a bent toward desk work, a love of pictures cut out patiently by the evening lamp, a profound feeling for things pictorial. I have never needed, even in my early years, to possess things in order to enjoy them." This is the future biographer of Sylvestre Bonnard and the Maid of France.

Given such a nature, a boy needs only a hero to shape a definite ideal. The hero appeared in the person of a collector, a hero of the desk and the card-catalogue. Clad in flowered dressing-gown and nightcap, this old scholar, immortalized under the name of Monsieur Le Beau, passed his days cataloguing books and medals in a house packed to the roof with curiosities. So Anatole, at ten, "thought it finer to make card-catalogues than to win battles. He would catalogue, and I, with eyes wide open and bated breath, would admire him. I did not imagine that there could be any finer business to give one's life to. But I was mistaken. A printer was found to print the catalogue of old Le Beau, and then I saw my friend correcting the proofs. He would put mysterious signs on the margins of the leaves. Then I understood that this was the finest occupation in the world, and I promised myself that I too would some day have my proof-sheets to revise."

The famous dressing-gown of the disciple is of gray frieze, his cap of red velvet, and the proof-sheets have come, so numerous that all the first delight—a veritable justification of the universe—has long since passed away. And it is not hard to see how the old antiquary, in his house piled with all the flotsam of time, set the example of intellectual curiosity and patient scholarship that even a poet needs to see clearly into the labyrinth of the Past. To such an example, possibly, is due the Life of Joan of Arc; but the reader wonders in vain who was this Monsieur le Beau, the collector who lives in art by his kindness to a lonely child.

Was he his father, the booklover and bibliographer of the Quai Malaquais? After all a father is a boy's first hero, and a father's trade his first dream of his own. Or was he one of his father's patrons, "le bibliophile Jacob" or the collector Marmier, met in the

quiet old shop where the boy "played with dumpy duodecimos as with dolls"? In any case one must not forget the bookstore—a second nursery in which he grew up, surrounded by the motley ranks of an ever-changing library. Here it was that he got his first notions of history and society, from books and from the conversations of his father and his father's friends—a memory which he used later in picturing the book-shop of Paillot; and as the patrons of this old Royalist were mostly Royalists too, *ci-devant* aristocrats and conservatives, their remarks on the Revolution could not fail to influence the future author of *Les Dieux ont Soif*. It is easy to imagine them—some of the older ones, perhaps, wearing the high neck-cloths and tight trousers Daumier loved to draw, wholly unmindful of the shy little lad reading in the corner; but it was for him that they talked, after all. Disciples of Voltaire, they were the first to show him, in their endless arguments, the multiplicity of Truth.

Thus the old bookstore by the Seine became the nursery of a genius. In ludicrous contrast, we have the picture of his first school, a "highly recommended" establishment of the Faubourg Saint-Germain. There, in a room full of mischief-loving youngsters presided over by an absent-minded spinster, he made acquaintance with the world of human society, discovered the practical life and found his first friend in a boy who taught him to raise silkworms in his desk. There, too, the charms of poetry were revealed to him, when the melancholy schoolmistress read to the class her melancholy ballad "Pauvre Jeanne." The tears which he shed on that occasion brought him not the cross of honor, but the vision of that beauty which rhyme and rhythm give.

Practical education, however, was not to be gained here. After copying for six weeks the same line of poetry, the boy was withdrawn from the *pension* by his dissatisfied parents. Although not rich, they now chose for him the Collège Stanislas, an expensive and aristocratic school directed by Jesuits. At Stanislas, "un vieux collègue un peu monacal," he came under the instruction of ecclesiastics, learned the poetry that legend and ritual inspire. Esthetically the priesthood may well have had its moment of attraction for him. He may have lived in sympathy the episode of young Piedagnel in *L'Orme du Mail*. At all events the Church gave him her best for his intellectual training; like Jules Lemaitre, he enjoyed the discipline which perfected the mind of Renan. "In the Temple," said the good Abbé Jérôme Coignard, "were forged the hammers which destroyed the Temple."

Nor must we forget, in his education, the inestimable influence of Paris. To such a boy, responsive to the pictorial, to the charm of the past, the chance of living in the City of Light was a veritable godsend. "It does not seem to me possible," he modestly affirms, "for a man to have an absolutely commonplace turn of mind, if he has been brought up on the quays of Paris, opposite the Louvre and the Tuileries, and facing the glorious Seine, which runs amidst the belfries and towers and spires of Old Paris.... There, the book-stalls, the curiosity shops and the old print stores display the most beautiful products of art and the most interesting tokens of the Past. Every shop-window is an attraction for the eyes and the intellect: the passer-by who knows how to see always carries away some thought, as the bird flies off with a bit of straw for its nest."

When Anatole France was a boy, this quarter was even richer in atmosphere than it is to-day. Old prints, old paintings, old books, old furniture—every foot of the quays was full of them. Carved credence-tables, flowered Japanese vases, bits of enamel, faïence, brocaded stuffs, and figured tapestries served to illustrate the old books lying so invitingly open: the famous curiosity shop described in Balzac's *Peau de Chagrin* shows what these places used to be. This larger school Anatole France knew before he ceased to wear short trousers and embroidered collars; "when we went to the Tuileries Gardens on holidays, we used to pass along this learned Quai Voltaire, and as we walked, hoop in hand and ball in pocket, we used to look into the shop-windows just like the old gentlemen, and form our own ideas on all these strange things which had come down from the Past, from the mysterious Past."

Add to these his daily journeys, first along the quays, then down that fascinating Rue Bonaparte which takes one past an endless row of curio-shops to the Luxembourg gardens and the Collège Stanislas situated in the Rue Notre-Dame des Champs. Every day he saw the shop-windows, greeted the white statues of the gardens gleaming against their fernlike background of trees, felt all the multifarious life of Old Paris. So the streets gave him his first understanding of the world. Here he saw the milkwomen, the water-carriers, the coal-heavers at their tasks, and learned the law of cheerful labor which Paris teaches in every shop and alley. Like Coppée, he loved this humble Paris, only he loved it still as a spectator. It was all a part of his vision of the universe, a poet's vision, destined to be engraven in pages expressive as a Whistler etching, pages discreetly evocative of the Paris that we love.

He learned, in fine, that busy idling which separates the artist

from the scholar. And even in school he retained the same discursive spirit: he was constantly reprimanded for his devotion to interests "extraneous to the class." Yet he was a good student, particularly in the Humanities. "You may call me an aristocrat or a mandarin, but I believe that six or seven years of literary culture give to the mind prepared to receive it a nobility, a force and beauty which is not to be obtained by other means."

At Stanislas Anatole France received this literary training. And he was prepared for it. Already Livy set him to dreaming. When his old Jesuit Latin master read the sentence "The remnants of the Roman army reached Canusium through the favor of the night," he would see "passing silently in the moonlight, over the naked plain and the long road flanked with tombs, livid faces, foul with blood and dust, battered helmets, wrenched and tarnished breast-plates, broken swords." And by that vision we may know that Anatole France was already old enough to feel the grandeur that was Rome.

"Then it was Virgil, and then Homer. I saw Thetis rising like a white cloud from the sea, I saw Nausicaa and her companions, and the palm-tree of Delos, and the sky and the earth of the sea, and the tearful smile of Andromache.... And I understood it, I felt it. For six months I could not leave the Odyssey.... I was with Ulysses on the wine-dark sea. Then I discovered the tragic poets. Sophocles, Euripides, opened to me the enchanted world of heroes, initiated me into the poetry of woe. At each tragedy that I read, there were new joys, tears, and thrills unknown till then.

"Alcestis and Antigone gave me the noblest dreams that ever boy did dream. Bent over my dictionary, above my ink-bespattered desk, I would see divine figures, arms of ivory drooping over white tunics, and hear voices sweeter than the sweetest music, lamenting in harmony."

So Anatole France found in a Jesuit college the Greek beauty, the Vision of Life which he gives back to us, still dominant in the many-textured web of a world-old culture. That beauty, that ideal, he never ceased to cultivate, to worship: his favorite poets are still the poets of the pagan world. No lover of his well-nigh perfect prose, candid and full of charms as only a Grecian could create, but will exclaim, as he does in one of his early novels: "O Athens, city ever to be revered, if thou hadst never existed, the world would not yet know what beauty is!"

THE NORTHERN ORIGIN OF THE STORY OF TROY.

ATTESTED BY THE PITCHER OF TRAGLIATELLA.

Translated from the German of Carus Sterne.

II. *The Pitcher of Tragliatella*.*

HOWEVER purely logical and free from any straining of the facts my explanation of the northern origin of the legend of Troy and of its connection with the Troy Towns had been, I harbored no delusion that I should convert by it the philologists who regard themselves as the professional guardians of the scientific investigation of legends. For at most these gentlemen, inhospitable to the arguments of natural science, would probably have spoken of "another figment of fancy" the justification for which still remained to be demonstrated. However, a chance accident for which I never should have dared to hope, permits me to refute my opponents who had made such great sport of my mad whim to seek Troy in the North, on their own ground, my weapon being an archeological discovery unique in its kind. Since a number of my propositions in the *Trojaburgen* are so convincingly confirmed by this witness, first described twelve years ago, that it might seem as if I had already had knowledge of it, it will not be beside the mark to indicate in a few lines how, perhaps two months ago, I became acquainted with it.

Immediately after the publication of the *Trojaburgen*, Prof. R. von Kaufmann, of Berlin, did me the kindness of sending me the reprint of a lecture which he had given on June 18, 1892, before the Anthropological Society of Berlin upon the model of the Egyptian labyrinth which he had discovered. In this lecture, which had recently appeared in the transactions of that society (pp. 302-309), reference was made to my earlier publications on the Troy Towns, and at the same time it was observed that, besides Krause [Carus Sterne], Bendorf had proven the connection of northern Troy Towns with the Play of Troy of the Romans, basing his argument on ancient vase-paintings. It can be imagined how eagerly I went on the hunt for this treatise. But neither could Professor von Kaufmann give his source more exactly, nor was the name spelled correctly, and as a matter of fact, the exposition, which was from the

* The first part appeared in *The Open Court* for August, 1918, pp. 449ff.

pen of the famous archeologist Otto Bendorf of Vienna, was buried in an academic treatise not even bearing his name on the title-page;¹ so I owed it to blind chance that I finally was fortunate enough to find it after going to much trouble in vain.

The treatise has reference to an ancient Etruscan earthen pitcher, found together with other objects, as it seems as early as 1877, on old Etruscan soil near Tragliatella, an estate of M. Tommasi Tittoni situated between Palidoro and Bracciano Lake some miles from Rome. Because of its pictures and inscriptions, which are produced by scratching (*sgraffito*), this pitcher certainly is to be classed with the most remarkable discoveries ever made on Italian soil. In 1881 it fell into the hands of two archeologists of standing: Helbig² who interpreted its pictures and artistic value, and Deecke³ who explained its inscriptions.

Both came to the conclusion that they were dealing with one of the oldest vessels made on Italian soil after Greek models, assigning the sixth or seventh century B. C. as the date of its production. Common as Etruscan inscriptions are on mirrors, gems, and scarabs, scholars were up to that time acquainted with only ten terra-cotta vessels exhibiting anything of the kind, and, to quote Deecke, "the painted pitcher of Tragliatella, of oldest Etruscan make, adorned with four, to be sure, very short Etruscan inscriptions, is without doubt by far the most important of all, not only because it indicates the introduction of Greek myths into Tuscany in very remote times, but also because it appreciably increases our knowledge of the Etruscan language."

This pitcher, about ten inches high, is decorated by figures cut into four bands, each having a different ground-color. They are dashed on rather clumsily, and we shall occupy ourselves only with those covering the broad band running around the bulkiest portion of the pitcher, for the other bands



THE PITCHER OF
TRAGLIATELLA.

¹ Max Büdinger, "Die römischen Spiele und der Patriciat." *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philos.-histor. Klasse*, Vol. CXXIII, pp. 47-55. Vienna, 1891.

² *Bulletino dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza archeologica*, No. 3, pp. 65ff. (April, 1881.)

³ *Annali dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza archeologica*, Vol. LIII, p. 160. (1881.)

contain representations of animals and simple scenes such as occur with considerable frequency on other vases of Chalcidian origin, added probably with no other purpose but to embellish and to fill space. On the other hand, the main band evidently contains nothing but scenes of a connected myth of Italian, or let us merely say, of non-Greek local color. Among them our attention is attracted especially by one placed on the middle of the one side of the pitcher, the representation of a Troy Town which resembles, as we easily recognize, in all essentials the Cretan labyrinth appearing on old coins of the city of Knossos. However, such Cretan coins with a labyrinth on them formed of curved lines ingeniously arranged, do not go back beyond the fourth century B. C., while the design here under discussion is, according to Helbig and Deecke, two or three hundred years older.

The most remarkable feature is that this design does not seem to be influenced at all by the legend of the Cretan labyrinth, for in the outermost curve of the labyrinth the word *truia* = Troy is cut from right to left in letters of the oldest Italian alphabet, which is according to Deecke probably of Chalcidian origin. That the Etruscans wrote *truia* instead of *Troia* is confirmed also by other inscriptions belonging to pictures from the Trojan epic cycle; accordingly Deecke interpreted the design quite vaguely as the plan of a city (*una pianta di città*), and Helbig, too, was in doubt whether the city of Troy or the Troy Play of the Italians was in question. Bendorff was the first to believe in the necessity of recognizing here the oldest document on the Troy Play of the Italians, which until then had been traced back only to the time of Sulla (see *Troja-burgen*, p. 258). We shall not discuss whether in this Bendorff is not going a step too far, for in my opinion both inscription and design evidence nothing but what I asserted before, that the Roman Play of Troy "had developed from an ancient, patently religious labyrinthian dance of the early inhabitants of the land" (*Troja-burgen*, p. 250). From this we gather with certainty that originally in Italy just as in Scandinavia and England it was not the dance or the game but rather the labyrinth that was called Troy.

This is a fact of quite unusual significance and I beg those of my kind opponents from the philological camp who regard my proposition as not entirely unworthy of notice to submit what I now have to say to careful scrutiny. No Roman antiquary, neither Varro, nor Cato, nor Cicero, nor any one of the many authors who have left reports on the Troy Play, not even Suetonius, who had written a special book on the games of Roman youth, could have

known the fact that the labyrinth in which the time-honored spring dance was performed was called Troy in ancient Italy too. Or else Pliny, who speaks of Italian labyrinths in the fields, would surely have mentioned it and neither Servius, interpreter of Virgil, nor Festus, nor other scholars drawing their information from still plentiful sources, would have cudged their brains for an explanation of the words *troare* and *antroare* appearing in the old Salian song (*Trojaburgen*, p. 255). It is also quite easily explained that this name was more or less intentionally allowed to lapse into oblivion at an early date, for otherwise a Trojan origin obviously could not have been assigned to the Troy Play. Besides, there were just as few reminiscences of the old labyrinth name Troy preserved in Crete. Accordingly it seems extremely conjectural to assume with Wilhelm Meyer or Bendorf that the Romans might have carried to England and Scandinavia a name for a design which they had absolutely forgotten in its original significance even before the beginning of our era. Here again we are rather confronted by the same problem which I discussed in *Trojaburgen* (pp. 266ff.) in reference to the legends of Gotland and Delos: the transfer could only have taken place in prehistoric times.

Now it may be figured that the Troy Play itself was transplanted by the Romans to England and Scandinavia and that the labyrinths of the North in turn were called Troy as formerly in Italy by a sort of mystical process—which causes an idea to be spread like an infectious disease, by a carrier who himself is not affected in the least. All we know is that the Troy Play swiftly fell into obscurity even among the Romans as soon as the clan of “Trojan” Cæsars and patricians died out; the play was probably also produced later, but no longer under that name, it was simply called a *pyrrhiche*. Nor has any ancient writer left an account of the ancient Troy Plays being mapped out on the ground, which would at least have been done in case such a plan had still borne its striking name in the memory of the people, a name not belonging to those easily forgotten.

On the other hand, the fact calls for consideration that the name Troy attaches in the North to hundreds of labyrinthine constructions which are spread from the shores of the Atlantic Ocean northward as far as Iceland, and eastward far into the interior of Russia. We find it further in England joined to the more than a thousand similar stone sculptures which certainly extend back beyond Roman times, most probably deep into the bronze age. If we consider further that the word can be explained just as well from

the Germanic as from the Romance languages (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 11-12), does it not sound monstrous that one should want to derive an appellation which occurs a hundred times in the North, from Italy where it could with great difficulty be documented but once? Will a land in which one lion is met escaped from a circus be regarded as the home of the lion, or not rather that in which great numbers of the animal occur? An additional point is this, that in a region of northern Europe bounded by almost exactly the same meridians, the same extremely peculiar moon-shaped forms of bronze razors are found as in pre-Etruscan Italy, the same funerary urns of clay, which appear nowhere else in the world, in the shape of ancient Germanic houses (house-urns), the same habits and customs in Saxony and Alba Longa. But that labyrinths belong to a cult originating in the North, that accordingly they must have wandered to the South, if they occur in the South, I think I have already made sufficiently probable in the preceding pages.



RIDERS COMING OUT OF THE "TROJABURG."

After *Jahrbücher d. röm. Inst.*, Vol. LIII, plate L.

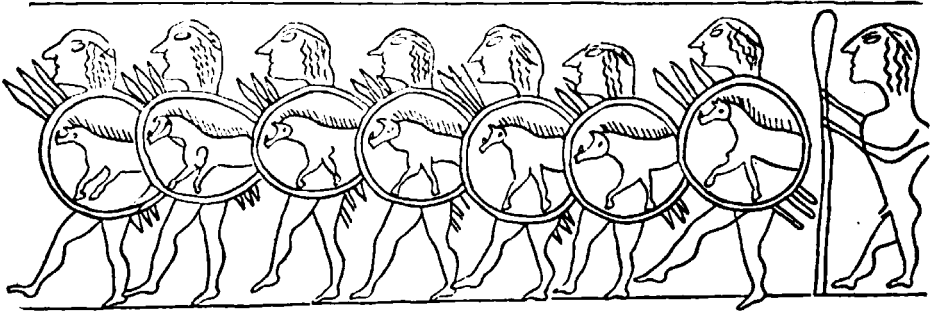
Let us go further in our examination of the pictures on the pitcher. First, two figures on horseback are seen coming out of the labyrinth—or at least we may assume that they are proceeding from it, since the tail of the rear horse is still within the convolutions of the Troy Town. With reference to the representation of the labyrinth dance similarly arranged, in Homer's description, by Hephæstus on the shield of Achilles alongside of the place of the dance, Bendorf says, with tasteful acumen, "the primitive artist takes apart what he cannot dispose of at once and render comprehensible as a whole. Assyrian reliefs indicate the departure from a city by a series of figures proceeding from an outline of the city; they transfer scenes which occur inside of a tent to a place in front of, or alongside of it; they arrange objects above one another which are to be regarded as in perspective, and so on." In a fashion,

according to Bendorf, similar to our picture Homer had Hephæstus, in the passage also cited by me (*Trojaburgen*, p. 264), first represent the dancing place (*choros*) of Dædalus, i. e., the labyrinth, and then the dancers, who really should have been represented as dancing in the labyrinth, alongside of it. While I had formed exactly the same opinion of that passage in Homer after the example of O. Müller, Welcker, Preller, and Petersen, and agree completely with Bendorf's explanation of the alongside instead of an inside, I can yet not subscribe to his view that the two riding figures of the pitcher pointed to the Troy Play of the Roman youth.

To be sure it may be treated as a mere surmise when I say that I prefer to see in the two riding figures the northern fairy-tale scene of the rescue of the maiden from the labyrinth. For we shall immediately see that seven or eight players on foot dance ahead of these two figures; therefore they are not to be thought of as any different from the single player or players on horseback in the English Morris Dance (*Trojaburgen*, p. 241). It seems to me that the first of the two riders is rather meant to be a woman, viz., the rescued maiden whom her rescuer has seated on the miraculous horse of her incarcerator. It should be noticed that this first figure carries no spear, although it is armed with a shield, and is thereby strikingly different from all the rest of the nine players. In the matter of hair-dress, the two sexes in the pictures on this pitcher are practically not differentiated, only in the case of the two figures on horseback is the first one distinguished by longer hair. The animal which sits behind the supposed female rider on the horse and which Helbig calls an ape—we might just as well call it a dog!—must not be overlooked. It is reminiscent of the faithful animals which assist the dragon-slayer in the liberation of the maiden. (Comp. *Trojaburgen*, pp. 153-154, and *The Open Court*, August, 1918, p. 466.) There are sketches of birds on the shields of the two riding figures—Helbig calls them water-fowls, on account of their webfeet and long bills—and in the stories of the dragon-slayer a bird often plays a great role, both in the old fairy-tale and in the Sigurd songs. In contradistinction to the dancers who carry three spears, the knight is armed with only one, the same which he plunged into the throat of the dragon; his long-legged horse is probably the miraculous horse which carried him over the walls of the labyrinth.

The already mentioned group of dancers consisting of seven beardless youths without helmets and greaves (and probably to be thought of as clad only with a waist-cloth) precede the riding figures

in dance-step. Each of these carries three spears and a round shield distinguished by the image of a wild boar; their hair is held together by a narrow ribbon which in Rome was long the distinguishing mark of a priest. The interpretation is obvious that these dancers, like the riders, come dancing out of the labyrinth, moving in labyrinthine lines. They suggest at once the Salian sodality of ancient Rome which, increased to twelve members, performed the Troy Play at the solemn inauguration of spring in March. In this they resembled completely the Germanic sword dancers described by Tacitus, who performed their spring dance in Germany, England, and Scandinavia up to recent centuries and, partly, even up to our own day. (See chapter on "The Armed Dances of Germanic Tribes," *Trojaburgen*, pp. 236-247.) Tacitus says in regard to the Germanic youths that they performed the sword dance naked; in



GROUP OF SEVEN DANCERS.

After plate L of *Jahrbücher d. archäol. Inst.*, 1881.

later days the Salians received an official priestly garb with bright-colored tunic, bronze belt, scarlet-edged toga, and a tall pointed hat or helmet; nevertheless I am still attached to my opinion, expressed in the chapter "Troy Play and Salian Dance" (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 247-262), that there resulted from the armed dance of the earliest inhabitants, first, the Salian Dance, and only from this the Troy Play with riders on horseback. The two mounted figures among the dancers, which may anyhow be regarded as the nucleus of the Troy Play, have no weight against this interpretation; for clear into the nineteenth century the hobby-horse was never permitted to be lacking at the English spring sword dance (*Trojaburgen*, p. 241), and why not, since it had to represent the vaulting horse which bore the dragon-slayer over the nine walls of the Troy Town.

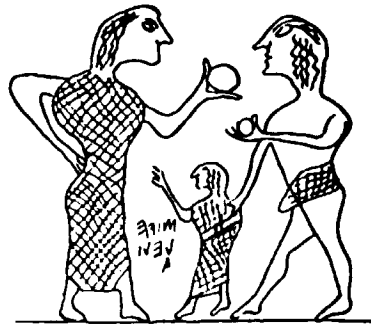
Boars as shield-ornaments of the dancers seem to be very significant. We know that the boar was regarded as a symbol

of victory by the north Aryan peoples, especially by Kelts, Anglo-Saxons, and Æstui. Hence they used pictures of the boar on their shields, heads of boars on their helmets, and boars on their standards. These appear on the coins of the Aedui and on the Triumphal Arch of Orange (*Tuiskoland*, p. 234). The custom also applies to the ancient Persians, and in Zend texts victory (*verethraghna*) is repeatedly personified in the form of an immense boar, armed with sharp hoofs and tusks (Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 277). This is especially true in the case of the mythical victory of Indra over the sun's ravisher, and the name of the Persian Siegfried, Verethrana, signifies "conqueror of Vritra." So in the North, the boar remained an animal sacred to Freya and Freyr, Freya being represented as riding on a boar. We no longer find the figure of the boar conceived of in this way as a symbol of victory among the later Romans, and even while Pliny (*Histor. natur.*, X, 4, 5) tells that in earlier times wolf, Minotaur, horse, and boar were borne, along with the eagle, as standards before the legions, he yet adds that Gaius Marius already made the eagle the sole standard during his second consulship.

After the dancers a stark naked man, taking no part in the dance, steps sedately along, holding grasped in both hands like a support a long staff, taller than himself. Helbig claims he is bearing a lance, in which case he might be regarded as the leader of the dance who holds aloft the great staff like a herald's staff. But in addition to the fact that such a man would probably appear at the head of the procession and not lacking a shield, the staff seems to me more like a club or an uprooted tree-trunk, characteristic of a giant. Now it is known that, at the close of the old Salian song which was sung in accompaniment to the dance, the old smith Mamurius who, like Dædalus in Crete, was said to have invented the dance and to have forged the shields, was first invoked and then beaten out of the city of Rome with staves, peeled white. This is a ceremony which took place exactly in the same way in the northern spring festival, it being a case of the winter demon who had kept the sun maiden so long concealed and who is now beaten and expelled (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 112-114 and 241-247). Therefore he walks like a prisoner in the procession between the dancing spear-bearers and the liberator of the maiden.

Next we find a scene placed before the dance, which again suggests that in these portrayals we are treated to the ancient Italian conception of the legend of Troy. A woman, clad in a plaid chiton, stands opposite to a man, clad only with the waist-cloth, and offers

him a round object; another explanation would be that she has exchanged it for a similar round object in the left of the young man, whose other hand is placed on the shoulder of a young girl likewise clad in the chiton. The concluding scene of the Judgment of Paris would have been recognized in this, even if the words *mi felena*, i. e., "I am" or "this is Helen," written backward in the oldest Italian alphabet, were not put alongside of the little figure of Helen. That Helen is represented on a reduced scale might be interpreted as an expedient of the primitive artist's similar to that of the juxtaposition of Troy Town and dancers discussed above, namely, as the execution of the artist's desire to represent at once Paris handing the apple to Venus and her promising him in return the possession of the most beautiful woman, Helen being shown here in reducing distance. According to that, one would think that the Italian potter had found a picture of the Judgment of Paris on a



SO-CALLED JUDGMENT OF PARIS OF THE PITCHER.

Greek vase and tried, in his fashion, to incorporate, and find a place for, it in the picture cycle of the old Italian legend of Troy. I shall only briefly mention that there are alongside these two grown-up persons two inscriptions, which are here omitted; they have no mythological significance, running in Deecke's translation, "this (pitcher) was made by Amno" and "this (pitcher) was presented by Ateia."

But if the making of the pitcher really goes back to the seventh century B. C., it would not be free from objection to expect here a representation of the Judgment of Paris which is regarded as a later interpolation where it appears in the *Iliad*, and is thought to be an invention only of the so-called Cyprians. The reciprocal handing of a round object suggests the rolling ball of Yaga Baba in the Russian legends of the dragon-slayer, by which the hero is led to the prison with the nine walls, enclosing the maiden (*Troja-burgen*, p. 145). There is another possibility that we have before

us the original form of the southern legend, from which the legend of Helen as well as the story of Ariadne are derived. If we recall the above mentioned story that Theseus abducted Helen, then the young man of the picture could also be Theseus to whom Athene-Ariadne hands the clue with which he is to lead Helen out of the Troy Town. To be sure, we know that Athene was really herself the imprisoned goddess locked up in the Troy Town who favored Diomedes for carrying off her statue, just as she had formerly assisted Jason, Perseus, and Theseus in similar heroic deeds (*Troja-burgen*, p. 279). We shall return to this question presently when more minutely examining the inscription.

The very archaic form of the word *Velena* opens up similar vistas into a primeval history of the story of Helen. I can give these only with great reserve, since they belong to a linguistic field which lies pretty far beyond my province, yet I do not care to ignore them, since they may possibly throw a new light upon this cycle of legends hitherto so obscure. But let us first listen to Deecke's impression of the age of this form of the word: "The form *Velena*," he says, "corresponding exactly to the Greek *φελένα* in the *Etymologicum Magnum* and the Latin *Velena* on a cist of Palestrina surpasses all other Etruscan forms of this name, like *Vilenu*, *Elina*, *Helenaia*, *Elinai*, *Elinei* in correctness and originality, as is consonant with the assumed antiquity of the vessel." The usual derivation of the name *Helena* has been from the old Aryan *svar* or the Greek *felein*, "to beam," "to shine," being brought in connection with Greek *helane* (*selaine*), "the torch," and since we see in *Helen* the sun maiden, this derivation would be so much the more satisfactory for our views, since the solar disk is called *svalinn* in the Edda. But Curtius regards this derivation as pretty questionable and denies any relationship between *Helios* and *Helena*. Therefore it is probably in order to suggest a possible connection with the ancient root *var-*, *val-*, *vel-* (in which the initial letter is to be regarded as digamma or the half-vowel *u*, English *w*), denoting "to curve," "include," "surround," the source of Sanskrit *vara* "garden," *vara-yami* "I enclose" or "fence in," *apa-var* "to open," Lithuanian *at-verti* "to open," *su-verti* "to close," Greek *elyo*, *eilyo*, *eileo* "I wind," "envelope," "involve," "enclose," *eilar* "fence," *elinos* "vine," *amp-elos* "the entwiner" (grape-vine), *helike* "snail," etc., Latin *volvo*, *voluto*, "I wind" or "roll," *voluta* "the spiral"; Gothic *walwjan*, Old High German *wellan* "to roll." Curtius wished to make this root into two of the same form, the one of which was to mean merely "to wind," "wrap," the second "to include," "bind"; but it is evidently one and

the same conception whether I wrap twine about a person or thing, immure him, or enclose him even to the point of casting him in fetters.

Now, however, the identical root seems to be contained in the names of the old gods of fire and forging who in the northern sun myth immure or fetter the sun-goddess, i. e., in Varuna, Valas, or Valand, to which may possibly be added the Slavic *volchow* "wizard" and Greek *Velchanos*. Varuna and Valas were long ago explained as "immurer," "veiler," "fetterer" (of the sun). The Keltic Balar, too, whom I have identified with our Valand before (*Trojaburgen*, p. 85), is the god of circumvallation and teaches the building of firm ramparts, the founding of wall-surrounded castles and cities, since all arable land was formerly in solemn ceremony encircled by the plough, from which the concept then easily passed into that of the smith-architect. The art of making fetters is ascribed to all divinities of the forge; so Hephæstus encompasses in a web of steel not alone his consort Venus, whom he catches with Mars in a cunningly wrought net, but even his own mother, according to a legend which reveals the greatest similarity to a narrative spread over all Europe about a smith who bound Death and the devil, so they could no longer leave his apple-tree, or a certain spot in his smithy. Similarly Balar chains his daughter, Wieland (Wayland) chains Baduhild, Hephæstus or Pallas chains Athene, and just because Varuna is the world chainer, I have identified in him the original god of fire and forge (*Trojaburgen*, p. 181). This enchainment and imprisonment in ever narrowing circles—compare also the wolf (Sanskrit *varki*) who circles about the herd and devours the sun, as well as the human being who is transformed into a werewolf by taking off, and circling about, his clothes (see Petronius)—seems to have peculiarly predestined our Valand for the role of the devil, and on old wood-cuts like that of the knight Tundalus, the devil is seen dancing about the poor soul with strangely curved tongs, trying to drive it by means of ever converging enclosures finally into the jaws of hell. Valand is the ensnarer, the trapper, and for that reason Valand Houses or Troy Towns were also called traps (*Trojaburgen*, p. 71).

But if Valand means "the encloser" Velenä could in the last analysis be "the enclosed one," and in the Danish song the maiden who is abducted, locked up in the lower world, and liberated by Roland is called Eline, just as in the case of the old Etruscans (see *supra* p. 531 and *Trojaburgen*, p. 151). Then, perhaps, a linguistic connection between Helena and Ilion as well as for Athene Ilios

could be established. In his dissertation *Quaestiones Homericae* (Bonn, 1867) Oscar Meyer long ago called attention to the fact that Valas's fortress in the Vedas was called *vilu* and *dridha* (from *dardha*, "strong"), that is, "the fortress," and derived from these roots Ilion and Dardanus, the names of the Trojan stronghold. Since we have already explained the word Troy in the same way (*Trojaburgen*, p. 12), the names Troia, Ilion, Dardanus, Pergamus would all mean the same thing, namely "stronghold," "castle." The word *vilu* certainly belongs here, for to primitive man "to envelop" is "to put in fetters" and remarkably enough, a chaining Athene, Athene Eilenia, is met with on the soil of Magna Græcia. In the wonder book of the so-called Aristotle (*De Mirabilibus Auscultationibus*, ed. Beckmann, p. 240) it is narrated that Epeios, the constructor of the wooden horse with which Troy was captured, came to Metapontum in Italy and was kept there by Athene as though in fetters until he had carried out his intention of depositing in her temple the tools with which he had constructed the wooden horse. Thence, the report adds, Athene received the cognomen Eilenia, the fetterer or encloser. Justinus (XX, 2) also mentions this queer story, saying that the tools were of iron; but the text-emendators have very clumsily made a Hellenias out of Athene Eilenia, as if there were another but the Hellenic Athene. This was so much the more improper, since the narrators wished to explain the cognomen of Athene with just this enchainment which kept Epeios a prisoner there. The *Etymologus* also knows the story of Athene of the Bonds, excepting that in this report Philoctetes is locked up by her in a place hence called Eilenia; the place is also known to the *Itineraries* of Antoninus.

But Philoctetes and Epeios have about the same role in the story of Troy, for just as Philoctetes must bring the bow of Herakles, the first conqueror of Troy, in order to slay Paris, so Epeios constructs the horse with which alone Troy can be conquered. This horse is a very remarkable thing, it is a striking reminder of the wooden hobby-horse on which in the English sword dance Maid Marian is won and liberated. I have referred to the similarity of the wall-vaulting Siegfried horse before (*Trojaburgen*, p. 280). It long ago struck Düntzer that the constructor of the horse in the story of Troy was always designated by a Keltic word, Epeios instead of Hippeios, from Keltic *epo*, "horse," and that this wooden horse was always qualified by an epithet *dureios* or *durateus*, which likewise points to Keltic origin. Athene Hippias, protecting divinity of anything pertaining to the horse, is very sug-

gestive of that goddess Epona so often met with in Keltic lands, who made her way also into Italy. Anyhow Epeios and Epona (Hippona) belong together, for we know that Epeios, the horseman, had been at Troy also as the liberator of captured and imprisoned Athene, and I regard it as well worth further investigation whether all those appellations of Athene—Ilias, Alea, Eilenia—did not, as well as Velena, originally rather characterize the goddess as enclosed in convolutions, her liberation from Hades being celebrated with games at Troy just like that of Athene Itonia in Bœotia. Whether Metapontum, in the vicinity of which the temple and city of Athene of the Bonds was situated, indicates the city of Pythagoras, as Beckmann tacitly assumed, seems to me very doubtful. In this connection I do not know whether any one has already observed that Solinus knew two cities of this name in Magna Græcia, for he says (II, 10-11), "Metapontum, i. e., the better-known city of that name, was founded by Pylians, Metapontum which is now called Vibo, by the Locrians." This Vibo was in earlier times called Hippo and might very well have been the city of Epeios and of Eilenia, for its other by-name Valentia suggests *vallis* or *vallum*,⁴ the region surrounded by mountains, walls, or ramparts. Possibly the myth of the walled-in goddess Eilenia, and of her liberation by the horseman, was originally native here, although it must needs have suffered reinterpretation when the Greek story of Troy came to surpass all others in splendor. We might further compare the city of St. George, Silena and Seilenos (Selene), and the chained moon-god of the Hindus (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 205 and 162).

After this long excursus to which the names Velena and Eilenia lured us, let us return to the pictures on our pitcher, of which the next is the most mysterious of all.

A woman clad in a chiton stands in apparent glee before two enigmatic objects on the ground. Helbig claims that these objects are two large vases, but I prefer to think them a couple of crude idols of the kind called by the Romans *delubra*, for they in no wise resemble vases but rather those armless, so-called Dædalian idols, with heads like those used by hairdressers for models, such as have been found at Plataea,⁵ the classical ground of the Greek spring festival. I have already mentioned (*Trojaburgen*, p. 115) the female dolls which were burned on the pyre at the Germanic and Slavic spring celebrations, comparing them to the clumsily carved

⁴ We apologize to our classical readers for this.—*Trans.*

⁵ Gerhard, "Metroon und Göttermutter," *Berichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1849, pp. 454ff.

figures which were burned on Mt. Cithæron in memory of the reunion of Zeus and Hera ; but in the chapter on Syrith I neglected to go into particulars about this very remarkable ceremony which seems to be suggested by our picture, and I wish here to make up for the omission.

Plutarch⁶ and Pausanias⁷ have given us a very thoughtful account of that spring festival which had evidently survived from remote antiquity. Zeus had abducted Hera from Eubœa and in a cave of Mt. Cithæron enjoyed the bliss of secret love. According to other versions he had changed himself into a cuckoo, had then caused a storm and had flown into the lap of Hera as if seeking shelter ; he was kindly received, and in memory of this first meeting with Zeus Hera later bore the cuckoo on her scepter, the place of their nuptials being called the Cuckoo Hill. The spring hero is evidence that that immortal spring myth of the rejuvenation of nature is here under discussion which Logau has so charmingly touched upon in his verses on the month of May,

“This month is a kiss in which Heav’n and Earth embrace each other,
— So that Earth, the winsome bride, soon may also be a mother.”

Young Greeks whispered, thus the report goes on, that Zeus and Hera had not at that time been united by a solemn wedding ; consequently it was rather a celebration of early spring, such as we have met with in Germanic myths (see *The Open Court*, August, 1918, p. 462). Later Hera was taken away from, or fell out with, Zeus ; at any rate she remained in hiding from him and he wandered about aimlessly, without finding her. Then he met a certain Alakomenes who gave him the shrewd advice to make Hera jealous by pretending to marry another. With the help of his counselor Zeus now felled a great oak, carved it to look like a woman, attired it like a bride and called it Dædale. When they got to singing the hymeneus and the Tritonian nymphs were bringing the water for the bride’s bath, all Bœotia bringing out flutes and preparing for the banquet, Hera could no longer contain herself ; she hurried down from Mt. Cithæron to Zeus amid a great concourse of Platæan women, tore off the veil from the image and—discovered the deceit. Her anger and jealousy turned into jest and joy. Hera herself now preceded the sham-bride as bridesmaid, inaugurated the festival Dædala in memory of the event, but from a lingering spark of jealousy she herself burned the lifeless image.

⁶ See Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica*, III, 1.

⁷ Pausanias, *Periegesis*, IX, 3.

Pausanias, an eyewitness in whose day the ceremony was still popular, describes it as follows (IX, 3): "Not far from Alal-komenæ is the largest oak-forest of Bœotia. Here the Platæans offer pieces of cooked meat and watch in which tree the ravens perch that have eaten of the meat. From the tree chosen by the ravens the Dædalum is constructed, which the Platæans use at their lesser festival; but every sixty years a great festival is celebrated in which all Bœotian-clans take part. In a performance the substance of the story above told is expressed in a pantomime. The image is decked out and placed upon a vehicle to which two cows are hitched, a woman is chosen as bridesmaid in Hera's place and the vehicle is then driven to the top of Mt. Cithæron, while the deputies of the Bœotian clans follow in procession, their places being decided by lot. Up there is an immense altar made of beams, on which the Dædala of former years, made in the intervening time, are burned along with the sacrificed animals. Every city sacrifices a full-grown cow to Hera, and a bull to Zeus, incense is burned and libations are offered, and then the whole altar is set on fire, the flames of which could be seen far and wide in the land."

The esteemed reader has probably already noticed that this myth of the Bœotian-Argive Hera corresponds exactly to the myth of Syrith related before (see *The Open Court*, August, 1918, pp. 461-462): the long wooing of the bride, the sham-bridal, the real bride as bridesmaid, the sudden throwing aside of the mask of deception, everything agrees completely; indeed the burning of the false bride reappears in the Syrith legends which are alive to-day in Slavic peoples, in so far as in these the "bridesmaid" sets fire to her rival's veil (*Trojaburgen*, p. 167).

Now what are we to think of all this? Of course, people like Bugge will say: "Nothing is clearer than that Saxo Grammaticus patched together his legend of Othar and Syrith from that of this Argive Hera, and nothing can be more natural than that he put Othar-Thor in place of Zeus, and Syr-Freya in place of Hera." Reverse the statement and you have the facts, as is so often true. For from all the old Norse and the modern Slavic forms of the Syrith legend, we learn with certainty that the coy sweetheart is the sun maiden whom young Thor-Zeus woos and tests by the pretended marriage. Therefore the myth persisted in Greece also as the story of Medea, in which Medea sets fire to the veil of the new bride and in that consigns her to a fiery death.

There are enough indications that in these stories Hera merely replaces the earlier sun maiden. Etymologists are found who derive

her name as well as that of Syr from *svar*, "sun." That it was really Athene, the early sun-goddes of the Greeks, with whom this love encounter of Zeus took place, is evident from the fact that the wood of Alalkomenæ, which furnished the idol, was regarded as a sanctuary of the "defending" Athene, Athene Alalkomeneis. In Italy, too, Jupiter was between two ladies, like Othar and Siegfried between Chriemhild and Brunhild, and everywhere his image was placed between those of Juno and Minerva. In the same way the festival of the Argive Juno hiding from her bridegroom was celebrated in Italy as on Mt. Cithæron. Ovid describes Juno's wedding-procession at Falerii, at which the girls appeared in most solemn attire bearing veiled things on their heads (the Dædala afterward to be burned?), while a bull preceded the procession and the sacrificial cattle followed. Here the story, so widespread in the North, that the goddess-bride had in her exile been degraded to the position of a goatherd (*Trojaburgen*, p. 165), reappears clearly in the *motif* that Juno abominated goats, since they had betrayed her in her secret abode. In *Amores*, III, 13, Ovid says:

"Only against the goats harbors our mistress revenge,
For by their base betrayal was found her lodge in the deep wood.
Thus was she stopt, many say, in her project of flight."

The myth of Syrith would furnish the best explanation also for this. The connection of the picture under discussion—the woman before the two Dædala on our pitcher—with the Germanic spring myth of the doll burned at the Easter-fire, probably would not then be too bold, after all.

There now remain between this figure and that of the Troy Town two scenes placed one above the other, depicting embracings; neither Helbig nor Bendorf have paid especial attention to them. On Chalcidian vases, which are here regarded as models, such *εἰμαί* (lit., "marriage-beds") belonged to the more commonly represented figures and therefore seemed hardly worthy of mention. But since the rest of the pictures of this band, labyrinth, riders, spear-dancers, Velenä-scene, and the picture with the Dædala, belong more or less clearly to the European Troy story, we must not exclude these two from it. We have, indeed, so much the more occasion to recognize in them the attack on the sun-goddess and her union with her liberator, since old ecclesiastical writers are full of complaints about objectionable Germanic spring customs (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 239-240). Besides, they were in ancient times performed in pantomime in beast masks, when the old god of fire, disguised to resemble a stag,

pursued the sun-goddess, who was transformed into a roe,⁸ while in Greece bull and cow appear in similar religious relations.

The legends of Io, Europa, and Pasiphaë appear to have arisen merely from these old masquerades of our forebears that resemble so closely those of many primitive peoples (*Trojaburgen*, p. 186); perhaps also the Actæon story should here be included. In his biography of Nero, Chapter XII, Suetonius relates that that emperor had the old armed dance, the *pyrrhiche*, performed in the circus; the Pasiphaë-scene and the Flight of Icarus were added, in the latter the impersonator soon being dashed to the ground. In the tenth book of his *Metamorphoses* Apuleius describes a similar performance, which began with a dance of youths in armor in "wavy lines," was continued with the Judgment of Paris, and ended with a Pasiphaë-scene. These are evident echoes of the old spring celebration in which the glorification of nature through allegorical games assumed in part strange forms, traces of which we also found in the Freya cult of the North (*Trojaburgen*, p. 201). In the case of the Romans the last memories of this nature-worship perished in circus games, in which a degenerate populace took delight without understanding their content.

III. *The Northern Origin of the Legend.*

Whoever wishes to be fully convinced that the home of all these legends of the captured and redeemed sun maiden is genuinely northern, must examine folk-tales and stories of the saints. For the former I have done sufficient in *Trojaburgen* (pp. 109-194), for the latter I should like to add a few notes here. A number of female saints are imprisoned by their fathers in a high tower because of their beauty. This is true of Saints Barbara and Irene in whose case the motivation is so much the weaker, since they are secretly Christians and not at all of an amorous disposition. However, the high tower appears on pictures of their martyrdom as their symbol. Their unwillingness to marry, as well as their beauty, may be due to old popular legends, but no mention is made of the story that it was really their fathers whose suit they rejected. "Saint Sorrow," who survives in the pretty poem of the "Fiddler of Gmünd," in her anguish begs for a growth of beard that shall destroy her beauty, wishing to escape ever repeated wooings. This is "Rough Elsa" whose skin turned rough at Troy, i. e., in the lower world; or

⁸ See A. Kuhn, "Der Schuss auf den Sonnenhirsch," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, Vol. VI, pp. 109-110.

Syrith whose hair turned to fur in her winter captivity (*Troja-burgen*, pp. 157 and 298).

The legend of St. Margaret shows evidence of being a complete canonization of the Syrith story. Because the dragon is usually associated with her on images of saints, the legend of Margaret of Antioch has been frequently merged with that of St. George, however without justification—as if she represented the sun maiden who, after being liberated by St. George, led the conquered dragon to the city by her garter. But old texts and ecclesiastical paintings have a different story of her struggle with the dragon. According to them, she is handed over into the power of a taskmaster from the country, just as Syrith is, and she has to tend the swine of her violator as the other has to tend his goats. Again like Syrith she is led away from her herd to the Roman governor, Olibrius, who wants to marry her. Since she refuses, her father, the idolatrous priest, Ædisius, has her thrown into prison, and here her courage is so little broken that she desires to fight with the devil himself. The latter appears as an enormous dragon, seizes her head with his upper lip, pushes the tip of his tongue under her shoe and swallows her down just as she stood. “But before digestion commenced to work,” the Golden Legend relates,¹ “she made the sign of the cross and by the power of the cross the dragon exploded, and the maiden stepped out uninjured.” Here the author seems to remember in due time that he has not related a legend, but the story of Little Red Riding Hood, i. e., the story of the sun maiden whom the wolf in pursuit of the sun had swallowed at the eclipse and whom the hunter Indra again cut out of his body, and he quickly adds, “but what they tell about the swallowing by the dragon is regarded as frivolous and apocryphal.” However, it belonged entirely to what was believed of old, and eight years ago (1885) there were discovered in the Cathedral of Tournay old wall-paintings from the beginning of the thirteenth century which represent the story exactly as given, showing, first, how St. Margaret is tending the flocks, then, on the one side, how she is swallowed by the monstrous jaws of the dragon, and on the other, how she steps out of the half opened sides of the animal in the pose of one praying, absolutely unharmed. The projection in the wall near this picture shows the majestic form of a crowned woman who holds in her left hand a disk marked with a cross, presumably the solar disk.

¹ Jacopo de Voragine, *Legendarum Opus Aureum Auctum a Claudio a Rotâ*, Leg. 88.

It is not at all necessary to fall back on Greek mythology to account for these sun myths which have been received in the bosom of the Christian Church, as Albrecht Wirth recently did, when he tried to connect the legend of St. Irene imprisoned in the tower by her father with the story of Danaë,² for the same legend survives in a great number of forms in Germanic and Keltic lands, and in many cases it is no longer to be distinguished from the Siegfried legend (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 186-194).

It is much more instructive to see with what energy the Church laid hold of those nature festivals and customs to which pagan people in the North were most attached and about which it hung a mantle of charity to cover what it could not destroy. This was pre-eminently the case with spring customs, and when we see that the Church does not hesitate to transform the builder myth of the Edda into a Christian Easter-play, replacing the god Thor who liberates Freya from the hands of the winter demon, first by St. George, and then by Christ himself who liberates the "Bride of Christ" from the fortress of the Antichrist, we can realize from these facts alone that the powerful nature-drama of the liberation of the sun maiden must have occupied the very center of religious interest for our ancestors. In the old Bavarian Easter-play, the composition of which is assigned to Wernher of Tegernsee, the monster who has assumed to himself the rulership of the world is suddenly struck by lightning like the builder in the Edda. In the *Speculum Ecclesiae* of Honorius of Autun, written about 1115, the Germanic sun-goddess is changed into the Bride of Christ who has fallen into the hands of the Antichrist. In a mode of conception genuinely northern the latter appears as the winter builder, who keeps her a prisoner in the tower of Babel built by himself; then Christ appears, overthrows the Antichrist as well as all the rest of the infernal forces at Easter, destroys the fortress of winter, leads forth the bride from the dark tower and unites with her in marriage, *in thalamo aeterni solis*, in the bridal chamber of the eternal sun.

Strange to say, this festival of the sun's marriage is even to-day celebrated on St. George's Day, April 23, in all southern Slavic countries as the main festival of the Christian Church, accompanied by dances and songs which contain the principal details of the Syrith myth (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 166-171). But it is almost even more incredible that it survived the Reformation and was represented by Lukas Cranach on numerous altar-pieces and wood-cuts. These allegories of the work of the Redeemer are remarkable for not

² A. Wirth, *Danaë in christlichen Legenden*, Vienna, 1892.

making the slightest effort to conceal their origin in a nature-myth. They always appear divided in two parts by a high tree in the middle of the picture. These parts may be distinguished as a winter part and a summer part, because the dividing tree has dead limbs on its left or Old Testament side, but green branches on the right or New Testament side. The winter-side shows the Fall of Man and Adam being chased into hell by devils, the summer-side is reserved for the work of redemption at Eastertide. Here the descent of Christ into hell, showing him bursting the bolts of hell and slaying the Antichrist, occupies the center of the picture. On a number of these altar-pieces and wood-cuts a young woman is seen to have risen to light from the chimney-like roof of the conquered citadel of hell, waiting in prayer for what is to come. Alongside of the Saviour ascending to heaven a genius with the cross (which with strong foreshortening is here mostly drawn like the hammer of Thor) allows a ray from the sun to fall on the maiden, presumably to indicate more closely the legend of the sun's wedding. The additional facts may be borne in mind that in songs quoted before (see *Trojaburgen*, p. 243) the Antichrist was expressly named as the winter demon to be driven out at Easter, that a "Song of Triumph of the Elected Soul" still contained in [German] hymn-books of the eighteenth century says of the prisoner in the castle who is redeemed at Easter:

"Thou, dear soul, art ransomed full,
The hellish tyrant choked to death,
His robber-nest and conspiring band
Is all destroyed, a mockery Death.
Triumph, Triumph, Victoria!
And eternal Hallelujah!"

We shall then have to confess that this entire allegory has been derived not from diverse Biblical conceptions, but simply and alone from the story of Troy of the North. Dances with arms, masks, and other games were also Christianized as far as possible in the merriment of the carnival, plays of the Church, etc., and in many places "the fatal blow to the dragon" was performed in front of the local chapel of St. George.

The ceremonies of the expulsion, stoning, beheading, or burning of the winter demon, which in antiquity had penetrated as far as Rome and even to Egypt, were preserved here and there within the sphere of Christian service (*Trojaburgen*, p. 244), and since they are intelligible solely from northern astronomical conditions, we must assume that similar ceremonies in Egypt—where winter

affords the pleasantest season of the year—are to be explained only by a northern immigration into Egypt, of which there are also other traces. As a case in point Herodotus narrates in immediate connection with his report that Memphis, the city of the Egyptian smith-god, was the scene of the story of Helen, that the giant statues of summer and winter stood before the temple of that god, to the first of which the people showed their love and to the latter their dislike. Now that is the same ceremony which took place clear into the nineteenth century at Heimbürg near Vienna and at Alatri in the Campagna with reference to images of summer and winter, formerly also in Hildesheim and Halberstadt. There exists only this slight difference—that in middle Europe we have every cause to hate winter and dismiss it with distinct evidence of our dislike, while in Egypt a joyous reception of winter and a just as joyous leave-taking from summer would have been much more in keeping.

From this we draw with a high degree of probability that it is from the North that also the Egyptians must have received their story of Troy which is geographically bound up with the dismissal of the winter smith. Indeed the recognition of what was first demonstrated with arguments of natural science in *Twiskoland*, is making further headway now, namely the theory that the majority of the Aryan gods must be of northern origin because their nature points to a distinct change of seasons, involving a strongly changing revelation of the solar deity produced by the oblique position of the earth's axis. A book by John O'Neill, which recently appeared in London, *The Night of the Gods*, takes this view into consideration in that it speaks of a cosmic mythology, characterizing these divinities as polar or axis-gods. And so the signs are multiplying that the philologists will suffer a defeat on mythological terrain, probably without a parallel.

Troy Towns are an especially clear expression of the worship of a "divinity of the world-axis," in so far as they symbolize in their labyrinthine course the path of the northern sun leading into, and out of, the prison of winter—as well as can be expected from a people still in possession of only the rudiments of astronomy. Therefore their cradle must have been in the North, for the invention of such a design demands the sharp contrasts resulting from the decidedly changing course of the sun in the northern seasons.

In regard to how this invention was made, I am indebted to a letter from Professor Bendorf in Vienna for a very valuable

suggestion. Proceeding from the assumption that, considering the peculiarity of the labyrinth design, it must be supposed to have spread from Greece through Italy to the North like most advances in civilization, he wrote as follows: "...in its ingenious form, which remains remarkably constant in all adaptations to time and place, it gives the impression of a unique, I should almost say personal, invention, which in itself accounts for its having a vitality leading to a great shifting in the history of civilization." The more decidedly I was obliged to agree with this concept of Professor Bendorf rejecting the idea of independent inventions in North and South, the more imperative it became for me to establish just how



FRAGMENT OF SCULPTURED STONE FROM THE TOP OF
WHITSUNBANK HILL, NORTHUMBERLAND.

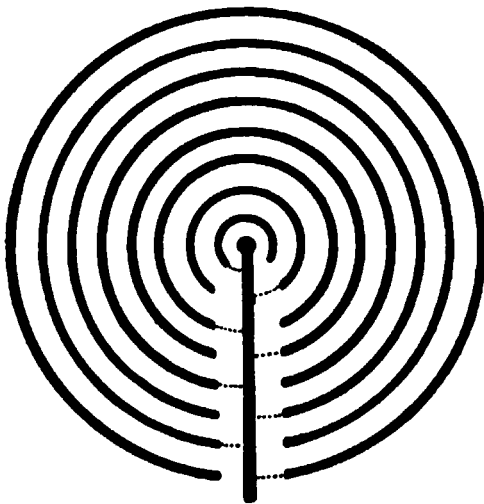
$\frac{1}{2}$ nat. size. After G. Tate.

the design of the labyrinth may have originated in the North. I cannot concede a migration from the South northward, for the two-fold reason, first, that the Greeks and Romans later no longer understood their own appellation, Troy, and secondly, because the design symbolizes the course of the sun in the North, proceeding as it does to a narrow and gloomy winter prison, and not that of the sun of Greece.

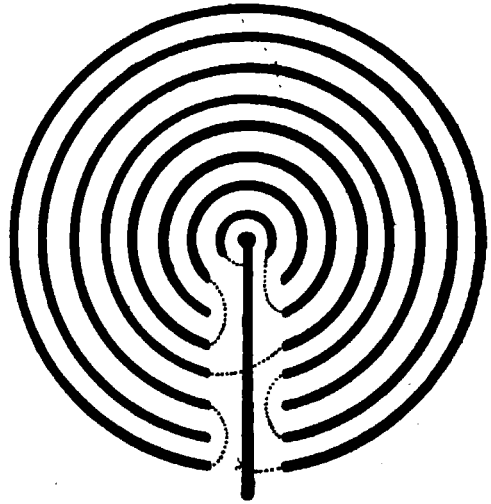
So the next step was to ask what stages such a figure, which was too "ingenious" both for a creation out of nothing and for an

original conception, might have passed through, and I was naturally guided back to that figure which has been scratched hundreds of times since the bronze age on rocks, dolmens, menhirs, cromlechs, and the gravestones of England, and of which we are furnished a clear picture by the stone on the crest of Whitsunbank Hill in Northumberland.

I have already mentioned (*Trojaburgen*, pp. 48-60) that these sandstone sculptures, which always appear in the same pattern, have never been observed outside of England in their characteristic shape, with the radius breaking the concentric circles, and also that they bore the name Troy there. I further ventured to interpret them as symbols of the labyrinths in which the spring sword dance for the



FUNDAMENTAL PLAN OF TROY
TOWNS.



INVENTION OF THE LABY-
RINTH FORM.

redemption of the sun maiden took place, probably in such a way that the dancers penetrated to the center of the figure radially, but when coming out observed the rule of turning every time they came to this straight barrier and of skipping along the next passage leading toward the outside until all of them had been passed.

Therefore this dance figure may have been that indicated above on the left side; it was not regarded as necessary to complete the alternate ring walls to the radius because the rule of the dance was simple enough to be kept in the head. Possibly people had been imitating the course of the sun of autumn and spring according to this simple rule in their dances for centuries, each return to the point of beginning being probably thought of as an invisible nocturnal one. One fine day, however, a clever choragus may have

discovered that by a simple modification of the figure the movement of the dance could be made much more mysterious. That is, if on the right and left sides two alternate galleries were successively joined, then only the closing of the one circle still remaining in the middle of the four pairs of galleries was necessary to get the typical plan of a Troy Town as found in Crete, ancient Etruria, and northern Europe (see the pattern to the right). Since these labyrinths were mostly made of boulders, a tentative reconstruction was child's play and we have only to imagine boulders instead of the dots in our closing lines, in order to recognize the simplicity of the invention. Compare the Delian legend in which the infant Apollo was said to have devised the convolutions, and built the foundation walls, which surrounded his altar at Delos and in which the labyrinth dance was performed.

But it should be noticed that there is no possibility of supposing the invention easy unless the main pattern is given, which is found chiseled on stone more than a thousand times on English soil and nowhere else: any invention independent of this preliminary form is something very improbable.

And so this conclusion, too, that the invention was too unique to be made repeatedly, in the face of such ornaments as could easily be devised in the most diverse places, like the hook-cross, spiral, meander, etc., leads us with the greatest probability to a northern land, in fact to England. We know that the ancients spoke of the high development of the sun-cult in Britain and that Hekataëus related that Apollo returned every nineteen years to his native island opposite Gaul and to his temples there. These circular temples consisted mostly of nineteen stones, and not far from Penzance in Cornwall there are four such circles, consisting originally each of nineteen stones of three to six feet in height, and having a diameter of 65-80 feet. The innermost circle of Stonehenge also contained nineteen stones, which is such a remarkable number that in this connection we can indeed think only of that nineteenth year in the Metonic cycle in which, as Hekataëus narrates, Apollo returned to his old home.

Be that as it may, the northern provenience of the Troy legend, which has now been confirmed by the Pitcher of Tragliatella to a degree never hoped for by me, is one of the most convincing bits of evidence as yet found for the northern origin of the Aryans. Linguistic, anthropological, prehistoric grounds will always leave a sediment of doubt and since many persons do not recognize the summary power of witnesses which are individually inconclusive,

it will be necessary to revert to this pitcher, which confirmed in such cogent manner conclusions arrived at from hundreds of single reasons before. Like the Rosetta stone, a lucky chance has preserved for us in it a monument which is not likely to exist in duplicate. I am also glad that it was found and described long before I came to the deductions which are now confirmed by the cycle of pictures on the pitcher, and that it remained unknown to me then. Otherwise the question would probably have been asked whether the pitcher had not been manufactured solely in support of my "fantastic notions."

OMAR, THE HERETIC.

BY JOHN T. BRAMHALL.

THE quatrains of Omar Khayyám, or al-Khayyámi, as the Arabians and Persians called him, offer an interesting study of the influence of Islam upon the millions of the human race that gather under the banner of the Prophet. In reviewing the writings of the Persian radical (Sufi, Shi'ite, heretic, Epicurean, or what you will), it is important that we get as nearly as possible to the real Omar. We have, unfortunately, no manuscript dating from his time (-1123), and the oldest accounts of him are but fragmentary. It was not until several centuries had elapsed (A. D. 1460), that anything like collections of the now famous quatrains were made, for Omar was not considered by his contemporaries as a poet of high rank.

It is important, however, to study the man before we base estimates on translations of apocryphal fragments. The *Charhár Maqála*, or "Four Discourses," of Nidhâmi i' Arúdi of Samarqand, (about 1180, A. D.), in the section devoted to astrologers and astronomers, relates that in the year A. H. 506 (A. D. 1112-1113), Kwája Imám 'Umar Khayyám and Kwája Imám Mudhaffar-i-Isfizári (the same who was associated with Khayyám at the command of the sultan in the revision of the calendar), met in Balkh at the house of Amir Abú Sa'd, (Abú Sa'd Sharafu'l-Mulk, the minister of Malikshah?). "In the midst of that friendly gathering I heard that Proof of the Truth (Hujjat-i-Haqq), 'Umar say: 'My grave will be in a spot where the trees will shed their blossoms on me twice a year.' " And the narrator says that when he visited Nishapur, "it being then some years since that great man had veiled his countenance in the dust and the lower world was bereaved of him,"

he went to visit his grave and found it hidden with flowers. Then he fell to weeping, "because on the face of the earth, and in all the regions of the habitable globe I nowhere saw the like unto him. May God (blessed and exalted is He!) have mercy upon him, by His grace and favor." Such is the testimony of a contemporary scribe.

About fifty years later, in the *Mirṣādu'l-Ibād*, or "Observatory of God's Servants," Khayyám is called "an unhappy philosopher, a fervent Sufi mystic, a theist and materialist," and his quatrains are condemned as "the height of confusion and error." Without pausing to ask how a Sufi mystic could be an atheist and materialist, we may note the contradictory testimony given in al-Qifti's *History of the Philosophers* (about 1250 A. D.), in which Khayyám is represented as a champion of the Greek philosophy. "The later Sufis," says al-Qifti, "have found themselves in agreement with some part of the apparent sense of his verse (*n. b.*), have transferred it to their system, and discussed it in their assemblies and private gatherings; though its inward meanings are to the [Moslem] Law stinging serpents, and combinations rife with malice." Here also Omar is represented as "without an equal in astronomy and philosophy," but as an advanced freethinker, constrained only by prudential motives to bridle his tongue.

The *Nuzhatu'l-Arwah*, "Recreation of Souls," of ash-Shahrazúrí, was also compiled in the thirteenth century, and contained thirteen couplets from the poet. His account is much fuller than al-Qifti's. It describes 'Umar, (to use the Persian form of the name), as a follower of Avicenna, but ill-tempered and inhospitable, a scholar of wonderful memory,—when memory itself was talent,—and with a knowledge of Arabic philology and the seven readings of the Koran that was remarkable among the critical scholars of that day. It is claimed that he was frowned upon by the great theologian al-Ghazzali, who conversed with him, but that he was held in high esteem by Malikshah. Immediately before his death, writes ash-Shahrazúrí, he was reading in the *Shifa* of Avicenna the chapter treating of the One and the Many, and his last words were: "O God! Verily I have striven to know Thee according to the range of my powers, therefore forgive me, for indeed such knowledge of Thee as I possess is my only means of approach to Thee."

Al-Qazwini, in his *Atharu'l-Bilad*, "Monuments of Countries," about the same period, relates how the philosopher covered with shame and confusion a certain theologian who, while denouncing

him in the mosque as a freethinker and atheist, used to come to him privately early in the morning to take lessons in philosophy. And note that "freethinker" meant then, as now among Pharisees, "atheist" and "unbeliever."

I am indebted to Prof. Edward G. Browne's *Literary History of Persia*¹ for the above data, who in turn gives credit for the references to Nuzhatu'l-Arwah to Prof. Valentin Zhukovski, and to Dr. E. Denison Ross, principal of the Madrasa at Calcutta. (See Methuen's edition of FitzGerald's rendering of the *Ruba'iyát*, 1900).

Professor Browne tells us that Khayyám is strangely ignored by the great biographer Ibn Khallikan, and by Ibn Shakir, who strove in his *Fawatu'l-Wafayat* to supply the omissions of his predecessor. Hajji Khalifa, the great Turkish biographer, mentions Khayyám in connection with the science of algebra and with Malik-shah's reformed calendar. Dr. Ross has compiled a list of ten books ascribed to him by different authorities. Most of these were scientific or philosophical treatises in Arabic, one of which, his *Treatise on Algebra*, was edited by Woepeke with a French translation in 1851, while another, containing some observations on Euclid's definitions, exists in manuscript in the Leyden library. (Fortunate that it was not at Louvain!)

A reference by Robert Arnot to Shahrazúri's history gives additional light to the relations between al-Khayyámi, as he was familiarly called, and the Arabian scholar, and suggests that a humorous aside by the theologian has been misunderstood as an expression of dislike of the younger scientist. Referring to the astronomer as the successor of Abú 'Ali (Avicenna) in the various branches of philosophic learning, he relates an incident of al-Khayyámi visiting the Vizir, Abd-ur-Razzak, the chief of the Koran readers, Abú'l-Hassan al-Ghazzali being present, and as Omar entered the Vizir said: "Here we have *the* authority," and proceeded to ask al-Khayyámi for his opinion (the conversation was on the construction of a certain verse in the Koran). Omar gave it and al-Ghazzali exclaimed: "May God add such men as thee to the number of the learned! Of a truth, I did not think any one of the Koran readers knew the readings by heart to this extent—much less one of the secular philosophers."

This al-Ghazzali is referred to by Professor Browne as "the great theologian," and as one of the most influential if not one of the greatest thinkers of the period, who did more than any one else to bring to an end the reign of philosophy (Greek thought)

¹ Edward G. Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, p. 249 et seq.

in Islam, and to set up in its stead a devotional mysticism which is "at once the highest expression and the clearest limitation of the orthodox Muhammadan doctrine." In modern parlance, a conservative, or reactionary.

As for Avicenna, "the prince of physicians," it is scarcely necessary to explain that he was for ten years or more the physician and general literary and scientific secretary of Abú Ya'far, the sultan of Isfahan, and so learned that he was accused by his enemies of burning the royal library of the Saminids, after having stored its learning in his mind. Forty times, it was said, he had read through the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle. Indeed, the career of the Bokharan master may shed some light upon that of his disciple, if we may call him so. "Amid his restless study," says Rev. Griffiths Thatcher of Camden College, N. S. W., "Avicenna never forgot his love of enjoyment. Unusual bodily vigor enabled him to combine severe devotion to work with facile indulgence in sensual pleasures. His passion for wine and women was almost as well known as his learning. Versatile, light-hearted, boastful, and pleasure-loving, he contrasts with the nobler and more intellectual character of Averroës."

From the above résumé we get a glimpse, "if dimly, yet indeed reveal'd," of Omar's personality. Scientist and scholar, deeply versed in the Koran, he unquestionably was. Claimed by some as a Sufi, or mystic, he was also denounced as a heretic. As a Persian, it is much to his credit that he was a Shi'ah, and was looked upon with suspicion by the Sunnis, followers of "the path," or traditional rule of the *Sunna*, for though Islam, theoretically, has no priesthood, the Ulema and the dervishes made a very effective substitute and arrogated to themselves the custodianship of the keys of heaven and hell.

Having considered the character and scholarship of Khayyám, as testified by contemporaries and by writers of the period, let us now turn to the influences which Islam and such other theological systems as he may have studied, exerted upon his mind. Why was Omar a heretic? Doubtless for the same reason which has impelled every religious insurgent to rebel,—the natural result of ecclesiastical tyranny upon a mind at once active, inquisitive, and independent. What was the Law of Islam, as handed down and amended by the Prophet, added to by custom and tradition, and interpreted by the mollahs? To understand the position of the Mohammedan Voltaires, Heines, and Tom Paines, we should have some knowledge of Islam and the Koran, of the mystic school of Sufism, and of the

"two and seventy jarring sects" which have grown up among the dervishes chiefly, who would either out-Sufi Sufism, or take the other extreme and denounce it altogether. And it is most singular that scholars still differ as to whether Khayyám was of one or the other class.

But, back of Sufism—back of Islam—is the desert. "The heat of the climate," says Gibbon, "influences the blood of the Arabs, and their libidinous complexion has been noticed by the writers of antiquity." (Cf. "The Chapter of The Mount," "The Chapter of The Inevitable," and others, Koran). The torridity of the climate seems to intensify religious ardor. The inflamed imagination of the camel-driver and the watching shepherd under the stars, where the intense heat of the day is reflected from the boundless waste of sand, must naturally tend to an exaggeration of all the passions. We know that in our own southwestern deserts Mexican herders are employed to watch the flocks, because white men of more active brain and more vivid imagination are apt to "go loco," or insane, and our deserts are Paradise compared to the furnace of Arabia.

Imagine the gentle scholar, through whose writings one may search in vain for a single threat, reading this anathema (from "The Chapter of The Covered," in the Mecca Suras), directed against the Prophet's enemy, Walid ibn Mughairah, one of the chiefs of the Qurais:

"Leave me alone with him I have created and for whom I have made wealth and sons that he may look upon, and for whom I have smoothed things down. Then he desires that I should increase! Nay, verily, he is hostile to our signs! I will drive him up a hill! May he be killed,—how he planned! Then he looked; then he frowned and scowled. . . I will broil him in hell-fire! and what shall make thee know what hell-fire is? It will not leave and will not let alone. It scorches the flesh! . . ."

Or this, from "The Chapter of The Smiting:"

"In the name of the merciful and compassionate God!

"The smiting!

"What is the smiting?

"And what shall make thee know what the smiting is?

"The day when men shall be like scattered moths, and the mountains shall be like flocks of carded wool!

"But as for him whose balance is heavy, it shall be in a well-pleasing life.

"But as for him whose balance is light, his dwelling shall be in the pit of Hell.

“And who shall make thee know what it is?—a burning fire!”

Again, “The Chapter of The Mount”:

“In the name of the merciful and compassionate God!

“By the mount! By the book inscribed upon an outstretched vellum! By the frequented house!² By the elevated roof!³ By the swelling sea! Verily the torment of thy Lord will come to pass;—there shall be none to avert it! The day when the heavens shall reel about,—then woe upon that day to those who call the apostles liars, who plunge into discussion for a sport!

“On the day when they shall be thrust away into the fire of Hell,—this is the fire which ye used to call a lie!—is it magic, this? or can ye not see?—broil ye therein, and be patient thereof, or not patient, it is the same to you; ye are but rewarded for that which ye do!

“Verily, the pious shall be in gardens of pleasure, enjoying what their Lord has given them; for their Lord shall save them from the torments of Hell!”

I have not, perhaps, in my haste, or my ignorance of the Koran, selected the most characteristic suras for my purpose, but they are sufficiently illustrative.

But consider that Khayyám was no Arabian, and much less a Turk, but a Persian whose not very remote ancestors were followers of Zoroaster, by whom fire was not considered as an instrument of torture, but as a symbol of divine power and beneficence. And while there is little reason to believe that Khayyám, scholar though he was, had a knowledge of the Sanskrit of ancient Persia, he had, no doubt, read the *History* of Tabari, which had been translated into Arabic and was a standard work in all libraries and gave some account of the Avesta. If he had not listened to the recitations of the Parsees, whose bloody persecution at the hands of the Seljuq conquerors he may have witnessed, he must have had some knowledge of their meaning and of the sentiment of the ancient faith of his people. The Gathas, or hymns of Zoroaster, may have arrested his attention, particularly the Haoma Yasht, which might supply a source of the “spiritual wine” of the Sufis, and of the hasheesh of his alleged friend, Hassan ben Sabbah, the chief of the Assassins, as well as offer an excuse, perhaps, for Omar’s devotion to “the cup.” He could not have missed, if he had come upon fragments of the *Vendidad*, the Parsee priestly code, the striking fact that the whole of the Zoroastrian Law is subordinate to the one great point

² The Kaaba in Paradise.

³ The roof of Heaven.

of view, the war against Satan and his noxious creatures, from which the book derives its name, "*vendidad*," *vi-daevo-datem*, the "anti-demonic law." That it is didactic in the extreme, as stated by Dr. Geldner, would not have repelled the Persian scholar, and as the most important document of the Zoroastrian faith, the sole literary monument of ancient Iran, it may be assumed that such an inquiring mind as that of al-Khayyám would have studied every line he could obtain.

But this carries us too far into the realms of speculation, which allows us at best to assume that Khayyám might have contrasted the more merciful and just code of the great Persian teacher with the relentless cruelty and injustice, of which he constantly complained, of the Arabian prophet. We may say, indeed, that if he had studied the character and the words of Jesus, of whom as a recognized prophet he was not unacquainted,⁴ he might have contrasted the abounding love of the one with the unforgiving fanaticism of the other. But he did not. We are driven to the conclusion that Khayyám yielded blind obedience to the Prophet and the Koran, though not without many a jibe and protest; or else, while perceiving the contradictions and the injustice of the whole system of Islam, he may have concluded that it would be most unwise to renounce the patronage and protection of the sultan and his minister for the punishments inflicted upon avowed heretics, and that he would be, like Avicenna, "all things to all men,"

"And in some corner of the Hubbub coucht,
Make Game of that which makes as much of Thee."

But the writer cannot pretend to be any wiser than the many who have already attempted to unravel the mystery of Omar, and the very best he can do is to pick up some of the crumbs that they have dropped and perhaps find some meat in a re-hashing. Assuming that the Nicolas prose translation is the nearest we have to the original, and also that the verses he has transcribed are the genuine productions of Khayyám (which is taking much for granted, but we can do no better),⁵ we find Omar to be sometimes a Sufi mystic, yet more often an avowed Epicurean; a confessed sinner and humble penitent, even like the Publican; an obedient son of Islam, and a most rebellious heretic; a cutting whip to the mollahs, but, withal,

⁴ Persia, and especially eastern Persia, was a melting-pot, (too often literally such), of religions, Zoroastrian, Jewish, Brahman, Buddhist, Confucian, Christian, Moslem.

⁵ See Whinfield's introduction to Khayyám, and Browne, (*supra*), p. 256 et seq.

never with a curse upon his lips or any claim for holiness for his own part. Whatever Omar was, Sufi, infidel, materialist, he was no Pharisee.

"How long will you blame us, O ignorant man of God!⁶ We are the patrons of the tavern, we are constantly overcome with wine. You are given up entirely to your chaplet, to your hypocrisy, and your infernal machinations. We, cup in hand and always near the object of our love, live in accordance with our desires." (N. 278.)

Can we wonder that the astronomer, who could calculate the orbit of Parwin and Mushtari, should be so confused with the contradictions, abrogations, customs, traditions (of which over seven thousand were sifted out of 300,000 by Bukhári and made into a code of Moslem law),—to say nothing of the dogmas of predestination, eternal punishment, annihilation, etc., as to exclaim:

"At this moment, when my heart is not yet deprived of life, it seems to me that there are few problems that I have not solved. However, when I call intelligence to my aid, when I examine myself with care, I perceive that my existence has slipped away and that I have still defined nothing." (N. 113. See also N. 45.)

Here he becomes distinctly Epicurean:

"To drink wine and rejoice is my gospel of life. To be as indifferent to heresy as to religion is my creed. I asked the bride of the human race (the world) what her dowry was, and she answered: My dowry consists in the joy of my heart."

But the poet was not always so light-hearted. At times he was oppressed with a "conviction of sin," and would cry out:

"I am worthy neither of Hell nor a celestial abode. God knows from what clay he has moulded me. Heretical as a dervish and foul as a lost woman, I have neither wealth, nor fortune, nor hope of Paradise!" (N. 57.)

And this:

"No smoke ascends above my holocaust of crime: could man ask more? This hand, which man's injustice raises to my head, no comfort brings, even though it touch the hem of saintly robes." (N. 74.)

But his sins, as he confesses them, might find condonation, or excuse, in the Koran.

"The world will ever count me as depraved. Natheless, I am not guilty, men of holiness!" Look on yourselves, and question

⁶ Mollah, dervish.

⁷ Mollahs.

what you are. Ye say I contravene the Koran's law. Yet I have only known the sins of drunkenness, debauchery, and leasing." (N. 88.)

Still, free will denied him, he indignantly faces his critics with this, which we are familiar with in FitzGerald:

"Oh Thou, who didst with pitfall and with gin
Beset the Road I was to wander in,
Thou wilt not with Predestined Evil round
Enmesh, and then impute my Fall to Sin!"⁸ (F. lxxx.)

Omar revolted against the injustice, but he still cried to the Omnipotent for pardon and mercy.

"I am such as Thy power has made me. I have lived a hundred years⁹ filled with Thy benevolence and benefits. I would like still a hundred years to commit sin and to see if the sum of my faults outweighed Thy pity."

Perhaps from the standpoint of the true Musselman, and allowing for Eastern extravagance of expression, this is not as irreverent as might appear to a Christian. Mad, he seems at times, but there was a method in his madness.

"A slave in dire revolt am I: where is Thy will? Black with all sin my heart: where is Thy light and Thy control? If Thou giv'st Paradise to our obedience alone, it is debt of which Thou quit'st Thyself and in such case we need Thy pity and benevolence." (N. 91. Cf. F. lxxix.)

Predestination was the inexorable law of the Koran, as was held in the Christian Church by Augustine and Aquinas, and also by Luther and Calvin. Such a heart as Omar's, inclined to mercy and love, and a mind directed by justice, could not but demur, even while he submitted.

"When God fashioned the clay of my body, he knew what would be the result of my acts. It is not without His orders that I have committed the sins of which I am guilty; in that case, why should I burn in hell-fire at the last day?" (N. 99. Cf. N. 115.)

Here is a cry for mercy that recalls the timid and gentle logic of Sir Thomas Browne:

⁸ This is a very literal rendering of N. 390. In FitzGerald's lxxxi, the debated line about the snake may be ignored, but the presumptuous closing,

"—Man's forgiveness give—and take!"

may well be questioned. F. has out-Omared Omar. As given by Heron-Allen, the original reads very differently:

"Oh, Lord! grant me repentance and accept my excuses,
Oh, Thou who grantest repentance and acceptest the excuses of all."

⁹ A characteristic hyperbole.

"O my God! Thou art merciful, and mercy is kindness. Why then has the first sinner been thrown out of the terrestrial Paradise? If Thou pardonest me when I obey Thee, it is not mercy. Mercy is present only when Thou pardonest me as the sinner that I am." (N. 101.)

Heretic he was, if hatred to man be orthodoxy,—Epicurean by force of logic,—sinner confessed; but yet he recognized in this seven-times sinful world the predominance of good.

"There is no shield which is proof against an arrow hurled by Destiny. Grandeur, money, gold all go for naught. The more I consider the things of this world, the more I see that the only good is good; all else is nothing."

Love, not fanaticism, was Omar's rule of life, inbred in his gentle soul. Hence he could not be a good Moslem.

"Each heart that God illumines with the light of love, as it frequents the mosque or synagogue, inscribes its name upon the book of love, and is set free from the fear of Hell while it awaits the joys of Paradise." (N. 60.)

Nevertheless, Omar's conception of Jesus seems to have been limited by the orthodox Moslem view of the prophet who was sent in succession to Moses and who was given the divine power of the "breath of life."¹⁰

And if he often confessed that he was "steeped in wine," with an ardor of contrition that seems, like the prayers of Luther, to belie his words, we may charitably believe, with Whinfield, Nicolas, and others, that these expressions very often bore a mystic meaning, and that the intoxication of wine was something more than sensual. As for his religion, to use the words of the author of the *Religio Medici*, "though there be several circumstances that might persuade

¹⁰ FitzGerald (iv) is too well known to repeat. Whinfield gives three renderings, and Nicolas only one. The two following are from Whinfield, and if we take Nicolas's prose translation which follows as the more literal it is clear that the former cannot resist taking a poet's license.

"Death's terrors spring from baseless phantasy,
Death yields the tree of immortality;
Since 'Isa breathed new life into my soul
Eternal death has washed its hands of me."—W. 43.

"Now springtide showers its foison on the land
And lively hearts wend forth, a joyous band,
For 'Isa's breath wakes the dead earth to life
And trees gleam white with flowers like Musa's hand."
—W. 116, cf. 201.

"This is the moment when verdure begins to ornament the world, when, like the hand of Moses, the buds begin to show themselves upon the branches; when revived, as if by the breath of Jesus, the plants spring forth from the earth, when finally the clouds begin to open their eyes and weep. (N. 186.)

the world he had none at all, (as the general scandal of his profession, the natural course of his studies, the indifferency of his behavior in matters of religion, neither violently defending one, nor with that common ardor and contention opposing another), yet in despite hereof he might without usurpation assert the honorable style of a follower of Allah, holding, indeed, a faith so catholic as to include not Islam alone, but all the worshipers of God.

"The temple of idols¹¹ and the Kaaba are places of adoration; the chime of the bells is but a hymn chanted to the praise of the All-Powerful. The *mehrab*,¹² the church, the chapel, the cross, are, in truth, but different stations for rendering homage to the Deity." (N. 30. Cf. N. 248.)

And so we will take leave of al-Khayyámi (God be merciful to him).

THE PROTOTYPE OF THE MODERN MEAT-INSPECTOR.

BY S. MENDELSON.

WRITERS on Preventive Medicine or Hygiene do not devote much, if any, time to details of the history of meat-inspection. They carefully and minutely treat of the objects and methods of the inspection, but not of its origin or evolution. Even veterinarians who are naturally deeply interested in this branch of their science, fail to furnish the information as to the origin and age of practical meat-inspection for purposes of averting causes of disease. They lead us back to distant lands and days of yore, but only to show that institutions, bearing more or less similarity to modern scientific inspection of meats intended for human food, have existed in other countries in former ages; they do not show the genesis of the institution.

In the scant historical data they do cite, the reader can find little palpable proof of meat-inspection in the modern sense. The standard *Text-Book of Meat Hygiene* (Mohler and Eichhorn, Washington, 1908), for example, summarizes the ancient history of meat-inspection within the space of one page (367), and advises the student: "For details see Ostertag's *Handbuch der Fleischbeschau*,"

¹¹ The Kaaba in Mecca with its sacred black stone was built around a temple of the heathen gods of the Koreish, of whom Allah was the chief.

¹² The pulpit in the mosque.

etc. We trustfully appeal to Ostertag, and find him (pp. 8-10) pointing to Egypt, to Phenicia, to Athens, as having practised meat-inspection; but he produces only one instance, besides that of the Israelites, which resembles our methods. It is that of ancient Rome, where the *aediles* supervised the markets, and meat condemned by them was unceremoniously thrown into the Tiber. Ostertag states that in an official report dating from 164 B. C., the following notable item appears: "The *ædile* Tetini fined two butchers for selling people meat which had not been submitted to official inspection. The fine went toward the erection of a temple to a goddess."—All other instances cited by him represent simple taboos, prohibitions against the use of certain animals or parts of animals, for human food or for the altars. In these cases no *post mortem* inspection was required. And yet the intelligent layman as well as the student of hygienics would like to know the true origin of so important a branch of preventive medicine, one which is often the means of averting danger to human health and human life. Where did this beneficial institution originate: what suggested it to its originators?

Failing to find the answer in the literary productions treating of the institutions of the Occident, we turn to the investigators of the institutions of the ancient Orient, in the hope of finding a clue to our problem. We consult Dr. Morris Jastrow, Jr., professor of Semitic languages in the University of Pennsylvania. He declares the Babylonian *baru* (inspector, diviner) to be "the prototype of the modern meat-inspector" (*Religious Belief in Babylonia and Assyria*, New York, 1911, p. 163). It was the *baru's* function to divine the future by inspecting the internal parts, especially the livers, of sacrifices; as such he suggested the idea of examination into the internal condition of the animal killed for human food.

Clear and satisfactory though this postulate appears on the surface, it nevertheless fails to solve our problem. Aside from the fact that there is too little analogy between the function of the sacerdotal *baru* and that of the sanitary meat-inspector, the same question which we are seeking to answer with regard to the putative counterfeit may be raised with regard to the putative prototype: How did the idea of divination originate? What suggested the action of divination by inspection of the entrails of a sacrifice?

Presently it will be shown that the putative prototype was himself but a counterfeit; but first we must discover the immediate pattern of our meat-inspector,—we shall find him among the Jews.

The oldest system of meat-inspection in the modern sense and

the oldest known to history, the inspection of the animal and its organs for evidence of disease, is that of the Jews. It was called forth by the natural instinct of self-preservation; it dates back to pre-Sinaitic times (cf. Kent, *Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents*, p. 212 n.), and traces of its continued practice are found in the several Pentateuchal codes: in the First Book of the Covenant (Ex. xxii. 30 [A. V. 31]), in the Deuteronomic Code (Deut. xiv. 21; cf. Reggio, *Examen Traditionis*, p. 198f), in the Holiness Code (Lev. xxii. 8), and in the Priestly Code (Lev. vii. 24; xvii. 15). Still, like the system of divination, this one too is denied origination through spontaneous generation. Professor Jastrow (*loc. cit.*) states: "Midway between the ancient and the modern *baru* we find among the officials of Talmudical or Rabbinical Judaism an official inspector of the organs of the animal killed for food, whose duty is to determine whether the animal is ritualistically 'clean'; upon this examination depends whether or not the meat could be eaten. There can be no doubt that this ritualistic inspection is merely a modification of the ancient examination for purposes of divination." Thus our pattern is declared to be a mere modification of a pagan rite. But let us probe the tenability of this declaration.

Professor Jastrow himself observes (*loc. cit.*, p. 172, n. 2) that "the Pentateuchal codes abound in protests against customs and rites prevailing among the nations around" the adherents of those codes. As an instance he adduces the burning of "that which hangs over the liver—the caul above the liver"—of a sacrifice on the altar of God (Lev. iii. 4, 10, 15 *et passim*)—"intended as a protest against using the sacrificial animal for purposes of divination, the *pars pro toto* being regarded as a sufficient reminder."

According to Maimonides, the prohibition (*ibid.* ii. 11) against offering leaven and honey unto the Lord, was a protest against the heathen custom of offering just these articles on the altars of the gods (Moreh, III, 46; cf. Herodotus, II, 40).

The Pentateuchal codes—Primitive, Deuteronomic, and Holiness alike—strictly enjoin the Israelites against all kinds and manners of sorcery and divination (see Ex. xxii. 18; Deut. xviii. 10-14; Lev. xix. 26, 31, xx. 6, 27), and as strictly and repeatedly they warn the people against adopting pagan rites. "Take heed to thyself that thou be not ensnared to follow them, . . . and that thou enquire not after their gods, saying, 'How used these nations to serve their gods? even so will I do likewise.' Thou shalt not do so unto the Lord thy God" (Deut. xii. 30; cf. *ibid.* xviii. 9; Lev. xviii. 3, 24, 30; *ibid.* xx. 23 *et passim*). These warnings and injunctions formed

the foundation of Israel's constitution as "a kingdom of priests and a holy nation," and were dutifully followed by all godfearing Israelites.

Considering all this and remembering that the whole structure of Judaism rests on Biblical ground, is it believable that a characteristic pagan rite, or even a semblance thereof, could be introduced into the Jewish ritual?

Moreover, the ancient rabbis, the authors of the Talmud and moulders of Talmudical and Rabbinical Judaism, could not tolerate such a thing, much less do it, consistently with their own principles and enactments. Critics of Rabbinism produce and decry countless instances where the rabbis interdicted customs, harmless if not wholesome in themselves, only because they were characteristically pagan. Even usages originally viewed as manifestations of true Jewish piety and reverence, were prohibited by the rabbis, when such usages became associated with idolatry, in order to eschew and obviate all and every semblance of infidelity to Judaism. Hence, while the rabbis prized human life and health above ritualism; while they repeatedly and forcibly impressed upon their disciples the comprehensive maxim: "We must be stricter in matter involving danger to health than in ritualistic matters;" while in cases threatening human well-being they consistently applied the axiomatic interpretation of the last clause of the Scriptural verse (Lev. xviii. 5): "Ye shall keep My statutes and Mine ordinances, which if a man do he shall live by them," as implying: *but not die through them*,—while they applied this interpretation to all Biblical laws which might interfere with the use of an efficacious remedy, they only excepted, together with the laws concerning incest and bloodshed, those against idolatry and its similitudes. Can we, in the face of all this, even for a moment suppose that the same "legalists" would overtly borrow a notorious pagan rite and incorporate it, or even a modification thereof, in the ritual of Talmudical or Rabbinical Judaism?

But if not from the diviner, from whom did the ancient rabbis learn the rudiments, if not the complete method, of meat-inspection?—They learnt their lesson from the same traditional sources from which the *baru*, the diviner, evolved the art of divination.

In the course of a lengthy disquisition on the Roman *auspices* (*Evolution of the Aryans*, London, 1897, pp. 361-379), Rudolph von Ihering declares (p. 362): "The right interpretation of the Roman *auspices*, as I hope to prove in what follows, is based upon a careful distinction being made between these two periods, one

referring to the time of migration, the other to that of the settlement. In the former we have to deal only with the natural process, adapted merely to the purposes of migration—signs without any religious meaning whatsoever. It was not until the second phase, when, on their becoming settled, the once practical meaning of these signs became quite obliterated, that the *auspices* in the Roman sense of the word, i. e., signs interpreting the consent or non-consent of the gods, came into existence.”

Ihering's thoughtful and judicious disquisition being entirely too long to be reproduced here, we must be satisfied with a succinct statement of his conclusion. Woodruff (*Expansion of Races*, New York, 1908, p. 105) thus epitomizes it: “The Roman process of divination by observing the passage of birds was a remnant of a custom of migratory Aryans looking for the proper way to travel; and divination by examining the intestines and other organs of an animal is a remnant of the habit of looking for diseases among the domestic animals the emigrants slaughtered *en route* to see if the region was a healthy one.”

This explanation of an otherwise inexplicable aberration appears lucid, rational, conclusive. To reverse the evolutionary process in this case would necessitate the belief that the early migrants had an elaborate system of divination, which presupposes a fully developed cult, before they felt the necessity for some precautionary measure to prevent sickness and to secure personal well-being; while we know that it is not human nature to be governed by sentiment before being actuated by the instinct of self-preservation.

But here a question of authority is raised: can a conclusion deduced by Ihering be properly considered conclusive? Ihering held no membership in the guild of learned Orientalists, and no diploma as authorized expositor of ancient Oriental cults; wherefore his right to formulate theories in matters connected with those cults is seriously disputed. A learned upholder of Professor Jastrow's views, as stated above, to whose attention the present writer brought Ihering's opinion, remarked: “Ihering was a great student of law and legal institutions, but he was not an investigator of religious rites, or he would not have struck upon so far-fetched a theory of divination as the one to which you refer. If we find divination methods among all people living in a primitive stage of culture, we must explain it on the basis of a common point of view, and not through such special incidents as migrations.”—However, the impartial reader can readily see that, after advancing this *argumentum ad hominem*, the defender of the anti-Ihering view leaves

the question as to the origin of divination *in statu quo ante*; and since, than that received by the Tuscan ploughman from the demi-god Tages, the son of Genius and grandson of Jupiter (Cicero, *De Div.*, II, 23; Ovid, *Metam.*, XV), no more convincing evidence has been produced, proving that divination by inspection of sacrificial entrails was a primary institution, one may rightly assume that, like all other human institutions, it had a progenitor of some kind.

Of course, we unhesitatingly admit that all divination methods had "a common point of view" basis, even though unconditioned by the people's "living in a primitive stage of culture." Already "3000 years before our era civilization and religion in the Euphrates Valley had reached a high degree of development" (Jastrow, *loc. cit.*, p. 2); nevertheless divination was always at home there. But the negative appendix, that the rite cannot be explained "through such special incidents as migrations," leaves room for doubt. Does it mean to imply that the art of divination, or its basic common point of view, presented itself to all people and everywhere simultaneously? Jastrow (*Heb. and Bab. Traditions*, New York, 1914, p. 140) himself declares: "The system [of divination] not only continued its strong hold upon the people of the Euphrates for thousands of years, but passed on to other nations, to the Etruscans, to the Greeks, and to the Romans, perhaps also to Eastern nations." Here we have his own opinion that migration was, if not the first cause of the system, the vehicle for the promulgation of the system: that the system was born at some place in the Euphrates Valley, amidst some people; that it was conveyed to other nations by means of migration, and that eventually its basic point of view became common to many and widely separated nations. But what begot the idea itself? What engendered the common superstition?

When Voltaire asked, "Who was it that invented the art of divination?" and flippantly answered, "It was the first rogue who met a fool!" he may have enunciated the only theory satisfactory to the modern cultured mind; but even he leaves unanswered the natural question, What suggested that idea to that rogue? From what antecedent did there arise so strange and absurd an idea that the position, or the condition, of the entrails of an animal revealed the decrees of the gods?

The same philosopher, however, also says that, "blacksmiths, carpenters, masons, and ploughmen were all necessary before there was a man of sufficient leisure to meditate;" and a Biblical tradition tells us that Cain and Abel respectively tilled the ground and kept

sheep before they ever thought of bringing offerings to God. Is it too much to assume that, by the same token, the butcher preceded the metaphysician?

Ihering's conclusion shows this to have been the order of development, and a moment's thought will suffice to convince the unbiased that this conclusion is sober and sensible, founded on human nature and accordant with the genesis of human institutions.

Why hepatoscopy, divination through inspection of the signs of the animal's liver, was so universally practised, is lucidly explained by Professor Jastrow (*Religious Belief in Bab. and Ass.*, p. 159). It was because "the diseases most common to men and animals in marshy districts like the Euphrates Valley primarily attack the liver." In other words, phenomena due to pathological conditions afforded the *baru* opportunities for artful interpretations. Again, the same authority assures us (*ibid.*, p. 4) that "there is no longer any doubt of the fact that the Euphrates Valley from the time it looms up on the historical horizon is the seat of a mixed population. The germ of truth in the time-honored Biblical tradition, that makes the plain of Shinar the home of the human race and the scene of the confusion of languages, is the recollection of the fact that various races had settled there and that various languages were there spoken." Of course, it is not to be thought that all the races came there at one and the same time. On the contrary, they followed each other; and it may be taken for granted that "when the Semitic hordes, coming from their homes in Arabia, and the Sumerians . . . began to pour into the land" (*ibid.*, p. 12), they found there not only the noxious miasmatic effluvia affecting man and beast, but also that some squatters had preceded them. Is it not reasonable to believe that the aborigines, having repeatedly suffered dire consequences from eating animal meats affected by the diseases indigenous to the district, established the habit of looking for diseases among the animals they killed for food, before they thought of inventing systems of divination by hepatoscopy? To Ihering it clearly appeared so; and also that from the habit, born of experience and primarily established (whether in the Valley of the Euphrates or in—the land of Nod!) for the purposes of hygiene, there was eventually evolved a system of divination in which the liver, as the reputed seat of life, afforded great opportunities for the display of the *baru's* ingenuity or for the overt practice of his disingenuousness.

And now, since the origin of divination so skilfully maintained by Ihering is, I truly believe, fully vindicated, it must be stated that

Ihering never claimed for himself the authorship thereof. On the contrary, he expressly names its author who preceded him by about 2300 years. He writes (*loc. cit.*, p. 369): "That the condition of the intestines of the animal justified them in forming a conclusion as to the food and the healthfulness of the district, as Cicero (*Divin.* II, 13) tells us, has already been stated by Democritus, who brings the inspection of the victim in connection with it." Cicero also remarks (*loc. cit.*, 57): "Democritus believed that the ancients had wisely enjoined the inspection of the entrails of animals which had been sacrificed, because by their condition and color it is possible to determine the salubrity or pestilential state of the atmosphere, and sometimes even what is likely to be the fertility or sterility of the soil." Ihering (*loc. cit.*, p. 370) further says, "I have borrowed my view of the matter from him. . . . I rejoice to have been enabled to raise out of its unmerited obscurity, and to restore to honor, the view of my predecessor, which found so little favor with the antiquarians that they have left it in such unmerited oblivion."

And as for the Talmudic or Rabbinical inspection of animals killed for food, it has been clearly shown that this could not have been copied from the heathen rite of haruspication. Bible and Talmud strictly forbid the adaptation to Judaism of anything savoring of idolatry. We must therefore conclude that the Jewish system of meat-inspection originated independently of the pagan custom. While throughout uncounted centuries, as may be judged from the case in Rome, the sanitary and the visionary systems divided honors in the ancient world, the sanitary Jewish system was not the counterfeit of the pagan rite. Doubtless the Jewish system originated at a very early period in Israel's history, perhaps during the period of his peregrinations through the wilderness. Certain it is that the Jewish system of meat-inspection for sanitary purposes is nothing but an elaborate continuation of some of the same hygienic rules regarding which William Gladstone (*The Impregnable Rock*, Philadelphia, 1895, p. 384) has said, "I have learned enough from some high medical authorities to be warranted in saying that the sanitary qualities of the Jewish race, even in our own time, and their superior longevity, appear in no small manner to be due to the strict observance of the Mosaic laws." It is true, the rabbis, having amplified the system so as to make it difficult, if not impossible, to discover its nucleus, surrounded it with the halo of ritualism; but this is owing to the fact that Judaism recognizes no distinction between religion and hygiene, except that where the two conflict, the latter is considered more obligatory than the former.

After all that has been said, the reader may safely conclude that the modern meat-inspector had for his prototype, not the Babylonian *baru* or the Roman *haruspex*, but the primitive unconsecrated and probably unlicensed butcher. With proud consciousness, the modern meat-inspector may rightly proclaim himself, not the counterfeit, but, by virtue of the lineal descent of his function, the prototype of the heathen diviner. True, the modern meat-inspector did not go back to the age of the Semitic and Sumerian hordes, or even to that of the Aryan migrations, to learn his disease-preventing profession, as did the *baru* and the *haruspex* to learn theirs. But for him there was no occasion to follow the trail of "all people living in a stage of primitive culture." The Talmudical and Rabbinical inspector of the organs of the animal killed for human food was always near at hand to suggest, and to demonstrate the benefit of, the system of careful scientific inspection for hygienic purposes. In short, the modern meat-inspector is the collaborator of the time-honored Rabbinical inspector whose preceptor was the God-given instinct of self-preservation and whose object always was the prevention of disease among his fellow-beings.

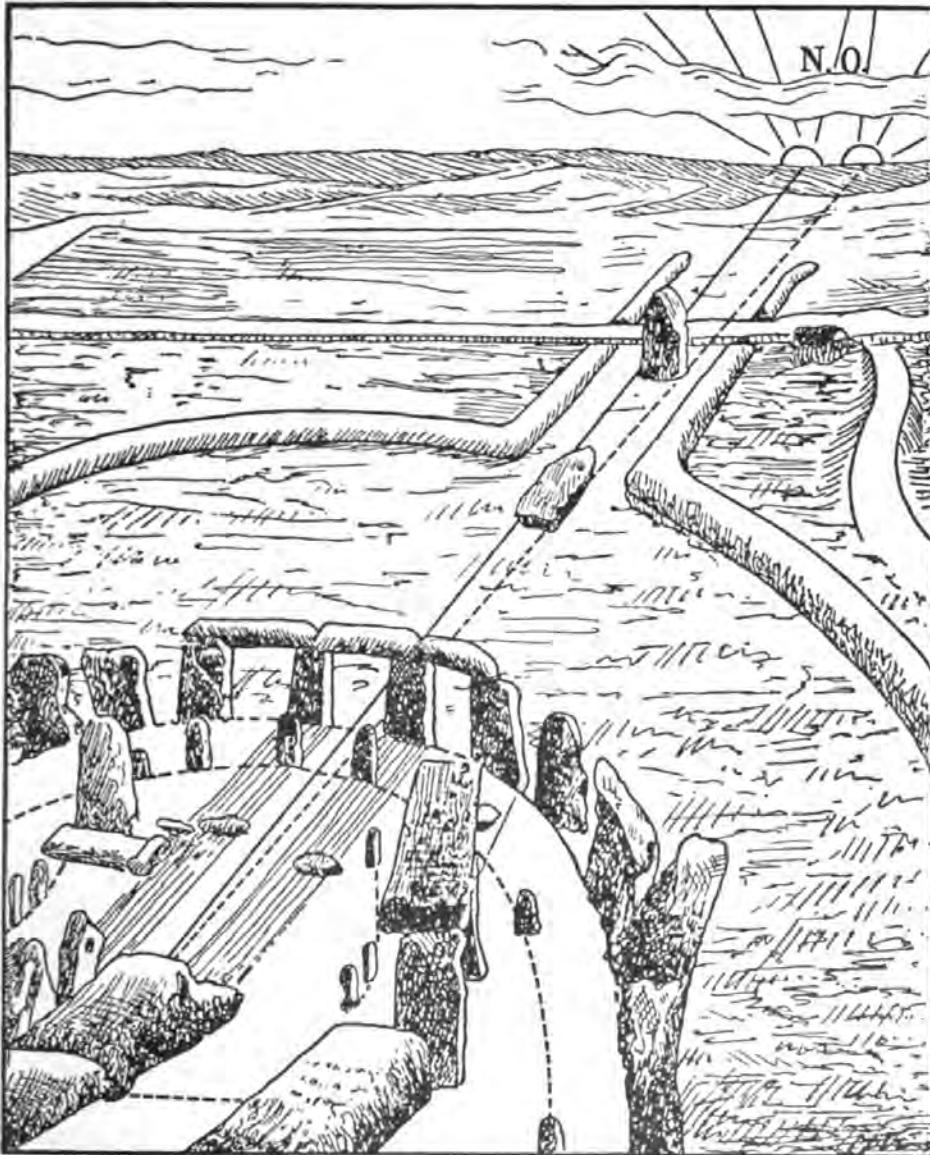
SOLAR WORSHIP.

BY THE EDITOR.

WE are apt to think of our own age as the climax of all history and the perfection of mankind, and that we have passed through all the successive stages of civilization for the sole sake of attaining the blessings which we now enjoy. And what is the result of our attainments? If we consider all in all we find that our happiness may be compared to a fraction, the numerator of which represents our needs and the denominator our satisfactions.

Thus our happiness remains a relative quantity, being approximately a constant throughout the ages, and while the progress of civilization increases the denominators, at the same time the numerators advance in proportion. The Eskimo is in all probability quite satisfied with his scanty denominator simply because his numerator is not as large as it is among civilized people. In consideration of this relative character of our emotional existence we may very well understand that former generations were as elated by their successes as we are to-day when for some reason or another we celebrate a new triumph of science, inventions or progress of

any kind. When we look back upon the relics of the stone age, we must confess that the people who built the monument of Stonehenge in Salisbury Plain were probably filled with the same spirit as the



ASTRONOMICAL EXPLANATION OF STONEHENG.

The dotted line to the right indicates the present direction of the solar rays on the day of the summer solstice at sunrise. The full line to the left marks the solar rays as they were directed in 1680 B.C. From *Archiv für Anthropologie*, N. S., Vol. II.

master masons who finished the cathedrals of the Middle Ages, or the sculptors and architects whose work is immortalized in the

Parthenon of Athens. And if we but understand what an enormous labor the erection of these grand stone pillars must have entailed, we shall gain respect for the men who set them up, with the primitive tools at their disposal, and we may also gain an approximate estimate of their pride in having accomplished a work which testifies nobly to their religious enthusiasm and the dignity of their worship.

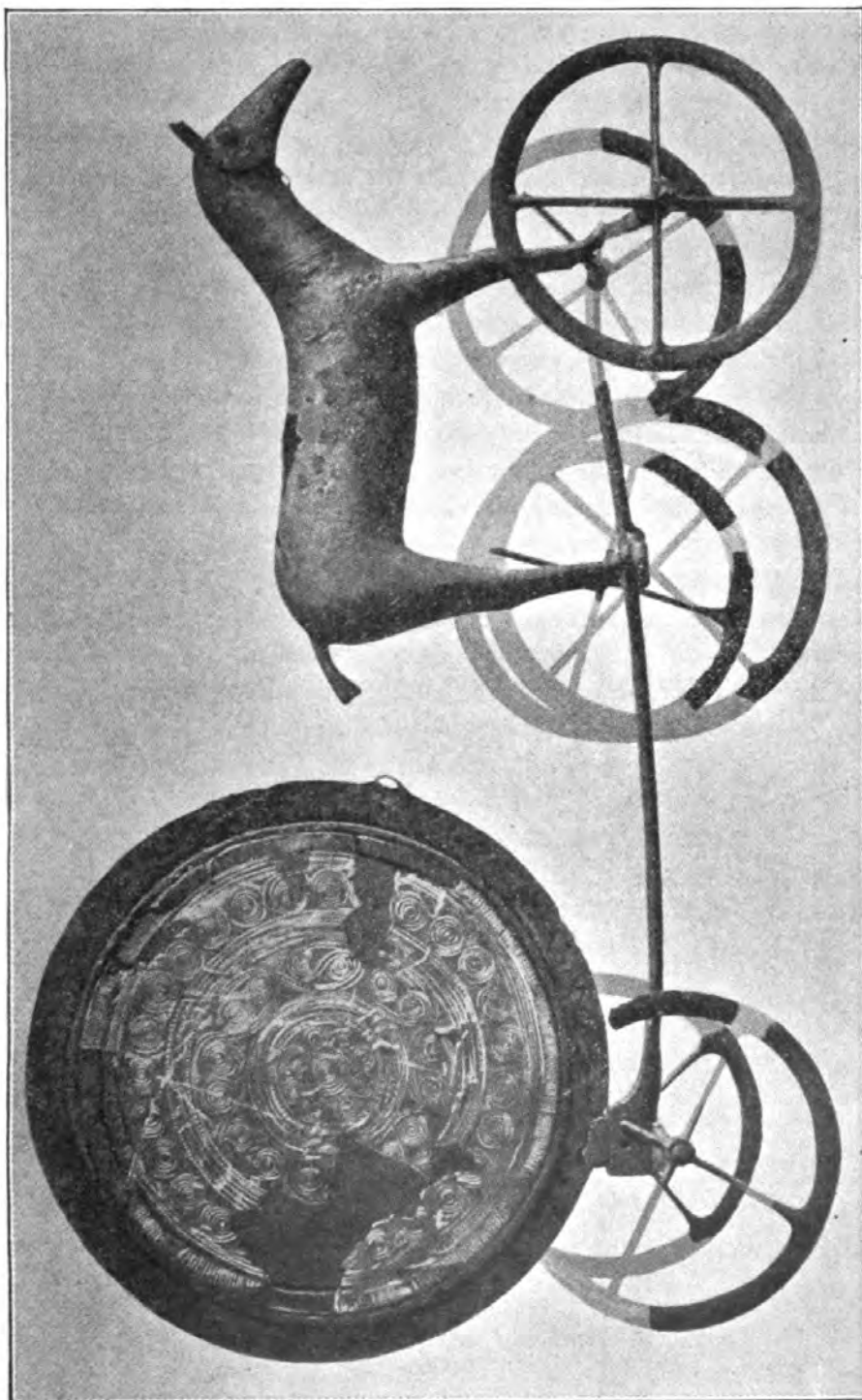
Happily there can be no question that Stonehenge was built in prehistoric days, and that it really is a monument devoted to



BRONZE VIRGIN ON VEHICLE, THE DEITY REPRESENTED AS CARRYING THE SUN.

The surrounding figures are possibly symbolic of clouds and similar spirits.
Found in Judenburg, Styria. From Much, *Kunsthistorischer Atlas*.

what we now call sun-worship. It will be noticed that the whole construction consists of a circle, or rather two circles, of huge stones, set up, as it were, to form gates. Outside the circles, however, there are found two stones which mark a line pointing to northeast, where the sun would rise in midsummer. Accordingly the whole arrangement is made in such a way that on the day of the summer solstice the solar rays, passing the two directive stones and entering the inner space of the sanctuary through the main gate, will touch the center, or the altar, of Stonehenge at sunrise. Now



A REPRESENTATION OF THE SUN, MADE OF BRONZE COVERED WITH GOLD LEAF.
Found in Zealand, Denmark. From Sophus Müller, *Urgeschichte Europas*.

astronomers have noticed that this direction is not exact but indicates a slight deviation, which, however, is easily explained if we take the nutation of the earth's axis into consideration. In calculating the time when, at the sunrise of the longest day of the year, the sun's rays actually fell along the line of the two directive stones so as to be first seen and greeted by the priest at the altar, it was found that it must have been the year 1680 B. C. This is about the time in which our anthropologists place the highest development and slow expiration of the stone age in northwestern Europe. The original construction of Stonehenge, we are told, is probably somewhat older. Thus astronomy and anthropology allied enable us to fathom the enthusiasm that must have inspired our forebears worshipping at a sanctuary of the deity whose visible symbol was the sun, the source of all the happiness of their existence.

There are, of course, other kinds of relics in plenty testifying to the solar worship prevailing in northern and central Europe in prehistoric times, connecting the cult of the stone age tolerably well with well-defined ceremonies that we know from the mythologies of a later day. The sun is mostly represented as a shield or as a wheel, and all over the territory of this slowly emerging civilization, we have found symbols representing the sun as carried about on some sort of vehicle. One of them has been discovered in Denmark, another in Styria, both of the bronze age. We may be sure that these pieces of sacred art were shaped in the same spirit of piety and devotion in which the quattrocentists painted their Madonnas and Thorwaldsen chiseled his statue of Christ.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS AND THE SECULAR OBJECTION.

IN ANSWER TO THE HON. JUSTIN HENRY SHAW. FROM THE
CATHOLIC POINT OF VIEW.¹

“**E**VERYTHING is usually very nearly all wrong with the world,” thus is the present situation excellently characterized by my secularistic friend and opponent, the Hon. J. H. Shaw. There is no chance of talking of a spiritual harmony in human society as it is constituted in these times. It seems the more propitious that two men separated by an abyss in their general outlook

¹ See *The Open Court*, May, 1918, pp. 257ff.

on life should to some extent principally agree in the solution of life's most important problems. It is the aim of the few lines that follow to testify to this agreement publicly, to appreciate the argument of the Hon. J. H. Shaw, and to invalidate certain objections to religious instruction in the schools supported or recognized by the State.

"To live under this American Constitution," thus the Hon. Shaw states the case very correctly, "and to accept its opportunities of religious freedom and religious liberty is the finest privilege that man has ever inherited and enjoyed from his government." I perfectly agree with my opponent. The State has no right to proclaim any laws which would outrage the religious convictions of any one person. The same principle applies to the education and instruction which our children receive in the public schools. No child should be compelled to attend a kind of religious instruction or of service which would imply doing violence to his or her religious convictions. This is exactly why I strongly object to any Bible-reading in our present public schools, and the more so since the fact which is pointed out by the Hon. Shaw, "that sectarian instruction may be given by the frequent reading, without note or comment, of judiciously selected passages," is indeed obvious. And it should not be overlooked that "the American schools are for the children of all the people of every religion and of no religion. The rights of Catholics, Jews, and infidels, agnostics and atheists, are just as much to be regarded and respected as the rights of Protestant Christians." This is why the Hon. Shaw is fully justified in emphasizing the fact that "Jewish children, or children of agnostics, or Catholic scholars of the public schools are quite justified, from social reasons, in refusing diplomas when handed to them by a Protestant preacher officiating where he is not desired, and where he ought not to appear as a religionist," viz., in cases in which the diploma is publicly handed over to the pupil in Protestant churches.

For exactly these reasons have I no patience with the introduction of compulsory instruction in "secular morality" in the public schools, for this also would be a kind of sectarian instruction, viz., a preparation of the children for the religion of secularism, which is at bottom simply a religion *sui generis*. "But ethics," thus the Hon. Shaw goes on to say, "is the science of right human character and conduct. It is in no wise primarily dependent upon religion but has suffered immeasurably by having been associated with it through all the ages." To be sure, the definition of scientific morality is at a first glance very clear and simple, but upon

closer inspection the delusion vanishes rather rapidly. It would be impossible here to subject the altruistic-utilitarian morality to which the Hon. Shaw adheres to a scholarly critique; but I should like to call the attention of my secularistic friend to an assertion made by Gustave Le Bon, certainly an authority who cannot arouse his suspicion, saying that, "*Lorsque les philosophes écriront l'histoire des erreurs de l'esprit humain, ils trouveront de précieux documents dans les traités de théologie, de sorcellerie et de morale.*" (*La vie des vérités*, Paris, 1914, p. 115.) The facts embodied in this statement came to be fully appreciated in the *Congrès international d'éducation morale*, assembled at The Hague in 1912. The most learned men present upon this occasion discovered, with Poincaré, "*qu'il n'y avait pas de morale scientifique.*" Quoting Alfred Croiset, I take the liberty of asking my secularistic friend the following question: "*Au nom de quel principe non-confessionnel enseignera-t-il [that is, the instructor in ethics in a public school] le devoir, l'obligation morale? Il interroge les philosophes et se trouve en présence des réponses les plus discordantes: . . . Il est troublé, incertain. . . . Que faire?*" (*Malaise moral.*) With Gustave Le Bon I apprehend that it is simply a delusion to believe that ethics can safely be based on reason or the intellect alone (*loc. cit.*, p. 119). Which goes to show that the morality of secularism, too, is after all nothing but a simple *matter of faith*.

We may now judge the assertion of the Hon. Shaw that "morality will come from knowledge, and from the better conditions resulting from knowledge obtained in the schools, and not from the teaching of any particular form of dogma or belief, or from any sectarian teaching of sectarian morality." We now know that all the so-called "scientific" systems of morality are after all "sectarian." Besides, daily experience teaches us that science itself is an unreliable guide to life, so that we may sum up with Fairbairn, who writes that, "religion remains thus, in all its forms and ages, a creative and architectonic force, a power all the more absolute that it is moral and intellectual rather than material, economical, or military." (*The Philosophy of the Christian Religion*, Chap. VI, Par. I, n. 3, p. 193.) The assertion made by the Hon. Shaw that, if sectarian teaching prevailed (as just quoted), "the schools and knowledge were of no use, and only religion were useful," and the reproach that the Bible is to blame for the present terrible war and that the Bible would sanction also an unjust war, I believe, should not be taken too seriously.

What I have said proves sufficiently that the easiest and sim-

plest solution of all these difficulties would be either the denominational or the interdenominational school. Thus also the convictions of secularistic children would be safeguarded, and it is unequivocally in the name of true freedom that this kind of a school is here advocated, and do not the secularists fight for an untrammelled instruction in the schools also? They do, and very honestly, I believe. For the Hon. Shaw certainly does not demand—of that I am deeply convinced—that secularism should be made the sole compulsory religious instruction in any public school.

But it may be asked by more than one of the readers of *The Open Court*, is a Catholic allowed to defend such religious liberty? The Roman Catholic Church rejects only that brand of “religious toleration” which claims that any religion will do; in all other respects, however, it is the doctrine of Catholic theologians that it is never permissible to act against one’s conscience, hopelessly erring though it may be. Romans xiv. 14-23 are completely recognized and appreciated by the Catholic Church in their full value as a rule of life.

A few remarks may be added. The quotation in which the relation between science and religion is touched upon (a question which, unless I am badly mistaken, is of supreme interest to anybody who has a religious life) is as a matter of fact not easily understood by the average reader; yet I think that the strictly technical language used in all the sciences does not differ from it in that respect. The expression “analogy,” however, is not in the least “medieval” and is indeed often used in the most modern sciences. The quotation intends to say nothing but this: The Catholic Church, to be sure, has no use for any kind of anthropomorphism, but, for that, not for agnosticism either. The agnostics are right in condemning anthropomorphism, from which, however, it cannot be deduced that in the last analysis *all* supernatural reality is *completely* unknowable.

It never was my intention to smuggle religion into the public schools under the guise of morality. Religion is a much more important force in life than morality. Likewise I regard the argument of the Hon. Shaw that the Church is unable to realize its plan for the salvation of mankind as insufficient. The Hon. Shaw would first have to prove that the cause of the miserable economic and intellectual condition of many religious peoples is really attributable to religion itself. Moreover, the Hon. Shaw certainly knows that it is by no means so very easy to lead a life devoted to duty, and I am afraid that my personal experience might accidentally be that of everybody, viz., that in the case of persons who cannot be induced

to lead a good and moral life by religious principles, all appeals to purely secular and moralistic motives are wasted energy. But should all the noble aspirations of secularism now be held responsible for this failure? Such logic would hardly win much approval.

In regard to the great number of religious criminals one should, in order to arrive at a just verdict in the matter, not merely cite statistics but to calculate, in the first place, what ratio there may exist between the numbers of religious criminals and religious persons as such; in the second place, the social conditions of individuals having criminal propensities should be studied; and in the third place, it should be demonstrated that these criminals belong among people deeply aroused by, and practising, their religion.

After this discussion it is hardly necessary to take up in detail the "nine demands" which the Hon. Shaw submits to the readers of *The Open Court*. Anybody who can see the justice in what I have tried to make plain in the above will form his own opinion regarding them, which, however, will be far from the hearty approval which the Hon. Shaw seems to anticipate.

I wish to conclude this article quoting a man as noble-minded as Holyoake, from whom intellectually my *Weltanschauung* separates me completely: "Men have a right to look beyond this world, but not to overlook it. Men, if they can, may connect themselves with eternity, but they cannot disconnect themselves from humanity without sacrificing duty." This maxim of life is scrupulously adhered to also by the Catholic Church which sees in our earthly life a means of attaining the Kingdom of God. Its philanthropic and educational institutions are the best proof for the correctness of my assertion. "Religion is not a thing," thus Mr. Holyoake continues, "to drive us from the world, not a perpetual moping over 'good' books; but being and doing good. . . . This end we reach not by a *theological*, but by a *secular*, path" (*Rationalism*, p. 117). Not until here we part. For that, however, we harbor no hostility whatever against our secularist friends, we only ask them to take into consideration that the largest part of mankind does attain this aim in a "theological," I had better say "religious," fashion. And this is a fact which secularism, too, will have to take into account, no matter whether its friends like it or not.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A NOTE ON "HUME'S SUPPRESSED ESSAYS," WITH A SLIGHT CORRECTION.

I am very sure the publication of Hume's two essays, on "The Immortality of the Soul," and on "Suicide," in the December, 1917, number of *The Open Court*, was of wide interest. Undoubtedly the essay on "Suicide" is not to be had in the book-market, as stated by Dr. Carus in his editorial introduction. The information is entirely new in regard to this composition, so far as I know, with my limited reading. The publication of these two articles is very commendable and helpful. And so far as general readers have been concerned there can be no doubt that both essays had been effectually suppressed.

But the editor has overlooked the fact that one of the essays, "*The Mortality of the Soul*," had been brought out by the English Rationalists in 1890. I am sure it has simply been overlooked by Dr. Carus because I purchased my copy through *The Open Court* book-department, I should think four or five years ago. My copy, and of the particular title just given, further reads: "By David Hume. Reprinted from the Original Edition of 1789, with An Introduction by G. W. Foote. Price twopence. London: Progressive Publishing Company, 28 Stonecutter Street, E.C., 1890."

The text of the English republication is substantially the same as *The Open Court* copy. The only differences are that "'tis" has been rendered into "it is," and some other changes to make a more modern punctuation and more paragraphs. The italics are identical.

I am also confident those who have read the essays republished in December, with the splendid introductory by Dr. Carus, will be further interested in the considerations by Mr. Foote in his introduction to the English republication, especially in regard to the differences in the title of the essay on the "Soul." That part of it applicable to this note I will quote:

"...In the ordinary editions of Hume's *Essays* the following reprint is not to be found. This essay was published for the first time after his death, at Edinburgh, in 1789, by C. Hunter, Parliament Square. It was the second of two posthumous essays, the first being a remarkable essay on *Suicide*. A copy of the original edition has been faithfully followed in this reprint. Not a word has been changed, but such forms as 'tis' have been brought into accord with the sedate fashion of to-day, and the frequent dashes in the midst of long passages have been treated as the marks of fresh paragraphs.

"Professor Huxley, whose thoroughness is apparent to all who follow him, gives the title to this essay *On the Immortality of the Soul*, but the word used on the original title-page is *Mortality*, which indicates the author's argument. This is a mere inadvertence, however, for Huxley is well acquainted with the essay, and gives long extracts from it in his splendid little volume on Hume. (Hume, *English Men of Letters* Series.) He calls it a 'remarkable essay,' and 'a model of clear and vigorous statement.' It long remained but little known, but 'possibly for that reason its influence has been manifested in unexpected

quarters, and its main arguments have been adduced by archiepiscopal and episcopal authority in evidence of the value of revelation. Dr. Whatley, sometime archbishop of Dublin, paraphrases Hume, though he forgets to cite him; and Bishop Courtenay's elaborate work, dedicated to the Archbishop, is a development of that prelate's version of Hume's essay.'"

"...We must conclude this Preface with a word of warning to the reader. Let him not be misled by the opening and closing paragraphs of Hume's essay into supposing that the great sceptic deferred to the authority of Revelation. They are only his ironical bows to orthodoxy. He indulges in the same gestures in his *Essay on Miracles*. This has brought upon him, as it brought upon Gibbon, a charge of disingenuousness. But both of these masters of irony were perfectly aware that every sensible man understood them. If they wore a mask, it was transparent, and did not conceal their features; and those who upheld the Blasphemy Laws for the persecution of Freethinkers, had no right to complain when conformity was yielded with an expressive grimace."

If the foregoing may add an interest to the service by Dr. Carus in reprinting the essays, I shall be well repaid for this note.

JUSTIN HENRY SHAW.

KITTERY, MAINE.

BOOK REVIEWS.

LECTURES ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF MATHEMATICS. By *James Byrnie Shaw*. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., 1918. 193 pages. Price, cloth, \$1.50 net.

The modern philosopher and thinking layman is in a difficult position when he undertakes to get some notion of what the modern mathematician is talking about. He finds out with little trouble that mathematics long ago ceased to be the science of number and quantity solely, and has grown into a sturdy giant whose power is evidently expanding year by year. But if he picks up even an elementary book on mathematics he finds much of it unintelligible not only on account of the notation and the terminology, which have become highly technical, but also because the mathematician does not hesitate to talk about space with four dimensions, points at infinity, curves that occupy an area and other equally incomprehensible things. He may be inclined indeed to take one of two widely prevalent views: the one assuming that when the mathematician is talking in terms that have no meaning for every-day conscious sensible experience, he is really using the words merely symbolically—that, for instance, when he says four-dimensional space he really means combinations of four variables; the other assuming that the mathematician lives most of the time in a dream world with no way at all of ascertaining whether the propositions he asserts about his dream world are true or even consistent, as for instance, that a Lobachevskian space is a fiction, like a hippogriff, and though its geometry may seem to be valid in itself, yet nevertheless the consistency is hypothetical, with a strong suspicion that some day it will break down.

The present book undertakes to give an intelligible account of the main ideas of mathematics in such form that the average college graduate can get a fair notion of what it is about and what kind of things it is dealing with. For

instance, the notion of number is shown to be an evolving conception, numbers including first integers, then fractions, then irrationals, then pointsets, then ensembles of any kind, the history of mathematics showing what has taken place in the growth of this term and what it contains. Again the wide presence of the invariant is the subject of another chapter, in which the principle of invariancy is shown to permeate much of mathematics. In one of the chapters the power of the mathematician in creating new or ideal entities to enable him to go on with his constructions is exhibited. The methods of mathematical research are explained, and the sources of the truths of mathematics examined. In the last chapter the meaning for science and art of the existence of mathematics with its honorable expansion for thousands of years is discussed, and distinct encouragement given to all the outgrowths of the creative imagination.

The thoughtful general reader, the philosopher by profession, the reflective scientist, and the artist who ponders the whence and the whither of art, will find in this book much to consider, and may find solutions to many perplexing questions.

ESSAYS IN SCIENTIFIC SYNTHESIS. By *Eugenio Rignano*. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1918. 254 pages. Price, cloth, \$2.00 net.

This is the English edition of the essays of the editor of *Scientia* which were first published in book form in French, 1912 (Félix Alcan, Paris). A translation in racy English implies an appeal to a wider circle of readers, at least to everybody who wants to keep himself informed of the most recent developments in the sciences, without being able to get a connected view when referring to the specialists' publications.

M. Rignano's position is that of the "theorist," a natural outgrowth of that of the science editor: while no longer permitted by time to chain himself to the laboratory or the experiment station, he has a far better opportunity at his desk that any specialist would have to attempt a synthesis intended to cover the field as a whole. Replacing the cheap and superficial methods of a "popularizer" by original thought based upon an accurate knowledge of the facts known and just coming to be known, he has something to offer to the science student in any stage of his development.

The Table of Contents announces discussions on the following subjects: (1) The Synthetic Value of the Evolution Theory; (2) Biological Memory in Energetics; (3) On the Mnemic Origin and Nature of the Affective Tendencies; (4) What is Consciousness? (5) The Religious Phenomenon; (6) Historic Materialism; (7) Socialism.

Each chapter, while solving, from the author's point of view, its own problem, unfolds another, so that the reader is led on by his own scientific interest kindled ever afresh. It is especially the epochal theory of the *mneme*, now largely identified with the work of Richard Semon, that holds the center of attention. But the bearing that, and what bearing, any branch of the sciences has upon any other, from the problems which the naturalist faces to the most vexed present-day questions of sociology and economics, is really what becomes apparent in the book, justifying the author in calling it a "synthesis."

An attractive binding, good print, good paper adding dignity and distinction, it is hoped that the volume will meet with the same hearty approval which accompanied the original publication in France.

MODERNIST STUDIES IN THE LIFE OF JESUS. By Ray Oakley Miller. Boston, Sherman, French and Company, 1917. Pp. 51. Price \$.80 net.

This book attempts to construct a life of Jesus from the viewpoint of modern times, and by "Modernist" the author declares that his conception shall "not be without a genuine sympathy for, and an appreciation and appropriation of, the fundamental elements of idealism and faith." Liberalism, if it simply discards the old faith and accepts principles which allow one to be liberal in his life, makes him a libertine not a true liberal. A "truly liberal faith leaves nothing of any value behind," and "a liberal is one whose blood is growing warmer, whose charity is growing broader, whose vision is growing clearer; who, in the last analysis, is deeply in love with life."

Our author retains as much of the doctrines of the faith of Jesus as a rationalistic conception will allow, and he looks upon Jesus as "the fulfiller."

We may regard as the main portion of his doctrine the proposition of a belief in a personal God. Personality is to him "the momentous fact in the world—the personality of God as well as the personality of man"—and, he adds, "anything less than this, therefore, in any concept of God is unphilosophic, and eventually degrading to the human spirit." *

HUGO DE VRIES OPERA E PERIODICIS COLLATA. Vol. I. Utrecht: A. Oosthoek, 1918. Pp. 630.

As the title indicates, the present volume contains the papers contributed by De Vries to various periodicals, to the exclusion, however, of any that are singly obtainable in the book-market. This principle has been discarded only in the case of the treatises *Die mechanischen Ursachen der Zellstreckung* and *Intracellulare Pangenesis*, an inconsistency which will meet with ready approval. The different papers are reprinted in the languages in which they were first published, Dutch, French and German, even the original spelling and, possibly, misprints being adhered to. The arrangement is by subject-matter and chronology. The first volume at present submitted includes only articles appealing chiefly to the scientist. Another volume, containing De Vries's *populaire geschriften*, is in preparation. Paper, print, and binding are of high quality. Since nobody signs as responsible editor—only the suggestion for the book being given by *een aantal vrienden en vereerders*—the publisher may take all the credit for reminding us in such a dignified and pleasant fashion of the seventieth anniversary of the birth of the famous naturalist.

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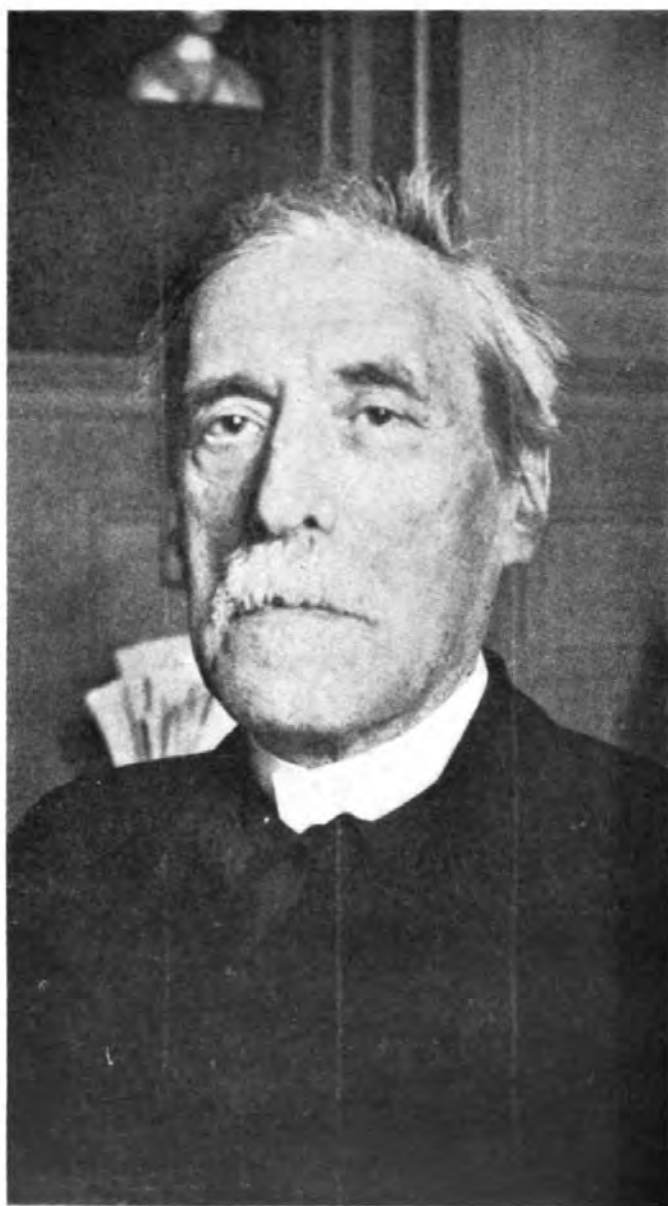
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Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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A FRENCHMAN ON AMERICA.¹

BY EMILE BOUTROUX.

[The psychological development of America seems to have been so rapid since the outbreak of the European war, and especially since April 6, 1917, that to an observer from Mars the face of the country might appear totally changed. It may be well, under the circumstances, to turn to what a prominent Frenchman had to say about us as early as 1910, to measure the distance that separates us from our pre-war state of mind. In some ways a mere retrospect will be suggested, a prospect in others, and a reaffirmation of our ideals will certainly become apparent that should be greeted as most propitious.—ED.]

WHEN the Academy, last February, before I started for America, was good enough to invite me to relate my impressions on my return I had no idea that I should have the honor of doing so in the presence of the most eminent representatives of American culture. It is a bold undertaking to discourse on foreign countries even before one's fellow-countrymen; they are disposed, naturally enough, to mistrust assertions which they are not in a position to verify, while to relate one's fleeting impressions before the very persons who are best acquainted with the things to which they refer, and who are constantly in touch with them, shows a degree of boldness for which it is difficult to find excuse. Of course one can put forward the doctrine which many psychologists regard with such favor nowadays, that, in order to know the self of an individual, the foreign observer who investigates from without is in a more favorable position than the subject himself who studies from within. The various nations of the world, however, are not prone to favor this view; as a general rule we attribute to foreigners a degree of perspicacity or mental discernment all the more profound only in pro-

¹ [This address was delivered at the *Académie des Sciences morales et politiques* April 23, 1910, President Roosevelt and the Ambassadors Bacon and Jusserand being present. Authorized translation by Fred Rothwell, London, England.]

portion as their impressions and judgments regarding us coincide with the opinion we have of ourselves.

To speak worthily, then, of America in the presence of Americans, it would seem necessary that one should have evolved an American soul. But even then I am not at all certain that the difficulty would be removed. America is a nation of a somewhat special *genre*. No doubt there exists an American soul, an American genius or spirit, but if we are to become thoroughly acquainted with it we must apply ourselves to what is really essential, characteristic, and representative, in the various traits that come before the notice of the observer. Whatever is not representative of the real American genius it is the foreigner's duty to ignore altogether; for if we once possess a perfectly lifelike portrait of a person, it is useless to aspire to its completion by the addition of something purely accidental and extrinsic. This is the theory usually set before the visitor to America, and it is a very sensible one indeed. Our sole difficulty consists in discriminating between what must be retained as truly representative and what had better be set aside as negligible. In one great center it is proven to demonstration that there the men and things exactly constitute the genuine and authentic American type. In another such center, a similar proof is afforded. For instance, when in Boston, if I describe America from what I have seen in New York, the truth of my observations will most likely be called into question; whereas in New York, if I invoke what I have seen in Boston, I shall incur the reproach of regarding the part as the whole, or the past as the present. To a foreigner it sometimes appears as though America realizes the paradoxical conception of a circle with its center everywhere and its circumference nowhere.

Any one, however, who has to speak about America before an American, is supposed to be in a privileged position. Let us imagine, then, an American born in New York, a graduate of Harvard, one who enjoys the widest popularity imaginable, in fact to such a degree that, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Lake Ontario to the Gulf of Mexico, the American nation is reflected in him; let us also imagine that this American has taken for his motto: *Courage and honesty*; then, most of the difficulties above mentioned will be non-existent in the case of a speaker who has such a man listening to him. Accordingly I will regard myself as in this very position, lay aside my scruples and *go ahead*, as you say in America. In the following remarks, my sole endeavor will be to set forth my impression of things as faithfully as possible.

From the outset I must confess that, immediately on landing, I was bitterly conscious of my inability to answer the American reporters who asked me without delay, What do you think of America? It is very difficult to deal with so vast a subject while engaged in collecting one's luggage scattered here and there in a vast hall, and satisfying the inquisitive and suspicious demands of the custom-house officers. Besides, I was going to America not so much to reveal to the people there the future in store for them and what they were in themselves as possibly to learn all this to some extent myself. So I kept this question in mind only to reflect subsequently on what it really meant, and I thought I saw at last that one of the main objects of the Americans, whose national emblem bears the words: *E pluribus unum*, was to maintain the cohesion and unity of the nation, amid the enormous diversity of the peoples of which it is composed. The American spirit certainly possesses a singular capacity of assimilation. It does not appear, however, that in America there exists an aspiration after unity in identity pure and simple. The great variety of traditions and conditions, of ambitions and natural propensities there to be found forms a source of wealth, productiveness, and power which it is important to maintain and utilize: American unity ought to be nothing less than the untrammelled convergence of these various forces toward one and the same end. To my mind, this nation which is still so young would find the formula of the ideal after which it is aiming pretty accurately expressed in the ancient maxim:

πῶς δέ μοι ἔν τι τὰ πάντα ἔσται καὶ χωρὶς ἑκάστων;

"How are we to make the whole a unit and each part a whole?"

Will America realize this ideal? It would hardly be pertinent on the part of a passing stranger to express an opinion on such a question. Moreover, as Michelet truly said, the future is not something made and which we must expect: it is for us to make it what we wish it to be. This thought I regard as quite American.

* * *

Instead of attempting to solve the great problems that face America, I found it far more practicable to enjoy the extremely interesting and agreeable life offered me by that country. It was with the university and literary world that I came more specially in contact. I had the good fortune to stay with Prof. William James, who lives in a delightful house surrounded by greenswards and trees and built of wood in colonial style, as are most of the houses in the university quarter of Cambridge. A vast place, its

walls lined with books from floor to ceiling, this dwelling is wonderfully adapted for study and meditation. Nor is there any danger of sinking into a state of moody egoism, for the most pleasant sociability reigns everywhere. The library, Professor James's study, contains not only a writing-desk, tables, and books, but also sofas and window-seats, as well as rocking armchairs which receive visitors at all hours, so that it is in the presence of ladies drinking tea and engaged in lively conversation that this profound thinker meditates and writes.

The first thing that strikes one about American universities is the extent of their grounds. At Harvard one passes through lawns planted with trees, the playground of little gray squirrels which climb on one's shoulders. The university itself consists of several buildings, each of moderate size, scattered here and there in vast enclosures or parks. It is the same throughout America. Nor is this merely a healthy and pleasant arrangement: unless I am very much mistaken, it is the symbol of a certain conception of the development of science. Suppose the frame of science has been set up, once for all, by competent and infallible authority, in conformity with the immutable categories of Being; and it will be logical to construct for its use a splendid edifice with great walls and narrow courts, symmetrical and definite in design. Admit, on the other hand, that the frame must be made for the picture, and that the picture can be completed only by proceeding from details to the whole, continually permitting of modifications which cannot be foreseen; admit that we do not even know if the original we are endeavoring to represent, is itself a complete whole; then the house of science will itself have to remain ever subject to modification and transformation, with its arrangements expressing the actual and contingent distribution of knowledge, rather than the eternal, and perhaps illusory fabric of the universe. In a people wholly imbued with the idea of progress, ever ready to replace rather than to patch up, so as to have entire freedom of action, and which takes for its motto Emerson's phrase, "The old is for slaves," no doubt the sense of the subordination of the outer garb of science to the infinite and ever-advancing reality of things is particularly keen and vivid; and it is apparently such a sense that is manifested in the very construction of the universities as they freely evolve and expand in accordance with the requirements of the scholars.

Another feature that impresses the visitor is the enormous part played by the donations of individuals in the development of American universities. Harvard University, where I had the privilege

of speaking, owes its name to the Rev. John Harvard, who died in 1638 leaving half of his fortune to the college founded by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. The new lecture hall in which I delivered one of my two series of lectures was built by Lowell, a generous alumnus of Harvard. At Wellesley, near Boston, a famous college for young ladies, Mr. Rockefeller has given an apparatus which distributes heat and electricity throughout the numerous buildings. The magnificent library in the center of Columbia University, costing \$1,100,000, is the gift of Mr. Low, a former president of the University. During the present academic year, this University has received in donations a sum of \$4,000,000. At Princeton there was no water to provide the students with nautical sports: Mr. Andrew Carnegie gave them a lake nearly four miles in length. Libraries, scientific institutions, gymnasiums, swimming-tanks, and public meeting-rooms thus testify everywhere to the interest taken in university life by the owners of immense fortunes. Here money is both the symbol and the source of creative power. And one of the creations most appreciated is that of buildings and establishments fitted to supply young people with health and strength, amusement and instruction, i. e., with the means of helping themselves.

It is not for me to inquire into the relation between results and expenditure. Specialists in all departments of life must decide as to the place America holds in the world of science. I will merely state that at Harvard, in the world of philosophy, the most diverse studies and tendencies are brilliantly represented. William James, the renowned psycho-physiologist, gifted with a marvelous sense of life and the concrete world, rises from the conception of radical empiricism to a metaphysic of action, pluralism, and universal creation. Royce, the famous author of *The World and the Individual*, whose idealism attempts to find a basis for relative experience in absolute experience, purposes to combine a certain pragmatism with the principles of symbolical logic, recognizing that the essential postulates of logic are to be found in the conditions of action. Münsterberg, the psychological savant, superimposes the subjective point of view onto the objective, according to the idea of Fichte, and thus insures the foundations of logic, ethics, and esthetics. Santayana, in contrast with William James, turns to the philosophy of Being and the Immovable. Palmers and Perry deal in original fashion with moral and other questions. Aided by such minds, as distinguished as they are diverse in nature, the students are called upon to exercise their reflective powers. Some are convinced prag-

matists, some are anti-pragmatists, and philosophical debates are lively and impassioned. Apart from general philosophy, whether pragmatic or idealist, those branches of philosophic study which flourish most at Harvard are psychology, symbolical logic, and social ethics.

It would be extremely interesting to watch the tendencies of American universities. We know that they generally consist of two sorts of establishments: the college and the special faculties, the latter added onto the former. The result is something like a German university added onto the old English or French college. In this combination the college, though admitting of possibilities of choice, continues to represent general culture, whereas the faculties are the domain of special studies. Now the question asked on every side is whether strictly college studies should be maintained to the extent that at present holds good. Young men spend four years at college, from eighteen to twenty-two, as a rule, in preparing for a bachelor's degree. Nowadays, however, it is generally found that, considering the ever-increasing requirements of science and life, the postponement of special studies cannot be maintained as obligatory for so long a period; in many universities the students are allowed to specialize in their work after three years of college. All the same, even among those who advocate such measures, many are still greatly in favor of general culture, and President Butler of Columbia University writes in this connection: "The college has hitherto been and, let us hope, will continue to be the center and foundation of higher education in America." The question of the relation between general culture and special culture depends, as we see, on what is the future of the college.

Another thing, of quite a different relation to the former, is the desire to form the closest possible connection between study and life. As a general rule it seems unbecoming to transform into an end what ought to be only a means; a literary culture that produced only wits, a scientific culture that neglected practical life and the public good, would find little favor with the American nation. This is why, on the one hand, it is only in so far as college studies contribute to mould a man, and not simply a scholar, that there is a desire to retain them; on the other hand, a number of schools that are not merely special but strictly speaking technical, find a place in the universities. It is also expected that the teachers should be constantly at the service, not only of pure science, but also of the nation, in actual concrete reality.

The zeal shown by the teachers in this direction, with the object

of inducing young men to aim at the higher ends of education, quite apart from success in examinations, it must be confessed, is not always fully appreciated by the pupils themselves. In a small book that describes the life at Harvard I read about two students, keen athletes, who, as the examinations drew near, hurriedly engaged one of their comrades, of less means, who had attended all the lectures and taken down every word of the professor,—to “cram” them for the ordeal. “Now,” said the extempore coach to his two pupils, “we have gone through the doctrines of Thales, Heraclitus, Democritus, Anaxagoras, Socrates, and have reached Plato—.” “Skip Plato,” interrupts one of the students, “you have told us quite enough about him when dealing with the others.” Nor is this anecdote purely academical. One day, when Professor James, with that original dash and enthusiasm of his, was expounding one of his philosophical theories, a pupil, mindful of the impending examination, interrupted him with the words: “To be serious for a moment....”

Indeed, every country possesses its quota of such students, whom Professor James in his picturesque language calls bald-headed and bald-hearted. Still, in America, a strict attendance at lectures and diligent study represent only a part of university life, even in the case of the best students. The relations of the students with one another, their common life, occupations and amusements, form an equally important element. All around the university buildings are dormitories, refectories, and clubs, where the students have their home life, under the patronage of the university authorities. Not only do they join heartily in the various sports, they also publish journals, engage in debates on literary, social, philosophical, and political questions, play Shakespeare, and enjoy a most interesting and fully organized life which seems as though it would take up the whole of their time. One of the numerous clubs I will mention is the Cosmopolitan Club, consisting of young men belonging to about thirty different nationalities. It is a pleasure for me to inform you that the members of this club requested me to address them on the *Institut de France*, and that Chinese, Japanese, and Hindus, as well as Greeks, Germans, Americans, and Frenchmen, at the close of the lecture heartily expressed the interest they had taken in it.

This life in common possesses something more than mere charm in the eyes of the students; they regard it as the finest possible preparation for social and political life. In Anglo-Saxon countries education is generally thought to be far less dependent

on lessons or on the example even of parents, masters, and pastors, than on the daily relations between the young man and his equals. This is the reason why students' homes and boarding establishments are in such favor. Sports, in which strict obedience to the elected captain is the first condition of success, regarded from this point of view, become of the utmost importance. The Alma Mater ever holds the first place in the affection of her offspring quite as much because of the relations she sets up between the students, the qualities she develops in them, as by reason of the instruction she lavishes on them. The students receive the impression that the whole of their after-life depends on their college years. And I think I may affirm that a Harvard man, though he were to become a colonel, Governor of a State, or even President of the United States, would regard none of these offices as dearer to him than that of President of the Association of the Alumni of Harvard.

* * *

The opinion of students as to the importance of their college life is but the expression of a thought predominant in the United States: that of the preponderance of education over instruction, strictly so called. Nothing is regarded in that country as complete or final. According to the ruling idea, mankind is not, but is *becoming*; human nature, in its inmost essence, is susceptible of change and progress—it is in the making. On human worth mainly depends the form and progress of human life. Now man is not a product of nature, he is a work of art; he has made himself by education and he becomes modified by the same means. "Impossible to exaggerate the importance of education," is a current saying in America. It is surprising how far an individual by appropriate training can modify even his physical constitution and, from being thin and delicate, become strong and robust, capable of the most trying electoral campaigns or of adventurous hunts across the deserts of Africa. There is no such thing as fatality weighing heavily upon individuals or masses of people; by education man can attain to both physical and mental power, to self-confidence and self-control.

And so, in a very general way, throughout the United States inquiry into the best means of education is regarded as the one problem on which all the rest depend. If one would judge of the zeal and enthusiasm shown in this connection, one need only consult the bulky Bibliography of Education, published yearly in Washington by the United States Bureau of Education.

What are the main principles of this education, on which the future of the nation is supposed to depend?

To deal with such a question without losing oneself, either in details or in vague generalities, it would be advisable, if possible, to take a concrete example, a particularly significant one, or what Francis Bacon calls a privileged case. Now it happens that the whole of America, at the present time, finds its loftiest tendencies focussed in an individual to whom it gives the title: citizen. All the idealism of the country is fixed on the citizen: this phrase sums up what I have read and heard on all sides. And so the best thing to do is simply to find out what are preeminently the controlling ideas of this American citizen.

Above all else, he strongly condemns dilettanteism and purely negative criticism. The superiority on which those persons plume themselves who sit comfortably on their porches and watch what they call the human masquerade pass by, or again, those who think they undermine living realities by directing against them the learned ingenuity of their abstract reasonings, such superiority is nothing more than presumption and delusion: as a matter of fact, these fine wits have no share in the work of humanity and are without influence upon its destiny. Human life is a matter of faith and action. A noble, useful life is a strenuous life, not what is called in French *une vie intense*, but rather a life of toil and effort, of labor and strife.

Does this mean that life has no other end than itself, that we must recommend man to take up action for its own sake, to struggle and conquer without any other object than power and the consciousness of such power? This could not be in the mind of the author of *American Idols*. For him, action, like physical strength and even instruction, is but a means: that which qualifies it is the end in view.

This end is essentially Americanism. It is the first duty of every American *to talk and think and be United States*. "America first, last, and all the time": such is his motto. No doubt, as human beings, it is our duty to work for mankind. Still, the moral unity of the human race is not an actually realized entity which renders the distinctness of the various nations something accidental and contingent. Man realizes himself, first of all, as one of a family and the citizen of a country: family and fatherland are the necessary foundations of the temple of humanity.

The American citizen must aim after true Americanism. Now this is not that vain pursuit of dollars which is sometimes regarded

as the objective of American activity. Know thyself, i. e., clearly perceive or discern thy best self: this ancient motto is one that applies to nations as well as to individuals. True Americanism is a spirit of independence and liberalism, of practical idealism.

Both collectively and individually, the Americans mean to govern themselves, to be their own masters. They possess that sense of self-reliance and of self-control which form the prerequisites of true personality.

Moreover, being composed of men of the most diverse origins, rich because of this very diversity which constitutes its originality and gives every promise of a glorious future, America is sincerely wedded to freedom of beliefs and customs. It was this that was in the mind of the President of the United States, when, in 1907, at the laying of the foundation-stone of the cathedral of Saint Paul, he telegraphed to Archbishop Ireland: "In this fortunate country of ours, liberty and religion are natural allies and go forward hand in hand."

Finally, America is the outcome of a mighty effort on the part of man against brute nature: here the Puritan idealism of its founders is necessarily intertwined with realism. It is no attempt to find a heavenly kingdom unconnected with the natural world, it is an effort to create the spiritual out of matter itself, an essentially practical idealism that expresses the religious groundwork of the American soul.

These general ideas determine the principles which the American educator would like to see governing individual, social, and international life.

* * *

At the banquet of the Alumni which followed the installation of Mr. Nicholas Murray Butler as President of Columbia University in 1902, the President of the United States declared that the essential elements of character—for it is this that especially determines a man's worth—were to be found in the three virtues of *courage, honesty, and hard common sense*. A very simple doctrine, assuredly, but how far-reaching its consequences, could it be put into practice! The ways of men are complicated, but their motives are elementary. A few elementary virtues, if only put into practice, would change the face of the world.

Social life, says our statesman, is based on liberty, though not on liberty alone. There is another principle, justice, with which liberty must be invested. And justice that is true and complete is not simply the strict observance of legality, it is rather the recog-

nition of each man's right to live a distinctively human life. Among the conditions that contribute to the fulfilment of the human ideal is property. Property is made for man, not man for property; when the two clash the right of the former takes precedence over that of the latter. In proportion, therefore, as any given property increases, it is the duty of its holders to make use of it in such a way as to facilitate access thereto of all such as have contributed, by their labor, to build it up. Speaking generally, between right pure and simple which aims only at the just guarantee of the existing state of things, and possession, which is the thing that sets a seal on activity, we find concrete possibility, the sum total of those conditions that allow individual effort to be usefully exercised and to aspire after possession. In a well-organized society there would be not only equality of rights but also equality of possibilities.

International life, also, has moral rules of its own. Nations consist of persons. Peace is evidently the normal form of international relations; though in this connection we must distinguish between end and result. Peace is not the supreme end in view. He whose teachings we are here summing up would doubtless affirm that we intend to have nothing to do with that peace of which Tacitus speaks in the famous passage: *Ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*. There are evils, greater than war, to which nations are exposed: injustice, dishonor, and death. But if rational, just, and equitable relations are regularly established between nations and seriously guaranteed, then the natural result of such organization will be peace, no longer that deceptive, precarious peace which can only be realized by victorious power, but the solid and lasting peace which is the expression of essential order.

* . * . *

And now,—for there is one question which no doubt you have been wishing to ask me since I began,—in the ever closer relations, both intellectual and moral, which bind together France and the United States, what is that in us which the Americans appreciate and what in them is it that we may profitably study? On so great a subject, I will confine my remarks to two points to which my attention has constantly been called during my stay in the United States.

Americans are more than ever struck by the peculiar value belonging to that quality—so ordinary, to all appearance—which is everywhere extolled in the French mind: clarity. Throughout the world the idea has long been prevalent that the French are wonderful

artists, but that they cultivate art for its own sake, and are neither able to enter into profound speculations regarding the principles of things, nor to adapt themselves, in a manly docile fashion, to the conditions of practical life. It now appears, however, as though the genius of France, in all its rashly generous experiments, were constantly pursuing reasonable and practical ends, and not really leaving the earth at all, notwithstanding the aspirations toward the ideal. Consequently it is not a mere subjective or verbal, esthetic or abstract, clarity after which the French mind is aiming: it is bent on acquiring a clear insight not only into its own ideas but also into things themselves. It makes a distinction between the false clarity which disregards the obscurity of things, and the true clarity, which dissipates that obscurity. This was the idea of Descartes, the thinker of clear ideas and one of the most perfect models of the French mind, when he began his work on the conduct of the mind with the words: *Studiorum finis esse debet ingenii directio ad solida et vera de iis omnibus quae occurrunt proferenda judicia.*

Hence the qualities of clearness, precision, and elegance generally recognized in the French language, qualities which cause it to be regarded not only as a useful organ of international communication, but as a precious instrument of culture for men of all lands. Such clarity in speech is a pledge of probity and delicacy in thought and action. France is something more than an amuser, something more than a fomenter of dissoluteness and disorder. She works and investigates with conscientiousness and liberality; she clarifies, refines, and universalizes ideas, in order to reaffirm them and make them more useful, and so she presents to the world teachings which, though sometimes set forth in simple and elegant language, may merit consideration nevertheless. Such, at all events, is the impression I received of what Americans think of France.

On the other hand, I was keenly conscious how advantageous it is for a Frenchman to become imbued with the American spirit and come under the influences which this bold and sturdy nation exercises upon those who mingle with its life. A remarkable blend of idealism and practical sense, the habit of thinking "in terms of action" as they say, the indifference to ideas that cannot be translated into concrete realities, the love of the present added to a very precise sense of its strictly relative importance, and the probable necessity, the very next day, it may be, of self-effacement before the demands of the future; and along with these the cult of individual energy, of effort and self-confidence, as being not only indispensable for the realization of the ideal entertained but also

powerful and efficacious in itself, the virile optimism of the man who knows himself to be responsible and the master of his destiny; such traits as these, so manifest in America's best manhood, are bound to make a deep impression on our minds, ever eager as they are to aspire after the earliest and most universal realization possible of the loftiest and most generous ideal.

May I be permitted to conclude with a comparison which has just entered my mind. During the last few days, I was staying at Washington, D. C., and naturally I made a pilgrimage to Mount Vernon. Among the many spare bedrooms in the simple and homely habitation of George Washington was one bearing the inscription, La Fayette's Room. So also, from this day onward, there may be seen, among other names, that of Theodore Roosevelt attached to one of the seats of this Academy. Thus, after the flight of ages, do the two nations, the American and the French, make exchange of the best they possess:

Amant alterna sorores.

SAVAGE LIFE AND CUSTOM.¹

BY EDWARD LAWRENCE.

I. WHAT IS A SAVAGE?

WHAT is a savage? Most people would answer by saying that of course, by the word savage we mean a wild, ferocious, uncouth being, who is fierce and brutal to his fellows, and while destitute of religion, is steeped in superstitious rites and practices. Savages have been repeatedly described by writers and travelers as living in a state of moral degradation and revolting depravity; as being thieves and liars; brutal alike to their womenfolk and to their old people; destitute of all family ties and obligations; naked and not ashamed.

Now I am going to ask you to dismiss this definition from your mind for the present. I want you to place yourself in the position of a scientific investigator who has some new and curious animal to study. Let us assume that we know nothing about savages. To answer the question let us both make a tour of the world and see

¹ In the following pages we give the first part of a series of chapters on the birth, marriage, and burial customs, superstitions, human sacrifices, and cannibalism of modern savages, by Edward Lawrence, Fellow of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland.

the real savage in his native state, before he has been influenced by contact with alien races. We will visit North and South America, Africa, India, Polynesia, Melanesia, and Australia, and when we have done this we shall be in a better position to answer the question, What is a savage?

Speaking generally we find that savages may be roughly divided into two groups according to their mode of life. First of all we have the wild unsettled races like the Australians or the Boto-cudos (Fig. 1) who live a free roving life in the forests of Brazil.

Many such tribes are quite destitute of clothing, they live in



Fig. 1. CANNIBAL BOTOCUDOS OF BRAZIL.

These people are pure nomads, live naked in the forests. All articles used by them are made from wood and fiber.

caves or in holes dug in the ground or build for themselves rough shelters of branches stuck in the ground, bound together with bast. They will eat almost anything from a cake of Pear's soap, snails, grubs, and caterpillars, to frogs and men. When Cakobau—the Fiji chief who handed his country over to Queen Victoria—accompanied by his two sons, paid a visit to the Governor of New South Wales, they all ate the scented soap in the bedrooms!

Some tribes have very peculiar marriage customs, no fixed religion, no temples nor idols of any kind. In the scale of nature

these races are to civilized men what wild races of animals are to domesticated ones.

On the other hand we have the more advanced savage, like the



Fig. 2. BUSHMAN OF SOUTH AFRICA.

Now practically extinct as a pure race; held to be one of the most primitive races of Africa. Average height 4 feet 8 inches. Note the "peppercorn" hair coiled up naturally into balls.



Fig. 3. VEDDAHS, NATIVES OF THE INTERIOR OF CEYLON.

Hair nearly straight or waved. Average height 5 feet 2 inches. Note the wild look in the eyes, a characteristic feature of many bush races. (Photo by Skene, Colombo, reproduced by permission of the Baptist Missionary Society, London.)

Bantu races of Africa, where we find a more or less settled mode of life, people who make clothing from skins of animals, who wear ornaments of a more or less elaborate description and possess idols

and gods to whom offerings are made. While many wild races are armed only with wooden weapons and wear ornaments of human teeth, these peoples are furnished with steel assagais and leathern shields, possess cattle and practise agriculture.

I propose first of all to select a few typical specimens of different races, then to say something of their family life, their occupations, their cannibalism and human sacrifices, their burial customs, superstitions, and morals.

It is a very curious and remarkable fact that while many apes possess long hair, long bodies, and short legs, some of the lowest races of man, like the Bushmen of South Africa (Fig. 2), should have short, tufty, or "peppercorn" hair, short bodies, and long legs. Again the white man possesses long straight hair, so do the Australians and the Veddahs of Ceylon (Fig. 3).

Apes have broad heads, so have most white men, while the heads of savages are usually long and narrow. Thus, in several respects civilized man is physically nearer the ape than is the negro who has recently been held to be the most apelike of mankind. Such facts as these only help to complicate the problem of man's origin and make the theory of an apelike ancestry more difficult than it was before.

The Australians just referred to are also one of the lowest races on earth, but like in the case of other savages we must not on that account consider them "degraded." As we shall see later on, no savage is *naturally* degraded, but only becomes so when his environment and mode of life has been adversely affected by foreign influences.

In several parts of the world, travelers have from time to time described certain tribes as possessing "tails." The races of the Chaco, in South America, they said possessed real tails; when their possessors wished to sit down they made holes in the ground to pop their tails into and thus prevent them snapping off! Koeping, a traveler of the seventeenth century, said that in the Nicobar Islands (Fig. 4) men were to be seen who possessed tails like cats, which they moved about in the same manner.

This reminds me of the story of a colored gentleman, who was asked to explain what Hamlet meant when he said, "There's a Divinity that shapes our ends." After scratching his pate for a time he replied triumphantly that "Divinity shapes all our ends" in the same way, namely with tails, but that men had rubbed theirs off, whereas monkeys had not, and he knew this explanation was correct, for did not Hamlet's ghost say "he could a *tale* unfold"?

These tales of tails, however, like many others related of savages, have faded away with more exact knowledge. We know now that it is quite impossible for any animal to be able to walk erect as man does and at the same time to possess a tail. Savages



Fig. 4. ABORIGINES OF THE NICOBAR ISLANDS, BAY OF BENGAL.

A primitive Mongolic people who possess rather oblique eyes, flat and wide noses, yellow complexion, straight hair. Their only weapon—a painted wooden spear. Average height 5 feet 2 inches. (Photo by the courtesy of E. H. Man, Esq., C.I.E., F.R.A.I.)

frequently wear skins of animals with the tails dangling behind and it is thought that this practice gave rise to the stories of tailed-men.

II. THE HOME OF THE SAVAGE.

How wide the gap is that separates different savage races, may be gathered from their habitations alone. I have alluded to the dwellings of the Botocudos, whose “home” is simply a shelter made from large palm-leaves resting on crossed branches, who sleep upon the ground, and whose dwelling is practically devoid of furniture of any kind. In Australia, at Port Darwin and other places, the natives are not so well provided; they simply sleep in holes in the ground “like pups in a basket.” Primitive man has therefore no

reason whatever to congratulate himself on his attempts to provide shelter; there are many birds and mammals which construct far more elaborate nests and dwellings than anything of the kind attempted by some savage races.

In Fiji, however, we meet with houses of an imposing appearance and often of elaborate workmanship (Fig. 5). Large houses, constructed like the one in the photograph, would take from two to three months to build. Nearly in the center of the house and sunk below the surface, fire-places are provided, surrounded by curbs of hard wood. These houses are always well kept, are clean



Fig. 5. FIJI HOUSE.

(Photo by the courtesy of the Baptist Missionary Society, London.)

and comfortable. Girls and women sleep in huts by themselves—the men, married and single, always occupy a special hut. Formerly when a house of this description was built, a human sacrifice was made to the earth-spirits. A man was buried alive at the foot of the main pillar, so that by clasping the foot of the post he might prevent the building falling down. The custom of burying a person alive to give support to the foundations of a building is found in other parts of the world, for instance in India, and even in Germany so late as the year 1843 an idea got abroad that a child was wanted to be built into the foundations of a bridge then about to be erected.

The Nicobarese build houses on wooden piles six to eight feet from the ground, the entrance to which is gained by means of a well-constructed bamboo ladder or a notched tree-trunk (Fig. 6). The upper part of these dwellings is constructed with the stipules of palm-leaves, neatly interwoven with rushes, the conical-shaped roof being made of rattan covered with woven pandanus leaves. All villages are kept scrupulously clean.

In West and Central Africa the houses are square in shape, built of poles firmly fixed in the ground and are covered with straw, woven reeds, or grass. Some of these houses are divided into two



Fig. 6. PILE-DWELLINGS OF THE NICOBAR ISLANDER IN DRING HARBOUR.

(Photo by the courtesy of E. H. Man, Esq., C.I.E., F.R.A.I.)

compartments which serve as dining-rooms and bedrooms. Each wife has a separate hut of her own. As in Fiji and elsewhere the unmarried men sleep in a large house by themselves, and on the roof of their house are fixed the skulls of men whom they have slain.

The hill tribes of Northeastern India build comfortable dwellings of bamboo on a raised platform several feet from the ground. In the interior is a large hall containing two fire-places—one at each end. The walls are made of split bamboo, woven like a mat; the floor is also of woven bamboo; the roof, thatched with grass or bamboo leaves over bamboo matting.

In New Guinea we meet with further examples of the world-

wide custom of apartments for "gentlemen only." As a lad reaches maturity he leaves the maternal roof, henceforth avoiding his mother and sisters, and goes to live with other young men according to the clan to which he belongs, in one of the communal lodges which



Fig. 7. MEN'S HOUSE, ISLAND OF TAMARA, NEW GUINEA.

Skulls of the dead are preserved in these lodges. Each "clan" or family has its own separate house. The erection in front is a newly made grave. (From Meyer's and Parkinson's *Album von Papua-Typen*.)

are erected by themselves on piles in a certain part of the village (Fig. 7). Here he is taught certain customs and undergoes special rites to which reference will be made later.

III. CHILD-BIRTH AND CHILD LIFE.

Having taken a cursory glance at savages in general, let us proceed to examine more minutely their social life. We will take their birth customs first of all.

One great difference between savages and many of their civilized brethren is this: savages are very much concerned about the well-being of their children. Owing to an extreme desire to preserve them against fancied harm they observe many curious customs. They believe that the conduct of both parents materially affects

not only the newly born child, but the health of prospective children as well. Thus among the eastern tribes of Brazil it is the practice for the mother to eat her first child in order that succeeding children may be born healthy and strong.

In Guiana, before the child is born, the woman must refrain from eating meat because any animal partaking of it might suffer. Should she partake of any double fruit she will have twins; she must neither laugh nor grieve, nor look upon the face of any dead person. Among the Greenlanders the mother is not allowed to eat any flesh except that which was the result of her husband's chase.

The woman usually works to the last possible moment, and when the time approaches retires to the bush with a few female companions. A few hours after the event the mother returns with her babe and soon resumes her domestic duties. The father must now abstain from work and retires to bed. He must not partake of any meat or other food, except a thin gruel made from cassava meal, and must on no account smoke, wash himself nor touch weapons of any kind. If he desires to scratch himself he must not use his finger-nails but must ease the irritation by means of a splinter made from the mid-rib of a certain palm. While in this condition he groans and grunts and is waited upon by the ladies of the place.

In Labrador the child is licked all over and the mother given a potion to eat, consisting of a mixture of heart, lungs, liver, and intestines, which is kept in a bladder. This again is in order to procure health and long life for the babe.

Thus all manner of harm is supposed to surround the new-born child. Evil spirits are believed to be ready to plague it by entering its poor little body, and the one great anxiety of the mother is to counteract these evil influences. In one case the child is painted all over with white paint: in another, baby's head is moistened with milk and then shaved with a piece of flint. In Borneo a young chicken is waved over the child's head, the head of the chicken is then chopped off and some of its blood smeared on the youngster's head. In India soon after a birth, a fowl is sacrificed, all the women are treated to liquor, chewed rice is placed in the infant's mouth and afterward baby is plunged into very hot water. Mother herself does not escape, she is wrapped in hot-water blankets until she faints away.

In Africa, when a child is four days old, the witch-doctor is called in. He makes little cuts in various parts of its body, into these he rubs certain "medicines" so that the child shall be healthy.

In one case a necklace made of hair taken from the tail of a cow is put on the new arrival which is then washed in cow-dung! The Tahitians flattened the heads of their boys, and as flat noses for girls were esteemed, they were pressed flat too.

But it is not all superstition that surrounds baby's early days; sentiment and a mother's real love are there as well. The sweet lullaby is not lacking. The Chippewa mother, as she gently presses her little brown bairn to her own warm breast, sings it softly to sleep with some such words as the following:

"O my little Blue Bird,
O my little Blue Bird,
Mother knew that you would come,
Mother knew that you would come,
When the ice lets go the river,
When the wild geese come again,
When the sugar-maple swells,
When the maple swells its buds,
Then the little bluebirds come,
Then *my* little bluebird came."²

In studying the social life of pure savages there is no more interesting and certainly no more important chapter than that which deals with childhood. If we were to set up a certain standard of judgment and give the highest place to those races which treat their children best, that place would have to be given to savages and not to many who are more advanced in the scale of civilization.

The pivot on which savage life turns is that of the family circle; nowhere else is the family instinct so strong. Both parents are intensely fond of their offspring, they care for them and idolize them to an extraordinary degree. Go to a cannibal village in Nigeria, make friends with one of the little children there, and you will find your path a very easy one into the affections of the whole tribe.

Children are never ill-treated, they are seldom beaten, and as for children being deserted by their parents, such a thing hardly ever occurs. In return children render their parents an obedience and have a regard for their elders, which are too often wanting in races which pride themselves on their higher culture.

Most of us are apt to condemn these people for many practices which to our mind are extremely cruel, but we must remember that their motives are not necessarily those which we so readily suggest. A great number—probably all—of savage customs have a superstitious origin, and to uncultured man, what we term superstition occupies in the savage mind the place that religion takes in the

² Jenks, *Childhood of Ji-Shib*.

higher races. It is therefore to religious motives that we must assign the origin of certain rites.

No people have a greater desire for children than these "barbarians," yet we find them constantly destroying them. If twins are born—the one a girl and the other a boy—one tribe will kill the boy and preserve the girl: in another case the girl will be killed and the boy saved. In some instances both are killed, and no greater insult could be offered a woman than to hold up two fingers to her, thus implying that she was the mother of twins. Some tribes allow both children to live, but the mother must undergo a ceremony of purification. Again, until the child is named it is not regarded as really human, just as formerly in England it was believed that no child could go to heaven until it had been christened because it did not possess a soul before that rite took place.



Fig. 8. BIDO-BIDO,
as played by Papuan children in British New Guinea. (Photo by the courtesy
of Captain Barton, C.M.G., F.R.A.I.)

As children grow up all kinds of games are indulged in. Many games so well known to our children at home are also known to their darker brothers and sisters. String games in great number and variety are played; cat's cradle is one of the most common. They play hockey, fly kites, have tiny bows and arrows, tiny canoes, and swings. Girls imitate their mothers in domestic duties; nothing pleases them more than to copy their elders. Object-drawing is known to some tribes; children will make representations of ships, animals, human beings, etc. I have seen copies of pictures made by them and very well done they are.

No children in the world are more delightfully attractive than

those of the Southern Seas; perhaps the most attractive of all are the little brownies of British New Guinea.

Let us follow a group of these little people as they wind their way from the village to the sea, singing and laughing, pushing and jostling each other as they go. Some of these children—whose ages range from six to fourteen years—are going a-fishing, others will amuse themselves by playing their favorite games. Bido-Bido is one of these. It is played by a number of boys and girls standing closely together in a row, their bodies bent forward, each one places his or her hands on the back of the playmate in front. A boy is then hoisted on the shoulders of the last one in the row and has to walk along the shoulders of the children in front (Fig. 8).

In another game the children form a circle, holding each other by the wrists, while a boy squats on the ground in the middle of the ring. The circle now moves slowly round the boy, the players singing merrily as they move. When the song is finished the lad hops on his hams and faces the opposite way. The singing is then repeated and when ended the players stand quite still. The boy himself now stands up and attempts to break the circle, but must not use his hands in doing so.

A game known as Evanena is also played by forming two rows of boys and girls, who face each other with hands locked together. A small boy then projects himself at one end of the row on the line of hands thus formed and is tossed along by an upward movement of the interlocked hands.

The following translation of a song sung by Iroquois children affords sufficient evidence of the joyousness of these little "savage" mortals, and is proof, if further proof be needed, to show that the savage children who sing it cannot be so very savage after all.

"Firefly, firefly, bright little thing,
Light me to bed and my song I will sing,
Give me your light as you fly o'er my head
That I may merrily go to my bed.

"Give me your light o'er the grass as you creep,
That I may joyfully go to my sleep.
Come, little firefly—come little beast!
Come and I'll make you to-morrow a feast.

"Come little candle that flies as I sing,
Bright little fairy bug—night's little king—
Come and I'll dance as you guide me along,
Come and I'll pay you, my bug, with a song!"³

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

³ From Mrs. Caswell's *Among the Iroquois*, Boston and Chicago, 1892.

JESUS.

BY JOHN DENMARK.

I SAT down at the pipe-organ in my church last night and played "More About Jesus." We sang the song lustily—the choir was gathered around me—and ended up with a glow of satisfaction. It is a good song for young throats and a good song for the pipe-organ. It is more than that. Its central theme is the aim of all those who are searching for the truth about Christianity.

There can be no doubt what most men think concerning Jesus. Here in our Western civilization he is the Ideal of morality and faith. About him are clustered all the tender associations of religious devotion and unselfish service. To be Christlike is the highest goal of religious and moral growth, that has been my teaching and the teaching of millions of other religious men reared in Christian homes. The admiration for Jesus is evident not only in the church but in the labor union, the anarchist hall, the army, and the saloon. Never has a name stood so high in the affection of men as the name of Jesus.

So a candid examination of Jesus is a delicate and dangerous thing. When Barnum said that the American public likes to be fooled, he might have added that we all hate the man who disillusion us about any favorite belief. We persist in misunderstanding him although his meaning may be as clear as sunlight.

Now I might be described, as to my morality, as the very essence of a "Christian gentleman." Perhaps I have been better than ordinary. I have never taken the name of God in vain, consumed so much as a mouthful of intoxicating liquor, stolen anything larger than a street-car nickel, or gone the way of the brothel. I was looked upon in my youth as a model Sunday-school boy, and I still have that general reputation.

But Jesus Christ is not my ideal and never will be. I am going to put down here why that is true.

When I was a child, Jesus was for me the Great Magician who stilled the waters, healed the sick, and made the blind to see. He was a great and perfect god, just as good a god as anybody wanted anywhere, and to disbelieve in this fact would bring my soul into danger of eternal damnation. Jesus was my religious Santa Claus.

When the time for disillusionment came, and Santa Claus and my parents lost their halos, the figure of Jesus was still untouched. My Sunday-school teachers at sixteen said the same things about Jesus which my Sunday-school teachers in the kindergarten had said.

In my university life the rude attacks of philosophy and higher criticism upon religion shook me profoundly, but these attacks were not directed against Jesus. I soon found that the professor who dared to make an open and frank criticism of Jesus in the classroom did not exist even in the state university. The professor handled Nero, Napoleon, and Mohammed without gloves. Jesus of Nazareth who was said to be the greatest single force in history was carefully left to the discussion of the clergy.

So I emerged from the university with my picture of Jesus only slightly marred. Plunging into the studies of a theological seminary, I found that my professors did not believe in Jesus in the same way that I did. Now, I thought, I will find out for myself what Jesus really means to the world. What is the secret of his tremendous influence over men?

My first critical study of the gospels gave me a new Jesus. I had dreamed of a magician. When I looked into the Bible with care I found a prophet of rare passion and force, but a man ignorant and superstitious. The Jesus who stepped out of the pages of the New Testament to greet me was a towering and twisted figure, magnetic in his power but surrounded by all sorts of foolish traditions that were obviously just as groundless as those traditions that held Buddhists and Mohammedans in their thralldom of ignorance. I found that there is no proof for a single miracle in the Old Testament or the New. Yet it is perfectly evident that the largest part of the power of Jesus in the early growth of Christianity was due to the carefully nurtured belief that he had magic powers out of all proportion to the power of any other prophet or leader.

The leaders of our theological seminaries know that there is no proof for any of Jesus's miracles that would be considered as acceptable for the proving of Mohammed's miracles, but they carefully avoid stating this fact in such a way that the people and the students can understand. Everywhere I have found a conspiracy of silence not only in regard to the miracles of Jesus but in regard to the other indefensible traditions that have grown up around him. The business of the theological school is to produce Christian ministers, and the rebel who questions the foundation of Christianity while he is in the seminary is like the soldier who announces

his disloyalty to the flag after he has marched to the battlefield. On the battlefield

"There's not to reason why:
There's but to do and die."

I died. That is, my conscience was forgotten in the roar of battle. I shoved my real self aside in order to accomplish results. I followed the religious flag of my fathers because I was eager to be up and doing while youth and strength were mine.

Plunging into the work of a great-city parish I found that the condition of the clerical mind concerning Jesus was even more chaotic than that of the student's mind. Barrels of sermons were preached on the perfection of the character and teachings of Jesus by men who never would dream of following in his way for a single day. Nowhere outside of the small group of Unitarian leaders did I find ministers who frankly asked themselves, Is this declaration of Jesus true? If not, how can I preach him as an ideal? I noticed that the questions concerning the divinity or deity of Jesus were cleverly evaded by the more intelligent pastors. "Jesus is our great leader," they said, "and the test of our worth in the Father's sight is determined by our faithfulness in following him."

I believe that the almost universal dishonesty about Jesus among the clergy is not at all deliberate. The preacher is usually as honest as the average lawyer or advertiser; he will interpret truth according to the visible results of his labor. If his preaching of Jesus is effective in winning members to his church and making them upright morally, he will go on preaching in the old way. It probably never occurs to him that other causes may be operating to bring the success of Christianity besides its truth. He does not realize that perhaps the most effective sermons for an ignorant congregation are the most untrue. So he leaves unasked the most rudimentary questions about Jesus: "If Jesus was the embodiment of God, why did he make so many mistakes? Why did he think and preach that the world was coming to an end within one generation? Why did he not leave us more clear and definite statements of the will of God? Why did he not save the world about 30 A. D. by making the supremacy of his moral law known?"

In confronting such questions as these, the average minister resorts to the refuge of agnosticism. We do not know the ways and the aims of God. God never intended man to know all these things. So we do not necessarily have to answer "foolish questions."

The continued emphasis upon faith as superior to reason has

had its effect. It is now possible for the religious man to pass over the most fundamental and searching questions in regard to Christianity without analysis by the simple assertion, "We cannot understand all the mysteries of the incarnation of God's spirit in Jesus Christ, but we know from experience that it is a fact."

To which the opponent of Christianity makes reply: "What do we know about Jesus Christ from experience?"

He was a Jew who lived almost two thousand years ago. He spoke a language which would be utterly unintelligible to us to-day. He never wrote anything which would give us an exact idea of his teaching and personality. We do not know what he looked like, when he was born, and when he died. What we know about his life is summed up in badly jumbled conjecture written in a language which he did not speak, by men some of whom he never saw. Only three of the thirty-three or more years of his life are known to us and our accounts of those three years differ widely. Outside of the few faithful followers who held firm to the end Jesus made no lasting impression upon the people of his time. We are asked to reject the judgment of the whole world of Jesus's time, which stamped him as an unimportant preacher, and accept the estimate of those who followed him as a God, a Magician, and a Prophet.

The opponent of Christianity insists that we do not know enough about the historical Jesus to worship him or follow him with any enthusiasm or certainty. The perfection of his character and the power of his magic healing cannot be a part of our experience because we are not sure that they ever existed. They are a part of Christian tradition and nothing more. The Jesus who flits across the stage of the New Testament, loving, praying, cursing, and healing is quite too vague in his outlines to convey any clear picture to us.

Common sense will tell us that when a figure is so dim as that of the historical Jesus there is a great temptation to appropriate the figure for the advancement of all varieties of reform. The human race likes to dream of idols and then find an idol to fit the dream. Jesus has become the Great Dream Prophet of the Western hemisphere because there have clustered about him the yearnings and imaginings of a credulous race. So we have virtually created a "Christ" who bears the relation to the historical Jesus that the personality of the "real Santa Claus" bears to the personality of our father.

Jesus has been identified with an Ideal Dream because the mystery surrounding his life gives room for the free play of imagination. If our Santa Claus were dressed in a blue shirt and overalls

he would be a ridiculous failure. There would be no romance about him. So we take our Christ from a land on the other side of the world where customs and traditions allow these magic fringes which are so necessary to stimulate the imagination. Palestine and the Jews will not worship with us at Bethlehem, for they know Bethlehem too well. . . .

When modern scholarship tore away the grave-clothes from the buried Jesus, men began to see the difference between the dream and the reality. A wave of acute Unitarianism swept the country. Then dream-loving human nature reasserted itself and "reconciled" the Christ ideal with the spirit of Jesus by carefully culling out the ideal from the superstitious. But the task has not been well done. The patchwork shows.

Two-thirds of the people of America are outside of the Church partially because they feel that Jesus does not really save them. They feel that the personality of Jesus will not stretch to the dimensions of an omnipotent Christ.

The reasons why we cannot maintain the old devotion to Jesus become clear when we analyze the records in our possession and ask two leading questions.

Is Jesus as he is sketched in the New Testament sufficiently compelling to command our worship of him as a perfect leader? Are his chief teachings as recorded in the New Testament fundamentally true?

Jesus the Magician is so near the front of the stage at all times in the New Testament narrative that we can scarcely extricate Jesus the Man. We judge, however, that he was kind and benevolent, for he loved little children and expressed great anxiety for the hungry multitudes who followed him. He liked to describe himself as the Good Shepherd, and his people were evidently struck with the aptness of the description. He must have been exceedingly brave. He defied the Pharisees in their own haunts and stood before Pilate with all the self-mastery of a stoic. His large audiences, won without any political prestige to aid him, show that he was a powerful personality with splendid oratorical powers. His vitriolic denunciation of the Pharisees and his wrathful attack upon the moneychangers in the Temple reveal a man of impulsive anger. His habits of dining with publicans and sinners and of working with poor folks showed that he was a leader who had genuine sympathies for the masses of men.

Beyond these few qualities, sketchily revealed, what do we know of the personality of Jesus? His boyhood and youth are a blank.

(The story of his boyhood revelations of wisdom in the Temple is almost undoubtedly a legend like all the other legends of childhood miracles that have grown up about religious leaders of the East.) We do not even know whether Jesus had the respect of his neighbors as an upright workman. Nazareth did not recognize his ability, for he was driven from the streets when he did not perform a miracle in his own city.

During his ministry Jesus showed practically no knowledge which it would not be possible to gain in an ordinary Galilean town. He makes no reference to any of the great Greek thinkers who had lived before him. He made no attempt, so far as we know, to record his teachings in a clear and forceful way.

The personality of Jesus can be better understood by comparison with any ancient or modern religious leader. There is a peculiar sameness about all the world's great religious leaders in spite of the efforts of the disciples of each to prove the uniqueness of their favorite.

Buddha, for instance, was miraculously conceived and sent forth into the world to preach a gospel of world-renunciation and unselfishness. He came from a very wealthy and powerful family, was converted to his new faith by divine plan and spent the years of his long life preaching, organizing congregations, and serving mankind. The traditions which have grown up around Buddha have made him into an incarnation of the Deity, yet there is no indication that he was anything more than a great teacher. His own religious enthusiasm and the admiration of his followers persuaded him to claim that he was the Perfect One.

The dreamy and superstitious mystics who made Buddha into a Perfect One were not very different from the people who initiated Christianity. The founders of Christianity may have been respected artisans in their various homes, but they were no more intelligent in the science of universal thinking than the inhabitants of the mountains of Tennessee. When we see how easy it is in the modern scientific world to create a Joseph Smith or a Mary Baker Eddy, the power of superstition in the days of almost universal illiteracy can be realized. Religious enthusiasm as it applies to leaders is one of the most undiscerning forces in the world. Even love cannot be so blind.

But the Jesus of the New Testament has an irresistible charm about him which all the delusions of his followers and all the quarreling schools of theologians have not entirely destroyed. As a god he is personally vain and intellectually inadequate. As a passionate,

daring, and hot-headed evangelist he appeals to the virility of all men. He shows that inimitable genius for hearty, democratic fellowship which made him the idol of common folk. He was no half-way prophet: he was no truckler to the rich. He loved the oppressed as much as he hated the oppressor. In him there were combined something of that tenderness and battle-lust which have commanded the loyalty of men in every age.

The personality of Jesus will continue to move men long after organized Christianity has lost its power.

We cannot call him perfect, for he was at times harsh and haughty, at times provincial and ignorant, and at times inordinately vain. We cannot call him God, for every fact of modern science and the now generally accepted theory of evolution make it impossible that the infinite, progressive Force of the Universe should have been entirely expressed in a Palestinian Jew who lived hundreds of years ago. But Jesus had that invincible determination to speak the truth and that unflinching courage of the martyr which will always make him a leader of magnetic power.

The chief controversies of recent years have centered around the teachings of Jesus rather than his personality. What can we accept and what must we reject in those teachings?

I believe that the chief sin of the clergy is in refusing to define for themselves and their congregations the part of Jesus's teachings which they *cannot* accept. We would not call a man a good follower of Mohammed if he rejected three-fourths of the prophet's leading teachings and accepted only that which accorded with his own ideas of what a religion should be. Yet that is precisely what the American clergy is doing with the teachings of Jesus.

In my last reading of the gospels I noted how much of Jesus's time was consumed in preaching about the coming of the kingdom of God. The ideal which he held before men was a worthy one, but we cannot honestly believe in it to-day. Jesus believed in a kingdom which was coming almost *immediately*, a kingdom whose coming should be preceded by a terrible judgment-day in which his followers should be weeded out from all the unbelievers among men and exalted to the throne of God. The conviction of the early coming of that kingdom is apparent in every sermon that Jesus preached and in the interpretation put upon his gospel by all his disciples from John the Baptist to Paul. "And there shall be signs in the sun, and in the moon, and in the stars; and upon earth distress of nations, with perplexity; the sea and the waves roaring. . . .

Verily I say unto you, This generation shall not pass away, till all be fulfilled." (Luke xxi.)

"For as the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even to the west; so shall also the coming of the Son of man be. . . Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken: and then shall appear the sign of the Son of man in heaven: and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other.

"Now learn a parable of the fig tree; When his branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh: So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things, know that it is near, even at the doors. VERILY I SAY UNTO YOU, THIS GENERATION SHALL NOT PASS TILL ALL THESE THINGS BE FULFILLED." (Matt. xxiv.)

Modern teachers have glossed over the words of Jesus concerning the kingdom and made it seem that he intended a kingdom of justice and righteousness here upon earth, and nothing more. But Jesus had a very different ideal in mind. He definitely predicted again and again a *physical* kingdom here upon earth which should be accomplished by a miraculous disruption of Nature by the hand of God. We cannot identify the kingdom of moral life which we seek to establish through personal and social reconstruction with the star-falling-cloud-charioted arrival of Jesus.

We know now that Jesus was wrong when he predicted that the world would come to a cataclysmic end within one generation, but preachers still attribute to Jesus the intelligence which modern science has given them. They continually evade the plain and undeniable fact that Jesus was wrong in the chief doctrine of his gospel. They denounce those street preachers and fanatics of all sorts who use the Bible to predict the early end of the world, when the truth is that those street preachers are maintaining the gospel of Jesus in its purity more conscientiously than our leading theologians.

The fact that Jesus expected the early end of the world throws a new light upon all his ethical teachings. The morality of the last week of the world would necessarily be quite different from the morality of the three-millionth week in a series of 98,783,521,306. . . weeks. A man can quite readily love his neighbors if he knows

that all their life interests and rivalries are to be wiped out in the next week, and they are both to become part of a kingdom of brotherhood. Such a man need "take no thought for the morrow." Such a man can turn the other cheek with the silent assurance: "My God will reward me for this goodness when I arrive in his kingdom next week. Why should I concern myself with anything but the saving of my own soul and the souls of my friends?"

So the Sermon on the Mount which embodies some of the great moral ideals of the race is quite impossible as a program of moral conduct in a world which may never end because it is inspired by the conviction that the meek, the hungry, the persecuted, and the sorrowful will be relieved of their troubles not by scientific betterment but by the supernatural charity of the coming kingdom. Reverse every one of the beatitudes and you have the moral code which rules our American business life, not because our business life is altogether horrible but because it is based on the assumption of permanence.

A more serious charge can be made against the teachings of Jesus than anything I have yet mentioned. We have come to believe in our modern life that we are saved by character rather than belief. It is not right that any man should be stamped with the approval of the gods merely because he accepts an explanation of life presented by some one else. A man's value to the world is generally measured by the amount of service he renders to the community.

The teachings of Jesus emphasize above everything else in the salvation of the race the acceptance of himself as Divine Saviour. John does not say, "For God so loved the world that he sent to the world a great example of unselfish service that whosoever labored in his spirit should gain eternal life." Rather it is written, "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever BELIEVETH in him should not perish but have everlasting life."

John iii. 16 expresses the heart of Christianity. I am not one of those intellectual jugglers who try to dodge this point. And the experience of the human race shows that when we make salvation dependent upon the acceptance of facts concerning a religious personality, we undermine the very foundation of moral life. When I can be saved by believing right, there is no earthly use in doing right. When I allow theological views to be a condition of salvation I ignore those economic and social forces which really save people. I might think that Jesus was an impostor and a lunatic

and that belief would not affect my salvation if I sincerely devoted myself to my own highest ideals.

I have never met half a dozen men who seriously accepted the Christian standard of salvation, i. e., all men who reject the belief in Jesus's unique sonship will be eternally damned and all men who accept will live eternally. The Church has too much sense to accept it, so it adds on to the standard certain moral laws which entirely change its meaning. It is an abomination to intelligence to say that the living goodness of an active race was summed up in a historical figure who lived two thousand years ago. Goodness is not a stagnant thing. It moves forward with the relentless progress of a Juggernaut, and is so much bigger than the personality of Jesus or any prophet that it is hard to believe that some men still hold the old belief.

There is but one choice in this matter. If the goodness of mankind grows from century to century, then Jesus cannot be our infallible moral guide. Every principle of modern science points to the fact that mankind is growing forward in the attempt to solve the great riddle of salvation, and that moral laws must not be bound down to any one personality. Personalities are but incidents in the growth of moral systems. Jesus may have given expression to the most sublime moral ideals of the race but the truth of those ideals does not depend upon him.

The People and not any one Person shall teach me what to do. When religious leaders try to fasten my moral judgment to a teacher who lived many hundreds of years ago, they show complete ignorance of the nature of my moral decisions.

Jesus as an inspirer of unselfish conduct will always interest me. Jesus as a divine authority in conduct will stultify my conscience and make me a moral child.

The problem of Jesus and the salvation of the world is greatly complicated by teachers who make over Jesus to suit their ideals. Like a dreamer before a magic mirror Bernard Shaw has looked into the story of Christianity and beheld a Fabian economist born in Bethlehem. With the vivid coloring of a powerful imagination Bouck White in *The Call of the Carpenter* has put himself back into Judea. The pictorial power of these writers is so great that thousands have been convinced of the true modernness of Jesus.

Would that I too could be convinced. The Jesus of Bernard Shaw or Bouck White is infinitely more compelling than any prophet of the Scriptures. But the New Testament is too much for me.

The Jesus of the New Testament is distinctly a product of his

time, and his time was ignorant and superstitious. If he gave an economic gospel to his time, his disciples never heard of it, and they saw much more of him than Bernard Shaw or Bouck White ever did. Jesus was known as the mystic, the dreamer, the prophet, the wonder-worker, but never as the master sociologist. How could his mind be occupied with the adjustment of society when that society was to end in an earthquake within the generation?

Palestine two thousand years ago could not have produced the master of sociology any more than the stone age could have produced Plato. Judea wanted a message of personal faith and salvation, and Jesus was sensitive enough and able enough to feel the need and supply the message. If he had spoken the thoughts of modern socialism or any kind of socialism, his people would have looked on in dumb stupidity. The real message of Jesus stands there in the New Testament, full of gross superstition and ignorance, forever damning the efforts of enthusiasts to make it over into a message of practical social reform.

For a long time the Church has been too sane to preach pure Christianity—I mean the teachings of Jesus in their entirety. We brush aside those teachings which the twentieth century cannot accept and preach those “essentials” which our time demands. Whatever we agree with is branded as an essential of Jesus’s teachings. The unthinking observer imagines that we are really preaching Christianity. We are preaching what we want to preach. *We* and not Jesus are the authorities of our moral teaching.

Many a critic standing on the outside of the Church makes his mistake here. He imagines that the real strength of the Church is based upon the teachings of Jesus. Listen to Nietzsche in this bitter attack:

“When on a Sunday morning we hear the old bells ringing, we ask ourselves: Is it possible? All this for a Jew crucified two thousand years ago who said he was God’s son? The proof of such an assertion was lacking.... Certainly the Christian religion constitutes in our time a protruding bit of antiquity from very remote ages and that its assertions are still generally believed.... although men have become so keen in the scrutiny of claims.... constitutes the oldest relic of this inheritance. A god who begets children by a mortal woman; a sage who demands that no more work be done, that no more justice be administered but that the signs of the approaching end of the world be heeded; a system of justice that accepts an innocent as a vicarious sacrifice in the place of the guilty; a person who bids his disciples drink his blood; prayers for

miracles ; sins against a god expiated against a god ; fear of a hereafter to which death is the portal ; the figure of a cross as a symbol in an age that no longer knows the purpose and the ignominy of the cross—how ghostly all these things flit by before us out of the grave of their primitive antiquity ! Is one to believe that such things can still be believed ?”

The church bells of our own day do not mean that all these things are being taken seriously inside the churches. The preachers present their own moral views before the people and manage to discover a text from the Bible to hang their sermon upon with several ringing quotations for good measure. They use the name of Jesus to support their analysis of life in the same way that a politician uses the name of Lincoln in his peroration. Their resemblance to Jesus is as marked as the resemblance of the average politician to the Great Emancipator.

There are many men (commonly called cynics) who see these truths but who refuse to attack the Church or the personality of Jesus because they are bound up with everything that is ideal in our civilization.

“Of what importance is it to us,” they ask, “that Jesus was not what the world believed him to be ? His teachings are doing much good in the world and the churches are uplifting men in his name.”

But how fatal it is to build a religion upon a fundamental fraud ! If Jesus is not the actual saviour of the world why should we face backward to a personality and teachings that the world has outgrown ?

There cannot be two Christs in my life. If my conscience, alert and sensitive to modern needs, is to be my guide then the conscience of the Judean teacher can be of only reference value. And does not the advance of knowledge mean this, that in place of the rulership of popes and kings and Christs there shall be substituted the supremacy of a man’s own moral reason ?

My moral reason is my Christ and ever will be. In the light of that moral reason I meet Jesus of Nazareth as a peculiar and mysterious acquaintance. I am cordial in my admiration at those few times when our souls seem to find common ground. I sympathize with him in defeat and rejoice in his victories. I am thankful of the good things which he has given me and scornful of his almost insane egotism. Earnestly I listen to his words, for he is a fellow pilgrim on life’s way.

Then I pass on to win salvation for myself.

TAOISM, AN APPRECIATION.

BY GILBERT REID.

[Our readers are acquainted with Dr. Reid, the founder and director of the International Institute of China, at Shanghai. News of his work and reports from his pen have frequently appeared in these pages. The following address was delivered under the Billings Lectureship of Boston, at the International Institute, on the 18th and 25th of April, 1915.—Ed.]

MY acquaintance with the teachings, books, and followers of Taoism has been nearly as long as my acquaintance with Confucianism, and growth in acquaintance has brought growth in appreciation. On my part there is to-day more than tolerance of another faith, there is real sympathetic appreciation.

It is as a Christian and as a missionary that I view with admiration the fundamental characteristics of Taoist doctrine. Just as to my mind there is no antagonism between Christianity and Confucianism if the essentials be considered, so in the same way Christianity and Taoism are not mutually antagonistic. In very much they are in accord, and in many ways they may be mutually helpful. The Christian teacher, on his part, can find many a choice expression in the Taoist classics, containing high spiritual truths and interpretive of the great teachings of Christianity. The sayings of Confucianism are useful in ethical instruction, and those of Taoism in spiritual instruction.

Both Taoism and Confucianism embrace within themselves the teachings prior to the time of their special founders, Lao-tze and Confucius, just as Christianity includes the records of both the Old and New Testament Scriptures. In ancient times there was only one religion in China which had been handed down from the earliest days. Confucianism and Taoism were only two branches of the one ancient faith, two schools of thought interpreting a revelation from God. The Confucian branch represents the more practical and ethical side of religion, while the Taoist branch represents the more spiritual and mystical side. There are indeed but few references to the ancient Books in Taoist literature, but the careful student will discern many religious ideas which were absorbed into the Taoist classic from the holy men before, just as one who drinks from a stream is drinking from a spring far up the mountains.

I. The student of Taoism must be first impressed with its profound

message concerning *Tao*, "the Way." This word is best understood if translated as Universal Law, or the Law of Nature, such a law being *the way*, or *course*, in which Nature operates, or which God, the great First Cause, known in Chinese as the "Great Extreme," has been operating through the phenomena of the universe. Some have used the word Reason to translate the Chinese term, and thus an impression has been created that Taoists are the rationalists of China, when more properly they should be called spiritualists and mystics.

Another Chinese term called *Li*, and translated as an Inner Principle; is almost interchangeable with *Tao*, so much so that in colloquial Chinese the two are used together, and are generally understood to denote doctrine or truth. If there is any sequence in the two terms, Law is preceded by Principle. Thus in the first sentence of the Doctrine of the Mean, written by a spiritual-minded disciple of Confucius, we are taught that first in order comes Heaven, or God, who is elsewhere called the root of all things. Next in order comes the Inner Principle which emanates from God and is implanted in all Nature, animate and inanimate; with man this Principle is spoken of as his moral nature. From the Inner Principle there comes Universal Law or the Way, the particular thought being that God has a way in which this Inner Principle must reveal itself. From this Universal Law there issues a Teaching, or a religion, this being the final and specific elaboration of the laws written on the heart by the indwelling Spirit of God.

With the Confucian series Taoism has much in common; its emanations, however, are set forth in simpler order, in a threefold series. There is first Heaven, or God, then this Universal Law, embracing in itself the Inner Principle, and then Virtue, or goodness, instead of Teaching or a religion. The term Teaching, or a religious system, is suited better to the scholastic character of Confucianism, while the term Virtue is suited to the spiritual character of Taoism. So close is the relation of God to his Law as it works itself out in the universe, and especially in man, that the impersonal Law and the personal God are thought of as one and the same. Hence some have criticized Taoism, as they have criticized modern Confucianism, as being without God, as materialistic or atheistic. Thus, it is cited, Chu-fu-tze of the Sung dynasty once used the expression, "Heaven is *Li* or Principle," turning personality into a mere idea. The thought of this profound philosopher was rather that even Heaven must conform to the ruling principles of the universe, and so much does Heaven conform thereto that both are



LAO-TZE.
(From a Chinese drawing.)

brought together as one. In the same way Christ said, "I am the way, the truth, and the life."

The Taoist mystic also linked his idea of Law with God and made them one and the same. Lao-tze was a great monist. God as the origin of all must conform to the Law which He has implanted in the universe and in man. Eternal Law binds God as it binds all mankind. Law is universal, it is eternal, it is one, it is God. To such a degree is this true, and so masterful is the sway of Law, that if human thought is to think of a series at all, Law is thought of as first and God as subsequent. Thus in the fourth chapter of the great classic, it is said that this Universal Law is as if it were the ancestor of the material universe, plainly teaching, as it is taught elsewhere, that before the heavens and the earth and all this material world with its vegetable and animal life there existed this Eternal and Universal Law. Then comes the paradoxical statement, "I do not know whose son it is; it seems to be before God." That is, instead of Law being a son, it is a father, of God. This is, however, only a strong and striking way of saying that Law, by which all the universe is governed and from which it cannot escape, is everlasting, and so much so is it everlasting, and so supreme, that even God is bound by it and may be said to come after Law. In reality Law and God are alike everlasting.

Chuang-tze, the disciple of Lao-tze, and equally profound in his utterances, advances the same idea as to the priority of this Universal Law. Here are his words:

"This is Law: it has emotion and sincerity, but it does nothing and is without bodily form. It can be transmitted yet not received: it can be apprehended yet not seen. It is itself the origin and the root [i. e., self-existent]. Before there were the heavens and the earth, there it was, securely persisting. By it there came the mysterious existence of the spirits, and the mysterious existence of God. It produced the heavens: it produced the earth. It was before the Great Extreme [or the First Cause], yet may not be deemed high. It was beneath the Great Extreme, yet may not be deemed deep. It was before the heavens and the earth were produced, yet may not be deemed of long time. It grew up in highest antiquity, yet may not be deemed old." This is like the Biblical expression, "A thousand years in Thy sight are but as yesterday; from everlasting to everlasting Thou art God."

The first chapter of the classic of Lao-tze starts off with a most concise statement of *Tao*, or Law, distinguishing two kinds. The one is everlasting, the nameless, the ineffable; the other is not

everlasting, and bears a name. From other passages we learn that one is Heaven's Law, and the other Man's Law, but that man to attain to highest virtue must conform himself, not to his own ideas, but to the Law of God, written on the heart.

This distinction in the idea of Law, the two aspects of one and the same Law, is that Law has its eternal and Godward side, full of mystery and limitless, and that it also appears in time, is manifested in the phenomena of Nature, and has a manward side, capable of being comprehended and with definite limits and outward conditions.

Thus the first chapter says. "Law which can be made into laws is not the eternal Law. The Name which can be named [i. e., used on human lips and which is an interpretation of the eternal Law] is not the everlasting Name. The Nameless one is the beginning of the heavens and the earth; the Namable one is the mother of the material world."

These and other expressions cannot but attract the Christian and should command his appreciation. Though the *Tao* of Lao-tze has not the same meaning as the *Logos* of St. John, also translated into Chinese as *Tao*, yet this twofold aspect of *Tao* or Law in the Taoist classic is like the twofold aspect of God as taught by the Apostle John. "In the beginning was the Logos, and the Logos was with God, and the Logos was God. All things were made by Him. And the Logos became flesh." Thus God on the one side is mystery, the Unknowable; on the other, He is a manifestation and known. The Logos is God in the aspect of being revealed, culminating in a human incarnation. According to the Taoist idea Law has these twofold aspects, both of which, but especially the aspect of manifestation, are concerned in bringing the material universe into being. The Taoist teaching, moreover, being based on traditions, like that of Confucianism, is that the world was not created but passed through a process of evolution or emanation. In any case, the fundamental teaching is that the heavens and the earth and all the universe of Nature are not everlasting; only Law or God is everlasting. Only Law, only God, is from the beginning, and all else has come therefrom. The cosmogony of Lao-tze does not explain the method of the world's origin; it states the fact without any explanation. Law reveals itself in all the works of Nature and in every individual being, and yet it existed before Nature and man came into existence. "It is not merely immanent; it is supernatural and prenatal."

Another remarkable expression in the Taoist classic is this one:

"Heaven and earth and all material things are born from Being, and Being is born from Non-Being." In this the idea seems to be, first of all, and which is plainly intelligible, that all materiality comes from immateriality and the concrete from the abstract. Elsewhere it is said that this universe comes from Universal Law, which continues to abide in all the universe, imparting to all things and all men a particular and distinctive character. From this passage there seems to be implied that this immateriality or this Universal Law bears within itself a distinction, called Being and Non-Being, or existence and non-existence. Before this material universe came into shape, there was an unseen, immutable, and omnipresent Law, which is like Kant's "pure form," or Plato's "ideas," but even this has a higher and lower state, the latter called Being and the former still more intangible and spiritual, denominated as the great Nothing, as pure Non-Being. In this highest of all states the last vestige of anything material has disappeared.

While thus distinguished as Being and Non-Being there is only one, called the Eternal and Universal Law. Thus in the Confucian philosophy there is the Great Extreme or First Cause and the Absolute or Limitless, but the two are one.

The high spiritual and deeply mysterious character of *Tao* or Law is brought out in another remarkable passage:

"Looking for it, but yet invisible—it may be named colorless. Listened for, but yet inaudible—it may be named soundless. Grasping for it, but yet never attained—it may be named subtle. These three cannot be analyzed; they blend and become one. . . . Forever and continuously, it remains the nameless; it is ever reverting into the immaterial. It may be called the form of the formless, the image of the imageless; it may be called the transcendently abstruse."

Here, then, is pure form; here is spirituality, transcendental and elusive, though the words "spirit" and "breath" as used in the most ancient books are here not used in the Taoist classic. The whole universe and even God become absorbed in the oneness of an infinite ideal.

Chuang-tze, the noted disciple of Lao-tze, has also the following reference:

"*Tao*—Law—is without beginning and without end. Material things are born and die, they are never permanent; but now for better and now for worse they are ceaselessly changing form."

The difference here described is that between the material and the immaterial; the former is temporary or at least had a beginning,

the latter is from everlasting to everlasting, without beginning and without end.

This distinction between materiality and immateriality, between the visible resultant and the primeval, spiritual cause, or Eternal and Universal Law, is the most valuable truth which Taoism unfolds in a great variety of expressions.

To the Christian there is something unsatisfying in the failure to lay the same emphasis on God as on God's Law. Still, there are a few sentences which may be quoted from Chuang-tze. In one place we have these words:

"Human knowledge is limited, and yet by going on to what he does not know man comes to know what is meant by Heaven or God. He knows him as the Great Unity; he knows him as the Great Mystery; he knows him as the Great Illuminator; he knows him as the Great Equitable; he knows him as the Great Infinite; he knows him as the Great Hope; he knows him as the Great Destiny—this is ultimate knowledge. The Great Unity is everywhere, . . . the Great Destiny is to be depended upon. The ultimate end is God. By conformity comes enlightenment. He is the revolving center. He is the beginning."

In another passage this religious philosopher says:

"From of old the comprehension of Law must be preceded by a comprehension of Heaven or God. Then follow all laws and virtues, and after a comprehension of law and virtue (religious and moral truth) come the virtues of brotherly love and righteousness."

In summing up this first part of our appreciation, I am inclined to make use of the prologue of St. John's Gospel with a change in one word in English, though the same in Chinese:

"In the beginning was the Law and the Law was with God, and the Law was God; the same was in the beginning with God. All things were produced by Him, and without Him was not anything produced that was produced. And the Law was transformed into Nature, animate and inanimate, and we beheld its glory, the glory as of the highest emanation of God, full of virtue and truth."

Having fully discussed the deep meaning of *Tao* or Universal Law, as unfolded by Taoism more fully than by any other religious system, it is easy to pass on to other features of Taoism which command the Christian's appreciation. These features may be considered less minutely, though their importance must be equally recognized.

II. A second reason for appreciating Taoism, particularly from the Christian standpoint, is its teaching concerning *Teh*, or "Virtue."

This word of supreme significance is joined, as it should be, with *Tao*, or Law. The last quotation made under the previous section shows the gradation of thought as understood by Taoist thinkers, namely, God, and then Law, and then complete moral character summed up in the two words *Tao* and *Teh*, or Law and Virtue. The two ideas, of Law and Virtue, are linked together so inseparably that in thinking of the one, we must think of the other.

The Chinese language has no two words in more frequent use than *Tao* and *Teh*—Law and Virtue—and they are generally combined to mean moral and religious truth and sometimes religion. They represent the spiritual and inner side of religion, while *Chiao*, or Teaching, as used in Confucianism, represents the scholastic or outward side. According to Taoism Virtue is the working and manifestation of Law. Greater than this material world as an illustration of Law, is Virtue. The Virtue used with the word Law is viewed as so important that the two together form the title of the great Taoist classic. "The appearance of comprehensive Virtue," said Lao-tze, "is none other than conformity to Law. The character of Law is impalpable and eluding." Law is the root; Virtue is the fruitage.

This difference in the order of Law and Virtue appears in another saying found in the great classic.

"Law germinates, Virtue nourishes. Through the material world they are given form, by the forces of Nature they attain to completion. Therefore among all the varieties of the universe nothing should be so revered as Law or so honored as Virtue. Thus to revere Law and honor Virtue does not come through any command but ever arises spontaneously. Hence the saying that Law germinates, while Virtue nourishes, brings up, feeds, brings to completion and maturity, rears and protects. To bring into being but not to own, to act but not to rely on one's action, to raise up but not to dominate: this is called profound Virtue."

Thus the origin of all various forms of Virtue, as the origin of the material universe, is eternal Law; but Virtue, once produced, goes on forever both in its task of developing to completion all human character and in its various operations, from beginning to end, of correct soul-training.

As *Tao* or Law has within itself a distinction—the divine and the human, the ineffable and the nameable—so Virtue has a distinction—the superior and the inferior. The great Teacher after expressing this inner distinction goes on to show the relation of Law to all the virtues in the following language:

"In losing Law, Virtue is lost. In losing Virtue, brotherly love is lost. In losing brotherly love, righteousness is lost. In losing righteousness, the sense of propriety is lost." From this we see that every virtuous action must be traced back to Eternal Law, summed up in the Eternal God.

Nothing is more important in the Taoist conception than character saturated with Virtue, which in turn is the truest expression of the voice of God speaking imperatively in every human soul. Every virtuous characteristic is attainable only through the possession of the essence of Virtue, which is in perfect accord with unchanging Law or the Mind of the Infinite. So the Christian Scriptures: "Every good and perfect gift cometh down from the Father of lights, with whom there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning."

III. Closely connected with this teaching concerning the supremacy of Virtue is the cognate teaching concerning placidity or passiveness. The teaching is unique, and full of the highest truth and greatest value. There are many references in the Taoist classic.

Thus from the section containing our last citation there may be taken these lofty conceptions:

"Superior Virtue is Non-Virtue [i. e., does not attempt to be virtuous]. Hence it is real Virtue. Inferior Virtue is found not to lose Virtue [or does not lose sight of Virtue]. Hence, it never becomes real Virtue. Superior Virtue is simply non-action, never striving to act. Inferior Virtue is action, again and again striving to act."

In Taoism there is used a word almost as frequently as the words which we translate Law and Virtue. The word means tranquillity, stillness, quiescence. Here is one of the sayings tersely expressed, "Attain to complete abstraction, preserve unalloyed tranquillity." And again: "In return to the root, this is called tranquillity." By this is meant, that a basic element of Virtue is tranquillity.

In another section, the great Teacher says: "I understand the advantages of inaction, i. e., non-assertion. Few indeed realize the instruction of silence, and the advantage of inaction."

Still another section imparts instruction so contrary to the usual opinion of men: "In the pursuit of *Tao* or Law one is willing to decrease, until he reaches a state of non-action. By non-action there is nothing but can be done. To win the empire, one must always be free of much doing. He who is a busybody can never win the country."

This quality of putting oneself into a state of quietness, but subject to higher influences, is taught again in these words: "Practise non-action; do the silent deed; have ambition to be without ambition; turn small things into great; make much out of little."

The sage or holy man, according to Taoism, is different from the Confucian conception. Lao-tze says: "The holy man abides by non-assertion in his affairs, and practises the lessons of silence."

Chuang-tze, the disciple of Lao-tze, adheres to the same idea, though not emphasized to the same degree. We cite one of his sayings: "What is *Tao* or Law? There is the Law of Heaven and the Law of Man. Inaction and compliance form the Law of Heaven; action and entanglement the Law of Man. The Law of Heaven is fundamental, the Law of Man is accidental. The distance which separates them is vast. Let us all take heed thereto."

Thus if man conforms to the Law of Heaven, he will aspire after passivity, non-assertion, freedom from useless exertion and troublesome meddlesomeness. He will regard as nothing his own deeds, and give full play to the inner working of the Law of the ages and the Spirit of the Infinite.

By a process of non-action, i. e., by not forcing oneself to do a thing, one is able to do the most. By striving, one fails to reach the best results—this is the lower form of Virtue. By submitting oneself to the internal operations of Law the greatest results are reached—this is the higher form of Virtue. It is by dependence on infinite power, rather than by self-assertion or personal exertion, that Heaven finds scope for carrying out action in the soul.

As with the individual, so with government. The best way to rule a people is by having few enactments and by silent influence that avoids stirring up opposition. Thus Lao-tze says: "The method of Universal Law is to work silently and by this method everything is done by and under law." If kings and rulers could only observe this the whole world could be transformed.

This feature of quietness is a great charm of Taoism. It is like the Biblical expression, "In quietude and in confidence shall be your strength." The true Taoist is the opposite of a busybody. He does not intermeddle in the affairs of others, but he persuades others and enjoins on himself to submit to the true path and the inner law of the Perfect One.

Modern Christianity with its institutionalism and many organizations, societies, and committees, is rather the converse of such teachings as these of the Chinese mystic, but a choice element in Christianity through all the ages has drawn instinctively to this

meditative aspect of spiritual religion, has made use of retreats, and has cultivated self-abasement that "God may be all and in all." In fact the best type of Christian thought and life is in close agreement with this fundamental teaching of Taoism.

IV. A fourth reason for appreciating Taoism is that it teaches that modesty and reserve are superior to ostentation and display. This self-abasement is but an element in placidity and non-action, as they in turn are a form of Virtue. Lao-tze says, "Who tiptoes, totters. Who straddles, stumbles. The self-displaying man cannot shine. An egotistic man is not distinguished. One who praises himself has no merit. The self-conceited cannot excel." The idea is that one must hide himself under the cover of Law and Virtue, which are perfect, satisfying, eternal, and pervasive. The one who pushes himself forward is apt to diminish the glory and effectiveness of the Supreme and Infinite. This is like the Christian saying, "He that is first shall be last."

One more saying of Lao-tze, very similar to the one already quoted, still further substantiates this truth: "The holy man embraces unity and becomes the world's model. He is not self-displaying and thus he shines. He is not egotistic, and thus he is distinguished. He does not praise himself, and thus he has merit. He is not self-conceited, and thus he excels." These are sentiments closely allied with the sayings of Christ, and we may well say that, "They are hard to hear." None the less they are great spiritual truths.

V. A fifth teaching which every Christian can appreciate is that it is the weak who are to conquer the strong. One of Lao-tze's sayings is this: "In the world nothing is so delicate and flexible as water, yet for attacking that which is hard and strong, nothing surpasses it. There is nothing that can take its place. The weak conquer the strong, the tender conquer the hard. Every one knows this, but no one practises it." This is like the saying of the Apostle Paul, "God chose the weak things of the world that he might put to shame the things that are strong, and the base things of the world, and the things that are despised did God choose, yea, and the things that are not, that he might bring to naught the things that are." This teaching fits in with the two previous ones concerning quietness and self-effacement, non-action and modesty.

VI. This exaltation of weakness over all brute force, of the delicate over hardness, fits in with the sixth feature of Taoism, viz., that peace is better than strife. There are several passages illustrating this idea. One is as follows: "He who by the aid of

Eternal Law assists the ruler of men, does not rely on arms to conquer the world. Where armies are quartered, there briars and thorns grow up. After a great war there comes the year of famine. A good man is determined, and goes no further. He ventures not to take by force."

Again Lao-tze says, "Even beautiful arms cannot make them auspicious weapons. Even inanimate Nature despises them. Hence he who follows the laws of the universe has nothing to do with them. Soldiers are instruments of ill omen, they are not agents for the princely man. Only when it is unavoidable does he use them. What he prizes most is quiet and peace. He will not praise a victory. To praise a victory means to rejoice in the slaughter of men." Further on in the same section he adds: "The slayer of multitudes should bitterly weep and lament."

These remarkable, most unusual, well-nigh unbelievable, teachings of the great Taoist teacher stand forth with distinctness, a message to the world as well as to China. The very last sentence in the Taoist classic sums it all up in these words: "The law of the holy man is to act but not to strive." Whereas elsewhere the idea is one of non-action, the idea here seems to be that while non-action is the ideal, yet if one must act, he must not go so far as to strive; or possibly the idea is, that while the holy man—a model to all others—must place himself in a state of passivity, full scope is given to the Law of Heaven to act in and through him, but never to the extent of strife, struggle, or warfare.

We seem to hear the words of the ancient Hebrew prophet, as he looked forward to the Coming One: "He shall not strive nor cry aloud." We seem to face in another form the gentle, forgiving spirit of Christ—the great Logos appearing in China before he appeared in Judea.

VII. A seventh attractive feature of Taoism is that it teaches our duty to be good to all. Thus Lao-tze says: "The good I meet with goodness, the bad I also meet with goodness; goodness is Virtue. The faithful I meet with faithfulness, and the faithless I meet with faithfulness. Faithfulness is Virtue." Thus Christ in many ways taught that we should love those who hate as well as those who love, even as God's love goes forth to the good and the bad alike. Lao-tze in one clause of only four characters says we should "requite hatred with virtue," like the Biblical saying, "Recompense evil with good."

This teaching is the highest form of all human teaching; it brings the Law which governs God into the activities of man—

God's grace and man's love, universal in their scope, without discrimination or partiality.

VIII. An eighth attraction is the teaching concerning immortality. It is expressed in one sentence in Lao-tze's classic, viz.: "One may die but not perish—this is everlasting life." In many ways Taoism has brought to human hearts a feeling of satisfaction by the hope perpetually taught of life after death, life immortal, and life with a spiritualized body.

The Taoist looks forward to the dwelling of the immortals; the Christian looks forward to eternal life. The Taoist believes that through proper training life becomes perpetual; the Christian realizes that time is only a part of eternity, and that death is only a passing from a lower form of existence to a higher. Both Taoism and Christianity have the hope of immortality and the thought of a spiritual body transformed from this body of flesh and blood, of animal passions and restricted capabilities. Both are cheered by the belief that in the future life one passes from earth into the greater power conditions of God's great universe.

IX. The last feature of Taoism which the Christian can appreciate is that he who does right—he who follows Law and possesses Virtue—need fear no harm. "Venomous reptiles do not sting him, fierce beasts do not seize him, birds of prey do not strike him."

Chuang-tze has also words of consolation for the good man, in the face of threatened danger: "The man of perfect Virtue cannot be burnt by fire, nor drowned in water, nor hurt by frost or sun, nor torn by wild bird or beast. Happy under prosperous and adverse circumstances alike, cautious as to what he discards and what he accepts—nothing can harm him."

Many passages in the Scriptures, especially in Psalms, have the same lesson of hope and confidence. He who does the will of God has God's protection and need fear no harm. Thus the Psalmist has spoken his message of consolation, which stayed the souls of martyrs: "There shall no evil befall thee, neither shall any plague come nigh thy tent, for He shall give His angels charge over thee, to keep thee in all thy ways. They shall bear thee up in their hands, lest thou dash thy foot against a stone. Thou shalt tread upon the lion and adder: the young lion and the serpent shalt thou trample under feet."

These nine specifications of Taoist teachings cannot but awaken surprise and admiration in the thought of the Christian and particularly of the Christian missionary. The Christian should give

thanks to God for thus imparting so many truths to the people of China, through all these centuries of the past.

Lao-tze as a person is wrapped in uncertainty, but a benign influence has flown forth from his life, made articulate in his words, which form a gem in Chinese literature. Whatever be the defects in the followers of Lao-tze, as in the followers of Christ, our admiration goes forth to both Lao-tze and Christ, and we believe in perfect confidence that their goodness, or grace, or truth, or gentleness, all come from God, "to whom be all the glory."

THE POST-EXILIC PERIOD.

BY REV. AMOS I. DUSHAW.

THAT the post-Exilic period is of great interest and of great importance to the student of both Judaism and Christianity is evident by the voluminous literature on the subject, and by the scholars of international reputation from the foremost universities of Europe and America who have produced this literature.

To the great majority of Bible readers this period is probably only a blank. In fact up to very recently even the majority of preachers thought it negligible, and there are undoubtedly quite a few even to-day who do not fully realize the significance of it. But to the faithful student this period is of more than secondary interest. From a religious point of view it may well rank with the period of the eighth-century prophets. It was during this period that the Jews made an honest effort to put into practice the religion of the prophets, namely, monotheism plus morality. If Elijah could have returned he would have found to his great joy that his labor had not been in vain, because idolatry, the great sin of ancient Israel, had been completely obliterated and Baal had no more worshipers among the Jews.

This period produced the prophets Haggai and Zechariah; the great leaders of Judaism, Ezra and Nehemiah. This period produced Ben Sirach; the Apocalyptic literature; the translation of the Old Testament into the Greek; Judaism; the great Maccabean family; the religious parties; the great rabbis, like Antigonus of Socho who said, "Men should serve God without an eye to the reward"; also the great and gentle Hillel; Philo the great philosopher of Alexandria; and last of all it produced Christianity. "To the student of Christianity they [these times] are of the greatest in-

terest, for then many of the religious rites and usages developed, which, adopted with slight modifications, have become the institutions of the Christian Church" (Kent). To the multitudes of Christians who have either erroneous or superficial views of the Jew and Judaism this may indeed sound rather startling but it is nevertheless true.

He who wishes to be a competent interpreter of the New Testament must be thoroughly familiar with these times. For example, it may safely be said that the great majority of Bible readers and people in general do not have a very high opinion of the Pharisees,—to them the term Pharisee is synonymous with hypocrisy, and yet this party produced Saul of Tarsus who was certainly not a hypocrite. Cheyne in his work, *Jewish Religious Life After the Exile*, writes as follows: "In the Psalms of Solomon, so called, we have a record of the religion of the Pharisees. It is well that we should learn to know every school or party from its own ablest representatives, and so students may be advised to read these books [post-Exilic writings] which cannot fail to correct the bias with which, if their education has been Christian, they not unnaturally approach New Testament times."

This period should be studied more than it is in our theological seminaries, and it should be made compulsory and not elective. Why should the clergy be so ignorant of the Jew and of Judaism? There are very few ministers who ever dream of associating Christianity with Judaism, or of the Church with the Synagogue. It is only in this way that much of the prejudice which exists to-day in the Protestant Church of America can be eliminated. The prejudice against the Jew is solely due to ignorance of the Jew on the part of pew and pulpit.

With these few introductory remarks we can now take up some of the important aspects of this period.

THE TRANSITIONAL PERIOD.

The Chosen People were called out from the rest of the nations in order that they should be witnesses of the true religion. See the call of Abraham, "In thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed." The prophets conceived this religion to be the worship of one God, who is righteous, just, holy, and merciful, and who expects His children to be the same. In order to grasp these spiritual verities Israel went through a severe process of training. And considering all the disadvantages under which the nation labored, we can fully sympathize with all their shortcomings. It was no easy

task for a people who were not yet settled in their convictions, to remain pure when they were surrounded by so many subtle temptations, namely, by the nations and tribes who had religions which appealed to the sensual in man. During the centuries preceding the downfall of the Jewish State under Nebuchadnezzar Israel lapsed and relapsed into idolatry time and again; but the nation always had its faithful ones. We recall God's words to the great Elijah, 1 Kings, xix. 18, "I have left for myself seven thousand men who have not bowed the knee to Baal." Such bands of faithful men existed during the worst periods of Israel's religious experiences. At least the millions of professing Christians cannot find fault with those ancient Israelites. Nineteen hundred years have passed by and the Christian Church has not abolished the evils which determined the downfall of Israel. The messages of Israel's prophets have not yet lost their force because they are applicable to present-day conditions. (See Micah vi. 8.)

The division of the united kingdom after the death of Solomon was, from a political point of view, a very unfortunate occurrence. If Solomon had not been followed by a foolish and weak son the division would not have occurred then and the fratricidal wars which followed it would have been avoided. A united nation might have withstood successfully the great empires of Babylon and Assyria. As a matter of fact a united Israel has always succeeded in maintaining its position against its foes. Every great defeat was suffered because of internal strife and division. Even mighty Rome never fought a united Israel. Neither Pompey nor Titus ever did. Also to-day the Jew is laboring under the same disadvantage.

Samaria fell in 722 B. C. This put an end to the Northern Kingdom, and those carried into captivity by the Assyrians were assimilated by their conquerors. They were not fortunate to have with them in captivity a mighty religious prophet like Ezekiel. But when Jerusalem fell in 587 B. C. under Nebuchadnezzar conditions were altogether different. The Babylonians were not as cruel as the Assyrians, and Nebuchadnezzar was a wise and humane monarch, at least for that time. He did not seek to destroy the religions of the conquered nations. In this respect his policy was similar to that of the Romans. The Judean captives were therefore not forced to give up their God. Furthermore, the Judeans carried into Babylon in 605 B. C. and 597 B. C. had had the good fortune to have been under the instruction of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. In Babylon these Judean captives were rather strengthened than weakened in their loyalty to their ancestral faith. With the fall of Jerusalem the

Judean State died and the Synagogue was born. Now the Judeans ceased playing politics, and they began to give greater attention to the voices of their religious teachers.

If the exile was a misfortune from a political point of view it was a blessing from a spiritual point of view. The exile killed idolatry and created Judaism, one of the mightiest forces for monotheism and morality. From now on multitudes of the Judeans came in contact with the great empires and with their religions, sciences, and philosophies. From a pastoral and agricultural people many of them became commercial and cosmopolitan. It may safely be said that up to this time the Jews had no love for commerce. With the downfall of the Babylonian Empire and the ushering in of the Persian Empire under Cyrus the Great the conditions of the Judean exiles were changed for the better. Cyrus permitted the Judean exiles to return to Judea and rebuild the Temple. Under the leadership of Zerubbabel the prince and Jeshua the priest, a large number of exiles returned. These Babylonian Jews brought with them patriotism and enthusiasm for the faith of their fathers. Under the spiritual leadership of Haggai and Zechariah the Temple was rebuilt. With the coming of Ezra and Nehemiah, especially under the powerful influence of Nehemiah, the wall around Jerusalem was rebuilt, the Temple worship fully organized, the compromising priests expelled: the Jewish community commenced its great work of standing as a living and powerful witness for monotheism and morality, and what is more, they succeeded in their work.

These Judeans, or Jews, were not as powerful as the great empires: but they created a greater and more enduring empire, namely, a spiritual empire, and wherever Jehovah is worshiped to-day, by Jew, Christian, and Mohammedan, we see the work and influence of those exiles, and the words of Zechariah have had a literal fulfilment, Zech. iv. 6, "not by might, nor by power, but by my spirit, saith the Lord of hosts." Surrounded by great and hostile forces they succeeded in freeing themselves from idolatry, and have passed on a priceless heritage to the whole world, and the work of those exiles will not be finished until every idol is cast into the fire and the God of Israel enthroned in every heart. The modern Christian missionary is carrying on the work and is their true and worthy successor.

On the whole, if this period under the Persian rule was not a very glorious one from a political point of view, and even if occasionally there were petty annoyances under the governors, they were not hindered to live their own religious life. But there must

have been a great many disappointments on the part of the faithful and patriotic Jews that they were not taking the position of the foremost power in the world. However we read of no return to idolatry. Idolatry has been crushed forever. From this period on those who lost faith in the teachings of their fathers drifted into scepticism and indifference. We gather some information about this period, about the religious condition of the people from the prophet Malachi.

A different and more and more important period opens with the conquests of Alexander the Great. This period, as we shall see, had the greatest influence upon Judaism. It tried its metal by placing it in the crucible, and the pure metal came out purer. This period opens with Alexander's victory over Darius III at Issus, 333 B. C.

ALEXANDER AND THE JEWS.

It is remarkable that most of the great men of history were kindly disposed toward the Jews. Nebuchadnezzar was practically forced to use drastic measures against them. Cyrus the Great restored them to their own country. Julius Cæsar was a friend of the Jew. The same may be said of Charlemagne, Cromwell, Napoleon, and Queen Victoria, and so were most of the great leaders of the French Revolution, like Danton and Robespierre. Occasionally some pope or priest, like Bernard de Clairvaux. Alexander the Great, too, may be reckoned as one of their friends.

At the siege of Tyre Alexander summoned the Jews to renounce their allegiance to Darius the Persian and to send provisions. This Jaddua, the high priest, refused because of his oath to Darius. This alone would perhaps have influenced Alexander's conduct toward them when he saw that they valued honor more than life. However, after capturing Tyre he started with his army toward Jerusalem. He was met on Mount Scopus by Jaddua and a company of priests dressed in their sacred vestments, and to the surprise of his army, he received Jaddua most cordially, treated the city with kindness, and offered a sacrifice in the Temple. He granted the Jews many favors, did not interfere with their religion and freed them from paying tribute during the sabbatical year (Josephus, *Ant.*, XI, 8-15.) During this period many Jews settled in Alexandria. After the death of Alexander Judea changed rulers again and again, but the people were not molested in their religious freedom.

But Alexander's great ambition to build up a great empire with a common culture, Greek or Hellenistic, was bound to have its influence upon the Jews. Alexander died in 323 B. C., but his suc-

cessors continued his policy. While Egyptian Hellenism had on the whole an ennobling influence on the Jew—producing a Philo—the same cannot be said of Syrian Hellenism. Laboring under a false conception of culture and cosmopolitanism, the leading Jews of Jerusalem were willing to discard so-called bigotted views, and become like the other people. These Jews gradually began to be ashamed of Judaism. They sent offerings to the heathen temples, just to show their cosmopolitanism, and introduced Greek sport into the Holy City. Gradually but surely Hellenism was undoing the work of Ezra and Nehemiah. But for the hasty and drastic measures of Antiochus Epiphanes this might have gone on, and no one can tell what the result would have been.

Antiochus Epiphanes was to Judaism what Alva was to Protestantism in the Netherlands. The high priest and his party may have been willing to sacrifice Judaism, but he and the Syrian monarch had to reckon with another element among the Jews, namely, those who were ready to sacrifice everything, even their lives, for the faith of their fathers. Religious persecution soon produced its martyrs and heroes. Mathews makes the following statement: "Had the already aggressive Hellenizing movement been allowed to run its course among the Jews it is not impossible that Judaism, like other ethnic faiths, would have succumbed."

But Hellenism was suddenly interrupted in its course. Once more it was to be demonstrated that truth is all-powerful. The anti-Hellenizing forces were insignificant and ridiculously weak to resist the Syrian empire with its well-organized and well-equipped army, supported by the Jewish aristocracy. Religious enthusiasm inspired the faithful ones not only to die for their faith, but to organize armed bands of loyal and brave men who were determined to crush this monster, and crush him they certainly did.

THE UPRISING UNDER MATTATHIAS IN 166 B. C.

This is one of the most interesting and most glorious periods in the history of the Jewish people and also of great importance to the student of the Christian Church. Christianity is the outgrowth of Judaism, and consequently, whatever is of great importance to Judaism is also of great importance to Christianity. This struggle is to Judaism what the Reformation was to the Evangelical faith—the victory of the insurgents meant the victory for truth and the defeat of paganism.

Goaded on to desperation by heathen foes and treacherous brethren, the loyal element produced a great leader like Judas

Maccabeus, a warrior who will compare with the greatest soldiers of all times. With limited resources he defeated great armies and saved Judaism. Like Samuel and Saul he revived the martial spirit of the Jew. Followed by his brave and loyal brothers, Jonathan and Simon, and then by the great Hyrcanus, he won for Judea an honorable position in the world. It concluded honorable alliances with Rome and Sparta. Judea was strong and therefore respected. Through these alliances protection was brought to the Jews throughout Egypt, Greece, and Rome. For a hundred years Judea was a sovereign state, and under Alexander Janneus the dominions of Judea were so enlarged that it corresponded to the empire of David,—from the Desert to the Sea, and from Lebanon to the River of Egypt.

It is true that the alliance with Rome brought the incorporation of Judea into the Empire. But this was not Rome's fault; it was the fault of Judea, its kings, its priests, and its parties. Even without this alliance, but as the result of misgovernment Rome would anyway have succeeded in absorbing Judea and have made it a Roman province.

Lack of internal harmony will bring about the downfall of any nation. But Judea showed its spirit when it accomplished what it did, considering its relatively small position in the world from the point of view of extent in territory and population.

The Maccabean family saved Judaism, and as Christianity is the outgrowth of Judaism we see no reason why Sunday-school scholars should not study this period and become acquainted with Judas, Jonathan, Simon, and Hyrcanus, as they are acquainted with Saul, David, and Solomon. They will thus learn that the history of the Jewish people did not close with the destruction of the Temple of Solomon.

The victory of the Pious Jews, or the Puritan Jews, meant the permanent defeat of the vicious element in Hellenism, at least the Hellenism as represented by Syria and the Jewish aristocratic party. Never again did the heathen powers try to crush Judaism. Now, Hellenism, if it had any good thing in it, had to win its way through milder means. It was left to a Jew of the Dispersion to combine pure Judaism with the best there was in Hellenism, namely, monotheism and righteousness plus the internationalism of Hellenism. We refer to Saul of Tarsus.

"The historical content of the second century has been described as the victory of Nomism over Hellenism. This, however, is a partial statement of the case, true from one point of view, untrue

from another. The sharp attack of the Syrian Greeks on the organized Jewish faith was thoroughly crushed by the Maccabean uprising; the attempt was not repeated by Greeks or Romans. Yahveh, the Lord, was not displaced by Jupiter Capitolinus. The Jewish sacred books were not destroyed. Judaism as a religious system remained firm and Hellenistic heathenism suffered a decisive defeat. But this is only the outward aspect of the question. Judaism, while it had an inward life vigorous enough to repel all such attacks, had also a depth and breadth of susceptibility which recognized the value of certain foreign truths. Notably the great belief in immortality came to the Jews through Greek intermediation." (From Toy, *Judaism and Christianity*.)

Judaism showed its strength not only when it survived the attack of Syrian Greeks, but also by the way it enlarged its spiritual empire before the coming of Jesus of Nazareth, and by the way it has survived the vicious attacks of the Christian Church during the past centuries. The Judaism of the Chassidim flourishes best where it suffers most, as in Russia and Rumania. The Christian Church, in spite of its overwhelming numbers can no more defeat Judaism than did Antiochus, so long as it uses the devil's weapons. A religious system like Judaism can only succumb to another religious system when that system shows its superiority not only in its teachings but also in the life of its confessors.

THE SYNAGOGUE.

The synagogue is one of Judaism's most unique as well as most important institutions. It is a combination of a house of prayer and a religious school. This institution is of interest to the student of Christianity as well as to the student of Judaism. Christianity was born in the synagogue; or rather the church was born in the synagogue. See the Acts of the Apostles in support of this statement.

The synagogue is strictly a democratic institution, free from priestcraft, and is the forerunner of the Christian non-Episcopal church. Here knowledge, the ability to expound the Law, took precedence over priestly succession, and as such produced the great rabbis. Toy makes this certainly startling comment about the great Hillel, "Hillel surpassed Isaiah in distinctness of moral view." Of course, the great mass of Christians are not competent to challenge this statement because they know practically nothing about this master in Israel. But this statement must mean a great deal to the modern Jew because it shows a high appreciation of one of Israel's

great leaders in religious thought. The *Pirke Abboth*, or "Sayings of the (Jewish) Fathers," are the priceless gems which fell from the lips of many of these rabbis. There is no doubt a very close connection between the moral sayings in the New Testament and the ethics of the rabbis who taught in the synagogues. "Their religion became constantly more ethical" (Toy).

When did the synagogue originate? This is a debated question, and an exact answer cannot be given. But it probably had its beginning with the faithful Jews in Babylon. There those exiles would quite naturally come together to talk of their past, review their history, and also worship their God. Jer. xxiv. 1-7 would indicate that the first exiles were not the chaff of Judea. However it developed more rapidly after the triumph of Judaism over Hellenism. With a strong central place of worship like Jerusalem, recognized as such by all the Jews including those of the Dispersion, a place for worship and for the study of the Law in places outside of Jerusalem was needed. The synagogue met this need as it was both a house of worship and a school combined. Here we may also notice the beginning of a common school among the Jews. In every village there was a synagogue, like the one at Nazareth, and it offered an opportunity for every Jewish boy to be instructed in the Law.

The influence of the synagogue was for good, not only in Palestine, but also throughout the Roman Empire. The Romans extended their empire through the force of arms; the Jews extended their empire through the influence of the synagogue. The empire of the Romans has passed away, while the empire of the Jew still exists. He has forced the world to accept the God his fathers worshiped, and he has also forced upon the world the acceptance of his Holy Writings. Wherever the synagogue was planted there it stood for monotheism and morality and made converts. The charge often made that the Jews never cared for converts is false. Jesus said to the Jews, "ye compass sea and land to make one proselyte." The first Gentile converts to Christianity were from among those who had already been converted to Judaism through the synagogue. We will not dwell at greater length upon this interesting subject. We trust that those who will read this sketch will be influenced to make a further study of this most wonderful of Judaism's institutions.

This leads us directly to a consideration of the religious parties which originated during this period. There were three distinct parties and they came into prominence after the defeat of Syrian Hellenism.

a. The Essenes.

This party only numbered about six thousand, and it was strictly non-political. The Essenes were monks of Judaism, but much freer than the monks of the Church. They were not in bondage to the hierarchy, and they never degenerated morally as did the monks of the Church. They believed in keeping themselves pure, morally and physically, and in doing good. They had everything in common, and those who were full-fledged members abstained from marriage. They did not mingle in politics and were consequently not molested by the officials, either Jewish or Roman. And they were held in high esteem by the common people.

b. The Sadducees.

The Sadducees were members of the conservative and ruling party. They held the ecclesiastical offices, and were in favor of foreign alliances. From the New Testament we gather that they put a literal construction upon the Law. They rejected the Oral Law. And because the Law contained no definite teaching about the resurrection they rejected it. Jesus rebuked them for their literalism. They were not very popular with the common people. This may be due to the fact that they represented the aristocratic section of the nation. The party perished with the destruction of the Temple under Titus in 70 A. D.

c. The Pharisees.

Ministers and laymen who have not studied the New Testament times generally speak unkindly of the Pharisees. They are judged by their poorest rather than by their best representatives. And yet, Christianity is largely the outgrowth of this party. Many of their ideas have been incorporated into Christianity. While they were the Separatists, they were not, as the growth of their faith shows, slaves of the letter like the Sadducees. On the contrary, they represented the progressive element in Judaism. They were to Judaism what the Puritans were to England, and they had the virtues and vices of the Puritans. They were the teachers of Judea, they taught in the synagogues, and they taught faithfully. They were stern moralists. Jesus's story of the Pharisee and the Publican (Luke xviii) gives us one type of the Pharisee. From the point of view of morality he was a good man; but he lacked sympathy for the sinner. Saul of Tarsus was also a Pharisee, and we know that Christianity did not make him a more moral man.

See Acts xxiii. 1, "I have lived in all good conscience before God until this day." Gemaliel was another type of Pharisee, and he generally appeals to every noble-minded man. Gemaliel would certainly not support the Inquisition.

Neither the Pharisee nor his work perished with the destruction of the Temple under Titus, because his house of prayer was the synagogue, and the synagogue survived the Temple. To him the Law was of greater consequence than the Temple and Titus could not destroy the Law.

The Pharisee shunned all foreign alliances. He aimed to make his people strong in the faith. His work still lives in the orthodox Jew.

THE MESSIANIC HOPE.

The coming of the Messiah was Israel's greatest hope. Without it Israel might have perished long ago. It was this hope that sustained the Jew during the bloody centuries of the past. For this hope they lived and suffered, and two thousand years of disappointment has not wholly crushed it. Marvelous indeed! A fact to be admired by intelligent and chivalrous people, regardless of race or creed. And the Jew rightly merits the title,—the Messianic People. Even a philosopher like Philo could not divest himself of this hope. He, too, looked forward to the coming of this mighty deliverer who would emancipate His people.

There were different views about the Messiah, about His person and about His coming; but they were all in unanimous accord about His work. In the New Testament we find the following interesting ideas: John vii. 26, "Do the rulers know indeed that this is the very Christ?" Verse 27, "Howbeit we know this man whence he is: but when Christ cometh no man knoweth whence he is." (See also *ibid.*, vs. 40-42. Matth. ii. From Micah v. 2. Matth. xi. 3, 10, 11; xvii. 10-13.)

Or, to quote again from Toy regarding its import, *op. cit.*, p. 328: "The fundamental element is the destruction or coercion of Israel's enemies, and the establishment of the people in Palestine. In political independence and prosperity, sometimes by the immediate act of God, sometimes by the means of a king or other leader, a man sprung from the people, but raised up by God and endowed with all the qualities necessary to secure success; at the same time the worship of the God of Israel receives universal recognition and Jerusalem becomes the religious center of a regenerated world, the new heaven and the new earth."

Let us examine this.

There is, first, the destruction or coercion of Israel's enemies. Israel's enemies were also the enemies of Israel's religion. And yet, strange to say, this has in a large measure been fulfilled. Where is the Roman Empire? Like Babylon it believed itself indestructible; but it has perished. The nations that have succeeded the Roman Empire have accepted Israel's God. Their gods have been dethroned.

This has been brought about through Jesus Christ, the rejected Messiah.

And there is, secondly, the establishment of the people of Palestine in political independence and prosperity. It is true that the rejected Messiah failed to accomplish this. But this was not His fault any more than it was Jeremiah's fault that he failed to save Jerusalem and the Temple from destruction under Nebuchadnezzar. Like his faithful and mighty forerunners, the Prophets, he knew that the people needed a change of heart. Had the nation fallen in line with Christ's purpose, Jerusalem would never have been destroyed by Titus. In fact they might have been the means of saving Rome itself from destruction. There is no doubt in the writer's mind that had Judea accepted Jesus, Israel would have been permanently established, and the grand vision of Isaiah (chap. ii.) would have been fulfilled.

Pride, self-interest, and political ambition caused the downfall of the Judean State. Other States than that of Judea have fallen for the same reasons. Only the religion of Jesus, not the religion about Jesus, can save a nation from destruction, because it stands for righteousness, self-denial, and loving service. It is a lesson which Christian States and hierarchies have yet to learn.

Here our period ends. The true Church has taken up the work of the Synagogue and is carrying Israel's faith to the uttermost parts of the earth. But the greatest missionary work will begin when Church and Synagogue will clasp hands, bury the malice, hatred, and cruelty of the past centuries, go out into a bruised and bleeding world carrying the salvation of Him who has so far been the only true light to the nations. Then will the misfortunes of Israel and that of the nations come to an end. The Jew will be reestablished in Palestine, and Jerusalem may yet become the Capitol of a new spiritual empire. "For out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem." "And so all Israel shall be saved: as it is written, There shall come out of Zion the Deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob: for this is my covenant unto them, when I shall have taken away their sins."

BOOK REVIEWS.

HENRY FORD'S OWN STORY. As told to *Rose Wilder Lane*. New York: Ellis O. Jones. Pp. 184. Price \$1.00 net.

This little book tells us "how a farmer boy rose to the power that goes with many millions, yet never lost touch with humanity." It is an interesting book and worth while reading for people who wish to become acquainted with self-made men who have made a great success in life. The story begins with a hot summer day on which a thrifty farmer was making hay when he was called home from the fields to go for the doctor in a hurry, and later, after the laborers had been driven to the barn by rain leaving two loads still un-gathered in the fields, this farmer, William Ford, told his men of the birth of a second son whose name was Henry.

The first noteworthy event of Henry's life is the mending of his play-fellow's watch which he took to pieces one Sunday during church time. Without going into details of the development of his life, including his long struggle in perfecting a motor car, and the equally difficult task of financing its manufacture, we will quote here for the benefit of our readers the point at which he proposed to the world of businessmen the attempt to pay a minimum wage of five dollars a day to his workmen in his automobile machine-shop. We read in the book before us:

"He had been studying relief plans, methods of factory management in Germany, welfare work of all kinds. When he had finished his consideration of those reports he threw overboard all the plans other people had made and announced his own.

"'Every man who works for me is going to get enough for a comfortable living,' he said. 'If an able-bodied man can't earn that, he's either lazy or ignorant. If he's lazy, he's sick. We'll have a hospital. If he's ignorant, he wants to learn. We'll have a school. Meantime figure out in the accounting bureau a scale of profit-sharing that will make every man's earnings at least five dollars a day. The man that gets the smallest wages gets the biggest share of the profits. He needs it most.'

"On January 12, 1914, Ford launched into the industrial world a most startling bombshell.

"'Five dollars a day for every workman in the Ford factory!'

"'He's crazy!' other manufacturers said, aghast. 'Why, those dirty, ignorant foreigners don't earn half that! You can't run a business that way!'

"'That man Ford will upset the whole industrial situation. What is he trying to do, anyway?' they demanded when every Detroit factory workman grew restless.

"The news spread rapidly. Everywhere workmen dropped their tools and hurried to the Ford factory. Five dollars a day!

"When Ford reached the factory in the morning of the second day after

his announcement, he found Woodward avenue crowded with men waiting to get a job in the shops. An hour later the crowds had jammed into a mob, which massed outside the buildings and spread far into adjoining streets, pushing, struggling, fighting to get closer to the doors.

"It was not safe to open them. That mass of humanity, pushed from behind, would have wrecked the offices. The manager of the employment department opened a window and shouted to the frantic crowd that there were no jobs, but the sound of his voice was lost in the roar that greeted him. He shut the window and telephoned the police department for reserves.

"Still the crowds increased every moment by new groups of men wildly eager to get a job which would pay them a comfortable living. Ford looked down on them from his window.

"'Can't you make them understand we haven't any jobs?' he asked the employment manager. The man, disheveled, breathing hard, and hoarse with his efforts to make his voice heard, shook his head.

"'The police are coming,' he said.

"'Then there'll be somebody hurt,' Ford predicted. 'We can't have that. Get the fire hose and turn it on the crowd. That will do the business.'

"A moment later a solid two-inch stream of water shot from the doors of the Ford factory. It swept the struggling men half off their feet; knocked the breath from their bodies; left them gasping, startled, dripping. They scattered. In a few moments the white stream from the hose was sweeping back and forth over a widening space bare of men. When the police arrived the crowd was so dispersed that the men in uniform marched easily through it without using their clubs.

"For a week a special force of policemen guarded the Ford factory, turning back heartsick men, disappointed in their hope of a comfortable living wage.

"It was a graphic illustration of the harm done the whole machine by the loss of energy stored in money, held idle in the hands of a few men. . . .

"Six weeks after the plan went into effect in his factory a comparison was made between the production for January, 1914, and January, 1913. In 1913, with 16,000 men working on the actual production of cars for ten hours a day, 16,000 cars were made and shipped. Under the new plan 15,800 men working eight hours a day made and shipped 26,000 cars.

"Again Ford had shown the value of that intangible, 'impractical' thing—a spirit of friendliness and good will.

"'Do the thing that is best for everybody and it will be best for you in the end.' That was his creed. He hoped to prove its truth so that no one would doubt it.

"Nor is Ford a philanthropist, with the ordinary implications that follow the word. He is a hard-headed, practical man, who has made a success in invention, in organization, in the building of a great business. His contribution to the world is a practical contribution. His message is a practical message.'

The last chapter is devoted to a discussion of the European war. Mr. Ford thinks that the war is mainly due to the greed of nations and that if this greed had not abolished the golden rule there would have been no war. Strange to say, this strange pacifistic Mr. Ford has offered to our government the free use of his factory for ammunition purposes and any other practical services whenever the country shall have need of it.

κ

OSCAR WILDE—HIS LIFE AND CONFESSIONS. By *Frank Harris* with further Memoirs by *George Bernard Shaw*. 2 vols. \$5.00. Frank Harris, 29 Waverly Place, New York.

Grasping his self-imposed subject-task in a distinctly human manner without taking on the air of feigned austerity, and yet with a laudable spirit of true charity, Mr. Harris has done in this now popularized version of the bizarre and garish Wilde an engaging labor of exploration and verification. The biographer, infusing tremendous truth into the treatment of the *Confessions*, is very rarely at fault; however, one may execrate the turpitude and obliquity, to which are devoted many pages of the two-volume book. No one ought to take umbrage at the rightly reasoned treatment, though, when mulled over by theorists, afflicted with the critical temperament, not discovering the saving modicum of pulchritude, it may be slated by the supersensorious as the un-beautiful verdict of mournful veracity and damnable awfulness, tinged by the vivid verisimilitude of the artist. For one thing, there is no mock-morality, no affectation of a magnified shockingness, no masquerading, no garbling of records, no knavish trickery of the muckraker. It is reporting *in excelsis*, at times *in extremis*.

Mr. Harris "seen his dooty and done it," to borrow a chaste and classic gem of locution from the diction of the erstwhile mayor of L. I. City. Mr. Harris does not care a peppercorn—neither trimming nor truckling—whether folk like to learn the truth, or no. That's not his business. He's concerned in presenting a portraiture, drawn with as rare fidelity as can be done with the light at hand; and in this he has succeeded admirably in far more than a mere billbrady fashion.

Obviously, the blasé and jaded roués—the woods are full of them—visiting with a vengeance odium on offenders, may term it salacious sextravaganza. The underworld, too, may snicker and look askance at the Harris representation of the half-epicure, half-esthete knight-errant of the paradoxical paraphrase; "they'll" sneer at Oscar's gaucherie in juggling therapeutic fibs.

Even, if as orphic or chiaroscuro, it should be rejected by every one for its transgressing at one tangent the canon of idealism, the book is to be commended for its exquisitely uncolored candor, and the fine, very fine passages,—far too numerous to justify me in selecting one or two as illustrations—studding one of the really great masterpieces of contemporary portrait-painting. When you read this book, you know the real Wilde. That's the art of Harris.

Frank Harris—get the measure of the man—has distinguished himself for his painstaking exactitude, tempered by Christian charity, in carrying out his parlous purpose, after all, so acceptably. HILTON B. SONNEBORN, SR.

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Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Retention of Science, and the
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Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

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Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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THE PUNISHMENTS IN THE OTHER WORLD.

AS DESCRIBED IN THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER, THE SIBYL-
LINE ORACLES, THE ACTS OF THOMAS, AND
THE APOCALYPSE OF PAUL.

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THE earliest Christian description in detail of paradise and hell is the *Apocalypse of Peter*. In its imagery it has little or no kinship with the Book of Daniel or the Revelation of John. Its only parallels in canonical Scripture, with the notable exception of the Second Epistle of Peter, are to be found in Isaiah lxvi. 24; Mark ix. 44, 48, and in the parable of Dives and Lazarus, Luke xvi. 19ff. But the true parallels for, if not the sources of, its imagery of the rewards and punishments which await men after death, some scholars think were derived from foreign beliefs. Whatever the outside influences, there can be no doubt that our Apocalypse influenced many later Christian visions and descriptions of paradise and hell, and became a direct forerunner of Dante's great poem, the *Divina Comedia*, in the division of the different classes of sinners, in the variety and horror of the punishments appropriate to the crime, and in the picture of paradise. Dante may not have known the Apocalypse, although his inscription on the gate of the Inferno,

Lasciate ogni speranza, voi, ch' entrate,

i. e., "All hope abandon, ye who enter in," could as well be applied to Peter's Inferno; but the framework of his poem comes from other apocalypses which, in turn, were ultimately influenced by Peter's.

Since the greater part of the Petrine Apocalypse treats of the other world and gives us a vivid and elaborate picture of the torments of the wicked, we have selected notable parallels from the Sibylline Oracles, the Acts of Thomas, and the Apocalypse of Paul, which

latter no doubt drew from the Petrine Apocalypse. In all these writings, hell is represented—to use the words of Milton (*Paradise Lost*, I, 61ff.)—as

“A dungeon horrible, on all sides around
As one great furnace, flamed; yet from those flames
No light, but rather darkness visible
Served only to discover sights of woe,
Regions of sorrow, doleful shades, where peace
And rest can never dwell: hope never comes
That comes to all, but torture without end
Still urges, and a fiery deluge, fed
With ever-burning sulphur unconsumed.”

I. THE APOCALYPSE OF PETER.

Introduction.

In the oldest list of sacred writings, in the so-called *Muratorian Fragment*¹ of the second century, we read: “The apocalypses also of John and Peter only do we receive, which (latter) some among us would not have read in church.” But before this mention Clement of Alexandria in his *Hypotyposes*, according to the testimony of Eusebius (*Hist. Eccles.*, VI, 14), gave “abridged accounts of all the canonical Scriptures, not even omitting those that are disputed—I mean the Book of Jude and the other General Epistles; also the Epistle of Barnabas and that called the Revelation of Peter.” Also in his *Eclogae propheticæ* (Chaps. 41, 48, 49), Clement gives some quotations from the Revelation of Peter, mentioning it twice by name.

Methodius, bishop of Olympus in Lycia, who died as martyr in 311, in his *Symposium*, II, 6, says: “Wherefore we have also learned from divinely inspired Scriptures that untimely births, even if they are the offspring of adultery, are delivered to care-taking angels.” Though Peter is not here mentioned, the purpose of the passage is the same as that of one of the quotations given by Clement.

Eusebius (d. 339 A. D.), in his *Hist. Eccles.*, III, 25, expressly mentions the Revelation of Peter along with the Acts of Paul and the *Shepherd* of Hermas as spurious books, while at III, 3, he says:

¹ So called because first published in the year 1740 by the Italian scholar Muratori. In convenient form it was published by H. Lietzmann (in *Kleine Texte*), Bonn, 1902. Zahn, *Grundriss der Geschichte des neutest. Kanons*, 1901, p. 21, has endeavored to prove that the *Muratorian Fragment* has reference not to the Apocalypse, but to the Epistles of Peter, which Weinel calls “one of the boldest efforts ever attempted by exegetes” (in Hennecke, *Handbuch zu den neutest. Apokryphen*, Tübingen, 1904, p. 285).

"As to that which is called the Preaching and that called the Revelation of Peter, we know nothing of their being handed down as Catholic writings. Since neither among the ancients nor among the ecclesiastical writers of our own day has there been any one that has appealed to testimony taken from them."

Macarius Magnes, in his *Apocriticus*, IV, 6, quotes about the year 400 as from a heathen opponent of Christianity the following: "Let us by way of superfluity cite also that saying in the Apocalypse of Peter," etc., and at IV, 16, he examines this passage again, naming the Revelation of Peter, and supporting the doctrine of the passage by the authority of prophecy and the Gospel.

In the *Catalogus Claromontanus*, written in the sixth century, the oldest Græco-Latin manuscript of the Pauline Epistles, the Revelation of Peter stands at the end, after the *Shepherd* of Hermas and the Acts of Paul, whereas in the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus it stands among the "Antilegomena," or disputed writings, of the New Testament. The lists also give the length of the Revelation, viz., *Catalogus Claromontanus* 270 stichoi, and the *Stichometry* thirty more. According to this the Revelation was about as long as the Epistle to the Galatians (311 stichoi).

Sozomen (middle of the fifth century), in his *Hist. Eccles.*, VII, 19, says: "For instance the so-called Apocalypse of Peter which was esteemed as entirely spurious by the ancients, we have discovered to be read in certain churches of Palestine up to the present day, once a year, on the day of preparation, during which the people most religiously fast in commemoration of the Saviour's Passion" (i. e., on Good Friday). Sozomen himself belonged to Palestine.

This was all that was known of the Revelation of Peter till the year 1886, when a fragment was discovered in an ancient burying-ground at Akhmim, in Upper Egypt, together with Peter's Gospel and a part of the Book of Enoch.

The fragment, which was published in 1892, represents probably about one half of the entire work. It begins in the middle of an eschatological discourse of Jesus, probably represented as delivered after the resurrection, for verse 5 implies that the disciples had begun to preach the gospel. It ends abruptly in the course of a catalogue of sinners in hell and their punishments.

Since the fragment follows the Gospel of Peter, Harnack² declared that the fragment belongs to the Apocalypse of Peter which is mentioned so often by ancient writers. In this he was followed

² In *Texte und Untersuchungen* (1893), IX, 2; (1895) XIII, I, 71-73.

by most scholars, and the Akhmim fragment is on this account usually called the Apocalypse of Peter. Not so Albrecht Dieterich,³ who thinks that the Apocalypse is nothing but a portion of the Gospel of Peter. Like the Gospel of Mark (in xiii) and that of Matthew (in xxiv), the Gospel of Peter contained a "little apocalypse" which, according to this authority, we now have almost complete in the fragment.

However this may be, the Apocalypse was probably composed in the first half of the second century; the place of its origin—whether Palestine or Egypt—cannot be determined.

The Apocalypse of Peter "has some points of contact with the Second Epistle of Peter; hence it is supposed that pseudo-Peter had it before him, and that he drew from it the impulse to pose in the person of the prince of the Apostles. Antique heathen ideas of Hades are traceable in its descriptions of the pains of hell, particularly Orphic-Pythagorean traditions. But their presence in the author's mind is probably explained by the use of Judaistic literary sources, and not of heathen works."

Our Apocalypse must not be confounded with the *Apocalypsis Petri per Clementem* (containing explanations alleged to have been given by Peter to Clement of Rome about revelations alleged to have been made by Christ to Peter himself), preserved in Arabic and Ethiopic manuscripts, a miscellaneous collection scarcely older than the eighth century.

In the following we make the text as published by E. Klostermann, *Apocrypha*, I, Bonn, 1908 (forming part of *Kleine Texte*, edited by H. Lietzmann), the basis of our translation. Klostermann's text is based upon the facsimile edition of the Gospel and Apocalypse of Peter by O. von Gebhardt, Leipsic, 1893.

A. The Fragment of Akhmim.

I. (1) . . . Many of them will be false prophets, and will teach divers ways and doctrines of perdition. (2) But these will become sons of perdition. (3) Then God will come unto my faithful ones who hunger and thirst and are afflicted and test their souls in this life, and the children of lawlessness he will judge.

II. (4) And the Lord continued saying, Let us go into the mountains: let us pray. (5) And when we, the twelve disciples went with him, we asked him to show us one of our brethren, the

³ See *Nekyia, Beiträge zur Erläuterung der neuentdeckten Petrusapokalypse*, Leipsic, 1893; comp. also Krüger, *Altchristliche Literatur*, Freiburg, 1898, p. 33f; Waitz, art. "Apokryphen des Neuen Testaments" in Herzog-Hauck, *R. E.*, XXIII, 102 (1913).

righteous who are gone forth out of the world; that we might see of what manner of form they are, and, having taken courage, might also encourage the men who hear us.

III. (6) And as we were praying, suddenly there appeared two men, standing before the Lord, on whom we were not able to look. (7) For there came forth from their countenance a ray as of the sun, and their raiment was shining, such as eye of man never saw; and no mouth is able to utter, or heart to conceive, the glory which surrounded them, and the beauty of their countenance. (8) When we saw them we became amazed; for their bodies were whiter than any snow and ruddier than any rose. (9) And the white on them was mingled with the red. I am utterly unable to describe their beauty. (10) Their hair was curly and bright and seemly both on their face and shoulders like one crown woven of spikenard and diversicolored flowers or like the rainbow in the sky. Such was their seemliness.

IV. (11) When we beheld their beauty we became astonished at them, for they had appeared suddenly. (12) And approaching the Lord I said, Who are these? (13) He said to me, These are your⁴ righteous brethren, whose form ye desired to see. (14) And I said to him, And where are all the righteous ones? or how doth the world look in which those live, who have such a glory?

V. (15) And the Lord showed me a very great space outside of this world, exceeding bright with light, and the air there lighted with the rays of the sun, and the earth itself blooming with unfading flowers and full of spices and plants, fair-flowering and incorruptible and bearing blessed fruit. (16) And so great was the perfume that it was borne thence even unto us. (17) And the inhabitants of that place were clad in the shining raiment of angels; and their raiment was as beautiful as their country. (18) And angels mingled there with them. (19) All the inhabitants had the like glory, and praised the Lord with one voice, rejoicing in that place. (20) The Lord saith to us, This is the place of your brethren,⁵ the righteous men.

VI. (21) But I also saw another place over against this, very squalid; and it was the place of punishment; and those that were

⁴ The codex reads "our" which might be original with reference to Rom. viii. 28, where Jesus is called a brother. But it is probably more correct to read "your" with reference to verse 20.

⁵ So some authorities. Another authority suggests: high priests; a third: predecessors, leaders.

punished there, and the punishing angels⁶ had their [raiment] dark, like the air of the place.

VII. (22) And some were hanging by the tongue. These were those who blasphemed the way of righteousness, and under them lay fire burning and tormenting them.⁷

VIII. (23) And there was a great lake, full of flaming mire, in which were certain men that perverted righteousness, and tormenting angels afflicted them.

IX. (24) But there were also others, women, hanged by their hair over that mire that bubbled up; and these were they who adorned themselves for adultery. The men, however, who mingled with them in the defilement of adultery were hanging by the feet, and their heads in that mire, and they said with a loud voice, We did not believe that we should come into this place.

X. (25) And I saw the murderers and those who conspired with them, cast into a strait place, full of evil snakes, and smitten by those beasts, and turning to and fro in that punishment; and like clouds of darkness did worms afflict them. And the souls of the murdered stood and looked upon the punishment of the murderers and said, O God, thy judgment is just.

XI. (26) And near that place I saw another strait place into [which] the blood and the filth of those who were being punished ran down and became there as it were a lake. There sat women having the blood up to their necks, and over against them sat many children born to them out of due time and cried; and there came forth from them sparks of fire and smote the women in the eyes. These were those who not being married conceived and caused abortion.

XII. (27) And other men and women were burning up to the middle and were cast into a dark place and were beaten by evil spirits, and their inwards were eaten by restless worms. These were they who persecuted the righteous and delivered them up.

XIII. (28) And near those there were again women and men gnawing their own lips, and being punished and receiving a red-hot iron in their eyes. These were they who blasphemed and slandered the way of righteousness.

XIV. (29) And over against these again other men and women

⁶ Of punishing angels we also read in *Hermas*, *Pastor*, Simil. VI, 3; Book of Enoch lxxiii. 12; lxxiv. 29; lxxxiii. 4; lxxxv. 17.

⁷ Descriptions of the torments as given in the Apocalypse of Peter, we also find in other works, e. g., Acts of Thomas, Sibylline Oracles, Vision of Paul, which are given further on.

gnawing their tongues and having flaming fire in their mouths. These were the false witnesses.

XV. (30) And in another place there were pebbles sharper than swords and any spit, red-hot, and women and men in tattered and filthy raiment rolled about on them in punishment. These were they who were rich and trusted in their riches and had no pity for orphans and widows, but despised the commandment of God.

XVI. (31) And in another great lake, full of pitch and blood and mire bubbling up, there stood men and women up to their knees. These were the usurers and those who took interest on interest.

XVII. (32) Other men and women were being hurled down from a great cliff, and, having reached the bottom, they were again driven by the tormenters to climb upon the cliff, to be hurled down again. And they had no rest from this punishment. These were they who had defiled their bodies having acted as women; and the women who were with them were those who lay with one another as a man with a woman.

XVIII. (33) And beside that cliff there was a place full of much fire. There stood men who with their own hands made for themselves images instead of God. And alongside of these were other men and women having rods of fire and striking each other, and never ceasing from such punishment. These were they who. . . .

XIX. (34) And others again near them, women and men, burning and turning themselves and roasting. And these were they that leaving the way of God. . . .

B. *Fragments Known from Quotations.*

1. The Scripture says that infants that have been exposed are delivered to a care-taking angel by whom they are educated and so grow up, and they will be, it says, as the faithful of a hundred years old are here. Wherefore Peter also says in the Revelation: "and a flash of fire, which came out from those newly born children, and struck the eyes of the women."—Clem. Alex., *Eclog. proph.*, 41.

2. For instance, Peter in the Apocalypse says: "The children that are born out of due time shall be of the better part; they are delivered over to a care-taking angel that they may attain a share of knowledge and gain the better abode after suffering what they would have suffered if they had been in the body; but the others shall merely obtain salvation as injured beings to whom mercy is shown, and remain without punishment, receiving this as reward.—But the milk of the women running down from their breasts and congealing," as Peter says in the Revelation, "shall engender small

flesh-eating beasts, and these run up upon them and devour them, teaching that the punishments are for their sins."—Clem. Alex., *Eclog. proph.*, 48. 49.

3. Whence also we have received in divinely inspired writings that "untimely births, though they be a fruit of adultery, are delivered to care-taking angels." For if they originated against the intention and order of that blessed nature of God, "how could they be delivered to angels to be brought up in great quietness and ease? How could they also, in order to accuse their own parents, freely call them to account before the judgment-seat of Christ and say, Thou, O Lord, hast not denied to us this light common [to all]; but they have exposed us to die, despising thine own command?"—Methodius, *Sympos.*, II, 6.

4. Over and above let this also yet be added, what is read in the Apocalypse of Peter. He introduces the judgment over heaven and earth with the following words: "The earth shall present all men before God at the day of judgment being itself also to be judged, with the heaven also which encompasses it."—The heathen author (Porphyrus?) by Macarius Magnes, *Apocriticus*, IV, 6, 16.

5. And again he says, which is entirely wicked, when he speaks: "And all the hosts of heaven shall be dissolved, and the heavens shall be rolled together as a scroll, and all the stars shall fall down, as the leaf falleth off from the vine and as the leaves fall from the fig-tree."⁸—*Ibid.*, IV, 7.

II. THE SIBYLLINE ORACLES.

II, 238ff.

This section treats of the great day of judgment, on which the righteous shall be saved, whereas the wicked shall pass through the flaming fire and the unquenchable flame and be undone to all ages. The wicked are those who,

...committed murder, or were accomplices,
Liars and thieves. cheats, grievous ruiners of homes,
Parasites, marriage-breakers, heaping up shamelessness,
Fiendish, overbearing, lawless, idolaters
260 And those who have deserted the great immortal God
And became blasphemers and persecutors of the pious,
Destroyers of believers and enemies of the righteous;
And all those deceitful and shamelessly two-faced
Presbyters and eminent deacons who regard...

⁸ See Isaiah xxxiv. 4 (lxx); comp. also 2 Pet. iii. 10f; Rev. vi. 13f.

- 265 Being afraid, beat others unjustly
 Trusting to, and misled by rumors....
 More destructive than panthers and wolves....
 And as many of them as were proud and usurers,
 Who heap usury on usury at home
- 270 And destroy the orphans and widows;
 And all such who to widows and orphans
 Give of unrighteous deeds, and when of their substance
 They give, accompany it with reproaches; and those who old
 parents
 Deserted, not reverencing them, expenses caused to parents
- 275 Not repaying; also the disobedient,
 And such as use violent language to their parents;
 Who having received a pledge deny it.
 Servants, too, that have wronged their masters;
 And again, those, who polluted themselves by debauchery.
- 280 Or such as have loosed a virgin's girdle
 For secret intercourse. Women, who, having burdens in the
 womb,
 Procure abortion, and such who wickedly throw away their
 offspring.
 Sorcerers and sorceresses, all these
 The anger of the heavenly and incorruptible God
- 285 Shall bring to the pillar where, all around,
 Flows an inexhaustible river of fire. All alike
 The angels of the immortal and eternal God
 With flaming scourges and fiery chains,
 Binding them down with unbreakable bonds,
- 290 Shall punish terribly; then in the midnight gloom
 Will they be cast to Gehenna's Tartarean beasts,
 To the many and fearful, where darkness is supreme.
 But, when they shall have inflicted many punishments
 On all who had an evil heart, thereafter
- 295 A fiery whirlpool from the great river shall carry them around,
 Because they busied themselves with wicked works.
 Then from the distance shall their lamentation arise on every
 hand,
 Over their miserable fate; both from fathers and children,
 From mothers and their infant sucklings.
- 300 There shall be no sufficiency to their tears, nor shall
 the compassionate voice of sympathizers be anywhere heard;
 But they shall howl, kept in the black darkness

Below Tartarus. In these accursed localities
 They shall pay threefold the evil they have perpetrated.
 305 Racked by the sea of fire they shall gnash with their teeth.
 Consumed by thirst and by their flaming torment.
 They shall call it a blessing to die, but shall not be able.
 Neither death nor night shall any longer bring them rest.
 They shall vainly pour out supplications to God on high
 310 Who will turn his face unmistakably from them;
 For he gave seven ages as time of repentance
 To erring men by a pure virgin's hand.—

For the benefit of the reader we add here a few words on the Sibylline Books, which belong to the most remarkable literary productions that we have.

In the ancient world the Sybil was regarded as an inspired prophetess. She belonged to no prophetic order or priestly cast, but held a position free and uncontrolled as a superhumanly gifted organ of the will and counsels of the gods. The number of such sibyls is variously stated at different times. According to Marcus Varro, as quoted by Lactantius (*Divine Institutes*, I, Chap. 6), there were ten Sibyls, who are mentioned by name.

Written accounts of the oracles delivered by the Sibyls obtained in Greece and Asia Minor only a private circulation. Still, though they were not preserved by the State or publicly consulted, we must not underrate their importance in the life and thought of the Eastern classical world. In Rome, however, they acquired quite a unique position. It is not necessary to treat here of the very ancient collection of these oracles, said to have been purchased by King Tarquinius Priscus, or to record the frequent occasions on which they were consulted with a superstitious reverence by the State before their destruction in the fire that consumed the capitol in the time of Sylla (84 B. C.). Their place was soon afterward taken (75 B. C.) by a collection amounting in all to about one thousand verses, made in Greece, Asia Minor, Africa, and Italy, by order of the Senate.

The Greek books of Sibylline Oracles which have come down to us belong to that large body of pseudepigraphical literature which originated near the beginning of the Christian era (about 150 B. C. to 300 A. D.), consisting of such works as the Book of Enoch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, the Book of Jubilees, the Assumption of Moses, the Psalms of Solomon, the Ascension of Isaiah, and the Second Book of Esdras. The production of this class of literature was most notable at Alexandria in the time of the

Ptolemies. As soon as Judaism began to look with a spirit of philosophic inquiry into Greek and Oriental literature, it attached itself to such elements as seemed congenial. A composite product was the result. The Alexandrian Jews were the first to adopt this course by fusing the remnants of Greek sibyllism with their native prophecy. In this way, no doubt, arose the Jewish Sibyl, assuming to be a daughter of Noah, and skilled in all prophetic knowledge. "And this passion for reproducing famous oracles spread beyond the land of Egypt, and gathered breadth and volume with its years of growth. Not only were the historical and philosophical productions of the Greeks made use of, but the speculations of the Persians, the mysteries of Egyptian priests, and the poetical myths and legends of all nations contributed to the medley which Hellenistic Jews were fond of turning to a pious purpose. And just as the allegorical method of interpreting Scripture was handed over as a sort of inheritance to the early Christian Church, so the passion for producing pseudonymous books took easy possession of many Christian writers of the first centuries. Hence the large number of apocryphal Gospels and Acts and Apocalypses."

Our Sibylline Books represent a heterogeneous assemblage of materials, Jewish, Christian, and heathen, of earlier and later origin, "a chaotic wilderness, to sift and arrange which even baffles the most acute criticism. For, unfortunately, it is not the case that each book forms of itself an original whole, but that even the single books are some of them arbitrary aggregates of fragments. The curse of pseudonymous authorship seems to have prevailed specially over these oracles. Every reader and writer allowed himself to complete what existed after his own pleasure, and to arrange the scattered papers now in one, now in an opposite manner. Evidently much was at first circulated in detached portions, and the collection of these afterward made by some admirer was a very accidental one. Hence duplicates of many portions are found in different places. And the manuscripts which have come down to us exhibit great discrepancies in the arrangement."⁹

It is remarkable how many of the early Christian Fathers quote these spurious oracles,¹⁰ so that Celsus, according to Origen (*Contra Celsum*, V, 61), terms the Christians *Sibyllistai*, i. e., believers in sibyls, or sibyl-mongers. Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria,

⁹ Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, Vol. III, p. 276, English translation, Edinburgh, 1886.

¹⁰ See my article "The Sibylline Oracles in the Writings of the Church Fathers" in *Lutheran Quarterly Review*, Gettysburg, July, 1885.

Theophilus of Antioch, Tertullian, Eusebius,¹¹ Augustine,¹² Jerome, but more especially Lactantius, all quote the oracles for apologetic purposes, and it is to these and other Christian writers that we are indebted for the preservation of the entire collection that has come down to us.

As to the relation of the Jewish and Christian Sibyllines to the ancient heathen ones, it is practically impossible to determine it. They assumed, of course, the outward form of the older oracles, being written in Homeric verse; but they transgress every rule of prosody. As regards the matter, it is more than probable that the later Sibyls used much of the older material lying ready to hand; but in the present state the Christian element preponderates.

The first printed edition of the Oracles was published at Basel in 1545; a better edition was that of Opsopœus (i. e., Koch), Paris, 1599; Gallæus, Amsterdam, 1689; a good edition was published by Alexandre, Paris, 1841-56, 2 vols.; 2d ed. in one vol., 1869; by Friedlieb, Leipsic, 1852, with a German translation. In 1891 an edition was published by Rzach at Vienna; the latest is that of Geffcken, Leipsic, 1902, published for the series of the Greek Christian writers of the first three centuries, edited by the Church Fathers' Commission of the Prussian Academy of Sciences, still in course of publication.

We referred above to the fact that Eusebius and Augustine also mentioned, or rather quoted, the Sibylline Oracles. Their quotation is the more remarkable because it contains an acrostic, which is the most extraordinary of all the Sibylline fabrications. It is found in the second section of the eighth book of the Oracles (VIII, 217-244/250), and the first letters of these lines form the words,

ΙΗΣΟΥΣ ΧΡΕΙΣΤΟΣ ΘΕΟΥ ΥΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ ΣΤΑΥΡΟΣ,

i. e., "Jesus Christ God's Son, Saviour, Cross." It is quoted in full by Eusebius in Constantine's "Oration to the Assembly of the Saints," Chap. XVIII, and, excepting the seven last lines, by Augustine in his *City of God*, Book XVIII, 23. The same Father also states, that when they were speaking about Christ, Flaccianus, a very famous man, of most ready eloquence and much learning, produced a Greek manuscript, saying that it was the prophecies of the Erythrean Sibyl, in which he pointed out a certain passage that has the initial letters so arranged that those words Ἰησοῦς Χριστός Θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτήρ (i. e., Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour) could be read. Then he goes on and gives these verses, of which the

¹² *Ibid.*

¹¹ See at the end of this section.

initials yield that meaning, and says: "But if you join the initial letters of those five Greek words, they will make the word *ἰχθῦς*, that is, 'fish,' in which word Christ is mystically understood, because he was able to live, that is, to exist, without sin in the abyss of this mortality, as in the depth of waters" (August., *De civitate Dei*, XVIII, 23).

In the English translation of Augustine's work as given by Dodd (Edinburgh, 1871) the Greek letters are retained at the beginning of the lines; in the translation of Eusebius (*The Life of the Blessed Emperor Constantine*, London, Bagster & Sons, 1845) the English equivalent is retained at the beginning of the lines. We here give both forms.

[From Augustine's *City of God*.]

- I Judgment shall moisten the earth with the sweat of its standard,
H Ever enduring, behold the King shall come through the ages,
Σ Sent to be here in the flesh, and judge at the last of the world.
O O God, the believing and faithless alike shall behold thee
Y Uplifted with saints, when at last the ages are ended,
Σ Sisted before him are souls in the flesh for his judgment.
- X Hid in thick vapors, the while desolate lieth the earth,
P Rejected by men are the idols and long-hidden treasures:
E Earth is consumed by the fire, and it searcheth the ocean and heaven;
I Issuing forth it destroyeth the terrible portals of hell.
Σ Saints in their body and soul freedom and light shall inherit;
T Those who are guilty shall burn in fire and brimstone for ever.
O Occult actions revealing, each one shall publish his secrets;
Σ Secrets of every man's heart God shall reveal in the light.
- Θ Then shall be weeping and wailing, yea, and gnashing of teeth;
E Eclipsed is the sun, and silenced the stars in their chorus.
O Over and gone is the splendor of moonlight, melted the heaven.
Y Uplifted by him are the valleys, and cast down the mountains.
- Y Utterly gone among men are distinctions of lofty and lowly.
I Into the plains rush the hills, the skies and oceans are mingled.
O O, what an end of all things! earth broken in pieces shall perish;
Σ Swelling together at once shall the waters and flames flow in rivers.

- Σ Sounding, the archangel's trumpet shall peal down from heaven
 Ω Over the wicked who groan in their guilt and their manifold sorrows.
 T Trembling, the earth shall be opened, revealing chaos and hell.
 H Every king before God shall stand in that day to be judged.
 P Rivers of fire and brimstone shall fall from the heavens.

[From Eusebius's *Life of Constantine*.]

Judgment! Earth's oozing pores shall mark the day
 Earth's heavenly King his glories shall display;
 Sovereign of all, exalted on his throne,
 Unnumbered multitudes their God shall own;
 Shall see their Judge, with mingled joy and fear.

Crowned with his saints, in human form appear.
 How vain, while desolate earth's glories lie,
 Riches and pomp, and man's idolatry!
 In that dread hour, when nature's fiery door
 Startles the slumbering tenants of the tomb,
 Trembling all flesh shall stand; each secret wile.

Sins long forgotten, thoughts of guilt and guile,
 Open beneath God's searching light shall lie:
 No refuge then, but hopeless agony.

O'er heaven's expanse shall gathering shades of night
 From earth, sun, stars, and moon withdraw their light;

God's arm shall crush each mountain's towering pride;
 On ocean's plain no more shall navies ride.
 Dried at the source, no river's rushing sound

Shall soothe, no fountain slake the parched ground.
 Around, afar, shall roll the trumpet's blast,
 Voice of wrath long delayed, revealed at last.
 In speechless awe, while earth's foundations groan,
 On judgment's seat earth's kings their God shall own.
 Uplifted then, in majesty divine,
 Radiant with light, behold Salvation's sign!

Cross of that Lord who, once for sinners given,
 Reviled by man, now owned by earth and heaven,
 O'er every land extends his iron sway.
 Such is the name these mystic lines display:
 Saviour, eternal King, who bears our sins away.

III. THE ACTS OF THOMAS.¹³

Chaps. 55-57.

55. And the apostle said to her, "Tell us where thou hast been." And she answered, "Dost thou, who wast with me, to whom also I was intrusted, wish to hear?" And she commenced thus: "An ugly-looking man, all black, received me; and his dress was exceeding filthy. And he took me to a place where there were many chasms, and a great stench and most hateful odor were given forth thence. And he made me look into each chasm, and I saw in the chasm blazing fire, and fiery wheels run there, and souls were hung upon those wheels, dashing against each other. And there was crying and great lamentation, and no Saviour was there. And that man said to me, These souls are akin to thee, and in the days of numbering they were given over to punishment and destruction. And then [when the torture of each is completed] others are brought in in their places; in like manner also these are again succeeded by others. These are they who have exchanged the intercourse of man and wife. And again I looked down, and saw infants [newly born] heaped upon each other, and struggling and lying upon each other. And he said to me, These are their children and for this they are placed here for a testimony against them.

56. "And he brought me to another chasm, and as I looked into it, I saw mud, and worms spouting forth, and souls wallowing there; and [I heard] a great gnashing of teeth thence from them. And that man said to me, These are the souls of women which left their husbands [and of husbands which left their wives], and committed adultery with others, and which have been brought to this torment. And he showed me another chasm, and looking into it, I saw souls hung up, some by the tongue, some by the hair, some by the hands, others by the feet, head downward, and smoked with smoke and sulphur. Concerning these the man which accompanied me said the following: The souls hung up by the tongue are slanderers, and such as have spoken false and disgraceful words and are not ashamed of it. Those hung up by the hair are the shameless, who are not ashamed at all and go about with uncovered heads in the world. Those hung up by the hands are they which took that which did not belong to them and have stolen and who never gave anything to the poor voluntarily, nor did they help the afflicted; but

¹³ Particulars on the Acts of Thomas are given in *Apocryphal Acts of Paul, Peter, John, Andrew and Thomas*, by. B. Pick, Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago, 1909, pp. 222ff.

they so acted because they wished to get everything, and cared neither for law and right. And these hung up by the feet are those who lightly and eagerly walked in wicked ways and disorderly paths, not visiting the sick, neither burying those who departed this life. On this account each soul receiveth what it hath done.

57. "And again he led me forth and showed me a very dark cavern, exhaling a very bad odor. Many souls were peeping out thence, wishing to get some share of the air. And their keepers would not let them peep out. And my companion said to me, This is the prison of these souls, which thou hast seen. For when they have fully received their punishment for that which each hath done, others succeed them. Some are fully eaten up, others are given up to other punishments. And the keepers of the souls in the dark cavern said to the man that had charge of me, Give her to us, that we bring her to the others till the time cometh when she is given to punishment. But he said to them, I will not give her to you, because I am afraid of him who gave her up to me. For I was not told to leave her here; I shall take her up with me, till I get an injunction about her. And he took me and brought me to another place, where there were men who were bitterly tortured. He that is like thee took me and gave me up to thee, saying to thee, Take her, for she is one of the sheep which have wandered away." etc., etc.

IV. THE APOCALYPSE OF PAUL.

Introduction.

The Apocalypse of Paul is extant in three main versions, the Greek, Latin, and Syriac. The Greek was published by Tischendorf in *Apocalypses apocryphae*, Leipsic, 1866, pp. 34-69 (cf. Preface, pp. xiv-xviii), and was also translated into English by A. Walker. It is found in the *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. VIII. The ancient Latin version was edited from an eighth-century manuscript by James in *Apocrypha anecdota*, Cambridge, 1893, pp. 1-42, and is given in English by A. Rutherford in *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, Vol. IX. An English translation of a Syriac version was published by J. Perkins in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, N. S., 1865, Vol. VI. Of these the Latin seems to be the fullest. In this Apocalypse we are introduced to mysteries that Paul beheld when he ascended to the third heaven, "and was caught up into paradise and heard secret words which it is not granted to man to utter" (2 Cor. xii. 2ff.). In the company of an angel, Paul leaves this world, beholds on his way the departure of the souls of the just and the sinful,

and arrives at the place of the just souls, in the shining land of promise, on the shore of the Acherusian Lake, out of which the City of God arises. Thence he is led to the place of the wicked and beholds the manifold sufferings of the damned. Finally he is allowed to visit paradise, where Adam and Eve had committed the first sin.

The work itself suggests that it was composed in or about the time of Theodosius (379-395), and in or near Jerusalem. Traces of it first appear in the Homilies of Augustine on the Gospel of John (*Tractat. in Ioannem*, XCVIII, 8), delivered about 416, and in the *Church History* of Sozomen (VII, 19) written about 440. Augustine judges with severity the deception practised by the writer, but Sozomen is witness that in other circles, especially among the monks, the work met with approval. During the Middle Ages the work seems to have enjoyed great popularity as may be seen from H. Brandes, *Visio S. Pauli*, Halle, 1895, in which he gives two shorter Latin versions, enumerates twenty-two different manuscripts of the Latin and "gives particulars of French, English, Danish, and Slavonic forms of the legend."

Different from our work is the *Ascension of Paul*, a second- or third-century work mentioned only by Epiphanius (*Haeres.*, XXXVIII, 2), a work replete with abominable things, and used exclusively by Cainites and Gnostics.

Translation.

31.¹⁴ And he¹⁵ said to me, Come and follow me, and I will show thee the souls of the impious and sinners. And he took me to the setting of the sun, and I saw the beginning of heaven founded on a great river of water, the Ocean which surroundeth all the earth. And when I was at the outer limit of Ocean I looked, and there was no light in that place, but darkness and sorrow and sadness, and I sighed.¹⁶

And I saw there a fervent river of fire, and in it a multitude

¹⁴ The numbers refer to the sections in the Latin version which is fuller than the Greek.

¹⁵ I. e., the angel. Dante in the *Inferno* is accompanied by the poet Virgil.

¹⁶ Dante describes (*Inferno*, III, 22-30) the situation thus:

"There sighs, complaints, and ululations loud
Resounded through the air without a star,
Whence I, at the beginning, wept thereat.
Languages diverse, horrible dialects,
Accents of anger, words of agony,
And voices high and hoarse, with sounds of hands
Made up a tumult that goes whirling on
Forever in that air, forever black,
Even as the sand doth, when the whirlwind breathes."

of men and women immersed up to the knees, and other men up to the navel, [others even up to the lips,]¹⁷ others moreover up to the hair. And I asked, Who are these? And he said to me, [They are neither hot nor cold, because they were found neither in the number of the just nor in the number of the impious.¹⁸ For these spent the time of their life on earth passing some days in prayer, but others in sins and fornications, until their death.

And who are these immersed up to their knees in fire? These are they who when they have gone out of church throw themselves into strange conversations to dispute. Those indeed who are immersed up to the navel are those who, when they have taken the body and blood of Christ go and fornicate and did not cease from their sins till they died. Those who are immersed up to the lips are the detractors of each other when they assemble in the church of God; those up to the eyebrows are those who nod approval of themselves and plot spite against their neighbor.

32. And I saw on the north a place of various and diverse punishments full of men and women,¹⁹ and a river of fire ran down into it. Moreover I observed and saw pits great in depth, and in them several souls together, and the depth of that place was as it were three thousand cubits, and I saw them groaning and weeping.] And I asked the angel and said, Who are these? And he said, These are they who did not hope in the Lord, that they would be able to have him as their helper. And I said to him, What is the depth of this river? And he said to me, Its depth has no measure, but it is immeasurable.

34. I further observed the fiery river and saw there a man being tortured by Tartaruchian angels having in their hands an iron with three hooks with which they pierced the bowels of that old man: and I asked the angel and said, Who is this that suffereth this punishment? And he said to me, This old man whom thou seest was a presbyter; and when he had eaten and drunk, then he performed the service of God.

35. And I saw there another old man led on by malign angels²⁰ running with speed, and they threw him into the fiery river up to his knees, and they struck him with stones and wounded his face like a storm. And I asked, Who is this? And he saith, This man

¹⁷ Sentences in [] are not found in the Greek.

¹⁸ It is interesting to note that in the *Inferno* Dante also meets first such indifferentists who lived "without fame or infamy."

¹⁹ The Greek has here: thieves and slanderers and flatterers.

²⁰ In the Greek: four angels.

was a bishop, and that name indeed he was well pleased to have; but in the goodness of God he did not walk, righteous judgment he did not judge, the widow and the orphan he did not pity [he was neither affectionate nor hospitable];²¹ but now he hath been recompensed according to his works.

36. And I saw another man in the fiery river up to his knees. Moreover his hands were stretched out and bloody, and worms proceeded from his mouth and nostrils. And I asked, Who is this? And he said to me, This whom thou seest was a deacon who devoured the oblations [and committed fornication, and did not right in the sight of God, for this cause he unceasingly payeth this penalty.

And I looked closely and saw alongside of him another man whom they delivered up with haste and cast into the fiery river, and he was in it up to the knees. And there came the angel who was set over the punishments having a great fiery razor, and with it he cut the lips of that man and the tongue likewise. I asked, Who is that? And he answered, He was a reader and read to the people. but he himself did not keep the precepts of God.

37. And I saw another multitude of pits in the same place, and in the midst of it a river full of a multitude of men and women, and worms consumed them. Who are those? These are those who exacted interest on interest and trusted in their riches and did not hope in God that He was their helper.]

And I looked to another place where there was a brazen wall in flames, and within it men and women eating up their own tongues, dreadfully judged. And I asked, Who are these? These are they who in the church [speak against their neighbors],²² and do not attend to the word of God, [but as it were make naught of God and His angels.

38. And I saw another old man down in a pit and his countenance was like blood. And I asked, What is this place? And he said, Into that pit stream all the punishments. And I saw men and women immersed up to their lips and I asked, Who are these? And he said, These are magicians who prepared for men and women evil magic arts and did not find how to stop them till they died.

And again I saw men and women with very black faces in a pit of fire. I asked, Who are these? These are fornicators and adulterers who committed adultery having wives of their own: likewise also the women committed adultery having husbands of their own; therefore they unceasingly suffer penalties.

²¹ These words in [] not in the Latin.

²² So in the Greek.

39. And I saw girls having black raiment, and four terrible angels having in their hands burning chains, and they put them on the necks of the girls] and led them into darkness. Who are these? These are they who did not listen to their parents, but before their marriage defiled their virginity.

[And again I observed there men and women with hands cut and their feet placed naked in a place of ice and snow, and worms devoured them. And I asked, Who are these? They are those who harmed orphans and widows and the poor, and did not hope in the Lord. And I observed and saw others hanging over a channel of water and their tongues were very dry, and many fruits were placed in their sight, and they were not permitted to take of them, and I asked, Who are these? These are they who break their fast before the appointed time.

And I saw other men and women hanging by their eyebrows and their hair, and a fiery river drew them, and I said, Who are these? These are they who join themselves not to their own husbands and wives but to whores.

And I saw other men and women covered with dust and their countenance was like blood, and they were in a pit of pitch and sulphur and running down into a fiery river. Who are these? These are they who committed the iniquity of Sodom and Gomorrah, the male with the male.

40. And I saw men and women clothed in bright garments, having their eyes blind, placed in a pit. Who are these? These are of the people who did alms, and knew not the Lord God. And I saw other men and women on an obelisk of fire, and beasts tearing them in pieces. And I saw the angel of penalties putting heavy punishments on them and saying, Acknowledge the Son of God; for this was predicted to you, when the divine Scriptures were read to you, and you did not attend. Who are these men and women? These are women who defiled the image of God when bringing forth infants out of the womb, and these are the men who lay with them. And their infants addressed the Lord God and the angels who were set over the punishments saying, Cursed be the hour of our parents, for they defiled the image of God, having the name of God but not observing His precepts; they gave us for food to dogs and to be trodden down of swine; others they threw into the river. But their infants were handed over to the angels of Tartarus who were set over the punishments, that they might lead them to a wide place of mercy, but their fathers and mothers were tortured in a perpetual punishment.

And after that I saw men and women clothed with rags full of pitch and fiery sulphur, and dragons were coiled about their necks and shoulders and feet, and angels having fiery horns-restrained them and smote them, and closed their nostrils, saying to them, Why did ye not know the time in which it was right to repent and serve God, and did not do it? And I asked, Who are these? These are they who seem to give up the world for God, putting on our garb, but the impediments of the world made them wretched, not maintaining *agapae*, and they did not pity widows and orphans; they did not receive the stranger and the pilgrim, nor did they offer the oblations, and they did pity widows and orphans; they did not receive the stranger and the pilgrim, nor did they offer the oblations, and they did pity their neighbor. Moreover their prayer did not even on one day ascend pure to the Lord God, but many impediments of the world detained them, and they were not able to do right in the sight of God, and the angels enclosed them in the place of punishments. Moreover they saw those who were in punishments and said to them, We indeed when we lived in the world neglected God, and ye also did likewise: as we also truly when we were in the world knew that ye were sinners. But ye said, These are just and servants of God, now we know why ye were called by the name of the Lord; for which cause they also pay their own penalties.

And sighing I wept and said, Woe unto me, woe unto sinners! Why were they born? And the angel answered and said unto me, Why dost thou lament? Art thou more pitiful than the Lord God who is blessed forever, who established judgment and sent forth every man to choose good and evil in his own will and do what pleaseth him? Then I lamented again very greatly, and he said to me, Dost thou lament when as yet thou hast not seen greater punishment? Follow me and thou shalt see seven times greater than these.]

41. And the angel took me up from these torments, and set me above a well, which had seven seals upon its mouth. And the angel who was with me said to the angel at the well of that place, Open the well, that Paul the beloved of God may see, because there has been given to him authority to see the torments. And the angel of the place said to me, Stand afar off, until I open the seals. And when he had opened them, there came forth a stench which it was impossible to bear. And having come near the place, I saw that well filled with darkness and gloom, and great narrowness of space in it [so as to admit one man only].²³ And the angel who was with me said to me, This place of the well which thou seest is cast off from

²³ So in the Latin.

the glory of God, and none of the angels is importunate in behalf of them;²⁴ and as many as have professed that the holy Mary is not the mother of God, and that the Lord did not become man out of her,²⁵ and that the bread of thanksgiving and the cup of blessing are not His flesh and blood,²⁶ are cast into this well.

42. And I saw toward the setting of the sun [and I saw there a restless worm and in that place there was gnashing of teeth. Moreover the worms were one cubit long, and had two heads, and there I saw men and women in cold and gnashing of teeth.]²⁷ And I said: who are these? These are they who say [that Christ did not rise from the dead and]²⁸ that there is no resurrection of the dead; and to them mercy never cometh.²⁹

²⁴ In the Latin: If any man shall have been put into this well of the abyss and it shall have been sealed over him, no remembrance of him shall ever be made in the sight of the Father and His Son and the holy angels.

²⁵ In the Latin: Who are those who are put into the well? They are whoever shall not confess that Christ has come in the flesh and that the Virgin Mary brought Him forth.

²⁶ The Latin reads: that the bread and cup of the Eucharist of blessing are not this body and blood of Christ.—In the Syriac the whole sentence reads thus: Those who do not confess Jesus Christ, nor His resurrection, nor His humanity, but consider Him as all mortal, and who say that the sacrament of the body of our Lord is bread.

²⁷ So in the Latin.

²⁸ So in the Latin.

²⁹ In the Latin we read: And I asked and said, Is there no fire nor heat in this place? And he said, In this place there is nothing else but cold and snow; and even if the sun should rise upon them, they do not become warm on account of the superabundant cold of that place and snow.

It is interesting that in Dante's *Inferno* the ninth and last circle is the abode of traitors, farthest removed from the source of all light and heat, the frozen lake of Cocytus. According to Dante hell or the *Inferno* has nine circles. The *first* circle is the moderate hell for the least guilty class of sinners who were ignorant of Christianity and deprived of the benefit of baptism. With the *second* circle hell proper commences. It contains the souls of carnal sinners who are driven by fierce winds in total darkness. In the *third* circle are the epicures and gluttons, whose god is their belly. In the *fourth* are the prodigal and avaricious; in the *fifth* the filthy spirits of brutal arrogance and wrath. In the *sixth* heretics and infidels are punished. The *seventh* is the abode of murderers, suicides, and blasphemers. In the *eighth* are seducers, flatterers, Simoniacs, soothsayers, barrators, hypocrites, thieves, evil counselors, schismatics, falsifiers; in the *ninth* traitors.

NOTES ON THE MEDIEVAL CONCEPTION OF
PURGATORY.

BY ROY TEMPLE HOUSE.

SOME thirty years ago the German scholar R. Schroeder studied Old French monuments for references to Purgatory, and found them so rare as to lead him to the conclusion that the doctrine had taken little hold on the medieval mind. A few years later the Italian Schiavo made a further investigation which seemed to confirm the findings of Schroeder. In 1890 Peter Pfeffer published a study of the Old French *Fabliaux*, from which he draws the following inference as to the popular reception of the doctrine: "Since our sources contain not the slightest hint of the existence of an intermediate state between Heaven and Hell, of a place of purification such as is commonly termed Purgatory; but since on the contrary the righteous go straight to Heaven; and since Hell is a place of punishment, it is true, but not of everlasting punishment; since St. Peter has the power to free the souls who are burning in Hell,—two inferences seem clear: first, that the doctrine of Purgatory did not take hold of the popular imagination; and second, that belief in eternal punishment was not general."

I have not found literary allusions to Purgatory so rare in the Middle Ages as these authorities seem to have done; and in any case, it is not by any means certain that the infrequency of the theme in literature argues general non-acceptance of the doctrine. Karl Vossler, in his discussion of the Divine Comedy, maintains that the dogma is unfitted for artistic treatment, and finds Dante's handling of the subject wooden and painfully orthodox, while his Hell and Heaven have verve and freedom. A medieval poet handled successfully only the simple and decided; it remained for the modern to work with half-tints and delicate gradations.

The Persians had conceived of a separation of good men from bad, following which all the latter, by means of a period of physical suffering, attained in time the requisite purity and were all gathered together into the bliss of Ahura Mazda. As early as the second century, A. D., Clemens and Origen had developed a similar dogma in the Christian Church. They were no doubt influenced by Plato, who had conceived of punishment as education and purification. Only the absolutely and hopelessly depraved, they maintained, are

eternally punished, and even the punishment of these is educative, serving as it does for an example to others. No one is free from sin, hence every one must suffer to some extent this purifying punishment, which begins immediately after death and lasts for a period dependent on the sinfulness of the individual. But such a doctrine clashes a little with the efficacy of Christ's expiatory death; so that St. Augustine deemed it wise to step in with the teaching of Predestination, which gave Hell back all its terrors.

The existence of Purgatory was, however, emphatically affirmed at Carthage (A.D. 397), Florence (1439), and Trent (1545-63), so that there is no question as to the official attitude of the Church in the matter, during practically all her history. The Albigenses, the Waldenses, and other heretical sects, devoted a great deal of energy to attacking this particular doctrine, evidently regarding it as one of the foundation-stones of the religion from which they dissented. In the course of the twelfth century the English monk Henry of Saltrey put into Latin the story of the Purgatory of St. Patrick, which he claims to have had from a certain Prior Gilbert, who in his turn had it from the knight Owein, whose personal experience it narrates. This story, retold in French by Marie de France, is, after Dante's epic, the most famous of all medieval literary treatments of the subject. Purgatory in this story is not a place apart, but is Hell itself. By going there in his lifetime and fighting the Devils who came to tempt him, the knight was able to cleanse himself of his sin before death.

Marie de France wrote in the latter part of the twelfth century. Early in the thirteenth century, the preacher Jacques de Vitry describes again this spot in Ireland where one may enter Hell,—which if done after confession and in a contrite and repentant spirit, results only in purification and sobering, but which for the frivolous means death, physical and spiritual. This place-identification of Purgatory and Hell was of course not universal. The common thought was of an intermediate location between Hell and Heaven, as the state was an intermediate state between the two. The last prayer of Richard Cœur-de-Lion (see Cornish, *Chivalry*, p. 134), was that he might be granted a place in Purgatory from his death till the Day of Judgment, if that were sufficient to wash away his sins.

Philippe de Navarre, writing in the middle of the thirteenth century, warns his nephew: "If the young man does little penance in this life, he must do penance great and long in Purgatory." About

the same period, the romantic wandering minstrel Rustebœuf, in his *Complainte d'Outre-Mer*, speaks of the blood of Christ,

"By which the fires are smothered
Both of Hell and of Purgatory;"

which lines it is interesting to compare with the teachings of St. Augustine. The anonymous author of *Curt de Paradis* describes the sufferings of all the souls

"Which were in Purgatory,
All crying: 'Father of Glory,
Wilt thou not yet have pity on us?'"

The unknown author of another poem called *Passion de Nostre Seigneur* explains that a shade higher than Hell is

"another stage. . . .
There is the fire of Purgatory;
Those who attain the glory of God
Do thus penance in this place."

In the *Parsival* of Wolfram von Eschenbach (about 1200), the hero begs prayers for the soul of his deceased father; and by the end of the century we have the elaborate treatment of the dogma by Dante. It is unnecessary to multiply citations. I have a long list of them from the Old French, but the curious thing about them is that practically none of them come before the thirteenth century. The conclusion seems clear that the doctrine crept into literature late and very gradually. That it was much the same in the real life of the period is shown by the interesting fact that clerical purgatorial societies,—a sort of spiritual insurance organization, whose deceased members' souls were the beneficiaries of masses said for them by the survivors,—are found from an early date, but that similar laymen's societies do not appear till about the thirteenth century, although they became very popular when they had once taken root. The Purgatory idea was a plant of slow growth.

Moreover, it must be admitted that there are plenty of instances of what appears a different theology,—of souls going straight to Heaven at death, with neither a tedious wait for a distant Judgment Day, nor a painful wait in a place of salutary suffering. Pope Urban said in his speech at Clermont: "If any lose your lives on the journey by land or sea or in fighting against the heathen, their souls shall be remitted *in that hour*. This I grant through the power of God vested in me." Matthew Paris, in his *English His-*

tory, notes under date of the year 1249, "there departed to the Lord several illustrious French crusaders....and flew like martyrs to the celestial kingdoms." And to turn again to literature, the early thirteenth-century French poem *L'Ordene de Chevalerie* says of the knight:

"If he has done the duty of his Order
He cannot be prevented
From going straight to Paradise."

But there is no difficulty in all of this. The author of *L'Ordene de Chevalerie* was a churchman, and no doubt believed in Purgatory as implicitly as all other clerks did. But his meaning,—the very emphasis of his assertion shows it,—is to exempt the knight from a necessity laid upon ordinary mortals without exception, just as Pope Urban exempted the crusader from the common lot. Knights and crusaders were the defenders of the Church, and this exemption was their reward. But we have no reason to believe that either theologians or poets were inclined to eliminate Purgatory from the experience of mankind in general.

SAVAGE LIFE AND CUSTOM.

BY EDWARD LAWRENCE.

IV. EDUCATION AND INITIATION.

THE period of life from the age of seven until maturity is perhaps the most important in the life of our savage. It is during this period that the foundation of his future is laid, and in which he receives that teaching which will have a significant influence upon his inner life and his behavior to the tribe of which he will soon become a recognized member.

Civilized people usually consider "education" to be almost an exclusive feature of civilization and as of comparatively late development in its history. How many, for instance, have heard of naked savages attending school; of being taught therein, spinning and weaving, singing and ethics, and the manufacture of weapons? How many know that little savage boys and girls are taught a code of morality which will compare with anything that Christian civilization has to offer; that little cannibal children are taught to shun theft, to fear adultery, to honor their fathers and their mothers, and to obey those set in authority over them?

Nevertheless, all savage tribes, however low they may be, in

our opinion, in the scale of civilization, have a most distinct system of education, which teaches them how to fit themselves for the battle of life and which inculcates in their minds a form of morality, often of a very high type. Both sexes receive instruction in separate schools; neither sex is allowed, under severe penalties, to approach the school when the opposite sex is receiving instruction.

Over two hundred years ago the Tuscarora of North Carolina explained to the traveler Lawson that the initiation of their children "was the same to them as is to us to send our children to school to be taught good breeding and letters."

Many of the ceremonies undergone during this period are of a very painful character and have for their object the training of the young in habits and ways that will make them real men and women. Boys are taught to endure thirst and hunger, and their duty to the tribe. Among the North American Indians the young bucks are stripped almost naked, two incisions are made in the muscles of their breasts, through these, thongs of hide are passed, the ends of which are fastened to a beam of wood. The lads are then made to dance and tug at the hanging thongs; they work themselves into a frenzy until the muscles of their chest give way; they are then saluted as braves.

The young native of the Andaman Islands is taught to be generous and self-denying and is reproved if he be impudent and forward. The Bororo Indians of Brazil, when they enter the young men's house, are taught spinning and weaving and singing, as well as the manufacture of weapons.

Dr. A. C. Haddon, Reader in Ethnology in the University of Cambridge, in his description of the tribes of Torres Straits, says that during their initiation the lads are taught a code of morals which indicates a really high feeling for morality. Theft and borrowing without leave were prohibited. The hungry and thirsty were to be satisfied. Parents were to be honored and provided with food, even to the extent of self-denial on the part of the son and his wife. Marriage was forbidden to cousins and also, with a remarkable delicacy of feeling, to the sister of a man's particular friend. A man must not propose marriage to a girl or even follow her when she walks about. A man must stand shoulder to shoulder with his brother when fighting and not shirk his duty. As a result of his personal investigations, Dr. Hatton concludes it is very probable that these people, as a whole, "act up to their system of morality as well as, or better than, the most Christianized peoples of Europe live up to their professions."

Many savages believe that, in some mysterious way, they are related to certain animals which act as their guardian spirits or protectors; these are known to us as their totems. As soon as a child is born, it is named after a particular animal which becomes in some mysterious way related to the child and influences its future career. It is in these schools that the lad is taught to which

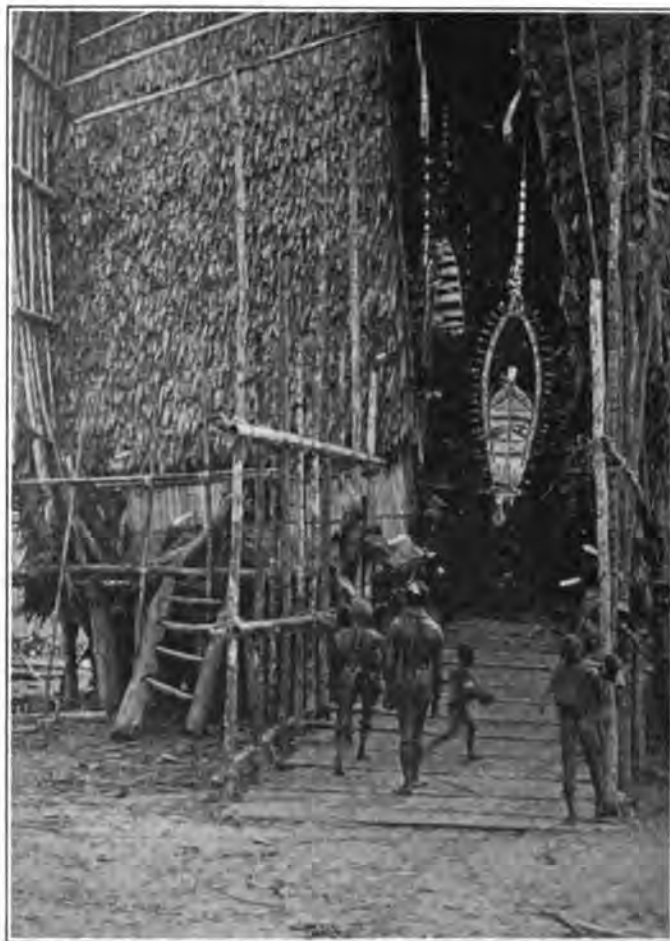


Fig. 9. THE "ERAVO" OR SCHOOL IN NEW GUINEA, showing the tribal totem and where the masks are worn during tribal festivals. (Photo from Rev. J. H. Holmes, *Man*, 1905.)

totem he belongs and that he must on no account partake of the animal after which he is named. In New Guinea the totem is represented by a mark with a representation of the animal depicted thereon (Fig. 9, compare Fig. 7).

Some tribes believe that at this time the novice undergoes a new birth and becomes a new creature. His hair is plucked, certain

teeth are extracted, and he is given a new name which must be kept a profound secret; otherwise any person who wishes him harm would be able to exert a magical influence over him. Henceforth he is forbidden to partake of certain foods, and so powerful is the force of this "taboo," no power on earth will, as a rule, force him to eat the forbidden article, even to the point of starvation.

One of the most mysterious and, at the same time, most remarkable rites undergone at this period is the custom so well known to us from Biblical sources (Lev. xii. 3). At one time it was held to be the peculiar, if not the exclusive, ceremony of the Jews; but it is practised by savages all over the world. Its origin is wrapt in mystery; no reason can be given for the custom even by those who



Fig. 10. MYSTERY RITE OR "NLONGO" CUSTOM AT KIBOKOLO, UPPER CONGO.

(By the courtesy of the Baptist Missionary Society.)

continually practise it. No physical or sanitary reason exists for the operation, and that there "is no real necessity to the health or welfare of the negro race is shown by the increase of vigorous tribes like the Kru boys of West Africa who entirely repudiate the idea."

On the Upper Congo, to undergo this ceremony, the lads live in lodges built for the purpose. When it is necessary for them to visit the village for any purpose, such as to obtain food, masks are worn as shown in Figure 10. Until he has undergone this rite, he is not held to be a man, women would despise him as being a child and would in many cases refuse to marry him.

In East Africa, lads go into the bush and disguise themselves in grotesque masks of wood and cloth, with grass, horns, and skins

of wild beasts. On their return, they dance with the girls one by one, in the center of a ring.

Among the Yabim of New Guinea the operation is performed in a long hut, about one hundred feet long, which is supposed to represent the belly of a monster. Here the lads live in seclusion for three or four months, avoiding all sight of women. Food is brought to them by the elder men. Spare time is passed in weaving baskets and playing on certain sacred flutes, which are only used on these special occasions. The instruments are of two patterns, i. e., male and female, and are supposed to be married to each other. If any woman saw these flutes she would surely die. After the period of seclusion the lads, now regarded as full-grown men, march back to the village in procession, where a banquet has been prepared and the girls and women await them in festal attire.

In West Africa, a girl is sent to a "fattening house" to be specially fattened before marriage. During her stay she must not wash her face, nor do any work. Her retirement may last from a few weeks to two years, according to the wealth of her parents, and during this period an operation is performed which is a counterpart to that performed on the men. On leaving the "fattening house," she is especially painted and decorated, a feast is provided and dances given.

Fat women seem to be greatly admired by savages. In some parts of Africa ladies are put on a special diet to increase their bulk. Curds and cream, thickened with flour, is given in large quantities, and so well does this diet succeed, the ladies in the end are quite unable to move about. One dame who allowed herself to be measured was found to be fifteen inches round the arm, twenty inches round her calf, and fifty-two round the chest! In Northern Africa, thin women are looked upon with aversion, because they are thought to impart leanness and ill-health to the beholder.

V. SAVAGE FASHIONS.

Nearly all savage races "beautify" or adorn themselves in some way or other, usually the men more so than the women. It is to be noted that it is chiefly the openings of the body that receive attention, the nose, mouth, etc. Many tribes, as in South America, pull out their eyelashes or eyebrows; other races file their teeth to points; some perforate their lips, their ears, or their noses. In one particular instance a man slit his upper lip to the base of his nose, turned back the ends and fastened them to his nostrils, thus exposing his upper teeth in this hideous fashion. A very common

practice is to perforate the lips, into the hole thus made a pebble, piece of bone or metal is inserted; the ornament is increased in size from time to time, till a hole is made large enough to insert a cheese plate. Sometimes, as among the Sara-Kamba of Central Africa, two large plates are worn—the one in the upper lip being three inches in diameter, and the lower one six inches across. One result of wearing these “peleles” is that prolonged conversation on the part of the wearer is impossible.

In Central Africa, women were seen who passed their tongues through the holes and licked their noses. Nor is the tongue itself forgotten; one young lady had no less than five rings fixed in hers.



Fig. 11. NATIVE OF NEW BRITAIN,
Showing nose-sticks worn through the perforated nose.

Even a child only two or three days old will have the lobes of its ears pierced, and in time a loop will be formed so large that it can easily be slipped over the head. An African lad, fourteen years of age, wore an ornament in his ear which was six and a half inches in diameter and weighed nearly three pounds. Ornaments of this weight are by no means uncommon and necessitate the wearers throwing the lobes of their ears over the shoulders when going about their daily tasks. The Rev. G. Brown saw a man in Melanesia who had one ear fitted with a clock, the clock itself being thirteen inches in diameter. In Borneo lads have holes punched

through the tops of their ears. The youth stands against a tree or post, the hole being punched out by means of a cylinder of bamboo.

Another widespread custom is to thrust sticks or pieces of bone through holes which have been made in the base of the nose, in some cases completely closing up the nostrils. This is apparently done for superstitious reasons, because these sticks are not always worn. When a man believes he is in danger of any kind, he will thrust them through his nose, thus avoiding the danger that might otherwise befall him. Major Powell-Cotton says it is a common



Fig. 12. UPOTO, "KELOIDS" ON
FACE AND CHEST.



Fig. 13. BOPOTO TRIBE, SHOW-
ING COIFFURE.

Upper Congo tribes.

(Photos by the Rev. W. Forfeitt. By permission of the Baptist Missionary Society.)

practice in Central Africa, for natives to cover their mouths and nostrils with their hands to keep evil spirits from entering (Fig. 11).

The Papuans of New Guinea have a different method of wearing nose-sticks. In their case, a stick is thrust through a hole made in the septum of the nose, which is by this means completely blocked. One dandy wore in his nose the two legs of a pig, each bone being seven inches long and three quarters of an inch thick.

In Africa and Australia, raised gashes or "keloids" are made

on various parts of the body, chiefly on the face and chest. In some instances, as with the Congo tribes, the whole face is one mass of this cicatrization (see Figs. 12 and 13). The Balolo have lumps of flesh as large as pigeon eggs protruding from each temple, above the base of the nose and upon the chin. The Batwenda make incisions often in the form of a crocodile or of some wild beast. On the west coast of Africa, the Whydahs cut both cheeks in such a manner as to give the appearance of being pitted with smallpox; the same has been said of the Yao women of the east coast.

In the Upper Congo regions these cuttings are made in early childhood, but only just sufficient to indicate to which tribe the child belongs. Later on the boys and girls themselves are urged to cut their own keloids and to do so without whimpering. The Rev. J. H. Weeks, one of our chief authorities on the Upper Congo, says that he has seen boys and girls sitting by the river's edge summing up the necessary courage to make the incisions, and when they failed to do so, they were ridiculed by the others, until they would at last run the knife along the forehead, using the river as a looking-glass. About the age of twenty, the man or woman, if of a fashionable turn of mind would work away week by week, cutting the flesh deeper and deeper and putting wads inside the cuts to force the flesh to stand up. The Suk and other Nile people make a mark on the skin to show the number of enemies they have killed; should the number be a long one, the marks are continued on the body of the favorite wife.

Another method of beautifying the body is that of tattooing. This practice is found all over the world and is in vogue by savages and civilized people alike. It is one of those customs which have survived from savage times to our own days. In South America, among the Chaco tribes, and in the South Sea Islands the process is a very elaborate one, the whole body, from head to foot being one mass of ornamentation. Here again we have reason to believe that superstition is at the bottom of the custom. One explanation given was that the body of a tattooed woman would be visible in the spirit-world, luminous like a fire-fly; but if she were not tattooed she would wander in total darkness. Among other reasons given for the custom is that it prevents sickness, because no demon would attack a person who is tattooed. Again, it is said that if a woman is not tattooed in this world, she will have to be in the next, where instead of the operation being spread over a period, it will be done at a single sitting, and then with very sharp knives. A similar explanation has been given for removing the eyebrows. In Borneo, they

say evil spirits are hairy like monkeys, and as the people have no wish to resemble such spirits, they pull their eyebrows out.

Hairdressing is another important feature in the toilet of the ladies and gentlemen of uncivilized races. It has been said that most African natives look upon those who let their hair grow without personal attention as little better than wild beasts; certain it is that while, as among some Congo tribes, not a particle of clothing may be worn, great attention is bestowed on working the hair into the most elaborate patterns of the hairdresser's art.

The Yaos, Anyanja, and other races of East and Central Africa shave the head and never let the hair grow more than two inches in



Fig. 14. LENGUA INDIAN OF PARAGUAY.

(By the courtesy of the South American Missionary Society.)

length, and this is clipped and shaved into all sorts of patterns. Babies' heads are shaved both sides, a little narrow band being left in the middle running from the forehead to the nape of the neck. Among the Karamojo of Central Africa, the hair is plastered with clay and cow-dung, the whole being worked up to form a chignon.

Many peoples, including the ancient Greeks, have held the hair to be particularly sacred and that a spirit or god resided therein which must not be disturbed. If the hair were to be cut the god would lose his abode, hence with some tribes to-day the hair of priests, wizards, and kings is always worn long. It is related of the Fijians that so sacred was the hair of a chief held to be, when it

became necessary to cut it, it was essential for him to eat a man before he underwent the process; the sacrifice averting any evil influence that might otherwise befall him should any ill-wisher become possessed of the clippings.

The Lengua Indians of the Paraguayan Chaco, notwithstanding the poverty-stricken appearance of their dwellings, are an exceedingly well-clothed people. The men wear woolen blankets made and dyed by the women, while the latter themselves wear petticoats manufactured from skins which have been carefully prepared. On feast-days all dress in the height of native fashion. Faces are more or less covered with black, red, or blue paint; long strings of beads adorn the neck and chest; a net or band of red wool trimmed with beads is fastened round the head; the hair in front of the band being drawn out and bound round with red wool; a feather is then stuck in the scalp-lock (Fig. 14).

Mr. W. Barbrooke Grubb, the principal authority on the Chaco Indian, says that the picturesque costume and the ornamental painting with which he adorns his body is in perfect harmony with his surroundings. The colors blend so beautifully that there is no doubt whatever that the Indian has, in a very great degree, the idea of fitness and harmony.

The most important personage among savages is the chief or medicine-man. As a rule, he is not the leader in war, as formerly held; his power rests upon his supposed connection with the unseen world. Frequently he is the best-dressed man of the tribe. In Central Africa he wears armlets and leglets made of row upon row of cowrie-shells; the skin of a wild-cat, with the tail hanging in front, is worn round his loins; his eyelids are often whitened with paint, while in his hand he grasps the celebrated throwing-knife of the Upper Congo regions. Iron bells and medicine-flask dangle from his chest (see frontispiece).

The chief being the supernatural guardian of his people, it is his duty to study their wants and interests; for example, to furnish rain should it be needed. It is upon this supernatural power that his influence really rests; should he fail to give satisfaction, he may forfeit his head at the hands of his enraged people.

The old adage that "uneasy lies the head that wears a crown" is particularly applicable to the savage chief. Not only is he likely to be put to death if his magical power fails, but his whole life is surrounded by restrictions and prohibitions of various kinds. Thus in Nigeria the "king" is not allowed to eat from plates, but must dine from special dishes which, when not in use, are suspended from

the roof of his hut. So sacred is his person that even should his life be in danger, no subject may go to his aid or touch his person. On one occasion a Maori chief was seen on the point of suffocation and in great agony from a bone sticking in his throat, while around him were his people lamenting but not daring to approach. A passing missionary went to the rescue and by the aid of surgical instruments, succeeded in extracting the bone, thus saving the man's life. As soon as he had sufficiently recovered, the chief demanded that the surgical instruments should be given to him as compensation for injury received—for drawing his sacred blood and touching his sacred head! In some instances the chief is forbidden to leave his "palace," or to be seen by his subjects on any pretense whatever. In Benin, however, a small concession was granted. There, on certain occasions, the outside public and strangers were granted the favor of seeing the gentleman's feet which were protruded through a screen, the rest of the body being invisible.

With the Jukos of the middle Benuë River, West Africa, as soon as the chief is considered to have reigned long enough, the big men decide to kill him. For this purpose they invite him to a great feast, at which the chief gets intoxicated on corn beer, and while he is in this condition he is speared and his successor, who has already been selected, now reigns in his stead. In one particular case the new chief was required to eat a piece of his predecessor. The head of the late chief was presented to him, the tongue cut out and given to him to eat.

The Shilluks of the Upper Nile held that the chief must be put to death before his strength failed him, otherwise his weakness would cause the cattle to die. A special house was built into which the chief together with a young virgin was taken. There he laid his head upon her lap, the door was sealed up, and without food or water both were left to await the inevitable result.

Formerly in Pondoland, a chief on coming to the throne, killed one of his brothers, then washed himself in his blood in order to make himself strong, and kept his medicines in his dead brother's skull.

A very amusing reference was apparently made to this custom of putting a predecessor to death. In South Africa some years ago a native pupil teacher was requested to write an essay on "Patience." In that essay he declared that "the greatest living example we have of patience is the Prince of Wales, for he has not yet killed his mother in order that he may come to the throne"!

"Tight lacing" round the stomach is by no means unknown to

savages, to whom, however, its results do not appear serious (Fig. 16). In some parts of New Guinea and in Africa, girdles made of finely plaited grass are worn tightly round the stomach. An African traveler states that on one occasion he was anxious to obtain one of these bands; the article however was so tightly wound on the native's body, it had to be well greased before it was possible to get it off.

When pictures of European fashions were shown to a group of Papuans they pertinently asked where our ladies got their wasp-like waists from? That question will be best answered by the next illustration (Fig. 16).

The figure on the left represents the normal human chest; that on the right shows the effect produced by tight lacing on the bony

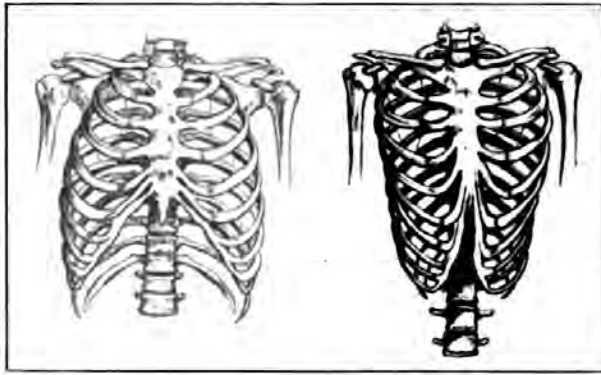


Fig. 16. RESULTS OF TIGHT LACING.

On the left, the normal human chest; on the right, the chest deformed by tight lacing. (From Sir William Flower's *Fashion in Deformity*, Macmillan Co.)

framework of a young lady whose death at the early age of twenty-three was brought about in consequence. This is by no means an extreme or an uncommon example. It will be noted that the shape of the thorax has been completely reversed from the normal by this foible of fashion, the lower end having been compressed inward, thus forcing in an upward direction the most important organs of the body—viz., the liver, the heart, and the lungs—toward the collar-bones. No vivid imagination is necessary to realize what result such an artificial diversion of nature's functions must produce. Indeed, it was at one time accepted as a physiological fact that a woman's respiration was different from that of a man; that while the former breathed from the chest man's respiration was abdominal. Recent investigations, however, go to prove that there is no

natural sex difference in respiration, but that in certain civilized races an artificial alteration has been produced by that vagary of fashion "tight lacing." No such difference exists among savage people. It is in the highest degree probable that this custom has been deleterious in very many ways to the health of civilized peoples even when practised in a modified form.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

DRUIDISM.

BY DUDLEY WRIGHT.

THE Druids boasted a faith which appears to have been as imbued with life as that of any ancient or modern religious system, although little is known generally about it.

Although their religion was polytheistic in character the Druids recognized a supremacy among the gods, this Supreme being represented by the sun. Next in point of rank came the lesser divinities, who were symbolized by the moon and stars, and, in course of time, all the celestial bodies were venerated with divine honors. This characteristic was not more marked in Druidism than in other religions of a like nature where the elements were venerated. The sun as sun was not worshiped. The arch-god was B  l, whose glory was manifested in the sun, and in singing hymns to the luminous orb they manifested their worship to the Supreme and not to the emblem, paying their adoration to what they regarded as the supreme power and eternal being.

It was doubtless this veneration of the celestial bodies which laid the foundation of the knowledge possessed by the Druids of astronomical science, to which C  sar and other writers have borne testimony. They were certainly in possession of sufficient knowledge of the motion of heavenly bodies to enable them to fix definite times for their festivals and religious ceremonies, all of which were regulated by the sun and moon, and to calculate on a thirty-year cycle of lunar years in which the month began at the sixth day. In common with the Gauls, Teutons, and Jews, they reckoned time from evening to morning.

The Druids observed an extraordinary reticence with regard to the articles of their faith. Though great writers in other respects, they committed no part of their religious tenets or philosophy to writing, except in allegorical poems, the key to which was in the

possession only of the initiated and professed, to whom the doctrines were taught orally and by them committed to memory. The inspirer of Cæsar's account of Druidism is believed to be Divitiacus, the friend of Cæsar and Cicero and the Arch-Druid at the time of the Roman invasion. Caution must, however, be exercised in accepting as authentic all the statements Cæsar makes as to Druidical belief and worship, especially with reference to Britain, for it is obvious that he himself was not in Britain for the length of time sufficient to investigate the subject at first hand. Although, therefore, Cæsar expressly states that the Druids worshiped Mercury it must not be assumed that Mercury was the principal deity. In all probability he had noticed among the Druidical symbols the winged rod with the serpents entwined around it, which, in Rome, was one of the symbols which usually adorned the statue of Mercury. This symbol may be found engraved in conspicuous characters on the Druidical remains on the plains of Abury in Wiltshire as well as in the Thebais of ancient Egypt. The Druids had also a veneration for the cube which was another of the symbols of Mercury, but this, too, has been mentioned as a proof of the affinity alleged by some writers to exist between the religion of Druidism and the Order of Freemasons. According to Cæsar, the Druids represented Mercury as the inventor of all the arts. Hercules was also regarded as the patron of eloquence, arts, and commerce, but they called him Ogmios, a word which has for its meaning, "the power of eloquence."

Helvetia Antiqua et Nova, a work published in the sixteenth century, gives the following list of Druidical deities: Theutates or Taut, Hesus, Taranis, Belinus, Cisa, and Penninus.

Theutates or Taut is asserted to have been the supreme god or universal father. He combined apparently the attributes of Jupiter with those of Mercury, as the authority quoted states that he was the inventor of arts and a guide to travelers. The word *taut* is still preserved in Switzerland and applied to a lofty rock near Montreux, thought by some to be one of the scenes of ancient Druidical worship. In this connection it may be remembered that *tout* in some parts of England is still the name given to the highest point in a range of hills.

Hesus, the "strong and powerful," was the representative of Mars, the god of war, carnage, and bloodshed. In the German patois of Switzerland *héés* still refers to a violent and quarrelsome person. Some writers have stated that this deity was pictured with the head of a dog. If so, it is probably identical with the barking Anubis of Egyptian mythology, who was claimed as the son of

Osiris and Nephthys and to have had the nature and characteristics of a dog. This deity had the special guardianship of the tropics.

Taranus is a word derived from *taran*, "thunder," and is identical with the Jupiter of Greece and Rome and the Thor of northern nations.

Belinus, known in the Old Testament as Baal, is identified with Apollo, the god of the sun. A wood in the neighborhood of Lausanne is still known as Sauvebelin, i. e., *Sylva Belini*, and traces of the name are to be found in many parts of England. Cormac's *Glossary* mentions an annual convention which took place at Uisneach in Meath in the month of May, where the men of Ireland went to exchange their wares and jewels. "And at it they were wont to make a sacrifice to the arch-god, whom they adored, whose name was Bél. It was likewise their usage to light two fires to Bél in every district in Ireland at this season, and to drive a pair of each herd of cattle that the district contained between these two fires, as a preservative, to guard them against all the diseases of that year. It is from that fire thus made that the day on which the noble feast of the apostles Peter and James is held has been called Bealtine, i. e., Bél's Fire." The origin of the proverb and phrase "between two fires" is also ascribed to the passing of beasts about to be sacrificed between these two sacrificial fires. This deity, however, according to the best authorities, appears to have been the principal deity and not the fourth in succession.

Cisa was more particularly worshiped in the Grisons or Rhætian Alps. Tuesday in some of the German cantons of Switzerland is called *Cistag* or *Zistag*.

With regard to Penninus, Pen, which in Celtic means summit or head, is applied to the mountainous region of the Apennines, and the monastery of St. Bernard stands on the site of the temple of the Pennine Jupiter. The prefix *pen-* is found in various parts of Wales, e. g., Penmanmawr, Pen-y-gwint, etc., and, of course, in many Cornish names of people and places.

The Druids represented the world as an enormous animal issuing out of the abyss from the abode of an evil spirit. In common with other nations and religious systems they had their Deluge tradition, but they represented that event as occurring in a lake called Llyn Llion, the waters of which burst forth and overwhelmed the face of the whole world. One vessel only escaped in the catastrophe and in this were a man and a woman and certain of the animal species. By these Britain was re-peopled with human beings and animals. The name given to the man thus miraculously preserved

was Hu the Mighty, but he is sometimes called Cadwaldr. He is frequently represented as the diluvial god and as such is generally attended by a spotted cow. The woman preserved in the ark from the deluge was called Ceridwen. She was regarded as the first of womankind, with the same attributes as Venus, in whom were personified the generative powers. She is mentioned in several of the poems of the Bards who lived under the Welsh princes. Cuhe-lyn, a Bard of the sixth century, refers to her as Ogyrven Ahmad, or "the goddess of the various seeds," and from this and other references of a like nature, some authorities have connected her with the goddess Ceres. Ceridwen's first-born was named Morvran, or "the raven of the sea." As an outcome of this British tradition of the Deluge, the Druids consecrated certain lakes as symbols of the event and looked upon the small islands which rose to the surface as mystical sanctuaries, because they were emblems of the ark. A rock, when discovered, was hailed as typifying the place of debar-kation of Hu the Mighty, and here, on certain occasions, would be celebrated by "the Druids of the Circle," the Druids of high or advanced degree, mystical rites believed to be in commemoration of the salvation of the race from the waters of the flood.

The greatest similarity among Deluge legends to the Druidical is, perhaps, that of the Incas, who believed that no living things survived except a man and a woman, who were preserved from the flood by being enclosed in a box. When the waters subsided they were commanded by the Creator of all things to settle in Huanaco, whither the wind had carried them. Then the Creator began to raise up peoples and nations by making male and female figures of clay and painting these clay figures with the kind of garments they were to wear. He then gave life and soul to each and commanded them to multiply. The first of each nation were transformed into stones which became objects of adoration. In some parts of Peru there are great blocks of stone, some of which are nearly the size of giants.

It was a Druidical belief that water was the first principle of all things and existed before the creation of the earth in unsullied purity, but that its qualities were diminished when it became blended with the earth. Thus water was venerated because it afforded a symbol by its inexhaustible sources of the continual and successive benefits bestowed upon the human race and because of the mystical sympathy existing between the soul of man and the purity of water. The air was regarded as the residence of beings of a more refined and spiritual nature than humans, while fire was looked upon as a

vital principle brought into action at the Creation. The earth was venerated because it was the mother of mankind, and particular honor was paid to trees as affording a proof of the immense productive power of the earth. For many centuries the Druids refused to construct enclosed temples, regarding it as an outrage to suggest that the deity could be confined within any limits, and the vault of the sky and the depth of the forest were originally their only sanctuary.

Pomponius Mela tells us that the immortality of the soul was a Druidical doctrine which the Druids permitted to be published for political reasons. "There is one thing," he says, "which they teach their disciples, which hath been made known to the common people, in order to render them more brave and fearless, namely, that souls are immortal and that there is another life after the present." The precise character of this after-life has been the occasion of debate with authorities. Some hold that the Druidical belief in life after death included the tenet of transmigration, similar to the Buddhistic but differing from the Theosophical reincarnation; that is to say, that they believed in the possibility of the descent of the human into the animal species. They were apparently believers in the evolution theory, maintaining that the soul commenced its course in the lowest water-animalcules and passed through several successive gradated bodies until it reached the human species. Here the authorities diverge. According to some, at death, if the good qualities had preponderated over the evil, the soul would pass into *Gwynnyd*, or a state of bliss. But if the evil qualities had preponderated, then the soul would pass into an animal displaying the characteristics exhibited by the human being while on earth, though it would have further opportunities of ascent to the human and of ultimate translation to *Gwynnyd*, even though repeated falls should postpone this latter step for ages. Others have maintained that the Druids endeavored to persuade their followers that death was but an interlude in a succession of progressive human existences. In this or in some other world the soul would find a new body and lead another human life and so onward in an infinite cycle of lives. This latter seems to be the more probable when it is remembered that one of their maxims was that money lent in this world would be repaid in the next and that they also believed that letters given to dying persons or thrown upon the funeral pile would be faithfully delivered in the next world. In one of these two ways, however, the fear of death was removed and the people were thus instilled with courage in battle and warfare.

Another debatable topic has been the question as to whether human sacrifices were practised by the Druids, though it seems hardly open to question in view of the categorical statement of Cæsar. Divitiacus is scarcely likely to have inspired or consented to the publication of the statement if it had not been true. Possibly, however, the explanation may be found in the assertion of some writers that the practice of human sacrifices was the survival of a pre-Druidic custom, particularly as human sacrifices do not appear to have formed part of the Irish Druidical practices, though in Britain, members of the Druidic community not only took part in, but presided at, these ceremonies. These human sacrifices were, in the main, legal executions, and an interval of five years generally elapsed between sentence and execution. They believed also that those who killed themselves to accompany their friends to the next world would live with them there so that there was no lack of victims who, in time of trouble, came forward as volunteers to offer themselves as expiation. Eager to rejoin their dear departed in a happier sphere, eager to ascend to the circle of felicity, the Celts gladly mounted the sacrificial stone and death came to them in the midst of a song of joy. The old Mosaic law of "a life for a life" was also required by the laws of Cymry, but the fatal punishment inflicted by the executioner was regarded as the requital of the debt due to God and man. According to the laws of Dyonwal Moelmund the three forms of capital punishment practised were beheading, hanging, and burning. It is possible that the practice of burning was derived from Phenicia, where the yearly sacrifice of human beings by fire, which was part of the worship of Moloch, may have given rise to the custom of burning malefactors and prisoners taken in war and other immolations practised by the Druids.

The Romans issued stringent laws forbidding the continuance of the practice, affecting to regard human sacrifices with horror, though they were occasionally guilty of such practices themselves, even in their most civilized ages. Augustus ordered three hundred senators and *equites*, who had sided with Antony, to be sacrificed on the altar of Julius Cæsar.

According to Justin, the Druids declared that in times of public calamity the people could not be rid of the pestilence or trouble until they had dipped the gold and silver secured by them in a time of war in a lake, and he gives the following description of a similar ceremony: "Many persons resorted to a lake at the foot of the Gevaudan mountain, consecrated to the moon under the name of Helanus, and thither cast, some the entire human habits, linen, cloth,

and entire fleeces ; other cast in cheese, wax, bread, and other things, every one according to his ability ; they then sacrificed animals and feasted for several days."

Cæsar says that the Druids were the judges on all points of law and equity and the distributors of all punishments and rewards. They had the power of excommunication against all who did not submit to their decrees, of excluding people of all ranks from all benefits of society and even from society itself ; of deposing princes and even of condemning them to death, a power not infrequently exercised ; and of declaring war and peace. The Druids themselves were exempt from bearing arms and paying taxes. Divitiacus, the Arch-Druid, however, we learn from Cæsar, was permitted to carry arms and was even entrusted with the command of a corps in one of Cæsar's campaigns. He gives the following account of the effect of excommunication : "If any person, either private or public, does not acquiesce in their decisions, they interdict him from their sacrifices. That is, among them, the severest punishment. Those who are thus interdicted are reckoned impious and accursed ; all men depart from them ; all shun their company and conversation, lest they should sustain some misfortune from their contagion ; the administration of justice and the protection of the laws is denied to them and no honor is conferred upon them." The excommunicated had also to walk with bare feet and wear black garments for the remainder of his life.

The Druids regarded repentance and purification as necessary duties. They observed one day in seven as peculiarly sanctified and made holy by the great Creator and were wont to dedicate one tenth of all their substance to religious purposes.

The Druidical philosophy and religion were certainly equal, if not superior, to any of the philosophies and religions current in other parts of the world in their day. Manxmen ascribe to the Druids the excellent laws by which their island has always been governed, and the ancient Greeks, on their own confession, learned part of their philosophy and many of their fables from the Gauls.

THE COSMIC EYES.

BY LAWRENCE PARMLY BROWN.

ONE of the most ancient and widely distributed of mythic concepts is that of the sun and moon, and sometimes the stars, as the eyes of celestial or cosmic deities.

In the Hindu *Rigveda* we find "the sun, the eye" (V, 59, 3), and "the eye of the sun," which has a sharp sight (I, 164, 4). It is "the eye of Surya" (V, 40, 8), who is "the golden-eyed," and of the "all-beholding Savitri" (V, 35, 8 and 9); the former representing the sun in general, the latter the sun on the horizon (or before its rising, according to the scholiast Sayana on V, 81, 4). In the *Vishnu Purana* (I, 4) we read of Vishnu in his cosmic character: "Thine eyes, O omnipotent one, are those of day and night (the sun and moon)"; while Indras has a thousand eyes (the stars), which are reduced to a hundred in the case of the Greek Argos Panoptes (= all-seeing), whose eyes were transplanted to the tail of Hera's peacock according to some (Æschyl., *Prom.*, 304; Ovid, *Met.*, I, 720, etc.). In the *Bhagavadgita* (XI) the cosmic Krishna has "the sun and moon for eyes" and is also said to be with "many eyes," etc. In the Iranian *Avesta* (*Yasna*, I, 35; cf. III, 49) the sun is the eye of Ahura-Mazda (the supreme god) and of Mithra (the sun-god), the stars also being the eyes of Mithra in his cosmic character; for he has ten thousand eyes and ten thousand ears (*Yasna*, IV, 15, etc.). In the *Ta-Keu* ode of the Chinese Shi-King the poet swears to the truth of what he says "by that day's eye whose piercing glance I fear."

Various sun-gods and solar figures are naturally conceived with only one eye, generally in the middle of the forehead. Such were the Greek Cyclopes (= round-eyed), early described as three in number (Apollod., I, i, etc.—corresponding to the solar phases of morning, noon, and evening), and also the Scythian Arismaspi, whom Aristæas of Proconnesus says were "the mightiest men of all," having "but one eye surrounded with thick hair" (for the sun's rays,—Tzetzes, *Chil.*, VIII, 144, 163). Similar figures appear in many primitive myths, folk-tales, and fairy-stories, as in the History of Sindbad the Sailor in the Arabian Nights. In Norse mythology Odin is one-eyed and is fabled to have sunk his other eye in the pure well of Mim, where it remains as a pledge from which Mim

drinks mead each morning (*Elder Edda*, "Voluspa," 22). This other eye of Odin has been taken for a reflection of the sun on the sea, but is more likely the sun in the underworld, in the waters beneath the earth; whence it would seem that Odin was originally conceived as pawning his eye to Mim at sunset and redeeming it at sunrise.

The Hebrew and Arabic word *ain* signifies both a fountain, or spring, and an eye, being applied to the latter as the source of tears. Thus Ain-Shemesh, the name of a spring in Joshua xv. 7, may be rendered Eye of the Sun, as well as Fountain of the Sun; while Heliopolis (= City of the Sun, in Egypt) was known to the Mohammedans as Ain-Shems = Eye of the Sun. In the Old Testament there are many simple allusions to the eye and eyes of Jehovah; and the eye of God is often represented in Christian art and architecture, sometimes in a triangle (Didron, *Christ. Iconog.*, p. 31). The seven planets (including the sun and moon) are doubtless represented by the seven eyes graven upon a stone in Zechariah iii. 10, and also by the seven lamps of the vision, *ibid.* iv. 1-12, where they are interpreted as "the eyes of the Lord which run to and fro through the whole earth" (from 2 Chron. xvi. 9). In Revelation we again find the seven lamps (i. 4; iv. 5) and seven eyes (in the seven horns of the little lamb, v. 6), as well as seven stars and seven lamp-stands (i. 12). In Ezekiel x. 12 (cf. i. 18) we find eyes (for stars) on the bodies and wings of the four cherubim, and on the four wheels with which they are severally connected. The head of the Kabbalistic Macroprosopus (= great countenance) is conceived in profile, showing the right eye (also said to be two in one), of white brilliance, without eyebrows or eyelashes, never closing, etc. (*Zohar*, "Iddera Zuta," IV). All this is evidently of solar suggestion, like the Assyrian concept of Merodach as the "open-eyed of the gods" ("Insc. of Nebuchadnezzar," IX, 47; in *Records of the Past*, N. S., II, p. 122).

In Egyptian mythology, much is made of the solar and lunar eyes, which are either conceived as the two eyes of the cosmic deity or assigned to separate gods. The sun is often the right eye of Ra, the sun-god by name. In the *Litany of Ra*, where he is recognized as the *pantheos*, his form is that of the Sacred Eye (I, 24)—he "glorifies his eye" (30)—"makes the divine eye move" (37)—is "the wonderful one who dwells in his eye" (42)—"the adult who dilates his eye, and who fills his eye" (here the moon, 47)—"his form is that of the being who speaks to his eye" (57)—and as "the great god who raises his two eyes, his form is

that of the double luminary" (apparently for the sun of the two horizons, 74). In the Saïte Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, Amen (or Amen-Ra) is "the master of the two eyes" (CLXIII, 9). In the earlier Theban Recension the soli-cosmic Ra "who dwelleth in his Disk, riseth in his two eyes" (XV, b, 2); and it is said to him: "Thou didst stretch out the heavens wherein thy two eyes might travel" (XV, b, 3). In the Inscription of Darius at El Khargeh, the left eye of Ra is the moon and his right eye his "essence" or soul (*Records of the Past*, VIII, p. 136, line 21). In a hymn to Amen-Ra, he is addressed as the one creator "from whose eyes mankind proceeded, of whose mouth are the gods" (*Records of the Past*, IV, p. 131); while elsewhere all good things are produced from the eye of Ra, evil things from that of Set or Typhon (*ibid.*, note 1). In the *Book of the Dead* the deceased



THE EGYPTIAN CELESTIAL EYE.

One of a pair, both exactly alike, representing the sun of the east and west respectively, and traveling from east to west as viewed from the northern hemisphere. (From the Turin Papyrus, Saïte Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, Chap. CLXIII, vignette, as referred to the solar Amen-Ra in the text; in Lepsius, *Das Todtenbuch der Aegypter*.)

sometimes represents himself as dwelling in the *utchat* or celestial eye (XLII, etc.); again he is an emanation from the two eyes of Amen (CLXIII, 10, Saïte).

The Egyptian celestial eyes are frequently figured in pairs, sometimes right and left (for the sun of the two horizons as well as for the sun and moon), and sometimes furnished with winged legs for the purpose of traveling across the heaven (e. g., *Book of the Dead*, CLXIII, 14, Saïte, and Turin Papyrus, vignette). The solar eye is said to be seven cubits wide, and to have a pupil of three cubits (*ibid.*, CI, both Recensions).

On the Neapolitan stele it is Khnum as the cosmic god "whose right eye is the solar disk, whose left eye is the moon" (*Records of the Past*, IV, p. 67). We also find the sun as the eye of Shu, the personification of light or space (*Book of the Dead*, CLIV, etc.), and as

the eye of Tum, the sun-god of the west, the underworld, autumn and winter (*ibid.*, XC, XCIII, LXXVIII,— in the last text the deceased is created from the eye of Tum). Shu and the goddess Tefnut are sometimes associated as husband and wife, probably for day and night respectively. Tefnut, = the Sprinkler (from *tef* = to spit, to sprinkle, etc.), is generally taken for the goddess of rain and dew; but as she is often figured with an eye on her head as her special attribute (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.*, III, p. 191), while there is an Egyptian word *tef* for the pupil of the eye, it is not improbable that Tefnut was a figure of the moon as a weeping eye. The pupil of the eye being circular is even a more appropriate symbol of the full moon and the sun than the entire organ. In the *Book of the Dead*, CLXIII, "the middle of the pupil of his eye" appears to refer to the sun.

The Egyptian goddess Maat is represented with her eyes sealed with wafers (with closed eyes, as Diodorus has it; I, 48). She belongs to the region or hall of Maat or Maati (the double Maat) where the Judgment of the Dead is held, and was perhaps originally a figure of the night and the underworld as associated with darkness and blindness. The Greek goddess of justice, Themis (with the name of the Egyptian Themei), has her eyes blindfolded, as does our Justice; and Plutarch speaks of a statue of the Chief Judge at Thebes with closed eyes (*De Iside*, 10). The goddess Hathor is sometimes called "the eye of Ra"; the eyes of the deceased being assigned to her in the *Book of the Dead* (XLII), where we also read of "the eye of Sechet" (CXLIV). In later Egyptian mythology the lunar eye was often assigned to Isis, the Isiac Eye becoming a common symbol and charm. In the "Lamentations of Isis" "the sacred eye" is the moon (*Records of the Past*, IV, p. 122). The three phases of the moon, waxing, full, and waning (or on the two horizons and at the meridian), appear to be represented by the three Grææ (= old women) of the Greeks, with one eye (and one tooth) in common, which each uses in turn when needed (Schol. ad *Aeschyl. Prom.*, 793); and Lamia, the cruel Libyan queen, is probably a lunar figure, for Zeus gave her the power to remove and replace her eyes (Diod., XX, 41; Plut., *De Curios.*, 2).

In the Osiris cult, which finally gained the paramount place in the religion of the Egyptians, the cosmic eyes were assigned to Osiris, or to his son Horus; the concept reaching its highest development in connection with the latter. Osiris sometimes represents the old sun in the west and Horus the young sun in the east; again both are recognized as general solar or cosmic personifications.

thus often being assimilated to Ra; and still again, Horus becomes the moon-god. Osiris (in Egyptian *Asar*) had a Babylonian counterpart Asari, both words being said to signify the "Mighty One"; but the Egyptian and Babylonian forms are alike written with two ideographs, one (*as*) denoting a place, and the other (*ar* or *ari*) an eye,—merely to express the pronunciation, as is generally held (Sayce, *Rel. Anc. Eg. and Bab.*, p. 164). Plutarch says that some derived the word Osiris from the Egyptian equivalents of the Greek *os* = many and *iri* = eye (which is of course erroneous) and that the god was represented by an eye and a scepter (*De Iside*, 10 and 51). Macrobius says that Osiris is the sun and is represented by a scepter with an eye in it to express the idea of god surveying the universe (*Sat.*, I). *Har* is the Egyptian form of *Horus*, while *ar* is an eye; and although *Har* is ordinarily written with a hieroglyphic sparrowhawk, that bird appears to have been made the symbol of the god (who was represented hawk-headed) because of its sharp sight. Horapollo (I, 6) says the hawk was chosen as a symbol of the sun "from its being able to look more intently toward its rays than any other bird; whence also under the form of a hawk they depicted the Lord of Vision." The solar hawk, strictly speaking, has only one eye; and in the *Book of the Dead* we read that "The sacred hawk with its left eye and left side equally black (i. e., invisible) appears in the sky, as well as the stars" (CIX, 8, Saïte). In a Pyramid text it is said of the eyes of Horus that one is white and the other black (Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 497).

Where the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead* reads: "To the Mighty One (Osiris) has his eye been given" (at sunrise), the Saïte Recension speaks of "the risings of the eye of the sun" in connection with Horus, who "makes his own eye light the earth" (LXIV, 22, 25). In XVII, 30 (Saïte), we read of "the sun's eye on the morning of his daily birth." In XCII, 2 (Saïte), "The eye of Horus is set free" (at sunrise). In both Recensions it is Horus who produces or regulates the years by his eye (LXXVIII). The deceased sometimes identifies himself with the eye of Ra or of Horus (CXXXVII, CXLIX, etc.). In the Saïte Recension, he gives back the sight to the eyes of Osiris (LV, 2), and rescues and avenges the (solar) eye of that god (CXLVII, 23). In CXLIV, it is Thoth (as the moon-god) who presents the lunar eye of Horus in the night-time. The eye of Horus is also the moon in VIII, 2 (Saïte): "Thoth's hand makes up and improves the eye of Horus that shines like an ornament on the forehead of Ra." In the Theban Recension, Papyrus of Ani, (as rendered by Budge), Thoth

"with his own fingers" performed the filling of the *utchat* or celestial eye (here the moon), and Set sent forth a thunder-cloud against the right eye of Ra (the sun). "Thoth removed the thunder-cloud from the eye of Ra and brought back the eye. . . . Others, however, say that the thunder-cloud is caused by sickness in the eye of Ra, which weepeth for its companion eye (the moon). At this time Thoth cleanseth the Right Eye of Ra" (XVII, 68-74). In the Theban Recension we also find an allusion to pus in the eye of Tum, the sun-god of the west, etc., where the Saïte parallel has: "A circle appears around the Eye of Tum" (XCIII, 4).

In an ancient text Horus is represented as sitting solitary in his darkness or blindness, while in another he says, "I am Horus, and I come to search for mine eyes" (from the Royal Ritual of Abydos, as cited by Renouf, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 114). As Plutarch has it, Typhon (Set) struck out and swallowed the (lunar) eye of Horus, but "afterward gave it back to the sun" (*De Iside*, 55). Set is the "eater of the eye" in the *Book of the Dead* (CXVI, 1, Saïte) and in the *Book of Respirations* (in the latter also being called the "Fiery-eyed"—*Records of the Past*, IV, p. 127). In the *Book of the Opening of the Mouth*, the priest in the character of Horus says: "I have delivered mine eye from his (Set's) mouth, I have cut off his leg" (Trans. of Budge, II, pp. 44). Again, Thoth makes Seth disgorge the Eye and replace it in the face of Ra or Horus (Budge, *Papyrus of Ani*, II, p. 384, note). The daily restoration of the (solar) eye of Horus was supposed to be effected by a religious ceremony in the great temple of Amen-Ra at Karnak (Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 62).

Set transformed himself into a black hog (as a figure of the storm as well as of the night and underworld) when he did the evil deed to the eye of Horus (*Book of the Dead*; the Theban Rec. referring this deed to "a mighty storm" and "a blow of fire"—for lightning—CXII). The hand of Isis wiped away or stopped the blood from the eye of Horus when it was injured (XCIX, both Recensions); while in another view in the *Book of the Dead* (XVII), Thoth heals the eye of Horus by spitting upon it (Theban) or washing it (Saïte),—spittle often being a symbol of rain or dew. In the most obvious view the blinding or swallowing of the eye of Horus occurs once a month, when the moon wanes into invisibility; the first appearance of the new moon being celebrated at or near the middle of the months when they began with the full moon. Thus in the *Book of the Dead* the Osirified deceased says that he "rescued the (lunar) eye when it waned at the coming of the festival of the fifteenth day" (LXXX, Theban.—Here the Saïte is doubtless cor-

rupt: "I tear off (?) the eye of Horus when is suppressed his coming at the festival of the fifteenth. . . . I provide for Thoth in the retreat of the moon"). In a variant view the waning of the moon appears to be represented by the closing of the *utchat* (*ibid.*, XLII), which is personified as Utchat or Uatchit "who came from the eye of Horus" in LXVI (both Recensions). Again, where the Theban says that "the hands of Horus" were caught by Sebek (the crocodile god) in his fish-net (for the night) and brought in on the festivals of the month and half-month, the Saïte substitutes "the eyes of Horus" (CXIII, 4).

In another view the blinding of the lunar eye belongs to an eclipse of the moon, while an eclipse of the sun might as naturally be considered a blinding of the solar eye. There appears to be nothing of this in the *Book of the Dead*; but Plutarch says: "There are some that will have the shadow of the earth, upon which they believe the moon to fall when eclipsed, to be Typhon." And he adds: "The Egyptians believe and relate that Typhon (Set) at one time smote the eye of Horus and blinded him, indicating by the blinding of him, the lunar eclipse. This the sun cures again presently by shining on it (the moon) as soon as it has escaped from the shadow of the earth" (*De Iside*, 43).

Chap. CXL of the *Book of the Dead* (in Saïte Recension only) is entitled: "The book of the rites of the last day in the second month of the season Pert, when the *utchat* (celestial eye, the moon) is full on the last day in the second month of Pert." It is the festival day "when the sun arrives" (9, 12); and on this day, in the fourth hour of the night, it is said (4, 5) that "the solar eye returns to its place" on the head of Ra (who is figured in the vignette with the eye on his head). In CXXV (Theban) this is "the day when the *utchat* is full in Annu (doubtless the heaven as well as the terrestrial Heliopolis = City of the Sun) at the end of the second month of the season Pert." (The Saïte has: "On the thirtieth day of the second month" etc.). Plutarch says that "on the thirtieth day of the month Epiphi they (the Egyptians) celebrate the Birthday of the Eyes of Horus, when the sun and moon are come into one straight line (of course with the earth): inasmuch as they consider not the moon alone, but the sun also, as the eye and light of Horus" (*De Iside*, 52). Pert is the season of growing; its second month being Em-hir (in Coptic *Amshier*, *Mecheir*, or *Mekhir*), the sixth month of the Egyptian year. Anciently this month must have begun at about the time of the winter solstice, for the year began with the Nile inundation at about the time of the summer solstice. As

the two Egyptian texts evidently fix the festival in question at the time of the full moon, we may safely conclude that Plutarch refers to the same time when he says that the sun and moon (in opposition) are then come into one straight line (with the earth); but his expression is a rather loose one, for strictly speaking this line (with the sun and moon in opposition) is straight only during lunar eclipses, of rare occurrence on any calendar day. Taking the Egyptian texts in connection with Plutarch, it appears that the festival was celebrated at night on the thirtieth or last day of Em-hir, in other words on the eve of the first day of the following month, Phamenoth,—somewhat like our Christmas Eve festival at the time of the winter solstice. From all of which it would seem to follow that the festival of the solar and lunar eyes, the Birthday of the Eyes of Horus, belonged to the night of the first full moon after the winter solstice, and to the eve of Phamenoth 1st, of course in a lunar year,—somewhat as the Jewish Passover begins at night at the time of the full moon of Nisan (the first month of spring and of the sacred year), while our Easter was finally fixed on the first Sunday after the first full moon after the spring equinox. But Plutarch says the Birthday of the Eyes of Horus belonged (in his time) to the 30th of Epiphi, as does Athanasius Kircher in his *Oedipus Aegypticus*, (Part II, Vol. I, p. 265); and Epiphi began June 25th, at about the time of the summer solstice, in the later Alexandrian calendar (*Records of the Past*, II, p. 161). Moreover, according to Plutarch and others, the moon was fullest on the 17th of the Egyptian lunar month; which appears to indicate that the Birthday in question was at one time a new-moon festival, Plutarch's "one straight line" then being referable to a conjunction of the sun and moon. Again, in the Dendera planisphere we find an encircled human eye in the first degrees of Aries, where it probably marked the spring equinox shortly before the Christian era. The Triangle of Aries, in the Babylonio-Greek sphere, appears to have marked the same equinox in an earlier period; and we have already seen that the Christian eye of God was sometimes figured in a triangle.

In Norse mythology the sun in the underworld is Solblindi (= sun-blind) and Helblindi (= hell-blind). Another Norse figure of the sun at night and in winter is Hodur (Hodr or Hod = the hid), the blind god who slays Baldur (the day and summer sun) with a twig of mistletoe as the winter plant (*Elder Edda*, "Voluspa," 37; *Younger Edda*, I, 49). A variant of this myth is found in the Persian *Shah Nameh*, where the solar hero Rustem blinds Isfendiyar (as a lunar figure) with a poisoned arrow made from a branch

of the tamarisk tree, so that he dies (XV, 3, 27, [1711, 1712]). The ancient Mexicans had a god Yztacoliuhqui, whose name signifies "Lord of Blindness" and who was figured with his eyes bandaged (Kingsborough, *Mex. Antiq.*, VI, p. 206). The Sabæans considered Mars "the god of the blind"; while among the Euphratean names of the planet we find Nu-Mia (= that which is not), "referring to the fact that Mars recedes from the earth until it is almost invisible" (R. Brown, *Prim. Constels.*, I, p. 73). This planet is doubtless the "red-eyed god" among "the seven Glorious Ones" in the *Book of the Dead* (XVII).

In Greek mythology the single (solar) eye of Polyphemus, the greatest of the Cyclopes, is put out by Ulysses (*Od.*, I, 69; IX, 383). Orion (originally a figure of the summer sun) was blinded by Œnopion (as a figure of night and winter), after the former became intoxicated and ravished the latter's daughter. Orion recovered his sight by traveling toward the east (through the underworld) and exposing his eyeballs to the rays of the rising sun. He then sought to take vengeance on Œnopion, but could not find him, as he was hidden in the earth; so Orion proceeded to Crete, where he lived as a hunter with Artemis, the lunar goddess (*Apollod.*, I, 4, 3; *Parthen.*, *Epot.*, 20; *Hygin.*, *Poet. Ast.*, II, 34). Orion is constellated in the house of Taurus, the sign of the spring equinox about 4000-2000 B.C., and Plutarch tells us that the constellation of Orion (the Egyptian Sahu) was sacred to Horus (*De Iside*, 22). According to some, the name of Orion's daughter was Aero (= of the air, probably for the moon), while others say it was Merope, the same as that of one of the Pleiades in Taurus. Artemis was the goddess of the month Artemision or Artemesius under Taurus; and in one account she finally shot Orion to death, while in another the earth sent forth a monster scorpion that killed him,—as doubtless suggested by the concept of the summer sun born or recovering his sight at the spring equinox in Taurus, and dying at the autumn equinox in Scorpio, where his blinding also belongs.

Cheiron, doubtless in his character of a surgeon, restored the sight of Phœnix, whose eyes were put out by his father when the latter's mistress accused Phœnix of dishonoring her (*Apollod.*, III, 13, 8). This Phœnix is a mere variant of the red solar bird of the same name, the Bennu of Egyptian mythology, which in the *Book of the Dead* is identified with Osiris, probably as the god of the setting sun (XVII). On his journey through the celestial regions the deceased is said to come like a hawk (for the rising sun) and go out like a Bennu (for the setting sun.—*Ibid.*, XIII, CXXII).

But the personified Phœnix of the Greek myth appears to represent the sun in general; his father, the day; the latter's mistress, the earth.

Ilus, the founder of Troy (Ilion), in his solar character became blind when he rescued the palladium from the burning temple (for that of the heaven at sunset); but his sight was miraculously restored (Plut., *Paral.*, 17). Anchises, grandson of Ilus and father of Æneas by Aphrodite (as the dawn), boasted of his intercourse with the goddess and consequently was stricken blind by the lightning of Zeus,—or was thus lamed or killed in variant accounts (Hygin., *Fab.*, 94; Serv. *ad Aen.*, II, 648, etc.). The solar hero Œdipus put out his own eyes near the close of his frightful career (Apollod., III, 5, 8; Soph., *Oed. Tyr.*, 774 et seq.), or was blinded by Polybus in another account (Schol. *ad Eurip. Phoen.*, 26). Plutus, the god of wealth, originally the same as Hades, was a blind god (Aristoph., *Plut.*, 90, etc.), blind from birth according to some (Clement Alex., *Strom.*, IV, 5). Ephialtes, one of the giants of Greek mythology, was deprived of his left eye by Apollo, and of his right eye by Hercules (Apollod., I, 6, 2).

In the Hindu *Rigveda* (I, 112, 8) the Aswins (as the sun's rays) cured the blindness and lameness of Paravrij, who is called Prandha as "the blind" and Srona as "the lame" (II, 13, 12; XV, 7). As "the physicians (of the gods)," the Aswins give eyes to Rijraswa, who had been blinded by his father, apparently as a figure of the night (*ibid.*, II, 116, 8); and Kanwa also has his sight miraculously restored (II, 117, 8). In the *Ramayana* (VI, 46) it is related that Vibhishan, by drawing his fingers wet with dew across the eyes of Sugriva, freed them from the dulling mist placed upon them by the magic of a giant (the figure of night or winter), who had thrown Sugriva (the soli-cosmic figure) into a stupor. In the *Harivancas* (line 1908), Madri has two sons, Andhakas (= the blind one, for the dark night) and Vrishnis (= the sheep, for the bright day with its fleecy clouds). In a Russian tale from Afanassieff (V, 39; in De Gubernatis, *Zoo. Myth.*, I, p. 219), the night (and underworld) figure is a servant girl who takes out and carries away the eyes of her maiden mistress (the day), and then marries the king (apparently the heaven) to whom the lady was betrothed. But the lady recovers her eyes from the girl, one at a time; washes them in her own saliva (the dew) when she arises at dawn; puts them back in their sockets and recovers her sight. Finally the servant girl is herself blinded and torn to pieces by being tied to the tails of horses,—the night figure thus being assimilated to the waning moon.

In another tale from Afanassieff (V, 35) the heaven is apparently represented by the beautiful Anna who blinds one man (for the moon), and cuts off the feet of another (for the sun); but the two men meet in a forest (for the night and winter) and are restored by means of the water of a fountain that has the property of turning a dry twig green (for the spring rains, perhaps as associated with the celestial Eridanus). In the *Shah Nameh* (Chap. V) Kai-Kaus (a solar figure) and his whole army are bound and imprisoned in a land of demons (for the underworld), where they become blind; but they regain their sight when their eyes are anointed with the blood of the White Demon (apparently for the moon), who is slain by Rustem (another solar figure).

The ancient Thracian bard Thamyras was deprived of sight and the power of singing because he claimed to surpass the Muses in song (Homer, *Il.*, II, 595; Apollod., I, 3, 3, etc.). The Greek Stesichorus was blinded by Aphrodite because he spoke ill of her in a poem, but when he recanted in another poem he recovered his sight (Isocrat., *Helene*, 64; cf. Schol. ad *Eurip. Orest.*, 249). At Sparta there was a temple of Athena Ophthalmitis or Optilitis, founded by Lycurgus in gratitude for the recovery of his wounded eye, or for the saving of his remaining one (Pausan., III, 18, 1; Plut., *Lycurg.*, 11). The seer Ophioneus, blind from birth, miraculously recovered his sight, but was soon stricken blind again as foretold by an oracle (Pausan., IV, 12, 7; 13, 2.—in accordance with the lunar mythos). In the later Egyptian belief Isis cured those who were long blind, and others deprived of various parts of the anatomy,—according to Diodorus (I, 25), who also tells us that in the Chersonesus the goddess Hemithæa wrought similar cures (V, 28). Æsculapius cured those who were born blind, as well as the lame, etc. (Justin Martyr, I *Apol.*, 22). He cured Epidauros, nearly blind, by means of a written tablet which he sent to the afflicted man, who found he could read it when he looked upon it (Pausan., X, 38, 7). According to one of the votive tablets found in the temple of Æsculapius at Epidauros, a blind man dreamed in the sanctuary that his eyes were opened by the fingers of the god, so that he saw trees for the first time; and in the morning he went forth cured (Frazer's *Pausanias*, note to I, 27, 3). A blind boy was cured when one of the sacred dogs of the same sanctuary licked his eyes (Festus, s. v. *In insula*; this being by saliva). Buddha cured the blind, among his various miracles (Johnston, *Sacred Books of Ceylon*, III, p. 46). At the moment of his incarnation the blind received sight merely through longing to behold his glory,

while the deaf heard, the dumb spoke, the lame walked, etc. (Rhys-Davids, *Birth Stories*, p. 64). He was accredited with the cure of a group of five hundred blind men, whose staves, which they stuck into the ground, grew into a great grove called "The Getting of Eyes," near Sravasti. It was visited in the fourth century A. D. by the Chinese traveler Fa-Hien, who preserves the legend (*Travels of Fa-Hien*, XX). In a Buddhist parable a man born blind is cured by means of four simples applied to his eyes after being mashed in the mouth (i. e., mixed with the saliva) of a Rishi. The afflicted one first sees trees and flowers, and then the sun; and the parable is explained to the effect that Buddha is the Rishi, who opens the eyes of the spiritually blind with the four great truths of his doctrine (Carus, *Gospel of Bud.*, ed. 1895, p. 160; etc.). In Chap. V of the *White Lotus of Dharma* there is a story of the cure of a blind man whose malady arose because of his sinful conduct in a former life on earth. Indeed the Hindus even specified the sins for which various afflictions in after-lives are the punishments; blindness being for the killing of a mother; dumbness for the killing of a father, etc., according to the *Ayeen Akbery* (III, pp. 168, 175), while in the *Laws of Manu* (XI, 52) it is said that a stealer of a lamp will be blind in a future life and that he who (sinfully) extinguishes one will be one-eyed. In the Buddhist legend of "The Eyes of Kunala," the Prince Kunala, son of Asoka, has his eyes torn out by order of his stepmother Tishya because he repulsed her advances; but even so he felt no hatred for her, wherefore his sight was miraculously restored, while she was burned to death by order of the king. This is a story of a solar figure, as son of the day, in his relation to a female personification of the night as assimilated to the underworld. But in the legend it is added that Kunala was blinded as the finishing stroke to his punishment for having in a former life put out the eyes of five hundred gazelles (for the stars), which he had caught in a net (for the night.—From Bur nouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme*, 2d ed., pp. 360 et seq.).

In the Old Testament there are several instances of blindness that appear to have been suggested by that of the solar god in old age, primarily at night. Israel becomes blind from age (Gen. xlviii. 10), as does Isaac (1 Sam. iii. 25). The solar hero Samson, near the close of his career, is blinded, bound, and imprisoned by the Philistines (as the forces of night and winter); his prayer being, in the Hebrew: "Remember me and strengthen me, yea, once more, O God (Elohim), and I will wreak vengeance for (or of) one of my two eyes on the Philistines" (Judges xvi. 21, 28; where the

A. V., like the Vulg. and Sept., incorrectly has "for my two eyes"). Some have supposed that the original Samson was a one-eyed god (see Carus, *Story of Samson*, p. 110); but the vengeance for which he prays may reasonably be referred to his solar eye that shall finally cause the destruction of the forces of night and winter.

Jehovah "opens the eyes of the blind," according to Psalm cxlvi. 8; but in the canonical Old Testament there is only one story of the miraculous cure of the blind, and in that Jehovah smites a whole army with blindness and subsequently restores its sight (2 Kings vi. 18-20; cf. story of Kai-Kaus and his army, cited above). The cure of the blindness of the sun-god appears in a highly developed form in the long story of Tobit and his son Tobias (mythic and verbal duplications), found in the Book of Tobit among the Old Testament Apocrypha. Tobit (for the old sun), whose wife was Anna (for the heaven or the moon), being unclean for seven days after burying a man at Nineveh, lay at night in the open air, and certain small birds "muted warm dung" into his open eyes, thus blinding him (Tobit ii. 10.—They are swallows in the Vulg., but swallows do not fly at night. It is quite probable that they represent the constellated Stymphalian birds, the Eagle, Swan, and Vulture—our Lyra—above Capricorn; in which sign the solar Tobit would therefore appear to have been blinded at the winter solstice). The young Tobias went on a journey accompanied by the archangel Raphael (*ibid.* iv, v), and when they reached the Tigris (apparently for the celestial Eridanus as perhaps connected with the Stream from Aquarius) a great fish leapt out of the water and would have devoured Tobias had it not been overcome by him. (It is probably Cetus, the constellated sea-monster of winter and night that swallowed Jonah.) The fish was eaten with the exception of the heart, liver, and gall; Raphael explaining that the gall cured blindness (*ibid.* vi. 1-8,—as was anciently believed of the galls of fishes and various animals—Pliny. *H. N.*, XXIX, 38; XXXII, 24; etc.). Proceeding to Ecbatana, Tobias married his kinswoman Sara (apparently for the earth-mother), who was loved by the demon Asmodeus (the Persian Aeschma deva, "the div of concupiscence,"—*Avesta*, "Vend.," XI, 26; etc.—apparently here as a figure of winter). This demon had killed Sara's seven former husbands (Tobit vi. 13, 14, etc.,—who perhaps represent the seven summer months of the Iranian *Bundahish*, XXV, 7); but Tobias burned the heart and liver of the fish in the marriage chamber and drove the demon into Egypt, where he was bound (Tobit viii. 3—Egypt being a common type of the night and underworld). Tobias finally returns to

Nineveh and sprinkles the gall of the fish on the eyes of Tobit, whereupon the white scales fall off (cf. Acts ix. 18) and his sight is restored (Tobit xi. 1-14,—probably at the spring equinox in Aries). The allusion to the white scales suggests that the disease known to the Greeks as *leukomata* (= whiteness, our cataract) was confused with the scaly *albugo*, for the cure of which latter the dung of hawks and doves was employed by the Greeks (Pliny, *H. N.*, XXIX, 38). In the "Epistle of Jeremias" (in Baruch vi. 37) it is said that the idols of the heathen cannot restore sight to a blind man (implying that only Jehovah can do so).

The one great Old Testament prophecy of miraculous cures that are to signalize the Messianic kingdom—including the restoration of the blind, lame, deaf, and dumb—is that of Isaiah xxxv (cf. xlii. 7, 16, 18-20, where opening blind eyes is given a figurative sense, as often elsewhere). The literal cure of the blind was certainly one of the miracles expected of the Messiah, in accordance with Isaiah xxxv. 5. Thus the Emperor Vespasian, who was recognized by some as the Messiah expected in his time (Tacitus, *Hist.*, V, 12; Suetonius, *Vesp.*, 4; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, VI, 5, 4), is said to have cured a blind man at Alexandria by sprinkling some of his saliva (i. e., spitting) on the latter's eyeballs in compliance with an admonition of the Egyptian Serapis, a god of miraculous cures (Tacit., *Hist.*, IV, 81; Sueton., *Vesp.*, 7). Human spittle, especially that of a fasting person, was anciently held efficacious in various diseases, chiefly those of the eyes (Pliny, *H. N.*, XXVIII, 7 and 22; *Bab. Talmud*, "Sanhedr.," f. 101, 102, etc.; "Vajikra Rabba," f. 175, 2, etc.); and in the nature mythos, as we have already seen from several texts, spittle represents rain and dew.

Jesus Christ is said to have cured many blind persons (Matt. xi. 5; xv. 30; xxi. 14; Luke vii. 21). Some have supposed that this was suggested by the Egyptian belief in the opening of the eyes of the deceased (and the restoration of the other parts of the body) in the world of the dead,—in which connection we may notice that it is Seb, the earth-god, who there opens the eyes of the deceased, etc.,—according to the *Book of the Dead*, XXVI (both Recensions). But in the stories of individual cures of the blind by Jesus there are various elements more or less apparently belonging to the nature mythos. In the canonical Gospels there are six such stories, which in the extant texts might appear to relate to as many distinct cases, whereas in all probability there were but two original Gospel stories, of each of which we now have three variants; and there can be little

doubt that both original stories are found in Mark, now generally recognized as the original New Testament Gospel in a corrupt form.

In Mark viii. 22-26, Jesus leads a blind man out of Bethsaida, "and having spit upon his eyes (as in the cure by Vespasian), having laid his hands upon him, he asked him if anything he beholds. And having looked up he (the man) said, I behold the men, for as trees I see them walking"—i. e., indistinctly, somewhat as the blind man in the Buddhist parable at first saw trees when cured, and as the blind man cured by Æsculapius dreamed he saw them; these trees perhaps having belonged originally to the forest of night and winter, in which the blind man meets the lame man in one of the Russian tales already cited. "Then again he laid his hands upon his eyes, and made him look up, and he was restored, and looked upon all mean clearly"—whereupon Jesus charged him to tell no one. This gradual restoration of sight, while the man looks up, corresponds to the waxing of the moon as it gradually faces the sun, so to speak; while Bethsaida (= Fishing-town) may have been suggested as the scene of the miracle because the moon belongs to the celestial sea,—or perhaps as a terrestrial representative of Pisces, the spring sign of the Fishes at the beginning of the Christian era, under which sign the birthday of the cosmic eyes may have been placed by some. In Matt. ix. 27-31, the story is widely varied; without definite localization; with nothing of the spittle, and with two men introduced as cured through their faith (probably for both sun and moon). Nevertheless the touching of the eyes by Jesus, and his charge to tell no one, are retained as in Mark. In John ix. 1-14, where the scene is laid at Jerusalem, we again have only one blind man, blind from birth (like the new moon,—and the afflicted one in the Buddhist parable; some of those cured by Æsculapius, etc.). He is a beggar (probably as belonging to winter, the season of nature's poverty), who is cured by Jesus with his spittle. But here Jesus "spat on the ground and made clay of the spittle, and applied the clay to the eyes of the blind man," and was asked "who sinned, this man (in a former life) or his parents, that he should be born blind?" (obviously referring to a reincarnation doctrine like that of the Hindus and Buddhists, already considered). John's blind man does not recover his sight until he has gone by command of Jesus and washed in the pool of Siloam, "which is interpreted Sent" (but probably signifies "flowing"). It appears to represent the eastern ocean in which the solar and lunar eyes are washed before rising,—the water in which Ra purifies himself to be in

possession of his strength in the eastern part of the heaven" (*Book of the Dead*, CXLV, 3, Saïte).

In Mark x. 46, 52, Jesus is on his way out of Jericho when he finds a blind beggar sitting by the roadside—like the blind Horus, inactive,—primarily for the sun of winter and night, secondarily for the moon). He was "a son of Timæus, Bartimæus" (Greek Timaios = worthy; Chaldee Timmai, and Bar-Timmai = Son of Timmai). "And he, casting away his garment (for the darkness of night), having leaped up (v. r., 'risen up.' like the sun and moon), he came to Jesus," who finally says, "Go, thy faith has healed thee; and immediately he received sight and followed Jesus on the way" (as the moon follows the sun and vice versa). Jericho (= Place of Fragrance), one of the garden spots of Palestine, was famous for its balsam (Balm of Gilead), a remedy for diseases of the eyes "and dimness of sight" (Strabo, XVI, 2, 41); whence the town was naturally chosen as the scene of this cure, which belongs primarily to the solar eye in spring. Jericho was also famous for its roses, and the desert is to "blossom as a rose" when the blind are restored in the prophecy of Isaiah xxxv. In Luke xviii. 35-43, the story reappears in substantially the same form as in Mark, except that the cure through faith takes place while Jesus is on his way *into* Jericho, with the names of the blind man and his father omitted. In Matt. xx. 29-34, we evidently have the same story as in Mark, with the scene on the way *out of* Jericho; but with two unnamed blind men cured (as before in Matt.).

In Acts ix. 8-18, Paul is miraculously stricken with blindness and cured after three days; while *ibid.* xiii. 11, Barjesus the sorcerer is similarly blinded, "not seeing the sun for a season," as Paul foretold. In Luke xxii. 64, Jesus is blindfolded near the close of his career; while in John xi. 35, "Jesus shed tears" (*ἐδακρυσεν*, a word nowhere else used in the New Testament), like the cosmic Ra as "the timid one who sheds tears," whose "form is that of the afflicted" (*Litany of Ra*, I, 29).

In the apocryphal Infancy of the Saviour (27, 28), a boy near death from a disease of the eyes was cured by being sprinkled with some of the water in which the infant Jesus had been washed; and another boy almost blind from the same disease was cured in the same way—both accounts probably having been suggested by the washing of the solar eye in the eastern ocean, in which, in another view, the sun-god himself is washed. In the Gospel of Thomas, those that censured the boy Jesus on account of his destructive miracles were stricken blind (first Greek and Latin forms, 5). In

the Acts of John, published by James in his *Apocrypha Anecdota*, it is said that Jesus, as seen by John, always had his eyes wide open, never at any time even winking,—evidently of solar or cosmic suggestion, like the eye or eyes of the Kabbalistic Macroprosopus and the Assyrian Merodach, already considered. The hare, a lunar symbol, was fabled to sleep with its eyes open (Plut., *Sym.*, IV, 5), and Horapollon says that the Egyptians indicated an opening by the picture of a hare because its eyes are always open (Horap., I, 26). The cat, another lunar symbol, is supposed to see in the dark and is sometimes said to sleep with one eye open. It was anciently believed that only the (solar) lion among quadrupeds was born with open eyes (Plut., *loc. cit.*), while the sharp-sighted animal *par excellence* was the lynx (personified as Lynkeus by the Greeks), of which wild fables were related (De Gubernatis, *Zoo. Myth.*, II, 54). On the other hand, Horapollon tells us that the Egyptians symbolized a blind man by a mole or shrew-mouse, which was supposed to be blind (Horap., II, 63; cf. Plut. *loc. cit.*). It was sacred to Buto (= Uatchit, the personified celestial eye), according to Herodotus (II, 67). In one Egyptian legend Uatchit took the form of a shrew-mouse to escape from Set (Typhon); but in another view the shrew-mouse was identified with the blind Horus (Budge, *Gods*, II, p. 370). As it burrows in the earth it is quite an appropriate symbol of the blind solar or lunar god in the underworld, etc.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE MILLENNIAL HOPE: A Phase of War-Time Thinking. By Shirley Jackson Case, Professor of Early Church History and New Testament Interpretation in the University of Chicago. The University of Chicago Press, 1918. Pp. vii, 253. Price, cloth, \$1.25.

A book occasioned by the war, which, however, should not give us the impression that it is of passing interest only, for we may be assured that the world's ills which kindle the "millennial hope" again and again in the heart of man shall not come to an abrupt end with the close of the present struggle. The volume before us is a war book only inasmuch as war, like any time of great distress, is liable to revive, in wider circles, a peculiar kind of fears and hopes which in ordinary times remain confined to religious fanatics, the so-called doctrine of pre-millenarianism, usually identified with the tenets of the Adventists, but individually held and preached by many popular evangelists. To combat these notions, and the passive pessimism which they engender regarding the world we live in, will hardly cease to be worth while until—are we permitted to say, until the real millennium shall arrive, the day when all of us shall be ready to seek salvation for mankind, to use Professor Case's own words,

not in that fond belief which "depicts in truly mythological fashion the coming of a day when God, Christ, and the angels will appear upon earth as realistically as ever Homer's gods descended from Mount Olympus" (p. 235), but in a "serious effort to secure the betterment of the world by means of popular education, social reforms, remedial legislation," etc. (p. 241) ?

The first part of the program Professor Case begins putting into practice in his book, on a limited scale, to be sure, but with due reference to anything that is to the point. In that lucid and vivid style which is the result of a complete mastery of the facts combined with true historical intuition, the author gives us a brief review of all the most cherished metaphysical aspirations of the race that may be said to have ultimately contributed to the formation of Christian doctrines. Egyptian, Babylonian, Persian, Greek, and Roman views as to the final destiny of the world are discussed (Chap. I), to be followed by a more detailed presentation of the "Hebrew and Jewish Hopes" (Chap. II), thus leading up to early Christian and later Christian beliefs in the matter (Chaps. III and IV), which implies an outline of the origin and early growth of Christianity as such. The last chapter, "Modern Estimate of Millennial Hopes," draws the author's conclusions. With the exception of this, which naturally maintains a more or less controversial attitude, the method employed by the author is purely historical, which, of course, does not exclude the possibility of a personal bias. Anybody, however, who is not barricaded behind an orthodoxy of the Billy Sunday type will at least come to realize in an *ad oculos* demonstration, as it were, what the "historical method" in Biblical matters is, and what it can do for him. Incidentally he may discover that a guide to both the Old and the New Testament, including their Apocryphal literature, is being put in his hands as attractive and reliable as could probably be prepared in a single little volume. It is this side of the book which will establish its value also in the eyes of those who may look upon the very discussion of pre-millennial hopes as an anachronism. It seems only fair to state this because, unfortunately, books of this kind hardly ever reach the circles which need them most, and for whom they are really intended. Under these circumstances, the low price fixed by the publishers certainly deserves commendation. A "Selected Bibliography" (six pages) affords ample opportunity for further study. Paper and binding are of high quality. Of typographical errors hardly any have been noticed.

BACK TO THE REPUBLIC. By *Harry F. Atwood*. Chicago: Laird and Lee, 1918. Pp. 154. Price \$1.00 net.

The author of this book believes in a republic, especially a republic such as ours was originally intended to be. He says (p. 15) :

"In 1788 a group of real statesmen of great physical vigor, mental acumen, thorough knowledge, practical wisdom, far-sighted vision and moral courage assembled in Philadelphia and after months of discussion and deliberation produced the Constitution which provided for the *republic* of the United States of America. These men were equal to the opportunity, rose to the occasion, and builded better than they knew; for they established the *golden mean* and evolved the *standard* form of government."

The four essential elements of a republic are given as follows (p. 29) :

"(1) An *executive* and (2) a *legislative* body, who, working together in a representative capacity, have all power of appointment, all power of legislation, all power to raise revenues and appropriate expenditures, and are required to

create (3) a *judiciary* to pass upon the justice and legality of their governmental acts and to recognize (4) certain inherent *individual rights*." And the author finds: "Take away any one or more of those four elements and you are drifting into autocracy. Add one or more to those four elements and you are drifting into democracy."

To elucidate further just how he would define a true republic, he gives the following "trinity classifications" (p. 37) :

EXTREME	GOLDEN MEAN	EXTREME
Autocracy	REPUBLIC	Democracy
Tyrants	Statesmen	Demagogues
Bondage	Liberty	License
Oppression	Reason	Impulse
Arbitrariness	Arbitration	Agitation
Submission	Contentment	Discontent
Coercion	Justice	Anarchy
Reaction	Progress	Chaos
Feudalism	Property rights	Socialism

In conclusion the reader is called upon to "exert every effort and utilize every legitimate influence to assure a *republic* as the form of government" under which he intends to live (p. 125) ; for the author regards his principles as applicable anywhere on the globe, a "World Republic" to be formed of all the several "United States" that will come into being, including those of Africa. Thus the concert of nations would at last work in complete peace and harmony, like an immense clockwork. But human society is no clockwork.

However, we should recommend the book as a primer of political thinking for the use of the young and also large parts of our foreign population.

THE STORY OF BIBLE TRANSLATION. By *Max L. Margolis*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1917.

Professor Margolis, general editor of *The Holy Scriptures According to the Masoretic Text, A New Translation*, has accompanied this epoch-making work by a tasty little volume in which he relates the story of the growth of the Hebrew Scriptures and chronicles the various efforts from the earliest times down to the present to bring the Scriptures before his people in their various environments, culminating in the new translation into the English language, which, unless all signs fail, is to become the current speech of the majority of the children of Israel. "The Hebrew Torah became early unintelligible through the gradual substitution for the early tongue of Aramaic, which differs from Hebrew as much as High German differs from Low German or Dutch. Hence the necessity, first for marginal notes, the *masorah*, and later for *targums*, or interpretations after the Babylonian Captivity and later wherever the Jews were carried or driven. Thus the Septuagint arose, considered by Philo and his Alexandrian co-religionists as a work of inspired men, while the Palestinian Rabbis considered the day of the completion of that labor as one of the most unfortunate in Israel's history, seeing that the Torah could never be adequately translated." However all Jews "owe a debt of gratitude to the Christian Church, which, having received the Greek Scriptures at the hands of the Greek-speaking Jews of the Empire, with pious zeal kept them intact, and rescued from oblivion literary records of near-scriptural rank," as for example the First Book of the Maccabees.

Saadya (892-942), poet, philosopher and theologian, must be mentioned for his translation into Arabic: All the early Christian texts and translations are briefly described and whatever Jewish scholars assisted with their labors noted. As in a nutshell the whole stupendous history of the sacred labors is compressed into readable form, illustrated by interesting pictures of various codices.

The Rev. William Norman Guthrie has published *The Gospel of Osiris*, "being an epic cento and paraphrase of ancient fragments," (New York, Brentano's, 1916), in which he presents the story of ancient Egyptian mythology, how Osar (which is another name for Osiris) is born of Nut, the sky-goddess, and Seb, the earth-god. How Anpu does not acknowledge his father Suti, and Suti turns traitor to Osar. Ra is the god of the sun and keeps the secret of his holy name, but Isis gains possession of it with the intention of saving her unborn son in case of danger. Osar becomes a victim of his hostile brother, and Isis searches for his body and finally finds it. Then Heru (Horus), the child-god, is born and grows up in spite of the persecution of his enemy. Growing to manhood, he begins his fight with Suti, his father's murderer and vanquishes him. Finally judgment is pronounced over Suti and Osar is vindicated.

These stories are related in unrhymed verse in poetical diction and represent the original spirit of the Egyptian stories. Professor Breasted, an Egyptologist of the University of Chicago, read the manuscript before publication and says of the author:

"In such a representation the subjective element is unavoidable, I suppose. Your representation of the sting from which Ra suffered, as doubt in the mind of the goddess, is a very fine touch, but of course it unhappily remains subjective and incapable of demonstration....I wish your poem a hearty *bon voyage*."

Mr. Guthrie believes in the kinship of religion, and so he sees a deeper meaning in the Biblical word "Out of Egypt have I called my son," by finding the Christian traces in the stories of ancient Egyptian mythology. He says in the foreword:

"'Out of Egypt have I called my son.' Was it not there that Plato married Moses in some mystic way, so that Philo the Jew dazzled the devout of cosmopolitan culture and aspiration with that theory of the *logos*, of the Word of God, which made it possible for the reputed writings of St. John and for the letters of St. Paul to work out a theory of the Christ in cosmic terms, which might safely obscure and leave out of view the merely racial or even narrowly national hopes of a Messiah? Jesus, as the Word of God, was called out of Egypt then to his throne of glory, whence he might exercise a veritable world-dominion as no Cæsar ever dreamed.

"And later it would seem that in Egypt we had the first truly Christian people, without record of an initial struggle between heathenry and the Gospel. The blessed Mary had replaced Isis, the little babe Jesus had replaced Horus, the passion of Christ had superseded the suffering and dying of Osiris, the Christian cross had been set up instead of the 'Tet' or fourfold cross with flail and crook in right and left, and Christ, called to the judgment of the dead, fulfilled all the functions of the righteous judge and the rewarder of the holy."

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Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea

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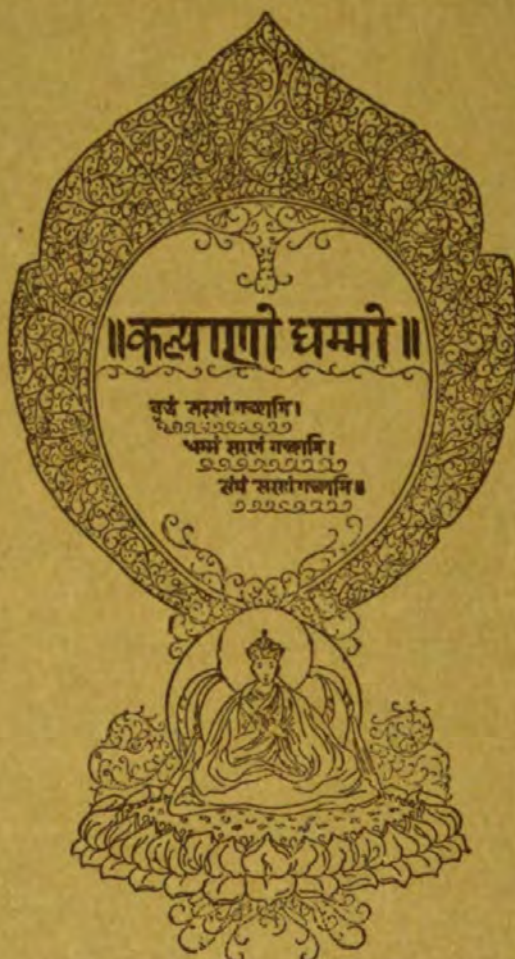
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JA-LUO WARRIORS, WITH FEATHER HEAD-DRESS, SHIELDS,
AND SPEARS.

Kavirondo, East Africa. (Photo by Mr. C. W. Hobley, M. Inst. C. E.,
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Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTIONARY DRAMA.

BY VICTOR S. YARROS.

AS intelligent observers are aware, the world has been witnessing a dramatic "race between war and revolution" in several countries. The war is practically over, but the revolution is far from having been liquidated. As the aftermath of the great and tragic war we have many grave and complex problems that may give our statesmen and jurists more trouble than they have apparently bargained for. The mere setting up of small and restless nationalities in the independent or "sovereign" business of government is a holiday task beside the infinitely more difficult task of insuring reasonable harmony among them and preventing them from picking quarrels with more powerful neighbors. Small, ambitious nations can become big nuisances. Federation, union for large purposes, cooperation in the interest of efficiency and economy, with ample cultural autonomy for constituent units, would appear to be the only real solution of the many national and racial problems that the war has left us as its heritage.

That the minds of sober students and earnest informed thinkers would naturally turn toward this solution, can hardly be doubted. The lessons of history, assuredly, are too plain to be misunderstood. There is no progress in disunion, disintegration, multiplication of weak, insecure states. There are no advantages to true civilization in reversion to a dead past. Even a League of Nations formed on the most liberal lines would afford no guaranty of peace and security were the newly liberated nationalities to remain severally independent, jealous of one another, walled in and legally isolated in a commercial sense. As Immanuel Kant pointed out long ago, a true League of Nations implies, among other things, complete

freedom of trade among the associated nations. Tariffs, and especially preferential tariffs, are sources of irritation and friction, and a multiplication of independent states necessarily involves a multiplication of tariff barriers and customs houses.

These ideas, to repeat, would meet with little resistance from men of vision and understanding if the world situation were not so befogged and if confusion were not made worse confounded by the revolutionary outbreaks and disturbances.

Peace has to be made, not with stable and duly constituted governments, but, in some cases at least, with fragile, unrepresentative pseudo-governmental organizations—accidents of the hour, fruits of anarchy and chaos.

Furthermore, the world finds itself in the midst not merely of political, but of social, economic and intellectual upheavals. No wonder pessimism is said to reign in high circles, despite the rather sudden ending of the war.

Now, Russia was the first of the great powers to stop fighting, sue for peace and embark upon a colossal "social" experiment. Her internal troubles and trials since the first of the two revolutions of 1917 have perplexed the Western world more deeply than those of any other country. Many have frankly "given Russia up," saying that her "psychology" is bizarre and utterly incomprehensible to a non-Slav mind. But we have to understand Russia—especially we Americans, who are to be called on to aid her materially and possibly give her sympathetic guidance as well.

In point of fact, the several acts of the Russian drama are not very difficult to interpret in the light of Russian conditions—physical, political, moral, and historical. Science bids us look for "simple explanations," particularly where human conduct is concerned. This article is an attempt to interpret the Russian revolution and its sequel without bias, partisanship or passion, and incidentally to throw light on the question of our duty and opportunity in Russia.

1. *The Overthrow of Czarism.*

All Russian writers of note agree that the revolution of March, 1917, was truly national, spontaneous and popular. For the first time Russians of all schools and factions found themselves "unanimous." Autocracy had committed suicide. The old regime was bankrupt, and there were none to defend it or plead for a new lease of life for it. Even the peasant millions who had venerated the "White Czar," the "little father," and had long considered him to

be their sincere if impotent protector, were reconciled to the abdication of the House of Romanov and to the establishment of a republic. Famine, cold, misery, staggering losses in the war—losses attributed not to the ordinary fortunes of war, but to incompetence, corruption, selfishness, pettiness, and actual treachery in the Russian bureaucracy and cabinet—had thoroughly cured even the illiterate peasant of his affection for the autocrat. The army welcomed the revolution. It was weary of butchery and slaughter. Too often had it had to oppose with bare breasts and arms the irresistible advance of disciplined, perfectly equipped and ably led enemy legions. The army knew that Russia could not continue to play the part that had been assigned to her. She had made terrific sacrifices and had reached the breaking point. An agricultural empire, with an illiterate people, undeveloped “pigmy” industries, a small and ignorant middle class, inadequate transportation facilities, empty arsenals, how could Russia stay longer in a war that taxed to the utmost all the technical, industrial and scientific resources of the twentieth century?

The revolution, then, came because Russia needed and demanded peace and bread. The masses of the people were not interested in mere politics: as has well been said, the Russian people do not “think politically, but economically.” The first provisional government was expected to grant the people the blessings the czar had been unable to give—peace and bread. It was, however, unequal to the situation. It lacked moral authority. It was too conservative and moderate for the period. It had not the courage to inform its foreign allies in positive terms that Russia was practically out of the war and that the renewed “offensive” expected of her was impossible.

The first provisional government was a government of gentlemen, of cultivated and westernized men, of professors, diplomats and administrators. The workmen, the soldiers, the sailors, and the peasants in the villages were not in the mood to listen to the gospel which this government preached,—the gospel of patience, of moderation, of sweet reasonableness, of loyalty to allies, of strict observance of covenants that had been made by the czar. They insisted on immediate relief and reform. The provisional government undertook many admirable things, but it could not give the people peace or bread. It begged for time, and begged in vain. The real power was in the hands of the militant, mercurial committees of soldiers, sailors and workmen, and these committees distrusted the provisional government and hampered it in every

direction. They soon made the position of the government untenable, and it had to resign. It had to make way for a more radical and more representative government.

2. The Kerensky Cabinets.

After the fall of the Lvov government the central council of soldiers' and workmen's delegates had the opportunity to take the reins of government into its own hands. It hesitated and declined. It professed its readiness to support another coalition cabinet and work with it so far as it might approve of its policies. Kerensky was the logical choice for premier in a new cabinet. He was a socialist, a popular orator, a favorite with the trade unions, a former agitator against autocracy. Even moderates urged him to take the premiership. He was not a man of action or of mental vigor. He was not a statesman or an administrator. But he had personal magnetism, and it was hoped that he would by persuasive oratory and tactful private negotiations manage to induce socialists, individualist radicals and liberals to work together amicably and preserve a semblance of discipline and order in the army and in the country.

Kerensky was obliged to make many successive changes in his cabinet. He sought to placate the extremists without alienating the moderates. He played the ungrateful role—doubly ungrateful in Russia, where compromise is treated as sin—of opportunist and Fabian. His chief duty was to pave the way for a constituent assembly. He and his associates did not feel that they had any legal or moral right to settle momentous, knotty and serious questions—least of all the question of land tenure. They knew the peasants' attitude toward the land question. They knew that immediate expropriation of landlords without compensation was a popular doctrine, and that this doctrine was being disseminated by a section of the Social Democratic party of Russia—the Bolsheviks (who have become so notorious since). But they would not or could not use force against these agitators—even when some of the latter were openly accused of accepting enemy money and carrying on propaganda that happened for the moment to suit enemy purposes. The Kerensky government argued that free speech and free assembly were too sacred and inviolable to the revolution to be infringed upon even in a critical and anxious hour. They were determined to be consistent and logical. They would not do the cruel things which they had condemned the czar for doing. The agitation they

would not, and perhaps could not, check, the agitation of the extremists who talked to the peasants and soldiers in terms they could understand, finally proved to be the undoing of the Kerensky government. It fell because it was too conservative for the left and too radical for the rightist parties. It fell because it was feeble, uncertain, divided against itself, and practically impotent. Like its predecessor, it had failed to give the masses either peace or bread. It had failed to summon a constituent assembly, and it had failed to impress the Allies with the desirability of encouraging the movement for "a negotiated peace," of promoting inter-belligerent conferences of radicals, laborites and socialists, and formulating definite peace terms. Kerensky was not as frank with the Allies as he might have been, and it is doubtful whether they ever fully understood the Russian situation before the victory of Bolshevism. On the other hand there is reason to think that the Allies resisted unpleasant explanations and shrank from looking the facts in the face so far as Russia was concerned. They thought that a Kornilov, or another stalwart patriot and soldier, could suppress revolutionary pacifism and reestablish the eastern front. They stressed Kerensky's weakness too much, and could not bring themselves to believe that elemental forces, beyond the control of any "strong man," had been unchained and let loose in Russia. They mistook a mass movement for an insignificant revolt. They indicted individuals for acts or omissions which, at the time and in the circumstances that existed, could not possibly have been avoided. Russia after the revolution was out of the war and intended to stay out. Even the Cossacks refused to support a pro-Ally, pro-Patriotic movement.

3. The Bolshevik Dictatorship.

Lenin, Trotzky and their associates—none of them "workmen"—had little difficulty in wresting power from the Kerensky government. They did not lead the masses—they followed them; they voiced the people's insistent demands for peace, bread and land. They had audacity and the courage of their opinions. They were Social Democrats, followers of Karl Marx, and they subscribed to the economic interpretation of history, or "historic materialism." They had no respect for what they called "bourgeois shibboleths." They had no interest in political ideals and cared little about mere forms of government. Religion and morality meant nothing to them; the social revolution would bring forth its own religion and morality. They believed in the gospel of the Communist Manifesto, did not flinch from expropriation and confiscation of property, and were

prepared to use any means that might prove to be necessary to the realization of their supreme end.

Their first duty, as they rightly enough conceived it, was to end the war and give Russia the opportunity of turning to internal problems and revolutionary reforms. They did not *prefer* a separate peace; they served what to them seemed quite sufficient notice on the Allies that a general peace must be made forthwith on the basis of the Soviet formula, "No annexations; no indemnities; self-determination." They gave the Allies time, while warning them repeatedly that Russia might be compelled to desert them and conclude a separate peace.

They expected that the German Socialists and trade unionists would come to their aid in the final phase of the peace negotiations and force the Berlin government and the German high command to grant Russia fair and reasonable terms. They did much to shape and influence labor sentiment in Germany and Austria-Hungary, and they expected to reap immediately the fruits of their bold and thrilling ideas. They thought they had so thoroughly prepared the soil of Europe for revolution that even the German kaiser and his generals would not dare propose to Russia's Socialist government oppressive and humiliating terms.

When they finally signed the Brest-Litovsk treaty they did so because the anticipated help was not forthcoming and because they felt sure that revolution in Western Europe was only delayed. They signed a treaty that, they said, gave them a breathing spell, a chance to organize a "red" army, and the infinitely more important opportunity of abolishing the old economic order and establishing genuine socialism in what remained of the Russian empire. They candidly said that they could afford to give up Poland, the Ukraine, the Baltic provinces, and much more besides, for an uncertain period, provided they were left free to make their historic experiment in Marxian socialism in the interior of Great Russia.

The Bolshevik leaders called their successful rebellion against Kerensky and his coalition cabinet "the social revolution." They planned to expropriate the expropriators, to seize the land, the mines, the banks, the factories and the other capitalistic establishments, and to transfer these to the people. They did not actually believe that the peasant and proletarian masses were "conscious Socialists," converts to Marxian socialism; but they believed that the people's sufferings and discontent, and the peasants' land hunger, would enable them to take advantage of the situation. They meant, in short, to use the irresistible demand for peace and bread as a

stalking horse for the introduction of the type of Socialism they had long advocated and dreamed of.

But what of the middle classes, of the non-socialist parties and groups, of the milder socialists who were opposed to confiscation, terror, and repudiation of national debts? Would these surrender, or fight Bolshevism?

The answer was—*the dictatorship of the proletariat*. Lenin and Trotzky declared that all the counter-revolutionaries, whether noble, bourgeois or former foes of the czar and his regime, would be ruthlessly suppressed. The rule of the people was the goal in view; but the rule of the urban proletariat, led by a few Marxian socialist intellectuals, was *the indispensable preliminary stage*. History justified the dictatorship, they claimed. Revolutions cannot be peaceful or beatific. Sentimentalists, rhetoricians, academics, fair-weather radicals were as dangerous to them as the reactionary Bourbons. All enemies must be crushed. There could be no compromise with weak-kneed reformers. Past services and claims must be treated as negligible factors. The success of the social revolution must not be jeopardized by ideology or weak concessions to "bourgeois virtues." Russia was the pioneer, the pathfinder, and at any cost must achieve the great objective. The other nations would follow in her footsteps. Russia was not perhaps quite ready for socialism, but there are such things as "leaps" in the history of human progress. The minority was ready for the leap, and once made, there could be no turning back. The majority would *subsequently* be educated and converted.

The group of masterful men that held these beliefs assumed power with the support of armed guards, embattled urban workmen, and hosts of disinherited and vindictive peasants who had not forgotten the cruelties of the *ancien régime*, the burdens of the czar's tax system, the exactions of the corrupt officials and the tyrannical agents of the secret police. The soviets throughout Great Russia gravitated toward Bolshevism, for it meant little, if any, interference with them and immediate seizure of the land that belonged to nobles, capitalists, the church or the crown. A reign of terror ensued. Every "bourgeois" was under suspicion. How many men, women, and children the Bolshevik regime has slain or starved to death, the world does not yet know. But that anarchy and civil war have held sway throughout Russia, and that Bolshevik troops have had to fight whole sections of the dismembered empire, are notorious facts.

4. *The Bolshevik Failure—the Causes.*

At this writing the Bolshevik government is still nominally in the saddle, but its collapse is foreseen and generally anticipated. Even Lenin tacitly admits that his great adventure is likely to end in smoke. He has not brought internal peace to Russia. He has not restored normal conditions. He has not averted famine and has not started the wheels of industry. The "leap" has not been made. Ukases and decrees on paper are not enough to carry a people over a chasm and settle them securely under a new system of laws and institutions.

Why Lenin and Trotzky have failed, and were bound to fail, may be explained in a few words. In the first place, they did not give the people the external peace they had promised. The treaty of Brest-Litovsk angered many Russians, who continued to regard Germany as an enemy. Moreover, it brought them the Czecho-Slovak complications and, eventually, intervention by the Allies and the United States.

In the second place, the Bolshevik government did not bring internal peace, concord and rehabilitation. Province after province, district and center after district and center seceded, repudiated the Lenin regime. Some districts set up other governments and opened negotiations with the Allies. Russian exiles in Europe and America carried on active propaganda against Bolshevism and Soviet rule, denouncing them as tyrannical beyond anything ever attempted by the czar, utterly anti-democratic and hopelessly incompetent and "crazy." In the parts of Russia which the Bolshevik executive claimed to control and govern every former landlord, including the richer peasants, every former owner of property, every "bourgeois," and nearly every non-socialist intellectual was known to be bitterly anti-Bolshevik at heart. Thousands of trained men went on a strike and declined to work under the mediocre or ignorant appointees of the Bolshevik soviets. This led to reprisals, to "pogroms" directed against the intellectuals. Russia could not resume normal life without the energetic and earnest aid of every intelligent son and daughter. True, these educated and trained men and women numerically constitute an insignificant element of the whole population; still, as Lenin has admitted, Russia cannot produce, trade, exchange, transport, finance her industries and commerce without this small element. If it is striking against and boycotting Bolshevik rule, that rule must collapse.

And what after such a collapse? The answer of anti-Bolshevik Russians of all schools and parties is that the Bolshevik ministry must be replaced by a truly national, representative government, and that a constituent assembly should be convoked without further delay to give Russia a stable and genuinely democratic government. This is the alternative program. A constituent assembly elected under a system of universal, equal and secret suffrage would have the authority to speak for Russia and to act for her. No dictator has such authority, no matter how benevolent and altruistic and self-sacrificing he may be—or imagine himself to be.

5. *Is the Soviet System "Superior"?*

There are, however, men and women in England and America who assert that the Bolsheviks are more democratic than their opponents; that they have evolved a higher form or type of popular government; that the attacks on them betray narrow, provincial, prejudiced minds, and that, even if they fail, the future is bound to vindicate them. It is asserted that Europe and America have crude, outworn, unjust systems of government, while Bolshevism has blazed the way to a fairer and nobler form. Let us examine these claims. Let us ask just on what basis of fact or principle they rest. What is the essence of the Soviet form of government?

Let Lenin himself, the acknowledged intellectual leader of Bolshevism, answer this query. In an elaborate and powerful address which he delivered at Moscow some months ago Lenin said on this crucial point:

"We introduced and firmly established the Soviet republic—a new type of state—ininitely higher and more democratic than the best of the bourgeois-parliamentary republics. We established the dictatorship of the proletariat, supported by the poorest peasantry, and have inaugurated a comprehensively planned system of socialist reform."

These two sentences, if they mean anything, mean that a dictatorship of the city workers supported by the poorest peasants is infinitely higher and more democratic than a republic based on universal, equal and secret suffrage, on the doctrine of majority rule arrived at by free and tolerant discussion. What reasonable radical can subscribe to this notion?

In the same address Lenin continues, more explicitly:

"The Socialist character of the Soviet democracy consists first in this: that the electorate comprises the toiling and exploited masses; *the bourgeoisie is excluded*. Secondly in this: that all

bureaucratic formalities and limitations of elections are done away with; that the masses themselves determine the order and time of elections and with complete freedom of call. Thirdly, that the best possible mass organization of the vanguard of the toilers—of the industrial proletariat—is formed, enabling them to direct the exploited masses, to attract them to active participation in political life, to train them politically through their own experience; that in this way a beginning is made, for the first time, to get actually the whole population to learn how to manage and begin managing.”

In other words, the Soviet form of democracy is higher and better because it disfranchises the middle class, because it disfranchises the richer peasant who shares the sentiments of the middle class, and because it puts supreme control in the hands of the city workers. Further, the Soviet form is higher and better because it dispenses with all formalities in elections and enables a mass meeting, or a tyrannical chairman pounding a gavel, to declare this or that group of persons elected to this or that set of offices. Secrecy, uniformity, precautions against fraud and force in elections are “bourgeois” fancies, and their abandonment insures more certain and direct rule by the people!

Of course, all this is grotesquely absurd. Yet there are self-styled radicals and progressives who extol the Soviet type of “democracy” and ask us to copy it, or at least devoutly worship it as an ideal, if we are too imperfect to realize it.

The Soviet form of government is neither democratic nor rational. It is government by accidental groups, by disorderly assemblies, by haphazard arrangements. It is government by usurpers and pretenders who may or may not choose to obey a dictatorship of the so-called proletariat, which in turn is led by a small group of remorseless non-proletarian dogmatists and social bigots.

Some superficial apologists for the Lenin regime find some hidden beauties in the fact that the Soviet government, whether local, provincial or central, is a government of people who “work together” instead of a government of people who happen to live in a given area or who think alike! Now there may be some advantage in basing representation on occupation, profession, calling, instead of on mere population. But what has this to do with the disfranchisement of those who “work together” as “richer peasants,” or as “bourgeois,” or as non-socialist intellectuals? And what happens when those who work together disagree and think separately? In point of fact, the Lenin form of Soviet government is a despotic government of certain people who think alike and who disfranchise

and suppress all who venture to differ with them and to have other ideas of social and economic organization. It is not a higher form of democracy, but a lower form of tyranny.

Russia had such institutions as the Mir—the village commune—the Zemstvo, and the city electorate to build on. The czar's suffrage acts were illiberal and undemocratic, and the revolution extended and popularized them. Proportional representation was adopted to protect minorities. Local, provincial and national institutions could have been firmly planted on the thoroughly democratized suffrage, and the majority would have ruled within constitutional limitations. The Bolshevik faction destroyed democracy, scornfully rejected majority rule, and established a dictatorship of a small class in the name of "the social revolution" that was to bring forth a perfect democracy. The experiment was as indefensible theoretically as it was futile, needless and impossible practically. In Russia, under a democratic government, the workers and peasants would have controlled any assembly, any parliamentary body. The land problem, the credit problem, the problem of industrial control, would have been solved conformably to the wishes of the great majority—workers and peasants. The minority, the bourgeoisie and the intellectuals would have been outvoted on every definite issue. But—they would have had the rights of freemen—the right to express opinions, to agitate and educate, to seek to influence and win over the majority. They would have had their day in the court of public opinion. They would have had no ground for complaint. As it is, they are deprived of all political rights, all voice in government, simply because they might have proved too persuasive, too eloquent, too successful in debate. Their "side" was not wanted. They could not be permitted to talk or to vote. The people must follow the proletariat vanguard and Lenin. They cannot be allowed to choose. And all this is "higher democracy"!

These bedlamite ideas have happily been assessed in Germany and Austria at their true value. The Social Democrats of Western Europe have fortunately little sympathy with Bolshevism and have regarded Russia's recent experiences as warnings or deterrent examples. The principles of democracy and liberty are rightly understood in the radical circles of Germany and Austria, and the danger of Bolshevism in those countries was greatly exaggerated after the abdication of the autocrats and the establishment of a provisional Socialist government. Russia must learn from Europe and America what democracy is. She is learning now. She is not lost.

RELIGION AND DEMOCRACY.¹

BY WILLIAM ALBERT NOYES.

AS our President expressed it, "America is joined with other nations in fighting *to make the world safe for democracy*." A little more than fifty years ago our greatest statesman said that we were fighting in a not altogether dissimilar conflict in order that "government of the people, by the people, for the people shall not perish from the earth." Much as Lincoln hated slavery he saw in the Civil War issues of vastly greater importance than the question of freedom for the slaves.

Long before the conflict between autocracy and democracy led to this dreadful war humanity began an age-long contest between authority and freedom in matters of religious belief. The two contests have often been inextricably interwoven in the political history of the world. To-day the political and religious conflicts are largely separated, but the fundamental issues at the basis of each are so closely related that a clear philosophy in religious belief must help toward a true philosophy of government. This is, in part, my excuse for writing on a subject about which scientific men are either very reticent, or speak only among a selected group of men who are supposed to share beliefs very like their own.

In any field of knowledge we can understand the present only in the light of the past and at the risk of repeating things which are familiar to every one I wish to sketch briefly the development of religious beliefs in the world.

Primitive man was very much at the mercy of his environment. He was surrounded by hidden, mysterious forces which he could not understand. Under these conditions a belief became current that the objects of nature are peopled with a myriad of unseen spirits who live a life of their own and who often interfere, sometimes benevolently, sometimes malevolently, in human affairs. A natural sequence was the development of religious rites of various kinds designed to propitiate the unseen inhabitants of the invisible world. Among the people of the eastern shores of the Mediterranean, where our own religious beliefs had their origin, these rites had assumed the dreadful form of human sacrifice. Some four or

¹ The following paper was first delivered as an address before the Philosophical Club of the University of Illinois, December 8, 1917.

five thousand years ago a man by the name of Abraham conceived the idea that such sacrifices were not necessary and that an animal might take the place of the human victim. A later, uncritical age read back into the religious beliefs of Abraham the conceptions which came through many centuries of later development, but we have no good reason for thinking that he was so far in advance of his age. Knowledge of religious truth has come exactly as knowledge of other truth—by slow, gradual development guided by leaders who often grasp a single and always a partial truth—as this of Abraham's has proved to be.

Later, the descendants of Abraham made their way to Egypt, at first under favorable circumstances, but by a change of political relations they were brought into bondage. According to the tradition, which doubtless has a basis of truth, one of their children was brought up in a king's household and was instructed in all the secret knowledge of the priestly cult. It seems certain that he learned from the priests the notion of a single supreme Deity far above all others—a belief somewhat related to the belief in Zeus among the Greeks or in Jupiter among the Romans, but more closely allied to the monotheistic faith of later Judaism. This belief in Egypt was kept for the chosen few. There is some reason for thinking that Moses imparted the belief clearly only to the priests. In any case, the belief in many gods was prevalent among the Jews for centuries after this time. During these centuries, there grew up an elaborate ritual which was fostered by the priestly caste. There are some who would have us think that the priests were entirely selfish and hypocritical—that they continued the ritual because they were supported by the people in a position of authority and received for themselves a part of the sacrifices offered. There is some truth in this point of view—some truth, even in a similar view of the priests and pastors of the nineteenth century—but it is only a very partial and sordid truth. It was an uncritical age and each generation of priests accepted the beliefs handed down to them, and these beliefs grew by insensible accretions. They were the intellectual leaders of their time and they had some vague notion, at least, of that which we can see so clearly to-day—that they were keeping alive beliefs which, in spite of all the mixture of error and evil, have proved of vastly greater importance to the world than anything else that has come to us from their nation. Their God was still, practically, only a national god, more or less capricious and jealous of his rights, as were all the rulers of that day, intensely interested in the national life and supremacy of the Jews but quite oblivious of

the rights of other nations—a point of view which has not altogether disappeared from the world. But, with all that, there grew among the Jews, as nowhere else in the world, a belief in a “Power not ourselves that makes for righteousness”—a Power which is just to the poor and needy as well as to the rich and powerful and with which all must ally themselves, if they are not to be destroyed,—a thought almost identical with the scientific doctrine that an individual or a race must be in harmony with its environment if it is to survive.

After a short period of national glory, perhaps somewhat exaggerated in their own records, the Jews lost their independence, and many of them were carried away and scattered in other lands. After a time a few intensely religious men and women, who would not allow themselves to be absorbed among the other nations and who believed that their God could manifest his full power only at Jerusalem, returned to their old home. These fervent souls had sloughed off almost the last remnant of belief in other gods, and there was no longer any trouble from idolatry. So severe was their belief that sculpture was impossible among them. They still retained their ritual, but there appeared among them the prophets who could say with Micah, “What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justly, and to love mercy and to walk humbly with thy God?” Less than two centuries before the Christian era desperate attempts were made by their rulers to stamp out the Jewish faith. But the fierce, fanatical zeal of the Maccabees and others saved their faith and also some semblance of political life, until Jerusalem was destroyed by Titus. The history of the Maccabees is found in the Apocrypha, and it is a great pity that the makers of our canon robbed us of those books.

Nearly nineteen hundred years ago a young man, not yet thirty, gathered together in his mind the conceptions of a Supreme Power always present in the world, which had been growing among the Jews through centuries.—a Power sometimes severe in its justice, but also tender and kind as a Father. He felt himself to be in intimate personal relationship with this Power which pervades the universe. He said, “My Father and I are one”—and he considered it of supreme importance that every one should bring himself into intimate accord with this Power which dwells in the world and which he called God. He seems to have accepted without question the prevalent view of the supernatural origin of the so-called Mosaic law, and he conformed to the ordinary religious ritual of his time, but he saw more clearly than any one before him that such a Power

as he conceived was not interested in external forms. He said, "The Kingdom of God is within you." He pointed out that the fundamental purpose in one's life is of more importance than anything else. "Out of the heart are the issues of life." His practical test of accord with the Supreme Power was not in the performance of any ritual, or in any external forms which were supposed at that time to be essential in serving God, but in our relation to others. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." He delighted in the paradox, "He that saveth his life shall lose it." He who puts first in his life acquisition will lose the very thing for which he seeks—happiness is not to be found in that way. "He that loseth his life for my sake and the Gospel's shall save it." He identified himself here with the Supreme Power of which he considered himself a part—he who strives with his whole soul to bring himself into accord with that Supreme Power by service to others, as that Power serves others, will attain to the only sort of life that is satisfying and worth while. He is greatest in the Kingdom of God. The greatest men of the world are not those who seek wealth or fame or advancement for themselves but those who have done great things for others.

He did not commend the life of the ascetic or recluse but said, "I am come that they may have life and may have it abundantly."

He was tempted at one time to try to form a temporal kingdom and bring back his people to their ancient glory. He may have seen that such a course was impossible of success, or he may have seen that it could not lead to the triumph of those ideas which were dearer to him than his life. In any case, he rejected that course of action.

It was inevitable that he should soon find himself in bitter opposition to the religious leaders of his nation and that he should denounce in unmeasured terms the false god whom they presented to the people. Some one has said recently that he killed the Jewish god. But it was a part of his greatness that he accepted the terminology and in a large measure the thought of his time and built on what he found instead of tearing it down and endeavoring to start new.

After three short years of teaching there came the supreme test. Opposition became so bitter that if he continued to speak openly in Jerusalem he must face death at the hands of the Jews. He might, doubtless, have withdrawn to lead an obscure, quiet life among his friends in Galilee, but that would have meant defeat and failure in that which he had set himself to do. He had the insight to see

that if, instead of this, he should go forward to his death this culmination of his life would give a power to his teaching that could be secured in no other way. He believed most ardently in a future life, though the Jews of his time were far from agreed upon that question. This belief must, undoubtedly, have played an important part in his final decision. He carried his purpose through, though he found the way at the end exceedingly bitter and hard and almost his last words were, "My God, my God, why hast thou deserted me?" In the result, however, his death became the supreme illustration for all the world of his doctrine that he that loseth his life shall save it. Through his death his doctrines were given a vitality and life that they could have secured in no other way—and I think no one will question that his life has had a greater power in shaping the history of the world than that of any other man who has lived.

With the growth of knowledge the attitude of the world toward the supernatural has slowly changed. For some centuries there has been little definite belief in present-day miracles though there are sporadic tendencies to renaissance as at Lourdes and in Christian Science. The Protestant world has rejected the miracles recorded of Christian saints since the first century but retained a belief in the miracles recorded in the Bible. Most intelligent Protestants are quite ready now to say that the sun and moon did not stand still at the word of Joshua and that the whale did not swallow Jonah, but there are as yet few theologians who question openly the miracles of the New Testament. Many of these, however, maintain an attitude of silence about these miracles, and very few use the miracles as proof of doctrines contained in the Bible. The practical situation is that many still believe in the miracles, or in some of them, because of the truths about human life interwoven with the account. In the centuries following the Christian era a belief in the miracles was, undoubtedly, a very large factor in the spread of the Christian faith. To-day, the accounts of the miracles are much more a hindrance than a help. I do not wish to antagonize too strongly those earnest and honest men and women who hold different views and who believe that the Supreme Power dealt with the world, in times past, differently from the way in which it deals with it to-day. But I think all will agree that we cannot base a belief in Christianity on the miracles recorded in the Bible.

The evidence is very clear that Jesus did not rest his authority on any such foundation. When we remember that he lived at a time when a belief in the supernatural was well-nigh universal and that the records of his life were not written for thirty years or more

after his death, it is remarkable that we have, nevertheless, such a clear picture of his attitude toward this question. He said, "An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign but no sign shall be given it except that of Jonas the prophet." The reference is, of course, to the resurrection. I will not stop to discuss the fact that, in the light of the universal belief of Christians in the resurrection when it was written, the first part of the sentence has far greater significance than the last. Over and again, he told those who were healed that they should tell no one—an indication that his followers had a greater belief in his miraculous power than he himself had.

Not only did he reject the miraculous as the basis of his authority but he gave a positive basis which the world to-day is coming to see clearly must be the basis of all authority—the basis which makes the difference between an autocratic authority imposed from the outside and a genuine democratic authority which grows from within. "If any man will do my will he shall know of my doctrine whether I speak for myself or whether I speak the truth in accord with that Supreme Power which rules the world and of which I am a part."

The generation of Christians which followed the death of Jesus believed implicitly in his physical resurrection. Paul, who saw him only in a trance, or vision, which was not seen by his companions, held the belief just as firmly as any. The early development of Christianity certainly depended in considerable measure on this belief. The early Christians also believed in a speedy return of Jesus in physical form to establish a political kingdom in the world. Some passages in Paul's letters show that this doctrine of the second advent of Christ led some of the early Christians to neglect their daily work and he rebuked them sharply, saying that no man knew the hour when the Lord would come and that they were to live as though they expected him at any minute. A critical reading of the New Testament will make it clear to any one who is not blinded by preconceived notions about the inerrancy of the written word that the apostles were mistaken about the second coming, but their error has been revived over and over again through all the centuries since, and it has often produced the same baleful results as in the time of Paul.

Jesus seems to have accepted the ritual of the Jews so far as he believed that this came from the authority of Moses. He spoke to Jews and could not have secured a following if he had pursued any other course. But he taught his followers that the original teaching had been overlaid with traditions of men, and he made it

perfectly clear that a ritual or custom is to be followed, not because it is commanded but only because it is inherently right and of service to men. Thus he said, "The Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath." The Sabbath is to be observed, not because it was established by the authority of God, nor, in the spirit of the sacrifices, as a means of courting God's favor, but because it is useful in man's development—a usefulness which has increased rather than diminished. The complete change of the course of one's thought at regular intervals, once a week, is especially valuable to intellectual workers—and there is need, too, for time to think of our relationship to that Power "in which we live and move and have our being," and to consider our relations to our fellow men, which are so intimately associated with that relation.

Paul, the only well-educated man among the apostles, was commissioned by the Christians at Antioch to preach the Gospel among the Gentiles. It was through his efforts, chiefly, that Christianity made its way to Greece and Rome and from thence to the whole of Europe. His experience led him to break away almost completely from the old Jewish ritual. But new principles make their way slowly in the world and while Paul could say, "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good," the thought that authority must be imposed from without dies hard. Within a few centuries there grew up a new ritual. The Christian sacraments took the place of the Jewish forms. Baptism took the place of circumcision and was considered essential to salvation. It was supposed that Jesus by his death had appeased the wrath of God exactly as the old Jewish sacrifices had done and a new priestly caste grew up which arrogated to itself the right to mediate between God and man. This new order continued almost without question for more than a thousand years.

In the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries Wycliffe in England, Huss in Bohemia, Luther in Germany, and Calvin in Geneva revolted against the ecclesiasticism of their time, and, just as Jesus went back to Moses and the prophets to find the truth and stripped away the false beliefs which had become current in the teaching of the priests, these new prophets went back to the Bible to find those great fundamental truths which had been covered over with errors grown strong through the accretions of thirteen centuries. Some of these accretions were derived from the Greek and Roman mythology and mysticism, though some truth came from these sources, too. But the world of that time could not yet grasp the idea that truth in religious matters is discovered by exactly the same sort of process that is used in discovering any other kind of

truth. So Wycliffe and Huss and Luther and Calvin felt the necessity of a supernatural authority to take the place of the authority of the Church. They put the Bible in this place, and the world of to-day is only slowly freeing itself from this great error. They were curiously blind to the fact that the books were written by fallible men, that the canon was established and many books were rejected and others included by a fallible Council of the Church against which they were revolting and that the books contain many errors which are evident to any critical reader.

Throughout the centuries a large part of the emphasis of Christian teaching has been laid upon the doctrine of a future life, the conduct of the present life being important chiefly in its relation to immortality. Calvin, in this connection, developed a more logical and consistent theology than any of the others. One of his doctrines was that the omnipotence and omniscience of God implies that certain persons have been chosen from all eternity to be saved and certain others to be damned. If this is accepted, there seems to be no escape from the conclusion that the individual is powerless to alter the eternal decree.

This doctrine has to-day a strange renaissance. Modern science has shown that there is a most intimate connection between the phenomena of life and the laws of matter and energy which dominate inanimate nature. Physical and chemical changes within living bodies are, so far as we can discover, exactly like the physical and chemical changes that we study in the laboratory, and there is no evidence generally accepted by scientific men that consciousness can exist without some physical organism. The study of physical phenomena has led to the conclusion that if we have enough knowledge completely to describe any isolated physical system at the present moment we can predict what its condition will be at any future time. In other words, we believe in an absolute uniformity of sequence in the phenomena of nature. Applying these principles, the mechanistic philosophy of the present day claims that every human being is, in all of his thoughts and relations, merely the resultant of physical forces which have been in operation for countless ages and which will continue to act long after he is dead. The thought of any personality or purpose within the human soul which can alter this inexorable sequence of physical phenomena is repugnant to such a philosophy. This is a fatalism worse than that of the Turk, a Calvinism without even a divine purpose behind it.

On the physical side the mechanists have made out a strong

case, but, to me, they have disregarded two very essential factors in our knowledge of the question.

The beginning of new life has never been observed in the world in spite of the most strenuous efforts to discover it. A negative of this sort can never be proved, but so long as it stands it must be considered as a serious flaw in the mechanistic philosophy.

The other factor is more positive. We are often conscious of weighing in our minds the reasons for some course of action, and in the end we choose deliberately, perhaps something which ministers to our immediate personal gratification, perhaps something which will find its fruition years hence in some good which will accrue to ourselves or to some one else. So far as our own consciousness goes, it seems to us that we might have chosen differently and we instinctively treat all our fellow men on this basis. It is well for us to remember that all of our knowledge of the external world comes through consciousness and that the testimony of our consciousness on this point is as valid as upon any other.

If our consciousness deceives us, we are the helpless victims of an inexorable sequence of physical forces.

Toward the close of the eighteenth century there came in France a revolt against an intolerable political system under which the most fundamental human rights had been denied to the masses of the people. The revolt was, in part, a sequence of our own American Revolution. In some of its phases it was a revolt against the corrupt ecclesiasticism of France, as well as against the government. Reason was enthroned as the God of the world, a ten-day period was substituted for the week and the metric system of weights and measures took the place of the chaos of systems and no-system previously in vogue on the Continent. The revolt against the religious systems of the time spread far beyond the confines of France, and atheism became rampant among the scholars of the world. In 1800 scarcely a single church member was to be found among the students of Yale college, and ardent admirers of Tom Paine were to be found everywhere.

During the nineteenth century the rapidly growing knowledge of the universe in which we live and the control of the forces of nature which came with this knowledge gave men a completely changed relation to their environment. A knowledge of the geological history of the earth dispelled forever the notion of a six-day creation. The discovery of the permanence and indestructibility of energy and matter has given us the notion of an inexorable order and sequence in the phenomena of the physical universe outside of

ourselves, to which we must conform if we are not to be destroyed. A knowledge of bacteriology, of vaccination, and of antitoxins has made it possible to control epidemics which a century ago were considered by many as mysterious visitations of Providence. A study of early records has made it very certain that the cosmogony of the Hebrew Bible grew from myths and legends handed down through many centuries, and a knowledge of the processes of evolution has made it quite certain that there are genetic relationships between different kinds of living beings and that man himself is no exception.

Those who think that there must be some absolute authority in matters of religion often take great pleasure in pointing out that our scientific knowledge is fragmentary and imperfect and that theories once universally accepted have been discarded or greatly modified. Such persons fail completely in understanding the basis on which our scientific knowledge rests. Any scientific truth which is to receive continued acceptance must rest, not on the authority of some leader of science, but on a clearly understood relation between the truth and the phenomena of nature on which it depends. No opinion is so venerable or so buttressed by authority that it must not be subjected over and over again to the test of agreement with the facts which we find in the world about us. A man who is imbued with the genuine scientific spirit is not troubled by differences of opinion among his colleagues. A completed, perfect truth has little charm for him. His interest is in that growing, changing truth which approximates more and more closely to that ultimate reality which he knows is in the universe about him but to a complete knowledge of which he can never attain. And he knows that the truth of the present—always a relative and partial truth—has grown through the interaction of many different minds and must continue to grow in the same way. It does not follow from this that there is no authority in science—there is a great and very effective authority, but it is not the authority of the individual. It is the authority which comes from a consensus of opinion among scientific men. That authority may be shaken at any time by one who can bring forward new truth which compels belief. But we know perfectly well that the truth of the present has been inherited in large measure from the work of many generations of seekers after the truth and the man who attempts to controvert old and well-established opinions without first acquainting himself fully with the basis on which those opinions rest will be heard with scant courtesy. But the genuine, earnest seeker for truth, who knows

the truth of the present, and builds upon it, will always find a hearing.

These principles of democratic freedom, which rule in the scientific world, have made way very slowly in the domain of religious truth, and a failure to recognize them in the political field has plunged the world into the most destructive war it has ever seen. We no longer burn men at the stake in an attempt to suppress errors in religious belief, but many of the ecclesiastical forces of the world still claim a mystical, supernatural authority in support of their systems. In spite of this philosophy, which seems to me so mistaken, religious truth has grown in the world exactly as other truth has grown, and a democratic freedom of belief and of discussion is making rapid headway. And the advance grows chiefly within our churches and religious organizations. Just as it would be hopeless to try to reform errors of scientific thought from without, so the man who holds himself aloof from the organized religious truth of the world and who is unwilling, first of all, to gain a sympathetic understanding of the truth which has come down to us through many generations of earnest, honest men and women, cannot hope to have much effect upon the development of religious belief. And religious belief is so vital in its relation to the progress of the world that the thoughtful men of our day have no right to shirk their duty to have a part in its growth.

In the political field, one of the strongest governments in the world still clings to the belief that its right to rule rests on a supernatural authority imposed from above. We might be content to allow this belief to stand the test of experience, confident that the truth will ultimately be found, had not this powerful nation coupled with its belief in the divine right of its ruler a belief in Darwin's doctrine of the survival of the fittest, which it has perverted to a belief in the right of the fittest to destroy—sublimely unconscious of the egotism which would claim that any system of government contains all that is best in political organization. Ignorant, too, of the fact that truth in the political world is best found by the free growth of many different systems side by side and the interaction of these upon each other. The last century has brought the whole world into the most intimate relationships, and if the human race is not to destroy itself we must live together in the future as a great family of nations. There are two ideals for such a life. One would make the strongest and best government in the world dominate all of the rest, contributing benevolently, perhaps, to the development of the other nations and races but shaping them after its

own ideals until the whole world is organized in accordance with a single pattern. The other ideal is that each nation shall be permitted to develop in its own fashion so long as it does not interfere with others and so long as it guarantees to its own citizens the fundamental rights of liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The first ideal seems to carry with it great hope for the advancement of backward peoples, but we may be sure that it would be followed, sooner or later, by a period of stagnation and death, just as the autocratic rule of the Christian Church contributed largely to the intellectual barrenness of the Middle Ages. Progress by the democratic method may seem slow at times, but in that method alone lies the hope of the future.

As the world has changed and is changing from autocracy to democracy in political government, a profound change has come in our concepts of God and of revelation—a change which is, consciously or unconsciously, accepted by our best religious leaders, but which has seldom been clearly expressed.

The writers of the Old and New Testaments knew only autocratic governments. To them God was outside of his world ruling over it benevolently and interfering with its affairs for the promotion of righteousness. This concept has been replaced by the thought of an inflexible, unchanging orderliness which it seems impossible to conceive without an Intelligence behind it, but which is never changed by something outside of the universe.

Science may accept the thought of a God who is imminent in the universe and coextensive with it, but cannot well accept a God who is outside of his world. In considering the personality of such a being we meet the same difficulties which have been discussed in connection with the mechanistic theory and for these difficulties the answer seems to be similar.

The change in our view of revelation is no less important. The old idea was that of an authoritative revelation imparted to a few individuals. The growing belief is in a slow discovery of the order which exists in the moral and spiritual as well as in the physical universe—discoveries first made by individuals in a manner which suggests the older idea of revelation, but which rest for their authority, not on the fact of revelation, but on their agreement with the reason and experience of the world.

Some persons who have given up for themselves the thought that there is an absolute authority in religion consider that it is not safe to preach the doctrine that our knowledge of religious truth rests on the same basis as our knowledge of scientific truth, to chil-

dren and to the masses of the people. Without the *ipse dixit* of a supernatural authority, the people are not to be trusted and are liable to go off into all sorts of vagaries of belief and of conduct. This is, perhaps, the last and most insidious refuge of a dying autocracy. It is worth while here to recall one of Lincoln's remarks, "You can fool some of the people all of the time, and you can fool all of the people some of the time, but you cannot fool all of the people all of the time." We cannot, if we would, conceal the truth which is growing in the world and we may take as our motto the words of our greatest Leader, "The truth shall make you free."

ANATOLE FRANCE—A POSTSCRIPT.¹

BY LEWIS PIAGET SHANKS.

"WE do not remain one moment the same, and yet we never become different from what we are,"² said Anatole France at thirty. But what is the stable element in this restless soul? Is it the poet or the naturalistic novelist, the dilettante or the patient historian, the mystic or the rabid anticlerical, the amiable skeptic or the bitter polemic, the cynical satirist or the reformer, the scoffer at men or the humanitarian and builder of a new Utopia? What is constant in this kaleidoscope of phases or moods?

Halt your kaleidoscope at any figure, and take it apart. Some of the colors are covered up by others, but underneath lie all the elements of every pattern. Take Anatole France in any of his phases, and one finds, balanced or conflicting or dominated one by the other, his two basic elements: an imagination essentially romantic and a Voltairian keenness of analysis. And under all their changes of pattern plays the same motive force, the same instrument, the *sensibilité nerveuse* which he early noted in Racine: in other words the artist's temperament, vibrant and sensuous, richly responsive but a shade too delicately poised—a nature which after its first contact with life, is bound to turn away from its ugliness to that softer reflection of reality given by literature and art.

"There are times when everything surprises me, times when the simplest things give me the thrill of a mystery,"³ he writes at

¹ In the following we give the last chapter of the book on Anatole France which we announced in our September number, and which will soon be ready for publication. The author, Professor Shanks, is now teaching in the University of Wisconsin.

² *Génie latin*, p. 309.

³ *Livre de mon ami*, p. 4.

forty. This is the faculty which makes the poet, the mystic, the curious and eager dilettante. "Imagination turns into an artist a man whose feeling is stirred, and a brave man into a hero."⁴ This is the faculty which makes the idealist and the dreamer of reform.

Fond of the marvelous and the exotic, enamored of the past, subjective and sentimental beneath all his irony, finding in memory "une Muse divine,"⁵ this imagination is undeniably romantic. But against that influence works the acid of an intellect analytic as Voltaire's, solving or dissolving all; and if its rational activity, which gives us the scholar, the philosopher, and the satirist, does not invariably end in cynicism, one may be reasonably sure of that result in a temperament self-betrayed by its visions and wounded through its abnormal sensitiveness. Before that final term, his intellect finds pause on Montaigne's pillow of doubt, and happily mingled with imagination, finds flower for over a decade in its finest pages.

Who, could we choose, would not live the golden forties with Anatole France? In those cloister days, protected like his long adolescence, even the "nervous sensibility" of the artist combines happily with his mental faculties, urging fancy and intellect alike to explore. Rooted in an ardently sensitive nature, "that high curiosity, which,"—as he tells us,—“was to cause the confusion and the joy of his life, devoting him to the quest of that which one never finds,”⁶ now leads the poet and the scholar to a past infinitely more attractive than the present. An egotist, an intellectual romanticist, loving the past less for truth's sake than for the escape it offers to his imagination, where it reflects itself as richly as a woman's beauty in a Renaissance mirror, so too he loves the ideas of the past, the ideas of the present, the marvels of science, the Utopias of the reformers, the poetry in all of man's pageant of philosophy, whereof he believes not a single word. We may rightly blame the selfishness of this attitude, but even an idle curiosity may produce for us the gift of beauty. So with this intellectual hedonist: in his richly furnished mind each new impression echoes and reechoes, until somewhere down the galleries of memory it strikes to music a forgotten harp or violin. For Anatole France lives in his memory as he lives in art and reality.

Yes, reality. Even this skeptical monk of letters cannot completely shut out the real world, the world of feeling and experience. "Like others, skeptics too are subjected to all the illusions of the universal mirage: they too are the playthings of appearances; some-

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 272.

⁵ *L'anneau d'améthyste*, p. 190.

⁶ *Pierre Nozière*, p. 17.

times vain forms cause them to suffer cruelly. Useless for us to see the nothingness of life; a flower will sometimes suffice to fill it to overflowing."⁷

There, surely, the conflict of his temperament stands revealed. Impossible for him to reconcile his intellect, his pessimism, with the sensuously imaginative love of beauty which draws him—with that passion which fires his artist's blood before life's tragic moments of beauty—brief foam-flowers lapsing into waves of ugliness or a flood-tide of indifference or despair. Impossible to reconcile this conflict, which makes Bergeret, beset by provincial vulgarity, "dream of a villa with a white loggia set above a lake of blue, where, with his friends, he might converse in the perfume of the myrtles, at the hour when the moon comes forth to bathe in a sky pure as the gaze of the good gods and soft as the breath of the goddesses."⁸ Awakened like Bergeret by stones crashing through his library window, an oversensitive type will turn back to his books, longing, at least momentarily, for the hermit's life which will remove him definitely from the incongruities of a world not made for romantics.⁹

So Bonnard is transformed into Bergeret, who, despite his cult of ataraxy, reveals a latent capacity for emotion—the romantic sensitiveness—in his praise of Irony and Pity. But in the course of life one gets used to living, learns to love life, to love it even in its ugliness, like the atheist in *La chemise*. "Moi, j'aime la vie, la vie de cette terre, la vie telle qu'elle est, la chienne de vie."¹⁰ So the mature Anatole France attains the pessimistic tranquillity of Doctor Trublet and Brotteaux des Ilettes, in whom imagination has at last yielded to intellect, philosophers grown serene with age, no longer lamenting Bergeret's dream-villa, but content to gather uncomplaining the crumbs of beauty life offers by the way.

In fine, one cannot help thinking that Anatole France looked into the mirror when he drew Dechartre in *Le Lys rouge*. Like the artist, he too is "a restless mobile spirit, egotistic and passionate, eager to give himself, prompt to withdraw, loving himself generously in all the beauty which he finds in the world."¹¹ He too is one who lives for self, for the pleasures his fancy and his intellect and his temperament can give. This makes him an artist, and this gives him the defects of the artist. "There are people who are masters of their impressions, but I cannot imitate them."¹² So he

⁷ *Vie littéraire*, II, p. 174.

⁸ *Mannequin d'osier*, p. 33.

⁹ *Livre de mon ami*, p. 70.

¹⁰ *Barbe-bleue*, p. 258.

¹¹ Page 99.

¹² *Pierre Nozière*, p. 275.

is the victim of his qualities, unable to coordinate or discipline either intellect or imagination. "I have never been a real observer, for the observer must have a system to guide him, and I have no system at all. The observer directs his vision; the spectator lets himself be led by his eyes."¹³

The results of this yielding to self are shown in his art. All his longer stories are formless: lack of true constructive ability is the real basis of his preference for the tale. Unable to force his talents or coordinate them, he requires twenty years to finish his one piece of serious scholarship. But discipline would have curbed that universal curiosity which is his life's chief interest; the dilettante cannot subordinate his talents, the skeptic can build no system save the skepticism which indulgently tolerates them all.

A man of moods, living after his moods, his subjectivity will always limit his creative imagination. His best characters—the only truly living characters of his novels—are invariably "portraits of the artist." Aside from that, he can only draw directly from life—as he did with Choulette—or sketch a figure cleverly characterized by the externals which impress his sympathy or his impassive hate. Rather significant, in this connection, is his denial of the creative imagination: "All our ideas come to us from the senses, and imagination consists, not in creating, but in assembling ideas."¹⁴ So, too, he defends plagiarism and makes creation a matter of style: "Ideas belong to everybody, but as a thought has no value save through its form, to give a new form to an old thought is art in its entirety and the only creation possible to humanity."

Yet it would be easy to push this criticism too far. The originality of Anatole France is to depict his multiple self, to mould figures into which he can breathe his own ideas, and to make them of enduring metal rather than the usual sawdust or straw. Subjective portraits as they are, Sylvestre Bonnard and the genial Abbé, Professor Bergeret and Trublet and Brotteaux are enough to compensate for this creative deficiency, which is supplemented by a memory which makes his brain the sum of all he has ever been. For Anatole France lives in his own past as he lives in the past of humanity.

To impose no rein upon imagination or intellect, to avoid discipline and coordination of one's talents to a single end, to follow the self where it listeth, is the mark of the intellectual Epicurean. And perhaps we may even drop the adjective! "Let us not listen to the priests who teach the excellence of suffering," he tells an

¹³ *Livre de mon ami*, p. 115.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 280.

audience *in propria persona*,¹⁵ "for it is joy which is good. . . . Let us not fear joy, and when a beautiful thing or a smiling thought offers us pleasure, let us not refuse it." Needless to cite proof: indications of his pagan sensuousness are frequent enough throughout his work, particularly in the growing license of the later books. That fact alone shows the breakdown of pure hedonism as an intellectual ideal. But, on the other hand, here we find the very quality which, at its best and under control, creates his finest prose: it is this sensuous vibrancy that gives such an atmospheric afterglow to his pages which stir the senses and trouble the soul like the poignantly fleeting beauty of a sunset sky. It is a glamor we can only feel, created by one who "would rather feel than understand."¹⁶

An Epicurean gifted with an active mind, a restless soul ever seeking the unknown, will of course enjoy a longer cycle of pleasures than a mere sensual hedonist. "One wearies of everything except the joys of comprehending." But "books trouble restless souls,"¹⁷ and though comprehension remains a pleasure in the long ranges of the mind, when it comes home again to self its joys are turned to torment. "Our ignorance of our own *raison d'être* must always be a source of melancholy and disgust."¹⁸ When youth is gone and self-centered intellect alone remains, dissolving that hope and illusion which is the spiritual basis of life, when the bitter skeptic has definitely put down the poet and the idealist, he must reaffirm himself by action, and the cloistered Epicurean knows no form of action but writing. Even the skeptic must write—write to regain an illusion for living. He may not know whether the world exists, but as an artist he does know that his art exists absolutely. We must all believe: the very gymnosophist, sitting in mud on the Ganges banks, hugs a negative belief beneath his squalid immobility. We must believe and *act*, or die: "Whatever be our philosophic doubts, we are forced to act in life as if we had no doubts at all."

So like the homunculus of Faust, the romantic Pyrrhonist yields to life's imperative call. He turns to his desk, and there makes a stand against the flux of appearances which Heraclitus first taught by the Ionian sea. He expresses himself, like all of us; and it is well perhaps that this impulse to self-expression should be instinctive and blind. He may excuse his inconsistency by saying, like Anatole France, that "it is better to speak of beautiful things than not to speak at all," but at heart he knows that he is only the blind

¹⁵ *Opinions sociales*, p. 70.

¹⁶ *Vie littéraire*, II, p. 191.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, I, p. iv.

¹⁸ *Jardin d'Epicure*, p. 67.

instrument of the Light that is in him, the slave of a Word that must be made flesh for the salvation of his soul.

And thus, even in his cloister, the artist like the philosopher justifies his existence to the world. He is judged by his results. If the man of stronger passion and simpler mind,—the man of action,—finds his self-expression in fighting the universe without, his broader vision and more timorous judgment will turn him from that unequal struggle with an age of low ideals, to find a field of action in the universe within. He will live, not in life but in books, that agreeable dilution of life, which even a world of "service" may well allow to those who distil honey for its delight. And if, as with Anatole France, his is too vital a temperament to stay there forever, if finally the same nervous sensitiveness which had led him to art brings him out of his study in generous pity for the oppressed, we must sympathize with him returning in disillusion. Not that such a one needs it: he still has, to console him behind his study doors, the intellectual life, the much-needed critical spirit which alone will make the liberty of our children's world. And some day, reviewing his work and noting in his later loss of poise the brand of the conflict, posterity will regret that Anatole France did not stay in his library, content to remain one of those "for whom the universe is only ink and paper," comforted by the fact that ink and paper and broken marble is all that is left of those who laid the foundations of modern Europe in the little Attic town. To keep to his books, to shut the door upon the petty struggle, to hold his universal curiosity and his universal sympathy down to the definite task of criticism—there lay the way out for Anatole France. That was Sainte-Beuve's solution of his own similar problem: "*J'éventre les morts pour chasser mon spleen.*"

Of course, such a philosophy has its limitations. After all, the beauty of art is a symbolic beauty. Its larger interest lies in its significance: the masterpiece crystallizes a type of the human spirit arrested at a vital stage. In the calm of the Greek marbles, in the smile of Mona Lisa, in the patient niggling realism of the Dutch school, a whole age is revealed, a phase of humanity caught and fixed for all generations to come. What is real in the contrast between Watteau's suavity and Millet's rude force is the more definite contrast sensed in the age and the people, in the silent multitudes behind the artists. This matrix, this mass of human flesh, voiceless and inert, forgotten unless it find immortality in such a masterpiece, must always be the critic's background: he paints a

portrait, but if chosen rightly, the face sums up the spirit of the age.

Are we justified in finding such a type in Anatole France? Certainly not, if in his work he sought a literal reflection of his larger background, a panorama of life such as is revealed in the monumental creation of a Balzac. To be sure, something of this kind of realism may be found in *Histoire contemporaine* and others of his modern novels. But from a philosophic standpoint, these are far less significant than *Thaïs* or the tales, which, under the mask of history, present symbolically a spiritual and intellectual portrait of the later nineteenth century in France.

Anatole France typifies his age in its dominant interest, the historical spirit. Discovered by Walter Scott, developed by Romanticists eager to follow imagination in a flight from reality—fortified, in Flaubert and his school, by archeology and psychology, the great modern study finds in this writer a characteristic devotee. His keen perception of human identity beneath all the manifold differences of time and place teaches him that man's duty is to rewrite history: yet, despite an increasing realism, he is no dupe of the pseudo-scientific school of historians. To the end he remains a critic and an artist, recreating the past through insight and imagination.

He typifies the excessive individualism of this age of democracy. Even in his conservative days he is ardently personal: he cannot keep self out of his creation. Not merely subjective, like the Romanticists, from whom he differs by a greater intellectual reserve, he carries subjectivity into the things of the intellect, and to justify the dilettantism of his attitude, exalts it finally into a philosophy. Hence his skepticism, eager to show the relativity of other men's realities, rising under attack to a devotion toward philosophic nihilism which is a devotion to his own form of dialectic. Barring a few years of pragmatism, this is his dominant attitude: from first to last he is an intellectual anarch, reducing all things to his measure; and in his reaction against all absolutist formulas he has become a large figure in the new philosophy of Humanism.

His pragmatic period, and indeed his whole later evolution, reflects our modern humanitarian and socialistic interests. A corollary of his subjectivity, confessedly grounded upon an Epicurean sensitiveness to pain,¹⁹ this social pity is still real enough to lead him into thorny paths for the sake of justice. Here at least his idealism overrides the skeptic. For as he says, "if the object for which one sacrifices oneself is an illusion, self-sacrifice is none the

¹⁹ *Livre de mon ami*, p. 124.

less a reality, and that reality is the most splendid adornment that man can put upon his moral nakedness."²⁰ And though, to him, "earth is only a grain of sand in an infinite desert of celestial worlds," none the less he adds: "But if men suffer only upon earth, it is greater than all the rest of the universe. . . . It is everything and the rest is nothing at all."²¹

How different this attitude from the Romantic contempt of ordinary humanity, from that hatred of the bourgeois which all his life held Flaubert aloof in the artist's aristocratic pride. Yet Anatole France is one with Flaubert in his cult of art. He too has that devotion to style, born of Romantic example and grown into a religion with the Parnassian poets and the author of *Salammbô*. Primarily a stylist, even his reaction against *Le Parnasse*, his rejection of their "splendid" diction for a classical simplicity, is still a devotion to form, a devotion whose labors only a stylist can fully understand. To the end he remains in spirit a Parnassian, polishing his seemingly artless phrases until all trace of effort or workmanship is filed away. So for him there is no unconscious simplicity. "A good style is like yonder beam of light, which owes its pure brilliance to the intimate combination of the seven colors which compose it. A simple style is like white light: it is complex, but it does not seem so. In language true simplicity is only apparent, and springs merely from the fine coordination and sovereign blending of its several parts."²²

A conscious artist, he is ever seeking a greater perfection. Remodeling *Sylvestre Bonnard* in 1900, he ponders every phrase and particle in his effort to improve its delicate rhythm. His work has ripened from the beginning, until in *Histoire contemporaine* its finish and contexture are rich enough to dispense with constructive unity. But even *Le mannequin d'osier* is not so fine as the art of *Les dieux ont soif*, so carefully polished, so delicately evasive of all that is tedious or obvious, so full of pages which haunt the memory like the cadences of Walter Pater or the songs of Paul Verlaine. Some of its episodes may be open to criticism, but the style is perfection itself.

The charm of these pages is indeed hard to analyze. Always one feels the intellectual qualities underneath, the philosophy, the humor. It is the charm of ironical detachment, the mask so often adopted by the disillusioned idealist. It is a universal irony—seen not merely in the art of inverted statement which Coignard and Bergeret take from Voltaire; it is also the impassive irony of Flau-

²⁰ *Jardin*, p. 56.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 56.

bert, recounting in cold moderation abuses which clamor for emotional treatment, for the lash of sarcasm or indignation. And with all this it is the irony of Renan, those indefinable overtones of an ironic temperament, divided between imagination and intellect. Poised condor-like over a serio-comic universe, this fantastic humor seizes contrasts which startle or appal.

If primarily intellectual, his charm is also due to qualities which belong to the poet as well as the philosopher. The art of Anatole France is a product of his imagination, his taste, and his musical sense. Symbolic of his whole creation is his statement concerning the ballad which first revealed to him the virtue of poetry: "In my prose will be found the *disjecta membra* of the poet." This is plain enough when his work is read aloud. Only thus can one realize the flexibility of his diction, which runs the whole gamut of melodic quality without ever losing its purity or its power to express his changing moods: a flexibility which gives the reader all the delicacy of the impression, in a music which seems stolen from the very flute of Pan.

Yet with all his sensuousness he rarely falls into stylistic exaggeration. His taste may break down as regards matter, but never in his manner or form. It is this which keeps him from the bathos so common in esthetic or rhythmic prose—taste and an intellectuality which the sensation never quite obscures. They save him from that pitfall of French writers, rhetorical emphasis—from that love of sonorous or dramatic effect which makes the theater the dream of every literary Gaul. "*En tous les genres, il nous faut des Marseillaises.*" Taste turns him from this to the poetry which life itself distills, perceptible only to those whose ears are not filled by noise alone. An instinctive tact seems to have led him naturally to the Greeks, rather than to the oratorical Romans so dear to French classicism, and when his old Ciceronian professor of rhetoric criticized him on this point, suggesting that he read "the complete works of Casimir Delavigne," he felt already that he had found something better. "Sophocles had given me a certain bent which I could not undo."²³ And all through his life that same taste has kept his genius from the contamination of northern literatures, making him the most truly classical of all the moderns. Alone among contemporaries, Anatole France has grafted the living flower of Hellas upon the Gallo-Latin logic of form.

"You are the genius of Greece made French," said Alfred Croiset in his memorial tribute to Anatole France. "You have taken

²³ *Livre de mon ami*, p. 166.

from Greece her gift of subtle dialectic, of smiling irony, of words which seem endowed with wings, of poetry delicate yet definite and full of luminous reason; and you have shed upon that Greek beauty the grace of the Ile-de-France, the grace which invests her familiar landscapes, and which also lends its beauty to the style of our dearest writers, those who are most delightfully French."

Greek, yet subtly national, this is why Anatole France has taken his place among the great French classics. This is why he must remain a classic. For if literature is the least durable of all the arts, dependent as it is upon words and metaphors which never cease to change, he alone in his generation has chosen the simplicity which suffers least from time. In the last fifteen years, a new literature and a new hope have succeeded the pessimism consequent upon 1870, and when the tinkling poets and morbid self-dissecting novelists are forgotten, when the sickly symbolism or the cruder sensuality of the end of the century has passed like a cloud in the cold, bright, windswept dawn of to-morrow, we shall still remember Anatole France. A monument of that discouraged era, when life itself forced the artist into the esoteric, his books will best recall the delicate age which found its object in an Epicurean cult of art and self. For he alone has avoided the formal dangers of its romantic subjectivity, building not in agate nor in porphyry, but in the cool yet glowing marbles of the Greeks.

A new age is upon us, an age whose first reaction will be toward *life*. The cult of the self—"that pearl of degeneration" as a Socialist poet calls it—will probably perish. But art will not perish; and in art, we know, works without grace are of no avail. We shall return to Anatole France some day, come back to his work as the traveler returns to Athens, for the beauty that is hers. As on the Acropolis, we shall think of the labors which built the temple, reared and polished with infinite pains, and wonder why such a devoted artisan should have suffered the reproach of hedonism. We shall marvel at a lost ideal, at a perfection impossible to a time which will have so much to do. And we shall return to our workaday world tempered and exalted by a devotion to art which is also a devotion to truth.

SAVAGE LIFE AND CUSTOM.

BY EDWARD LAWRENCE.

VI. THE POSITION OF WOMEN: COURTSHIP AND MARRIAGE.

OF all the nonsense that has been written about savages, probably no greater nonsense has been written than that concerning their womenfolk. Not only have they been constantly described as mere "beasts of burden" under tyrannical subjection to their husbands, but even the cause of their early physical decay, after the age of twenty-five or so, has been gratuitously placed to the credit of the men. It is true that all the savages consider women, in certain respects, inferior to men, but it is a "superiority" in certain respects only which have for their foundation a natural basis; and such claim to superiority as exists is never offensively asserted.

In savage life, women occupy an important and recognized position; they themselves would be surprised that certain globe-trotters have considered their position a degraded one and held them to be mere slaves of the men. Both men and women have their allotted duties; and either would resent any attempt by the other sex to interfere with their work. The men are hunters and warriors; the protectors of hearth and home; the women are agriculturists and founders of the family. In savagery, a woman has no more desire to occupy a man's place or usurp his functions than she has to become a man herself. Neither sex can do as they might wish, because their whole social system is dominated by religious custom. Nor will any woman meddle with what does not concern her, nor manifest any desire to become a warrior or a chief. To her, that which is, is right. It is related of a Mombuttu chief that he always consulted his wives before taking any important step; his ugliest wife being the most influential and always to be seen at his side.

Thus the woman is *never* a slave; in most cases she can more than hold her own, for instance in the Congo region there is a tribe where the men do all the sewing—should a man refuse to make his wife's clothes, custom allows her to leave him forthwith. As a matter of fact, speaking generally, the women are in several respects better off in savage communities than are many of their more civilized sisters in Christian lands.

As has been stated, man is the hunter, the food-provider; it is

his place to kill the animals for food as it is the woman's place to cook them.

When a man desires to marry, he must possess certain qualities which, both in the lady's estimation and in the opinion of the tribe, fit him for matrimony. In Borneo for example, before it is possible for a man to obtain a bride, he must prove his prowess by hunting for human heads; no woman would dream of marrying any man before he had laid at least one of these trophies at her feet. Among the Indians of Brazil as well as those of the Gran Chaco, a young man wishing to marry must show proof that he can support a family by killing five peccaries or one jaguar; he is then open to an offer of marriage which must come from the lady herself.

In Northern Africa, the man begins his love-affair by sending the girl a little packet of charcoal, to show his heart is black, also a packet of sugar, which shows how sweet she is to him. Should he find favor with the lady, she keeps the sugar and returns the charcoal; if she refuses him she returns both articles. In any case, she has perfect liberty to accept or reject him. Sometimes the lady herself has anxious moments as to the possibility of an early marriage; in this case she will eat a puppy dog, which is supposed to have a magical result and to hasten her heart's desire.

The well-known custom of wife-purchase has often been held up to show how degrading are the matrimonial arrangements of savages. The very reverse is actual truth. So-called wife-purchase is really a great moral factor. When a man "buys" a wife, she becomes his and his only; any one who interfered and abused his right would be killed. And wives are not always cheap either; so much so that natives sometimes prefer to be married "English fashion" than by their own customary laws.

Mr. Hugh H. Romilly, who was at one time acting Commissioner of New Guinea, gives an illuminating illustration of this. He had as a servant a native Christian named Charles, who wished to marry a native girl. Charles approached the Commissioner and said: "You marry me in English fashion to Bezine; by-a-bye when I go to England she looks up some other fellow." Queen Victoria's representative in New Guinea remonstrated with Charles and told him he was not playing the game, to which Charles replied: "Well, I suppose I must get married in New Guinea fashion, but New Guinea fashion plenty dear; English fashion only two-bob." Now, New Guinea fashion would have cost Charles something like thirty shillings, in tomahawks and tobacco, hence his desire to be married in English fashion at the cheaper rate.

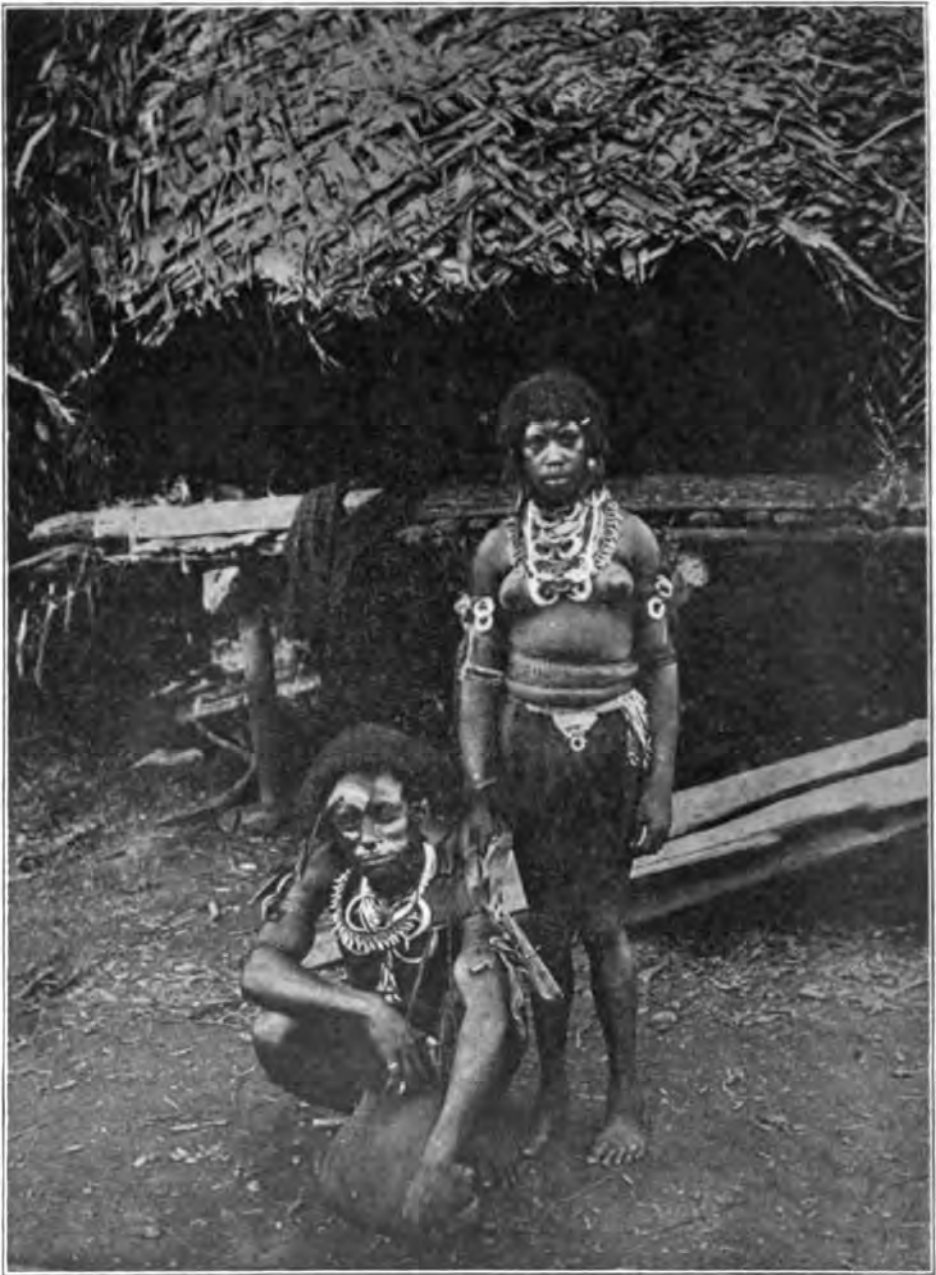


Fig. 17. NEWLY MARRIED COUPLE FROM SIAR, NEW GUINEA.

Note the ligature round the lady's stomach, referred to under "Tight Lacing."
Her hair has been plastered with mud and then twisted into curls.
(From Meyer's and Parkinson's *Album von Papua-Typen*.)

A chief once told Dr. Haddon that he gave for his wife, a camphor-wood chest, a dozen jerseys, some lengths of calico, twelve fish-hooks, and a pound of tobacco, and wound up by saying, "By golly, she too dear.!"

As a matter of fact, there is no real purchase in our sense of the term; it is simply a matter of exchange. It has been explained, for example, that the native word in Zulu for buying a wife—*ukulobola*—is the exact equivalent of the Hebrew *mohar* as used in the Old Testament (Ruth iii. 10) and that both the Hebrew and the native words are used only in relation to this custom and never in regard to chattels.

The Sikani Indian of North America approaches the lady in the following manner by asking her whether "she will park his beaver-snares for him." This question is equivalent to a proposal of marriage. If she is agreeable she answers "Perhaps, ask my mother." But it is the damsel herself who breaks the news and "asks mother." Thereupon her mother instructs her daughter to build a lodge at the side of the maternal dwelling. During the evening the man comes to the new lodge, where the young lady awaits him, and hands her his beaver-snare. This simple ceremony constitutes the whole of the marriage service and they are now man and wife. Should the girl not wish to become his wife, when he puts the question, she pointblank refuses him and says: "No! there are plenty of women, ask another."

It is by no means uncommon for the ladies themselves, as mentioned above, to make matrimonial overtures. One of the lessons taught in school to the young men of the western islands of Torres Straits is: "You no like girl first; if you do, girls laugh at you and call you a woman"—i. e., a man must wait for the girl to propose.

Dr. A. C. Haddon, in a lecture delivered before the Royal Institution some years ago, gave some most amusing accounts of native courtship in those islands. He said if a lad be a good dancer, dancing sprightly and energetically, he stands a good chance of an early proposal, and if he could add to his claim the taking of somebody's head it would further add to his chance and rebound to his prowess. The smitten lady plaits a string armlet which she entrusts to a mutual friend, who, approaching the swain, says: "I have some good news for you; a woman likes you." In reply the young man sends a message, asking the girl to keep an appointment in the bush. When the couple meet, they, like all other couples, sit down and talk, the conversation being conducted with perfect decorum. As

to what actually takes place, Dr. Haddon's friend, Maino, chief of Tud, enlightens us.

The man asks: "You like me proper?"

"Yes," she answers, "I like you proper with my heart inside. Eye along my heart sees you—you my man."

Not wishing to give himself away the young man asks: "How you like me?"

"I like your fine leg—you got fine body—your skin good—I like you altogether," the girl replies.

The damsel, now anxious to clinch the matter, asks him when they are to be married, to which he replies: "To-morrow if you like."

On the return to their respective homes the girl's folk fight the man's people—this mock fight being part of the marriage program.

It is to be regretted that the missionaries have done their best to put an end to this harmless custom of ladies proposing matrimony. They have also taught the natives to read and write, with the result that proposals are now made in writing; in one instance the proposal was written on a school-slate.

Dr. Haddon has elsewhere quoted some letters which he obtained. I will quote one of which he gives the following translation by a native:

"Pita, what do you say? I try you. My heart he like very bad for you. You send me back a letter. Yes, this talk belong me. Pita, you. Good-bye. Me, Magena."

To which Peter replies: "Magena. I make you know. Me just the same. I want very bad for you. My talk there. If you like me, all right, just the same; good for you and good for me. Yes, all right. Finish. You, Magena. Good-bye. Me, Pita."

While native law usually permits a man to possess more than one wife, in actual practice the number is limited to one. Contrary to what might be thought the women themselves often wish their husbands to add to their number. The ladies are sorry when a man has only one wife. On one occasion, Bentley, the pioneer missionary of the Congo, was asked why he had only one wife, as he would have only one to cry over him when he was dead; he might as well be a slave!

Many of the very lowest races never possess more than one wife, and the spouses are united in a life-long union. Divorce and bigamy, polygamy, and polyandry, are almost unknown; death itself

is the sole terminator of their affection. Instance after instance could be given in support of these assertions.

Thus Mr. W. H. Man, whose careful researches among the aborigines of the Andaman Islands are so well known, and who lived with them for nearly twelve years, tells us that there is no divorce nor bigamy and that death itself is the only separation. With them conjugal fidelity is the rule, not the exception, and although the women are Eve-like as regards their clothing, they are strikingly modest, good wives, and models of constancy, in which respect the men do not fall far short.

Sir W. W. Hunter says of the Santals, a hill-tribe of Bengal, that second marriages are unknown; divorce is rare and can only be effected by the consent of the clan itself.

Of the Sakais, Semangs, and other wild tribes of the Malay Peninsula, it is stated that the married people are in the highest degree faithful to each other, and that cases of unfaithfulness in either sex are exceedingly rare.

Such evidence could be multiplied over and over again. Nor does the evidence rest upon the hasty generalizations of touring travelers, but is the outcome of special investigations made by scientific observers often extended over a period of many years.

VII. OCCUPATION IN PEACE AND WAR.

Hunting and Fishing.

Self-preservation being Nature's first law, the necessity of providing himself and family with food is the basis upon which many customs and religious observances of savage races are founded.

Like the great apes, primitive man subsists upon a farinaceous diet—upon the fruits and roots which abound in the forests, this being supplemented by animal food when other supplies are not sufficiently forthcoming. Even cattle-owning tribes seldom kill their animals for food, but live chiefly upon a vegetable diet.

Both sexes have to earn their own living. While the women attend to all domestic matters—prepare the food, do the marketing, and toil in the fields—the men, no less active, fish and hunt, do the weaving and work metals. Of the Kafirs of South Africa it has been said that an incredible amount of energy is used up in warfare and in the chase. It will therefore be quite obvious that there exists no serious ground whatever for the oft repeated assertion that the women are mere slaves to the men and that such an accusation can only be put forward by those travelers who from ignorance or from

prejudice have completely misunderstood the social life of savage peoples.

One of the many methods of obtaining food is by means of the blow-pipe or blow-gun. This weapon is met with in South America, Borneo, Ceylon, Bengal, and the Malay Peninsula. It usually consists of a tube of bamboo some six to eight feet in length, from which poisoned darts are blown by means of the mouth (Fig. 18).

With such a simple weapon the wild races of the Malay Peninsula will not hesitate to attack and kill such great game as the



Fig. 18. KENYAHS OF BORNEO, SHOOTING BY MEANS OF THE BLOW-PIPE.

The cloth bandage worn around the loins is made of bark. (Photo by Dr. C. G. Seligmann, *Journal Anth. Inst.*, 1902.)

leopard, the elephant, and the tiger, seldom wasting a dart in so doing.

On one occasion, to test the skill of the Kenyahs, a traveler placed a potato at a distance of fifty paces; out of ten darts, six reached the mark.

One of the most familiar weapons is the bow and arrow (Fig. 19). It is by no means known to all savage tribes, for instance it is absent in parts of South America and Africa and is quite unknown in Australia. Even as regards members of the same race, it

is known to some and quite unknown to others. The use of the bow therefore, as General Pitt-Rivers points out, does not correspond to the distribution of races, as it is, for example, not known to the New Caledonians who are of the same Papuan race as the inhabitants of New Guinea.

Many of the jungle-tribes of India are skilful and intrepid hunters, never stirring without their bows and arrows. The bow itself consists of a strong mountain-bamboo which no Hindu low-lander can bend. Sir William Hunter says of the Santals that the

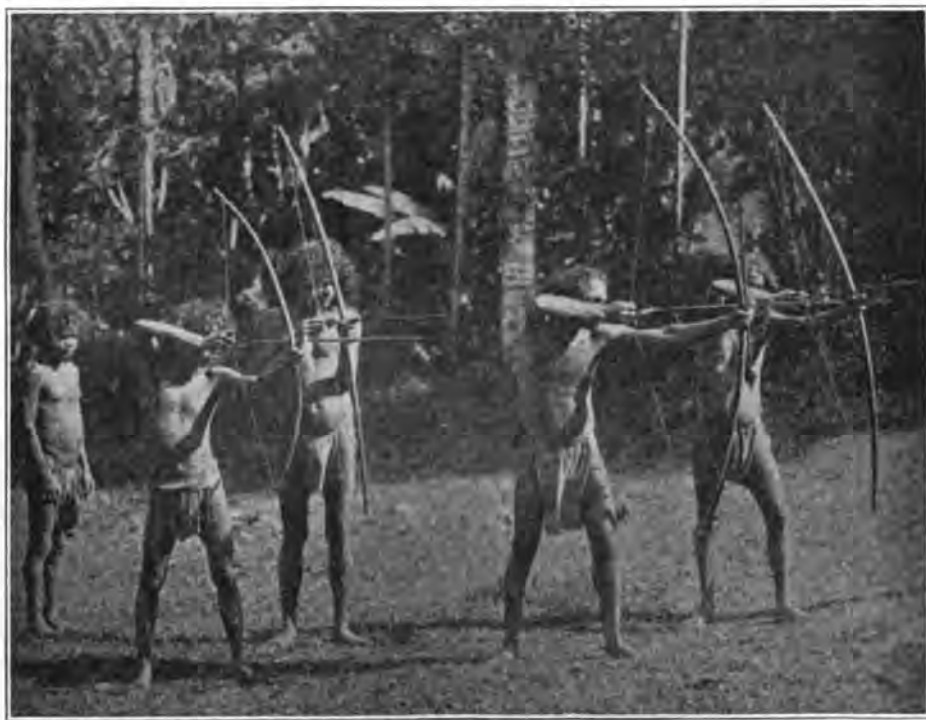


Fig. 19. VEDDAH BOWMEN.

The Veddahs use only the axe and arrow. They will skin a stag very skilfully by means of an arrow-blade only. (Photo by Skene of Colombo. By permission of the Baptist Missionary Society.)

difficulty of shooting with their arrows can only be appreciated by those who have tried, yet few English sportsmen, provided with the latest improvement in firearms, could show a better bag of small game from the jungle than these savages who are equipped solely with rude weapons.

Various methods and devices are in vogue to obtain the produce of the river and the sea. Fish-spears and poisons, knives and nets, hooks and traps, are all more or less brought into requisition.

Throughout the whole course of the great Congo River, fish-traps of elaborate and ingenious construction are used to catch fish. These traps are cone-shaped baskets varying in length from six to twelve feet by two to seven feet in diameter. They are fitted inside with another cone-shaped arrangement which, while allowing the fish free access, effectually prevents their escape. The traps are weighted with stones and dropped into the river with the opening upstream. Each tribe along the river-banks has its own particular method which is never imitated or copied by its neighbors.



Fig. 20. FISHERMEN OF NEW IRELAND.

These baskets are anchored out in deep water, another basket containing stones being used as an anchor to keep the fish-basket in position. (From Meyer's and Parkinson's *Album von Papua-Typen*.)

Similar baskets for trapping fish are made in Melanesia, notably in New Britain and New Ireland (Fig. 20).

While making these traps, superstition as usual plays an important part. No fisherman, while making the basket, may have anything to do with women, and this abstinence must be continued not only until the fish are caught but until they are finally disposed of by being eaten. Breaking this rule would entail bad luck; even if the fish themselves were to hear the name of the fisherman men-

tioned, they would work against him and so prevent him being successful in his catch.

In Fiji, the natives fear to offend the water-spirits, so they pass by in silence with heads uncovered and on no account will they allow any food or even a portion of their clothing to fall into the water.

When the Lao hunter starts for the chase he tells his wife not to cut her hair or oil her body while he is absent; should she cut her hair the elephant would burst his bonds, and if she oiled herself the animal would slip through them.

The Eskimos, when hunting bears, do their best to deceive their prey. They pretend to be friendly and make believe that they are following some other animal; they then take their quarry unawares. Animals can in the ordinary way understand what is said to them, hence it is not uncommon for the hunters to speak a secret language among themselves in order that their prey may not understand or be on guard. In other cases the hunter will politely ask the animal to come and be shot, making the prayerful request that it will not be angry.

Sometimes a sort of pantomime will be acted—the hunters dress themselves in the skin of a bear and imitate its actions; this is supposed to have a magnetic or magical influence which will help the capture. The Bushmen of South Africa when hunting the hippopotamus, dress themselves with the head and hide of an antelope over their shoulders and imitate the movements of that animal in order to deceive their quarry.

To prevent suffering any ill effects of their hunt, the Zulus tie a knot in the tail of the animal they have killed—this will prevent them having the stomach-ache when they partake of its flesh!

Pottery-Making.

“Women,” says a leading American authority—Dr. Otis Mason—“were the first ceramic artisans and developed all the technique, the forms, and the uses of pottery.”

Pottery-making is almost exclusively the employment of women in America and Oceania: while in Africa either the women or the men may do the work. The art is quite unknown to certain races, like the Australians, the Fuegians, the islanders of Torres Straits, and the wild tribes of the Malay Peninsula. Large shells are used as cooking-vessels by the islanders of Torres straits, while bamboo canes and wooden bowls cut from the solid block supply all the needs of the aborigines of the Malay Peninsula.

In Central Africa, the women not only make saucepans and wine-pots but also fire-pans and hearths for carrying fire for cooking-purposes while traveling in canoes. Notwithstanding the fact that the wheel is quite unknown, these articles are generally perfect in shape and are often finished and glazed with gum copal.

The best pottery of Oceania is made in the Fiji Islands, where



Fig. 21. WOMEN MAKING POTS, ISLAND OF TAMARA, NEW GUINEA.

The women are holding a round stone in the left hand and a small piece of wood in the right. These are the sole implements of the lady potters. The coconut-shells near-by contain water to moisten the clay. Notice the ornaments on the ladies arms, neck, and in their ears. The woman in the foreground is wearing two pairs of human ribs in memory of a dead relative. (From Meyer's and Parkinson's *Album von Papua-Typen*.)

red and black ware, of great variety and excellent workmanship is made, as usual by the women. Cooking-pots are to be found in every house, artistically worked with primitive implements as if turned with the wheel.

With the Papuans of to-day (Fig. 21) the art is not equal to that which formerly prevailed in New Guinea, if one is to judge

from the fragments which have been unearthed there in large quantities during recent years.

Warriors and Warfare.

It has been frequently asserted that the normal condition of savage life is one of incessant warfare, and the "ferocious" acts of savage warriors are continually held up as example of their moral depravity.

Thus Dr. Steinmetz, after "careful" investigation, sums up the result in the following words: "We have been able definitely to discover that savages probably after the very earliest stage were bloodthirsty and waged their wars in the cruelest way and with an immense loss of life."

Notwithstanding the dogmatic form in which that conclusion is couched, it may safely be said that no data exist which justify such far-reaching assertions. We are now intimately acquainted with the life history of many of the lowest races on earth; in no single instance does there exist such a condition of warfare, nor the cruel practices so frequently laid to the savage's charge.

Such hostilities as do exist are primarily acts of personal revenge or family feud. As regards neighboring tribes, the savage is not aggressive; he simply acts on the defensive. Savages do not make war to acquire territory, though they may defend their own. Like all animals—wild and domesticated—they resent outside intrusion, hence they frequently kill castaways or members of other tribes who enter their domain. They are careful not to infringe the territorial rights of their neighbors, who on their part recognize the just claims of others.

Even the weapons used by many tribes were not intended in the first instance for killing human beings, but for the chase. Thus the Baris on the Nile use the same weapons for war as for hunting; in the South Seas weapons of warfare are quite unknown to some tribes, the only implements used being spears for catching fish.

Prof. Baldwin Spencer and the late J. F. Gillen—who was for many years sub-protector of the aborigines of South Australia—together the greatest authorities on the Australian blacks, declare as the result of their long and continuous investigations, the assertion that the tribes are constantly hostile to each other and continually at war, is the reverse of the truth. These authorities are supported by other writers who are intimately acquainted with the social life and condition of these tribes.

Mr. F. W. Knoch of the Perak State Museum, tells us that

the hill-tribes of Perak are the most peaceful and peace-loving people on earth and have no ideas of warfare or social strife. The same may be said of the Veddahs, Tamils, and numerous other races whose position in the scale of civilization is the very lowest. Many instances go to show that savages practise toward their enemies acts which we acclaim by our term "humanity."

Not only do they respect the lives of women and children but, as frequently happens, the tombs of their enemies as well. Thus it is asserted of the Nagas that they bestow as much care on the tombs of foes who have fallen near their villages, as on those of their own warriors. The Samoans considered it cowardly to kill a woman. Bonwick asserts of the now extinct Tasmanians that, notwithstanding the provocation received by them at the hands of the colonists, it was seldom that a white woman or child was killed. Again, in 1844, during an attack on Kororareka, the Maoris refrained from destroying the chapels or the houses of the clergy. It is only as uncivilized races are brought into contact with outside influences that the martial side of their character is developed; hence the growth, during the nineteenth century, of the warrior caste among certain races of Africa, like the Zulus, Masai, and other tribes (see frontispiece). It is probable that during the many wars between civilized nations, no instance of an enemy's generosity could be pointed out which compares with the following acts performed by a then race of cannibals.

During one of England's colonial wars, on the bayoneted body of the Maori chief Henare Taratoa, an order of the day was found which ended in Maori with the words: "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink." It happened a few days before that several wounded English officers were left inside the Maori redoubt. Henare Taratoa himself tended them all night and one officer who lay dying made a request for water. There was none in the Maori redoubt; the nearest was three miles away, but there was water in the British lines. So this "savage" chief, risking his own life, crept past the sentries, filled a calabash and with it returned to his dying enemy!

On another occasion, during the fighting in 1863, several large canoes were seen by the British coming down the river from Meri-Meri, with a white flag flying. On being detained these canoes were found to contain a large quantity of potatoes and several milch goats, and were sent as a present to the hostile commander—General Cameron—and his troops, as the Maori chief had heard that the general and his men were short of provisions, so in

obedience to the Scriptural injunction, "If thine enemy hunger, give him meat; if he thirst, give him drink," the chiefs had sent their presents.

Christian civilization may point to a long and glorious history, can it point to nobler acts on the field of battle than these?

While warfare in its modern sense is quite foreign to the real savage, certain acts of an hostile character do take place at various times. These are not acts of conquest, but have their origin in superstition and religious custom.

The savage places very little value on his own life or the life of others. Death itself has little terror for him, but superstition which dominates his whole career leads him to the performance of certain acts which we deem cruel. Like his more civilized brother, he is concerned about his welfare in the present world as well as in the next, hence he will raid his neighbors to capture their heads so that his harvest will be plentiful, sickness be diverted, and that he may likewise possess slaves in the world to come.

Thus it was the custom of the Lhota Nāga of Northeast India—according to an official report issued some years since—to cut off the head, hands, and feet of any one they met without any provocation or personal enmity, solely to stick in the field and thereby insure a good crop of grain.

For the same reason the Bontocs of Luzon obtain a head for every farm, at the time of planting and sowing. These heads were exposed on trees in the villages and afterwards kept as relics when the flesh had decayed.

The Dyaks of Borneo have a feast at each head-taking; lavish endearing terms upon the head and thrust food into its mouth. The spirit-power of the deceased, acting through its head, will cause the rice to grow abundantly, the forests to teem with game, women will be fruitful, general health and happiness will abound.

When Dyaks go head-hunting they take special measures to secure the souls of their enemies and render them harmless before they attempt to kill their bodies. For this purpose they build an immature hut, in which some food is placed. The leader of the expedition sits near the hut and addresses the spirits of his own kinsmen whom the enemy have beheaded, and asks the spirits to come to their village where food is abundant. By this means they believe they can deceive the souls of their enemies and induce them also to come to the spot; then, all of a sudden, hidden warriors leap forth, make a supposed attack, and kill the enemy souls. No

danger is now to be apprehended; they sally forth and attack the bodies of the men whose souls have already been destroyed.

In Celebes the wives of the head-hunters must observe certain rules during the absence of the men. They must keep their houses tidy; they must not quit them at night; nor may they sew any garments, because, when the spirits of the head-hunters return, they must find everything in proper order.



Fig. 23. LARGE CANOE—WITHOUT OUTRIGGER—OF BUKA, SOLOMON ISLANDS.

Some of these canoes are nearly sixty feet long by three and one half feet wide. They are made of pieces of wood fastened together; are very elegant in appearance, and ornamented with mother of pearl. The Buka Islanders have been considered to be the finest specimens of manhood in the South Seas. (From Meyer's and Parkinson's *Album von Papua-Typen*.)

With the Dyaks and Solomon Islanders head-hunting is an absorbing passion; on a single expedition no less than sixty heads are sometimes taken. For this purpose canoes (Fig. 23) frequently capable of holding seventy men are fitted out.

At the launching of a canoe, two skulls of enemies were set up on a post, the canoe houses were likewise decorated with them,

the scalps and hair were put on a coconut mat and hung in the common hall.

When a canoe was built in the Fiji Islands, a man was killed, and when launched, human bodies were used as rollers to aid its passage to the sea.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

SEMITES, HEBREWS, ISRAELITES, JEWS.

BY PAUL HAUPT.

THERE seems to be a certain haziness in many minds, even among specialists, as to the difference between Semites, Hebrews, Israelites, and Jews. These four terms are often regarded as synonymous. The *Century Dictionary* defines *Jew* as a Hebrew, an Israelite; *Israelite* as a Hebrew, a Jew; and *Hebrew* as an Israelite, a Jew. *Anti-Semitic* is often used for *anti-Jewish*, although the anti-Semites have no antagonism to the Arabs who are more Semitic than the Jews.

In his review of Dr. S. Maybaum's book on the development of the ancient Israelitish priesthood, published in the *Göttinger Gelehrte Anzeigen* at the beginning of 1881 and afterward reprinted in the first volume of his *Mitteilungen* (Göttingen, 1884), p. 55, Paul de Lagarde called Semites, Hebrews, Israelites, Jews a *descending scale*. I do not endorse this statement, but Lagarde recognized at least that there was a difference between Semites, Hebrews, Israelites, and Jews.

There were no Jews before the return from the Babylonian Captivity in 538 B. C. Eduard Meyer said at the beginning of his monograph on the Aramaic papyri of Elephantine that Judaism was a creation of the Persian empire.¹ We possess now a decree of Darius II, written in the year 419, which sets forth the regulations concerning the Feast of Unleavened Bread; these were intended, not only for the Jewish colony of Elephantine in Egypt, but for all the Jews in the Persian empire (cf. *op. cit.*, p. 96). The Pentateuch was made the standard of the restored community in Jerusalem under the auspices of the Persian empire. The law which Ezra brought from Babylonia in 458, was the Priestly Code, but the Torah which was proclaimed at the great public meeting convened by

¹ Eduard Meyer, *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine* (Leipsic, 1912), p. 1.

Nehemiah on October 30, 445,² was the Priestly Code combined with the pre-Exilic sacred books, Deuteronomy as well as the Judaic and Ephraimitic documents. Afterward the Book of Joshua was cut off in order to emphasize the Mosaic origin of the Law.³

The inhabitants of the Southern Kingdom before the Exile may be termed Judaïtes. Judah was not a tribe, but a religious association. The Levites formed a sacerdotal caste. Judah is a collective term for those who worship JHVH (Heb. *ăshăr yĕhōdû Yahwêh*). King of Judah is originally a designation like the Arabic Commander of the Faithful. The ancestors of the Judaïtes were Edomites. An examination of the genealogies of Edom and Judah shows that they are practically identical. Judah included a number of heterogeneous elements. Solomon's mother was the wife of Uriah the Hittite. David also had Philistines and Cretans in his army. His ancestress Ruth was a Moabitess. The Book of Ruth seems to have been written about 450 B. C. as a protest against the exclusive attitude taken by Ezra and Nehemiah with regard to the wives of foreign extraction, just as the Book of Jonah may be a Sadducean apologue written about 100 B. C. and aimed at Pharisaic exclusivism.⁴

Moses's wife is said to have been a daughter of the priest of Midian. According to Manetho she was a daughter of a priest of Heliopolis, the center of Egyptian solar monotheism. In the official Judaic tradition this connubial connection was afterward transferred to Joseph. The Israelites were not in Egypt, only the Edomite ancestors of the Jews sojourned there for some time. In a papyrus of the time of Merneptah a high official asks permission for the entrance into Egypt of Bedouins from the land of Aduma, i. e., Edom. The famous stele of Merneptah shows that at that time (i. e., about 1230 B. C.) the Israelites were settled in Palestine, especially in Ephraim.⁵ Ephraim is not a tribal name, but a geographical term denoting the central portion of western Palestine between Judah and

² For this date cf. my paper "The Inauguration of the Second Temple" in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 33, p. 161.

³ See my paper "The Origin of the Pentateuch" in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 16, p. ciii; cf. the pamphlet *Bibles Within the Bible*, issued in connection with the prospectus of the Polychrome Bible and the article "Tôlêdôt Mēgôrê hat-Tôrâ" in the Hebrew literary review *Ner Ha'Maarabi*, New York, June 1895, pp. 2-10.

⁴ See my paper "The Religion of the Hebrew Prophets" in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* (Oxford, 1908), Vol. 1, p. 269; contrast the *Princeton Theological Review*, April, 1918, p. 280.

⁵ Cf. the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., Vol. 9, p. 85b, and Meyer's booklet on the papyri of Elephantine (see above, n. 1), p. 43, n. 1.

Galilee. Edom may be a dialectic form of Heb. *adam*, men, while Esau may be a dialectic form of Heb. *ôšê*, maker, creator. Esau was originally the god of the Edomites, just as Jacob was the god of the Israelites. Similarly Abraham seems to have been a local deity of Hebron, and Isaac a divinity of Beer-sheba. They were afterward transformed into patriarchs just as several pagan deities survive in the saints of the Catholic Church. Esau, Maker, is an older name of JHVH, Creator, lit. "He who causes to be." For the meaningless *ähyê äshär ähyê* in Exod. iii. 13, which is supposed to mean "I am that I am" or "I will be what I will be," we must read *ahyê äshär ihyê*, "I cause to be what is."

The ancient Israelites were not worshipers of JHVH, but idolaters (cf. Josh. xxiv. 14; Gen. xxxi. 30-35). Their national god was the *abbir Isra'él* who was worshiped in the form of a bull.⁶ David (c. 1000 B. C.) forced the Israelites to embrace the religion of JHVH, but after the death of Solomon (933) they relapsed into idolatry. The names of the Israelitish gods in the Ephraimitic documents have been replaced by the term *angel of Jahveh* or by the appellative *god*. Judaism regarded the gods of other nations as angels of JHVH, commissioned by Him to govern the foreign nations.⁷

The Israelites invaded Palestine from the northeast about 1400 B. C. They came from Mesopotamia and spoke originally Aramaic (cf. Gen. xxxi. 47),⁸ whereas the ancestors of the Jews were Edomites who had sojourned in Egypt for some time. Afterward they invaded Palestine from the south shortly before the time of David, i. e., c. 1050 B. C. For a considerable time the ancestors of the Jews were semi-nomadic sheepmen, while the Israelites were settled peasants and cattlemen. The names Sons of Rachel and Sons of Leah denote originally *sheepmen* and *cowboys*, or cattlemen. Rachel signifies *ewe*, and Leah means *cow*. Issachar and Zebulun, who play so prominent a part in the Song of Deborah,⁹ as well as Reuben were *bênê-le'â*, but Judah with Simeon and Levi were *bênê-rahêl*. Joseph, on the other hand, belonged to the *bênê-le'â*. These

⁶ See my address on Armageddon in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 34, p. 417.

⁷ See the translation of the Psalms in the Polychrome Bible, p. 176, line 36. Cf. p. 419 of the address referred to in the preceding note and p. 359 of the paper cited below, in n. 28.

⁸ See my paper "Kir = Ur of the Chaldees" in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 36, pp. 94, 97; cf. E. G. H. Kraeling, *Aram and Israel* (New York, 1918), p. 32.

⁹ See the translation of this oldest monument of Hebrew literature (c. 1250 B. C.) in my address cited in n. 6.

terms have been intentionally misapplied by the official historiographers for the purpose of creating the impression that the Israelites had been sheepmen just as well as the Judaites. In the same way Joseph is said to have been in Egypt, although the Israelites never were there. We find similar intentional alterations in the legends of South Arabia. The sheepmen were regarded as inferior to the cattlemen, and the Israelites may have looked down on their southern neighbors, because they had some admixture of African blood. Moses's wife is called in Num. xii. 1 a *kūshith*, i. e., a negress. Egypt was originally not inhabited by a negroid population, but negroid features developed subsequently when negro slaves were introduced.¹⁰ Semites seem to have invaded Egypt in the prehistoric period, both through the isthmus of Suez and across the Red Sea near Koseir. Egyptian is a Semitic language which was adopted by the aboriginal population, just as the Abyssinians adopted the idiom of the Semitic invaders.

There is no Semitic race. Semites denotes simply peoples speaking one of the so-called Semitic languages. Similarly Max Müller called the speakers of Indo-European languages Aryans; he said, however: "To me an ethnologist who speaks of Aryan race, Aryan blood, Aryan eyes and hair, is as great a sinner as a linguist who speaks of a dolichocephalic dictionary or a brachycephalic grammar."¹¹ But it is perfectly legitimate to apply the term Aryan to the ancient inhabitants of India and Persia who spoke Indo-European languages. I use Aryan in the sense of Indo-Iranian or Iranian.¹² Darius Hystaspis calls himself an Aryan. The Indo-European languages as well as the Semitic dialects were spoken by a number of different races. Ethiopic is a Semitic language, but the Ethiopians do not belong to the same race as the northern Arabs. The Philistines may have adopted the language of Canaan, although they came from Crete. Also the Phenicians may have come from Europe, even the Amorites may represent an earlier stratum of this European immigration.¹³ They settled in the hinterland, while the Phenicians remained on the coast. The Philistines, who came later, occupied the southern coast, because the northern coast was held by the Phenicians. Philistine signifies *invader*, Phenician denotes *red*, i. e.,

¹⁰ See the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 34, p. 86.

¹¹ Cf. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., Vol. 2, p. 711b.

¹² See n. 17 to my paper "The Aryan Ancestry of Jesus" in *The Open Court*, No. 635 (April, 1909), p. 199.

¹³ See my paper "Amorites, Phenicians, Philistines," in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 306, p. 21.

white, not swarthy;¹⁴ and Amorite means *Mediterranean* or West-erner. *Amurru* was an ancient Babylonian name for the Mediterranean.¹⁵ The Philistines and the Phenicians as well as the Amorites may have been pre-Hellenic invaders from the Ægean islands including Crete, but they adopted the language of Canaan, just as the Normans adopted the English language.

The so-called Phenician alphabet may have been imported from Europe. If it had been invented by seafarers like the Phenicians we should expect a ship (Heb. 'ōnī) instead of an ox (Heb. ālf) as the symbol for aleph. If we invert our A (V) we can still discern in it the rough outlines of the head of a horned ox. Our S is the Greek Σ, and if we turn it (Ϸ) and draw a line across the top (Ϸ) we have the symbol of a (bicuspid) tooth (Heb. *shen* = Arab. *sinn*). T is a cross (Heb. *tau*). This three-armed form of the cross is known as the *tau-cross*, *crux commissa* or *patibulata*;¹⁶ it is also called the Egyptian cross or St. Anthony's cross. Our *m* represents a wave-line symbolizing water (Heb. *maim*). We have wave-lines in the sign of Aquarius (♊) and we find them in the representation of the Euphrates on an ancient Babylonian plan of a part of Babylon, figured on p. 100 of the translation of Ezekiel in the Polychrome Bible.

We know from the Amarna Tablets¹⁷ that Hebrew was spoken in Canaan before the Israelites invaded Palestine about 1400 B. C. As stated above, the Israelites spoke originally Aramaic (Gen. xxxi. 47). In the Amarna Tablets the Israelitish invaders are called *Khabiri*. This represents the name 'ibrī, Hebrew, just as the initial 'ain of 'Azzā, Gaza, and Omri is indicated in the cuneiform texts by a *kh*. The name 'Ibrī is derived from a collective noun 'ibr which represents an original intransitive adjective 'abir, just as we find in Arabic *nimr*, leopard, for *namir*, or *bi'sa*, he was bad, for *ba'isa*. The stem 'abar means *to pass*, *to traverse*, *to wander*. *Hebrews* denotes originally the wandering ancestors of the Israelites before

¹⁴ The face of a healthy white man is not white, but ruddy. The *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., Vol. 25, p. 190, states: The fair European skin reddens under the sun, passing from pale red to brick-red or to patches of deep red. Cf. Gesenius's *Thesaurus* (Leipsic, 1858): *Addenda et Emendanda ad* p. 25, B.

¹⁵ See the abstract of my paper "Assyr. Amurru, Mediterranean," in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 38, Part 4.

¹⁶ *Patibulum* is the name of the cross-bar which the criminal condemned to crucifixion had to carry to the place of execution. The upright stake remained there as a permanent fixture. Cf. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. 1, p. 528.

¹⁷ See the illustrated excursus on the Amarna Tablets on pp. 47-55 of the translation of Joshua in the Polychrome Bible.

they settled in Palestine. The Israelites were originally Hebrews, but all the Hebrews did not settle in Palestine. 'Arab is merely a transposed doublet of 'Abar. We have the same stem in the term *ambergris*. Amber, Arab. 'anbar, denotes originally *floating*, passing through the sea.¹⁸ At the end of Psalm viii we find:

*Çippôr shamáim wě-dâg*¹⁹ 'ôbér orhōth yammim.

The birds of the air and the fish that pass through the paths of the sea. The rift of the Jordan is called 'ārabâ for 'ābarâ, because it must be crossed, and the wilderness is called 'ārabâ, because it is traversed. People pass through it, but they do not settle there. In Jer. ii. 6 we read:

Bě-'ārç lô-'abār-bâh ish wě-lô yashâb adâm-sham.

Through a land that no one passed through, and where no man dwelt. The Sumerian word for merchant, *ibira*, is the Assyrian *êbir* = Heb. 'ôbér = *sôhér*, traveling chapman, itinerant merchant, pedler; also the synonym of *ibira*, Sumer. *damgar* is a Semitic loanword (= Assy. *tamkaru*, salesman, from *makar*, to sell).

So we have found that Semites denotes the various peoples speaking Semitic languages, including Babylonians, Assyrians, Arameans, Canaanites, Israelites, Judaïtes, Arabs. Hebrews denotes originally the nomadic ancestors of the Israelites before they settled in Palestine. Israelites is the name of the Ephraimitic peasants who spoke originally Aramaic, but settled in Palestine about 1400 B. C. They were idolaters, but were forced by David to embrace Judaism about 1000 B. C. They survive in the Samaritans whose number is now reduced to 170 souls. The Israelites, who were carried to Assyria after the fall of Samaria in 722, were absorbed by the people of the Assyrian districts to which they were deported.²⁰ The Samaritans represent a mixture of the Israelites who were left in Ephraim and the Assyrian colonists settled in the Northern Kingdom.

Nor was Judah free from foreign admixture. Before the times of Ezra and Nehemiah (c. 450 B. C.) Judah had absorbed several heterogeneous elements. In some respects Judah was a great melting-pot like the United States of America, and the remarkable qual-

¹⁸ See my paper "Jonah's Whale" in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 46, p. 158. French *ambre gris* means gray amber; what we call *amber* is in French *ambre jaune*, i. e., yellow amber. White amber denotes spermaceti.

¹⁹ Hay-yâm after *dâg* is a gloss.

²⁰ For cuneiform traces of the Israelites deported to Mesopotamia in 722 B. C. see pp. 27-31 of the monograph by S. Schiffer in the first *Beilage zur Orientalistischen Literaturzeitung* (Berlin, 1907).

ities of the Jews²¹ are no doubt due to the original race-mixture followed by strict inbreeding. This exclusivism after the former race-mixture developed a distinct racial type. The English thoroughbred horse is the result of cross-breeding between Arab sires and English mares, followed by strict inbreeding. The prophet Ezekiel (xvi. 3) says of Jerusalem: Thy birth and thy nativity is of the land of Canaan; thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother a Hittite. The Hittites were neither Semitic nor Indo-European. Professor Hrozný's recent attempt to prove the Indo-European character of the Hittite language has been contested by the distinguished Aryanist Professor Bartholomae, of Heidelberg.²² As stated above, the Amorites as well as the Phenicians and the Philistines may have come from Europe. The Amorites may be pre-Hellenic Ægeans, and the Hittites, Mongolians.²³ The Israelitish poet Amos (c. 736 B. C.)²⁴ calls the Amorites as tall as cedars and as strong as oaks (Am. ii. 9). The so-called Jewish nose is not Semitic, but Armenian.²⁵ The Jewish type is entirely different from the Semitic type as exhibited by the Arab Bedouins.²⁶ The Jews represent a mixed type including Edomite, Hittite, Amorite, Philistine, and Egyptian elements.²⁷ There was no exclusivism prior to the times of Ezra and Nehemiah (c. 450 B. C.).

The religion of Moses may be connected with the solar monotheism of ancient Egyptian theology;²⁸ the Levitic ritual was in-

²¹ Cf. Louis D. Covitt, "The Anthropology of the Jew" in *The Monist*, July, 1916, especially pp. 370, 375, 389, 396; also the *American Journal of Physical Anthropology*, Vol. 1, pp. 106, 117, 119, 127 (Washington, 1918).

²² Contrast *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 34, p. 86, n. 1.

²³ See the Hittite warriors on page 56 of the translation of Joshua in the Polychrome Bible; cf. below, n. 26. Afterwards the Hittites may have been assimilated to the "Caucasian" type, just as the Western Turks have to a large extent lost their original physique; cf. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th ed., Vol. 15, p. 827b.

²⁴ See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 35, p. 287; Vol. 36, p. 94.

²⁵ See Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipsic, 1907), p. 33; cf. *The Open Court*, No. 635 (April, 1909), p. 247.

²⁶ See pp. 145 and 146 of the translation of Ezekiel in the Polychrome Bible. A Hittite deity is figured there on page 123.

²⁷ See my remarks on Mesopotamia and Palestine in the *Journal of the Washington Academy of Sciences*, Vol. 8, p. 332 (May, 1918).

²⁸ See my paper "The Burning Bush and the Origin of Judaism" in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 48, p. 356; cf. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 36, p. 94, n. 5.

fluenced by Babylonian institutions,²⁹ and Judaism is a creation of the Persian empire.³⁰

HUMAN SACRIFICES IN JAPAN.

BY NORITAKE TSUDA.

IT is remarkable that the tradition of human sacrifices was so widespread in old Japan that there is scarcely any old Japanese who has not heard some story or another of human sacrifices known as Hitomi-goku or Hitobashira. Such traditions arose very early in Japanese history.

According to the *Nihon Shoki* ("Chronicles of Japan"), the Kitakawa and Mamuta rivers overflowed in the eleventh year of the reign of the Emperor Nintoku (323 A.D.). Protection against the torrent was quite beyond the ability of the stricken populace. Meanwhile the Emperor had a divine revelation in his august dream to the effect that there was a person called Kowakubi in the province of Musashi, and one more person named Koromono-ko in the province of Kawachi, and if they should be sacrificed to the deities of the two rivers respectively, the work would be easily achieved. Hereupon a search for the two persons was started and they were caught.

Kowakubi, the poor victim, was then thrown into the torrent of the Kitakawa river, with a prayer offered to the deity of the

²⁹ See my paper "Bable and Bible" in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 163, p. 48. Not only the inspection of the intestines of slaughtered animals (*bēdiqūtā*) but also the Jewish method of slaughter (*shēhitā*) seem to be derived from Babylonia; see *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 36, p. 259.

³⁰ Apart from the articles cited above, especially in notes 6, 8, 12, 13, 28, 29, additional details and fuller bibliographic references may be found in my papers "Archæology and Mineralogy" and "David's Dirge on Saul and Jonathan" in the *Johns Hopkins University Circulars*, No. 163, pp. 51, 53; cf. *ibid.*, p. 59;—also in the articles on the Aryan descent of Jesus and His disciples; David's and Christ's birthplace; the ancestors of the Jews, the name JHVH; the passage of the Hebrews through the Red Sea, published in Peiser's *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, Vol. 11, col. 237; Vol. 12, cols. 65, 162, 211, 245.—"The Ethnology of Galilee" in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* (Oxford, 1908), Vol. 1, p. 302.—Leah and Rachel in the *Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. 29, p. 284; cf. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 32, p. 17.—Midian and Sinai in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. 63, p. 506.—"An Ancient Protest Against the Curse on Eve" in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 50, p. 505.—*The Book of Micah*, (Chicago, 1910), especially pp. 19, nn. 17, 18; 36, n. 38; 50, n. 10.—The Battle of Taanach in the *Wellhausen Festschrift* (Giessen, 1914), p. 193, especially nn. 1, 12, 13, 15, 17, 21, 27, 30, 33, 41, 46, 48, 49, 81, 85, 90, 94, 102.

river. Now through his sacrifice it was possible to construct the bank completely.

Not so Koromono-ko. He brought out two gourds, and throwing them into the torrent he addressed the deity of the river thus: "I came here," said he, "to sacrifice my life to thee, because thou art inflicting the calamity upon the people of this district. If thou dost sincerely want my life, sink these gourds so that they may not float again; then I shall know thee as the true deity of this river and offer my body to thee. But if thou canst not sink them, thou art not the true deity, and it would be in vain for me to throw away my life." At this time a whirling wind blew as though trying to submerge the gourds. But dancing on top of the waves, they did not sink, and floated away. For this test, the agitation of the water lessened and the bank was made strong and Koromono-ko had saved his life.

Let us pause here to reflect a little.

The *Nihon Shoki* which contains this tradition was compiled by Prince Toneri and Ono Yasumaro and completed in the fourth year of Yoro (720 A.D.), the work being entrusted to them by the Empress Gensho. It contains the mythological ages and the early historic times of Japan, from the accession of the Emperor Jimmu (660 B.C.) to the abdication of the Empress Jito (697 A.D.), being one of the most important works for the student of ancient Japan. But these records of human sacrifices we regard as mere mythological traditions which were accepted by the people at least at the time when the *Nihon Shoki* was compiled, four centuries after the recorded events occurred.

The motive for the deification of the river may seem to be in the calamity-causing power of the water rather than in any real being supposed to be in it. It is, however, a very noteworthy point that in other cases gourds are connected with serpents. According to the same book, there was living in the river a large serpent which, frequently leaving its abode, emitted poisonous vapors and inflicted pains on the passers-by which often proved fatal. This is reported to have happened during the sixty-seventh year of the same emperor (Nintoku). To put an end to the annoyance, Agatamori, the official of the place, visited the affected part of the bank and threw three gourds into the water, as was done in the case cited above, and said to the serpent that if it could sink the gourds he would spare its life, but otherwise he would kill it. The serpent, however, could not sink them. Thereupon he killed it.

Considering these records, the tests of the river-deity and the

serpent seem to have some intimate relation. Moreover, who is not reminded of Grendel, slain by Beowulf, and other mythological tales of the West? Also the ancient Mexicans worshiped a fabulous beast called Ahuizotl living at the bottom of the water.

According to the *Kojiki* ("Records of Ancient Things," completed 712 A. D.), a monstrous eight-forked serpent devoured seven maidens every year one after another, but finally at the eighth time, it was cut to pieces by Prince Susa-no-o, and the maiden who was rescued by the prince became his wife. This record is also a mythological narrative, and it could not be indigenous in Japan because no large harmful serpent ever lived in Japan according to the zoologist. Its origin, therefore, should belong in some foreign land.

There are three elements in these tales of a serpent being killed, viz., the monster wants human sacrifices, a girl to be sacrificed is rescued, and the rescued girl is married to the hero by whom she is saved. These elements reappear very often in the later folk-tales of a similar nature.

The following tradition is still living in the memory of the people of Aihara in the province of Buzen. According to this tradition, this district was the parish of the Usa-hachiman shrine in the twelfth century, and was governed by Yuya-danjo Motonobu and six other parish commissioners. But the people suffered bitterly every year from the inundation of the Yamakuni river. Therefore the seven commissioners opened a council and decided to offer their prayers to the Hachiman shrine day and night for a whole week to receive a divine revelation. It was finally revealed to them that there was no other means than to offer a human sacrifice to the water-deity. But they could not find any man willing to be used for the purpose. Hereupon Yuya-danjo proposed to his six comrades to take off their trousers and throw them into the river, under the agreement that the owner of the trousers which sank should offer his life to the deity. This was approved by all and was tried as proposed. Alas! the trousers of Yuya-danjo sank and his life was forfeited. Tsuru, a daughter of one of his retainers, and Tsuru's son, called Ichitaro, heard of their master's ill lot, and both begged to be allowed to give their own lives in behalf of their master. Nothing of the kind being granted, each of them separately offered his life to the deity. This is said to have happened on the 15th of August, the first year of Hoen (1135 A. D.). And since that time the banks of the river are said to have been very strong and no inundation was experienced there until modern times. The faithful mother and her son are said to be enshrined in the Tsuru-

ichi shrine which now stands there. The origin of this tradition seems to be in the record in the *Nihon Shoki*.

The tradition of human sacrifices is also concerned with the building of large bridges. For example, in the *Yasutomi-ki*, a diary of the fifteenth century, a famous tradition is contained, called Nagara-no Hitobashira (*hitobashira*, "human pillar"). According to the tradition, a woman who was carrying a boy on her back was caught while she was passing along the river Nagara, and was buried at the place where a large bridge was then to be built.

There are also similar traditions in connection with the crossing of the sea. The oldest record of the kind is also in the *Nihon Shoki*. According to this, while the Emperor Jimmu, the founder of the Japanese Empire, was crossing the sea on his expedition to the east, a typhoon broke and his boat was soon adrift on the waves. Then Ina-ihi-no-mikoto, deploring the disposition of the deity, sacrificed his own body to the deity of the sea; thus the emperor could proceed.

A similar but more popular narrative which is concerned with Tachibana-hime is recorded in the same book. When Prince Yamatodake was crossing the sea to subjugate a revolt in the east, his boat was nearly capsized by a sudden storm. But his consort, Tachibana-hime, thinking it to be a punishment visited upon them by the deity of the sea, threw herself into the deep to calm the agitation of the waves, and thus the life of the prince was saved.

There is a little different story in the *Taiheiki*, written in the fourteenth century. According to it, a passenger-boat was passing through Naruto of Awa when it suddenly stopped and could not proceed. The passengers conjectured that this was caused by Riu-jin, the dragon deity, with the intention of getting something in their possession. So they threw their swords, arms and armor, and other things which they thought the deity coveted, into the water. But the whirlpool would not become calmer. Meanwhile a steersman crying out from below said that, the place being the eastern gate of Riu-gu ("Dragon Palace"), some precious thing should be given the dragon for regaining their freedom. He then proposed to sacrifice a noble among them so as to rescue the rest, for nothing less, he claimed, the deity wanted this time. Thus the ship was released and could pass.

There are many more traditions of this nature, but we think it is not necessary to repeat them.

Besides stories concerning the water-deity there is another kind

of traditions in which human sacrifices are said to have been offered to monstrous monkeys.

The oldest of these is contained in the *Konjaku Monogatari* compiled by Minamoto Kunitaka in the eleventh century. This work contains various kinds of traditions of Japan, China, and India. According to one of them, there were once upon a time two deities, one called Chusan and the other Kōya, in the province of Mimasaku in Japan. The body of the Chusan deity was a monkey and that of the Kōya deity was a serpent. To them a human sacrifice was offered annually, always consisting in a virgin who was selected from among the inhabitants. This custom had been observed from ancient times. Now in this country, there was once living a very beautiful maiden extremely beloved by her parents. But the maiden was selected as a victim for the next year's festival. So she was given special nourishment that she might be fat on the day of the festival as it was always a rule. The parents, counting the days, lamented more and more bitterly as the end approached. Meanwhile a man came to this province from the eastern part of the country, a hunter, and he began his hunting business with many dogs which were trained to bite animals to death. This man heard about the matter of the maiden and one day called upon her parents and personally heard their lamentation which excited him to deep sympathy; so he proposed to deliver their daughter from her death. When the day of the festival came a Shinto priest with others visited the house, carrying a large chest into which the maiden was to be put. Now the man secretly entered the chest (instead of the maiden), but with a sharp sword and two of his dogs which were trained to kill monkeys. The chest was then carried to the shrine escorted by many; the strings then being cut off, it was left there as a sacrifice to the monkey deity. The tradition then proceeds to describe that the man, pushing up the cover of the chest just a little, found near-by a large monkey, seven or eight feet tall, with a few hundred smaller monkeys around him. After a little while the large monkey came to the chest and opened the cover, being assisted by the smaller ones. At this moment, the man, giving a signal to his dogs, jumped up and out of the chest. The monkey was first caught by the two dogs and then pulled down by the man. "Thou hast killed," said the man, with his sword over the monkey, "many virgins; therefore thy time is now come, but if thou be a true god, kill me this instant." Meanwhile the smaller monkeys were mostly killed by the two dogs. At the same time, a revelation was made to the Shinto priest who had brought the chest, saying, "I (the

monkey) need no more human sacrifices from now on, so come and deliver me from death." Now the priest and others rushed into the shrine and told the man about the revelation. The man, however, did not want to listen to them and answered that he wanted to kill the monkey for his many misdeeds and that he did not care about his own life for this. But after repeated implorations he allowed the monkey to regain his freedom. The monkey ran away into the hills and the man went back to the maiden's parents and married her, and formed a happy home for many years. Thus the people were delivered from human sacrifices.

It is remarkable that such traditions gave rise to religious customs and manners in commemoration of them, and that such services were observed even until recent years in remote parts of the country. We shall here introduce some instances.

It was on the 4th of February, 1895, that my friend Mr. S. Wada personally witnessed a service of this kind called Oto. According to his information it took place annually on the 10th of January (of the old calendar) at Hojo, Shikito-gun, in the province of Harima. In this village there is a shrine called Ten-man-gu. According to the tradition remembered by the people of the village, there once was a large bamboo bush at the back of the shrine, and here lived an eight-eyed weasel. To propitiate the weasel and to get rid of its evil doings from which the villagers suffered, a boy and a girl had to be offered to it annually as its food. But one day a Yamabushi priest called Doshingasaka came to this village and killed the weasel before it caught the poor boy and the girl who were then being offered to it. The commemoration of this noble deed of the Yamabushi priest is said to be the origin of the Oto service. The service is very peculiar and interesting. Two families are selected beforehand by divination. One of the families must have a boy of five years who must be their eldest son, and the other family a girl of five years who must be their eldest daughter, and the parents must be living. Every one who wants to take his seat in the ceremony must cleanse his body and eat only vegetables from the previous day until the ceremony ends. On the morning of the festival day the boy and the girl proceed to the shrine followed by their parents, servants, and neighbors. When they arrive at the shrine, the boy, the girl, their parents, and two waiters respectively take their seats in the sanctuary, together with the priest and the shrine-keeper. Then the priest offers a prayer to the god. After the prayer, they are to be served with sacred sakê wine and other vegetable food. Villagers who throng to the shrine are also served

with the sakê and other food and make merry. Such merry-making represents their delight in the rescue of the children by the Yamabushi priest. At the close of the ceremony, the priest draws a lot to select two families for the next year.

At the Sakato-no shrine at Sakato-ichiba in the province of Kazusa, there is a service which also has some relation with human sacrifice. A person is selected from among the parishioners of this shrine by lot, and he is brought before the shrine and there he is put to a chopping-block. A person called Hitotsu-mono performs a mimic ceremony as though to kill him. The rite is said to be the relic of a human sacrifice which it was once a rule to offer to the god of this shrine.

There is also a ritual at the annual festival of the Juzo shrine at Wajima-cho in the province of Noto, which is symbolic of a human sacrifice. The essential offering in this ritual consists in the so-called sacred water kept in a chest covered with a shoulder costume and a rosary, and this offering is carried to the shrine at midnight.

It is well known that many races observed the custom of human sacrifices in some stage of their development. Human sacrifice, Bunsen says, was abolished in the very earliest times by the Egyptians, who declared it to be an abomination to the gods, whereas in Palestine, in Syria, and in civilized Phenicia and Carthage, such sacrifices continued to be offered to Moloch as the very climax of religious worship. Some of the kings of Judah and Israel caused their children to pass through the fire. Even the Romans, in the time of the Cæsars, buried their Gallic prisoners alive in order to appease the wrath of their gods; nor were the Greeks entirely free from these atrocious practices. It is also well known that among the Aztecs of Mexico human sacrifices were a matter of ordinary occurrence. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that also in Japan this custom should have been practised once. But it is doubtful whether it was really practised in the Japanese historic period, namely since the Yamato race organized the present Japanese nation more than two thousand years ago. Where shall we then find the origin of the traditions which we have characterized above? No scholar could give any definite answer to this question.

The custom, however, is also found in ancient China, for, as it is recorded in the *Ch'un Ts'ew*, with *Tso Chuen* compiled in the fifth century B. C., it must have been practised in the remote ages of Chinese history. The intercourse between China and Japan being preeminent from the beginning of the Yamato race, there should

have been some influences upon the traditions of human sacrifice in Japan. The story of Riu-jin, the dragon deity, is the most conspicuous one evidently introduced from China. Some other traditions probably originated with the Stone Age people who lived in Japan before the Yamato race came and subjugated them.

According to our investigations of the Japanese tradition of human sacrifices, those connected with the water-deity are the oldest and most numerous, and then those concerning baboons. It should be noticed that the water-deities and monkeys were often tempted by their opponent to do something or another, e. g., to sink the gourds as we described above, to disclose their inability. The Hito-bashira or "human pillar" traditions are always connected with some important enterprise and mostly with water. In large enterprises human lives are often lost in the work itself, therefore in some cases such loss of human life would have been looked upon as a human sacrifice.

It is, however, most remarkable that stories of human sacrifice were most numerous composed in the Tokugawa period, i. e., during the last three centuries. The killing of monstrous serpents or baboons to rescue poor victims, or to give happiness to the people, was an indispensable element in the popular heroic stories of this period. These stories were mostly derived from the older traditions which we described. By such popular traditions, a spirit of self-sacrifice was inspired in the people. It is, therefore, highly interesting to note that the Japanese traditions of human sacrifice were made use of, in a pretty well advanced stage of society, for social education both by means of popular literary works and religious customs and manners.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

LIBERAL JUDAISM AND HELLENISM, AND OTHER ESSAYS. By C. G. Montefiore. London: Macmillan & Co., 1918. Pp. xii. 328. Price, 6s. net.

The essays—many of them undelivered lectures—which make up this interesting and persuasive volume all deal with aspects of liberal Judaism, and are mainly concerned with the question whether the Jewish religion, which survived the changes and chances of so many centuries, can survive the more

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ON THE THRESHOLD OF THE UNSEEN: an Examination of the Phenomena of Spiritualism and of the Evidence for Survival After Death. By Sir William F. Barrett. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1917. Pp. xx, 336. Price 6s. 6d. net.

Sir William Barrett, who was for many years professor of Experimental Physics in the Royal College of Science for Ireland, has produced the nearest thing to a scientific book upon spiritualism in this book, which is his *On the Threshold of a New World of Thought* (1908) recast and added to. Although a believer in the phenomena of spiritualism, he presents the evidence with notable fairness and absence of credulity. He describes the so-called physical phenomena in Part II as "bizarre and repellent," criticises the sources of "spirit teachings" (p. 188), and restricts his evidence as far as possible to that obtained from mediums who are not paid. He has put together a body of evidence which will help in the future scientific discussion of the subject. μ

CHRISTIANITY AND IMMORTALITY. By Vernon F. Storr. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1918. Pp. x, 195. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Canon Storr has given a fresh and ably written restatement of an old problem. He gives prominence to an interesting theory "published by the Rev. R. Vaughan in the *Church Quarterly Review*, Jan. 1916, as to the post-Resurrection appearance of Christ; and advances a suggestion, in relation to human survival, that it is not impossible that we are making for ourselves," either within the particles of the existing body or outside of it, a "spiritual body of finer material." The main difficulties of the Christian doctrine of immortality are faced with candor, together with the apocalyptic element in Christ's teaching. He gives a summary and critical examination of what spiritualism has to contribute to the problem of survival, and a theory that the fate of the wicked is to be extinction, "the progressive disintegration of the personality as it finds itself unable to cooperate with the great purpose of God." μ

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