

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

VOLUME XXXIII

CHICAGO
THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY
1919

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THE CAPTURE OF JOACHIM MURAT AT PIZZO, CALABRIA,
October 8, 1815.

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. XXXIII (No. 1) JANUARY, 1919

NO. 752

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THE INNER KINGDOM.

BY E. MERRILL ROOT.

WHEN Thoreau lay dying he dictated his last letter. It read: "I *suppose* that I have not many months to live, but of course I know nothing about it. I may add that I am enjoying existence as much as ever, and regret nothing." Long before he had written: "I love my fate to the core and rind." And in *Walden* he wrote: "Nothing can rightly compel a simple and brave man to a vulgar sadness. While I enjoy the friendship of the seasons I trust that nothing can make life a burden to me."

Now what would the average man say of the *success* of Thoreau's life? Thoreau tried school-teaching and gave it up—pencil-making and had no financial success; all his life he worked with his hands, fared simply, and lived in what we should call poverty. Like Milton in Wordsworth's sonnet,

"His soul was like a star and dwelt apart."

As a writer—and writing was his chosen profession—he did not succeed: his first book threw him into debt; even *Walden*, though it became well known, never won the admiration it holds to-day. His journals, and most of his scattered articles, were published after his death. Solitary, poor, disregarded, after having apparently done little to thaw the icy crust of the world, he died when he was only forty-five. What is the secret of his unconquerable happiness in the face of all this?

There is another happy man, very different, and yet very similar—William Blake. Lonely, save for the society of a few artists who understood him, like Fuseli and Linnell (toward the end of Blake's life), he lived unregarded by the public (which increasingly shunned him as the years went by, and—knowing nothing of his actual life—called him mad), insulted and cheated by his ignorant

and vulgar employer, Cromek, and with no success as poet or painter. The story is told that when he went from publisher to publisher with an illustrated volume of his wild, prophetic poems, and all refused to publish them, "Well, it is published elsewhere," he would quietly say, "and beautifully bound" (meaning in Heaven). Almost no one believed his poems or pictures unusual or even beautiful. He had only himself, his wife, and God for comrades. Cromek wrote that at one time Blake was reduced "so low as to be obliged to live on half a guinea a week." When Blake lay on his death-bed, he sent out almost his last shilling, in order to buy a pencil! And yet one who knew him (Mr. Palmer) wrote, "If asked whether I ever knew among the intellectual a happy man, Blake would be the only one who would immediately occur to me." And Blake himself, once, laying his hands on a little girl's head, said to her, "May God make this world to you, my child, as beautiful as it has been to me." And on his death-bed he chanted pleasant songs (which he improvised—both music and words), till his wife cried out that he was an angel and no man!

I think it is well to ask what made these two poor and lonely men happy. In the greatest of modern poetry since the early Victorian period—in James Thomson, in Rossetti, in Swinburne, in Morris, in Henley (despite his love of vigorous living), and in Rupert Brooke, there has been a brooding melancholy, a despairing dread, a disbelief in the essential kindness of the world, a fierce distaste for the conditions of modern life, a weariness with the futile monotony of an industrial civilization. There has been none of the assured tranquillity, the serenity, the brave and simple happiness of Thoreau and Blake. What great modern poet has been *happy*? And if none of them has been *happy*, in the sense that, no matter how the legions of Death and Evil, with dirges and cloudy banners, have besieged the kingdom of their mind, that kingdom has retained its inward peace, then none of them has been *healthy*. For as health is perfect harmony of the body, so happiness is perfect harmony of the spirit. A mind is *happy* when it is inwardly *serene*. Epictetus was outwardly a slave; he knew Evil; but inwardly his mind was tranquil and serene, that is, it was happy, which is another way of saying that it was healthy. And since it is well to inquire into the principles which make bodies healthy, is it not equally well to inquire into the principles which make minds healthy? And so I wish to study the principles which made Thoreau and Blake happy even though they were fallen on evil days and poor.

In the first place, both Blake and Thoreau emphasized the *inner* life of man. Through all Thoreau's letters this emphasis on the personal, the mental life, runs like a serene and irresistible river, like a strong smooth wind. In *Walden* he wrote: "If I were confined to a corner of a garret all my days, like a spider, the world would be just as large to me while I had my thoughts about me." Gilchrist, in his *Life of William Blake*, wrote: "For it was a tenet of his that the inner world is the all-important; that each man has a world within greater than the external."

Now there are several results of this emphasis on the inner life. Most evident is the result that time or place, wealth or poverty, health or sickness, fame or obscurity, loneliness, misunderstanding, or scorn have no power over that mind which lives in itself. It can make a prison or a poorhouse a gate to fairyland; it can be happy even in a palace. It does not *need* amusement and diversion: moving pictures, operas, circuses, parties, or even music, pictures, books, or nature; it can be content and interested in its own thoughts, its own fancies, the glory of that infinite empire of the mind of which Thoreau wrote: "Every man is the lord of a realm beside which the earthly empire of the Czar is but a petty state, a hummock left by the ice." Instead of vainly trying to run away from that infinite loneliness into which every man is born, or trying to drug itself into forgetfulness of that solitude by gaudy pleasures, the mind may face the loneliness, and find that best of comrades—*itself*. A second result is this: to one who emphasizes his own internal life, the petty standards of others—their worship of respectability, a competence, and the conventions of social life,—are as impotent as the spells of Circe against Odysseus. One ceases to fret about conforming one's self to the opinions of others, for one realizes the truth of Blake's apothem: "The apple-tree never asks the beech how he shall grow, nor the lion the horse how he shall take his prey." And so we cease to fret, to fume, and to worry; we feel a great serenity, an infinite peace, such as one might feel who should be drawn suddenly from some trivial earthly whirlwind into the tranquillity of the ether. A third result is that one ceases to be interested primarily in Self. The more one leans on his own mind, and the less one plants his feet on custom and on the good opinion of others and on ease, the less one cares for the selfish heaping up of riches, or safety and comfort at the expense of honor: serene, and careless of the world, one may live for truth, for love, for beauty—as one cannot if one lives for the goods of the world. A fourth result is that one sees the things of the world truly, when one sees

them impartially and not as means or hindrances to some end. If one cares for cherry-pie supremely, one does not see robins so impartially (and consequently so clearly) as when one cares supremely for spiritual serenity. Ants, mills, butterflies, missionaries, sand-grains, railways, cannot be truly known until they are seen from the smokeless and untroubled towers of that kingdom which is within us. A fifth result is that one can love whatever and whomsoever one will, for what they *are* and not for what they have, or what they can do for or to us. And finally, to him who lives in the fortress of his own mind, death, which is only an external accident and not an internal weakness, has no terror.

And Thoreau and Blake, who emphasized this inner life, were consequently happy. Like Kipling's Purun Bhagat, or the old Chinese poet and philosopher Chang Chih-Ho who "lived as a lonely wanderer, calling himself 'the Old Fisherman of the Mists and Waters,'" they disregarded riches, society, conventions, worldly reputation, and lived in that inward empire which is not bounded by space or time, in that City of God which is not built with hands.

Yet I wish rather to state a different, though cognate, reason why Thoreau and Blake were happy. They were happy because the world never ceased to be beautiful and mysterious to them. Painting pictures, writing poems, watching frisky lambs, or fish, or the battles of ants, were, to them, surpassingly interesting. The splendor of tigers, gardens, the color of autumn leaves, children, lakes, birds, were to them beautiful imagery in a poem that never grew trite, that was never too long. They never ceased to *wonder* at life. Blake was so interested in the wonder of creating beauty that he painted on whether he were sick or well, and expressed surprise that his friends could desire holidays. Yet he took joy even in the drudgery which was necessary to procure him bread, although it curtailed his own peculiar work. And he could be happy when he was not at work. This little fairy-tale which he told will prove it: "I was walking alone in the garden; there was a great stillness among the branches and flowers, and more than common sweetness in the air; I heard a low and pleasant sound, and I knew not whence it came. At last I saw the broad leaf of a flower move, and underneath I saw a procession of creatures, of the size and color of green and gray grasshoppers, bearing a body laid out on a rose-leaf, which they buried with songs and then disappeared. It was a fairy funeral." Such men can spend an afternoon watching swallows weave blue threads in the air; or peering into the enchanted forests of the grass where minstrel-crickets, blundering grasshoppers, forager ants,

burgher beetles, and hovering butterflies hunt, or play, or court, or quest for adventure, in a world of dim and rustling green where mystery and romance yet abide. The busy mole, the poised hawk, the russet-gray woodchuck nibbling clover, the fitting troubadour-birds, the moving pictures of the clouds—all these are to such a man endlessly and fascinatingly interesting. Violet lakes, crisping into foam under the dancing feet of the wind, are more (to him) than reservoirs whence he may extract black-bass. He can lie on their banks for hours,

"And fish for fancies as they pass
Within the watery glass,"

and say, with Blake,

"I'll drink of the clear stream
And hear the linnets song,
And there I'll lie and dream
The day along."

To such a man the world is an absorbing book, whose pages are days, whose chapters the seasons: a book full of lovely and melodious poems, of moving stories, of grave tragedies, of lustrous pictures. And though such a man turn the pages for a thousand times a thousand years he can never find the pages dull. Life is all too short for him.

"To make this earth, our hermitage,
A cheerful and a changeful page,
God's bright and intricate device
Of days and seasons doth suffice."

To such a man the world is more than the world of science—more than a rotting apple, full of restless maggots, swung at the end of a string by a blind idiot boy around a guttering candle. Is there not mystery in whippoorwills and nightingales? or in the stillness of a moonlit forest at midnight? What do we care about God or matter or immortality? They are unimportant questions: what is important is to *live*: to move as a dancer in the masque of life, to delight in the pageant of life with a graver yet no less enthusiastic zest than that of a small boy in a circus, to find, like God or like hawthorns and lilacs, the world good. The man who thus wonders is intoxicated with the beauty of life: he is happy in the flowers and birds and beasts and sunsets which Life has given him for picture-books and toys. And such men (and how true it was of Blake and Thoreau!) have been too happy to grow cross or fretful:

they fall sweetly and happily to sleep when their nurse comes for them at the end of the day.

Contrast such lives—lives that frankly delighted in the poetry of life—with the austere life of the contemner of happiness—Carlyle. The staunch, crabbed, stern, deep-seeing, magnificent, narrow, vehement, tender, cruel old Scotchman! What a grand, unhappy life he lived! How miserable he made himself, and how miserable he made his wife, and how unnecessarily! It is nobler to teach your brother men to love a lamb or to sympathize with a chimney-sweeper, or to take delight in woods and lakes and lonely happiness, than to confirm them in silence and an intense diligence in the manufacture of—coffins and ropes of sand. Only where a life is happy (even in the midst of pain and want and loneliness and death) is it truly healthy: where there is inward misery and doubt there is a smoking fire, a half-uprooted tree, an axle that needs greasing, a ship that has not found itself. Where life functions as it should there is that inward harmony which we name happiness. Thus Christ (who had much more to dishearten him than Carlyle) spoke continually of his “joy.” And perhaps “joy” is a better word than happiness; for I do not mean a passive, placid content: there is the calm of a stagnant fen as well as the calm of the starry heaven: there is the peace of sloth, of stupidity, of placid callousness to intolerable evils, all of which I abominate. And that Carlyle was never spiritually healthy is proved by his lack of joy.

The road to this joy or happiness leads into that inward empire of which I have spoken. And he who dwells in that spiritual city which is founded upon a rock, on which mundane floods beat and earthly rains descend without avail, can look serenely out of his irreducible fortress with a calm delight in children, in lilies of the field, in tigers that burn bright, and in lakes. It is our duty, no less than our privilege, to turn our footsteps thither. Christ taught joy; even church creeds have been known to bid us “enjoy” God forever; a well-known document states that the “pursuit of happiness” is the inalienable right of all men. And beyond all evidence of petty creeds, we have but to look at life to see that all life, however blindly and unsuccessfully, turns toward what Wordsworth in a magnificent phrase calls “the grand elementary principle of pleasure,” as plants grow toward the light. Indeed, as Stevenson implies, it is a sin—a treachery to Life—to lose joy.

“If I have faltered more or less,
In my great task of happiness

.....

Lord, thy most pointed pleasure take
And stab my spirit broad-awake."

Yet happiness as a duty! Might we not as well talk of constraining love by law, of *forcing* men to be *friends* at the point of a pistol? Happiness is not something to be attained, but something granted or withheld, like rain or sunshine: like the wind, it bloweth where it listeth. Can one say, "Go to! I will be happy to-day"? Can one catch the uncaged bird, Joy, and make it lilt for him? Sometimes the bird perches on the hand, but what cord will hold it? Who can follow it into the clouds? It is too true, alas! that one can never *make* himself happy, any more than one can *make* himself loved. But just as certain acts and a certain attitude may favor love more than others, just so a certain tendency toward certain acts and toward a certain attitude may bring one nearer to happiness. We cannot cage the bird, but we can frequent the country which it inhabits, and we can refrain from throwing stones at it. The way to be happy, then, is to learn to love and trust yourself, to live in that inward empire of the mind whither one may retire from

"Evil tongues,
Rash judgments, (and) the sneers of selfish men,
(And) greetings where no kindness is, (and) all
The dreary intercourse of daily life,"

the worry, the fretful inanity, the loneliness, the misunderstandings, the pain, the cruelty of life into the citadel of one's self. It was on those battlements that the slave Epictetus, the emperor Marcus Aurelius, defied the world. But to be really *joyful* one must not remain merely a Stoic—the defensive, not the offensive, warrior. Carlyle won almost as far as that (as his "Everlasting No" proves). Rather one must step out, like Stevenson, like Thoreau, like Blake, like Christ, and joy in all simple and lovely things—in the color and sound and majesty of life—in friends—in laughter—in rain—in the miracle-play of the seasons, with nature for stage, scenery, and actors—in thought—in painting—in poetry—in all the tremendous and mysterious romance which is Life. You will never be truly *unhappy* (although you may often be very sad), if, like William Blake, you are able

"To see the world in a grain of sand,
And heaven in a wild flower;
Hold infinity in the palm of your hand
And eternity in an hour."

THE COSMIC HANDS.

BY LAWRENCE PARMLY BROWN.

THE mythic concept of the sun on or near the horizon as one of the hands of the solar or cosmic god is of great antiquity and wide distribution, having been naturally suggested by the resemblance of wide-spread human fingers to the fan-shaped or finger-like radiations of the solar flabellum (fan) often observable in the clouds at sunrise and sunset, and also when the sun is erroneously said to be "drawing water." Other types or symbols of this flabellum were anciently recognized in such objects as the cock's comb; the fan-shaped palm-tree (Lat. *palma*, also the "palm" of the hand); the scallop or cockle shell worn by the medieval palmer pilgrim, and the stag's horns—as in the myth of the golden-horned stag of Keryneia captured by Herakles, and in the legends of the white stag seen by St. Hubert and by St. Eustace. The flabellum also appears in ancient art in many and various conventional forms, sometimes in connection with the head of a god, as in the case of the enthroned Buddha given by Moor (*Hindu Panth.*, Plate 75, fig. 3).

In the solar hand the wide-spread fingers and thumb properly represent the rays or shafts of light in the flabellum; but the rays themselves are sometimes figured or described as distinct from, but in connection with, the hand. Thus in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* the deceased says of a solar god that "his hand had darted (rays) upon me in the earth" (LVIII, Theban Recension); in Habakkuk iii. 4, Jehovah has "rays of light (or 'horns,' as in the A. V.) coming out of his hand," and in early Christian art, down to the twelfth century, the presence of God is never indicated except by the solar hand—sometimes entirely open with rays from the fingers and thumb, again with only the thumb and first two fingers extended to typify the Trinity, or in one or another of the several benediction postures (Didron, *Christ. Iconog.*, I, p. 205, figs. 52, 54, etc.). This hand of God is often thrust from the clouds, with the rays descending from it as from the sun when "drawing water"; and water is fabled to have gushed from Mohammed's fingers (Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, I, p. 493, ed. 1887)—the solar hand thus apparently being assimilated to a cloud hand

such as that in the Hebrew of 1 Kings xviii. 44, "a little cloud out of the sea, like a man's hand."

The Egyptian worshippers of the solar disk (of the Aten cult) frequently depicted it with descending rays (as if for arms) having open hands at their ends, as was sometimes done by the Persians (Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten*, III, Plates 91-103; Budge, *Gods*, II, pp. 70, 77; Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, I, Plate 3; III, Plate 23). The cosmic Krishna has many arms, which are immeasurable, according to the *Bhagavadgita* (XI); and in the Inscription of Darius at El-Khargeh it is said of the sun: "We adore him in the form of hands" (*Records of the Past*, VIII, p. 137). A great number of symbolic hands have been found at Pompeii and elsewhere in Europe, many of which are illustrated in Elworthy's *Horns of Honour* (see also Bayley, *Lost Language of Symbolism*, II, pp. 335-341). Similar hands, generally imprinted in red by the human hand, were anciently common throughout Yucatan (Stevens, *Travels in Yuc.*, I, p. 177); the Mexican sun-god Quetzalcoatl was said to have left an impression of his hand on a rock (Squeir, *Serpent Symbol*, p. 190), while the Maya deity Zamma was represented in the form of a hand called Kab-ul = the Working-hand, probably for that of the creator (Brinton, *Myths of the New World*, p. 188).

The Egyptian Ra, the sun-god by name, is "he who raises his hand" at dawn, and in his cosmic character his body is conceived as invisible—"his body is so large that it hides its shape"—"his form is that of the invisible"—"his form is that of the god with the hidden body"—he is "the hidden one" ("Litany of Ra," I, 1, 13, 30, 39, 52, in *Records of the Past*, VIII, pp. 105-108). His two hands are said to be the god Secheni or Skheni (as the upholder of the heaven—*loc. cit.*, IV, 8, in *Records of the Past*, VIII, p. 123). Skheni is a personification of *skhen* = a "brace" or "prop," with the hieroglyphic determinative Y, and he has a Hindu counterpart Shamba, "who with a prop (*shamba*) held the two (upper and lower) worlds apart" (*Rigveda*, X, 72, 2 et seq., ed. Wilson). Again, the Hebrew of Deuteronomy xxiii. 27 reads: "The ancient God (Elohim) is thy dwelling-place, and underneath are the age-lasting arms"—the upper hemisphere or the earth here apparently being identified with Elohim as a sort of *pantheos*. It was the whole celestial sphere, not the earth, that was anciently upheld by the Phœnicio-Greek Atlas; while in the Saïte Recension of the *Book of the Dead* it is Shu (Light or Space) who holds up the heaven or sky with his two hands (XVII, 21; CIX, 3, XVI, vig-

nette). A door of the hall of the double Maati in the underworld is named "Arm of Shu offering himself for the protection of Osiris" (*ibid.*, CXXV, 58).

In the *Book of the Dead* we read of the sun-god: "May the god of light open to me his arms" (CXXIV, Theban Recension; the Saïte parallel referring to "the god who raises his arm"), and again in the Theban Recension it is probably the sun-god who is "the lord of the two hands and arms" (LXXXV). Thus Proclus, in the sixth book of his *Theology of Plato*, says that those who are skilled in divine concerns attribute two hands to the sun, the right and the left; while in an Orphic "Hymn to the Sun" we find that luminary addressed as a god with two hands:

"With thy right hand the source of morning light,
And with thy left, the father of the night."

(Hymn VIII, Taylor's trans.)

In the "History of Abdal Motallab," among the *Oriental Tales* of Comte de Caylus, the Angel of Day and Night, Noukhail, is represented as saying: "The day and night are trusted to my care. I hold the day in my right hand and the night in my left; and I maintain a just equilibrium between them"—the dawn being here expanded to include the whole day while the evening includes the night. In an old Hebrew text quoted by Goldziher (*Mythol. Heb.*, p. 134), we read that "the shining one stretches forth his hand toward him who covers up," i. e., toward the night. The open left hand was an emblem of justice in Egypt, which Apuleius supposes was because of its inactivity and lack of skill and cunning (*Met.*, 11); but in all probability the true reason is found in the assignment of the cosmic left hand to the west and thence to the underworld where the Egyptian Judgment of the Dead was held. The huge hand over the gate of Justice in the Alhambra is well known. In the cosmic man of the Kabbalists the right arm is assigned to Mercy, a male emanation; while Justice, a female emanation, belongs to the left arm; and they are "the two arms of the Lord, the first distributing life, and the second, death" (Ginsburgh, *Kabbal.*, p. 16). Good fortune, righteousness and life are associated with the right or dexter hand, while death, wickedness, and ill fortune belong to the sinister or left hand—the right and left hands also being recognized as masculine and feminine respectively.

The dawn that grows into the day is often called "the golden," while the evening is sometimes "the red," although the latter color is equally applicable to the dawn. Thus the solar flabellum of the

east becomes the mythical golden hand (the right), the western flabellum sometimes being the red hand (the left). In the *Book of the Dead*, Chap. XV, the sun is the great light-giver who rises "like unto gold" (Theban), or has "risen out of the Golden" (Saïte); and he is thus addressed: "Thou illuminatest the earth by offering thyself with thine own hands under the shape of Ra at thy rising" (XV, 12, Saïte). Amen (the Hidden) or Amen-Ra is sometimes a mere variant of the soli-cosmic Ra, and to him it is said:

"O Amen, thou ledest night unto day,

Thy hand is adorned with gold,
As moulded of an ingot of gold."

("Hymn to the Nile," I, 4; X, 7, 8; in *Records of the Past*, IV, pp. 107-114).

The sun-god Savitri or Savitar of India is called "the vast-handed" and "the golden-handed" in the *Rigveda* (I, 22, 5), and the Hindu scholiast Sayana (on V, 81, 4) explains Savitri as the sun before (otherwise at) its rising, Surya as the sun from rising until setting. The Arabian deity Hobal was represented by an idol of red agate with a hand of gold (Sale's *Koran*, Pref. Dis., I, p. 14).

In the *Book of the Dead* we read of "the arm resting on the waters" (CLXIII, 2, Saïte). In the legend of King Arthur a hand belonging to an arm "clothed in white samite" appears from the (eastern) lake with the miraculous sword Excalibar, which the King obtains through the good offices of the Lady of the Lake (apparently a lunar figure). At the close of his career he has the sword thrown into the (western) sea, whereupon the arm reappears and the hand catches the sword, taking it beneath the waters. Then the King sails away to Avilion (or Avalon) as the land of the dead (Malory, *Morte d'Arthur*, I, 22; XXI, 5). It seems that the arm was clothed in red at its second appearance, for it is found in another vision of the *Morte d'Arthur* "covered with red samite" (XVI, 2).

An open red hand is found on the escutcheon of Ulster in Ireland, and is fabled to commemorate the daring of a certain O'Neile; the story being that after he had vowed to be the first to touch the shore of Ireland, he found himself beaten in the race over the sea, so cut off one of his hands and flung it to the shore, thus touching it before any of the others in the race could land. As Ireland belongs to the extreme west of Europe there can be little doubt that this red hand was originally the western and left

hand of the sun; and the same solar hand probably reappears as the red hand on numerous armorial bearings and elsewhere in England. This is indicated by the belief that the red hand could be expunged from the coat-of-arms only after the bearer had done penance by passing seven years in a cave, alone and in silence—doubtless suggested by some myth of the sun in the underworld. But the English red hands are now generally connected with traditional tales of blood (see Brewer, *Dict. Phrase and Fable*, s. v. "Hand"). In the legend of Dietrich von Bern (Theoderic the Great), the dwarf-king, Laurin (Alberich), who has a "cap of darkness," cuts off the right hand and left foot of any one venturing to enter his wonderful rose garden (that of sunrise and sunset); and in the legend of Walter of Aquitaine there is a god who has lost one hand, "the sword-god Zio"—doubtless a variant of the solar Zeus or Jupiter (Thorpe, *North. Mythol.*, I, p. 217).

The concept of the loss of the western solar hand is found in a highly developed form in the Norse myth of Tyr. As given in the *Younger Edda* (I, 25, 34, 51) it is too long and involved to be more than outlined here. Fenrir (or Fenris), the monster wolf of the underworld and night, three times permits the gods to bind him in as many chains. He is confident that he can break the first two, which he does, but has some fear of the last. The gods, however, craftily promise to release him if the third chain proves unbreakable, and although he mistrusts them he finally consents to be bound in it if permitted to hold a hand of one of the gods between his jaws by way of guarantee. So Tyr places his right hand in the mouth of Fenrir, who bites it off when he finds the chain unbreakable and the gods resolved not to release him. With the chain fastened to a rock, the great wolf is sunk deep in (or under) the earth, where he must remain till the end of the present world, when he will break loose—the natural day during which the night monster is bound in the underworld thus being assimilated to the cyclic day of the current world period. That the left rather than the right hand of Tyr was bitten off in the original myth is indicated by the fact that the hand of the rising sun is designated as the right hand in the *Elder Edda* (*Voluspa*, 5); and it may be assumed that Fenrir originally swallowed the (left) hand of Tyr.

In the Egyptian *Book of Hades* a monkey is figured driving a pig, "the devourer of the arm" (*Records of the Past*, X, p. 112), while a black pig is a symbol of Set or Typhon, who swallowed the (lunar) eye of Horus, but "afterward gave it back to the sun" (Plutarch, *De Iside*, 55); and it must have been generally conceived

that the cosmic hand or arm was vomited up or otherwise evacuated by the monster that swallowed it. In a variant view the solar (or lunar) personification is swallowed entire by the monster of the underworld and night (e. g., the whale swallowing Jonah). In a story from the lost history of Xanthus the Lydian, preserved by Athenæus (*Deipnos.*, X, 8), a certain king Cambles, while asleep one night, ate his wife after cutting her up into joints, and in the morning found nothing left of her but a hand, protruding from his mouth; whereupon he slew himself. The cutting into joints appears to have been suggested by the waning of the moon, which indicates a lunar character for the wife, although her hand seems to be that of the sun, as it protrudes in the morning from the mouth of the underworld figure.

The soli-cosmic god was sometimes conceived as losing both his hands, one at sunrise and the other at sunset. We saw above that Surya is the sun of the daytime; the rising sun being Savitri or Savi-tar "the golden-handed," which epithet is explained as follows in a Brahmanic legend. "At a sacrifice performed by the gods, Surya undertook the office of Ritwij, but placed himself in the station of the Brahma. The Aahwarya priests, seeing him in that position, gave him the oblation termed Prasitra, which, as soon as received by Surya, cut off the hand that had improperly accepted it. The priests who had given the oblation bestowed upon Surya a hand of gold. The legend is related in the *Kanshitaki Brahmana*, it is said; but there Surya loses both his hands" (Wilson's note, *Rigveda*, I, p. 50). In the *Book of the Dead* we read of a golden dog-headed ape without arms or legs (XLII, both Recensions).

The sun and moon were doubtless recognized by some as the two hands of the invisible cosmic god, the right and left respectively; while others identified the moon (primarily when rising and setting) as the hand of the lunar deity—although there is actually no lunar flabellum. Thus the lunar hand naturally came to be conceived as cut off, swallowed or otherwise lost or injured when the moon wanes into invisibility, while its recovery or restoration begins shortly after, when the new moon first becomes visible. In the *Book of the Dead* the arm of some great god "is rescued on the night of the festival of the fifteenth" of the month (CLIII, 8, Saïte). In the Norse myth of the descent of Frey (the evening and autumn sun) and Gerd (the moon) into the underworld, when the latter lifted the latch of the door "so great a radiance was thrown from her hand that the air and waters and all the world were illumined by it" (*Younger Edda*, 1, 37). As the sun is the golden

hand of Savitar and Amen-Ra, so the moon is a silver hand in the story of Nuadath (or Nuad) of the Silver Hand among the ancient legends of Ireland. According to the story, Nuadath invaded Ireland under cover of a mist, which he raised by enchantment (sorcery often being associated with the moon). He lost a hand in battle, but had it replaced with one of silver, made by Cred the goldsmith—apparently a solar figure (O'Flaherty, *Ogygia*, III, 10; Moore, *History of Ireland*, I, p. 103). The Egyptian Thoth (Tehuti), who was largely lunar in character, is said by Plutarch to have had one arm shorter than the other (*De Iside*, 22); which appears to indicate that he was assimilated at times to the cosmic god, his shorter arm being that of the moon as nearer to the earth and weaker than the sun.

White leprosy is associated with the moon in mythology because the latter was often considered white, being called "the white," in some languages (e. g., *lebanah* in Hebrew); whence the "leprous moon" of the poets. Jehovah caused the hand of Moses to become "leprous as snow" and shortly to be restored as before, as a proof of his divine mission (Exodus iv. 6, 7). This was effected as the Lawgiver took his hand in and out of his bosom, as if to symbolize the rising and setting of the moon; while the infliction and cure of the leprosy appears to correspond to the waxing and waning of that luminary, the new moon being entirely dark. In a Rabbinical tradition, the leprous hand of Moses "was white and shining like the moon" (Baring-Gould, *Legends of the Patriarchs*, XXXII, 4). His sister Miriam, as a lunar personification, became entirely leprous, "white as snow," as a punishment; but was cured after seven days—a lunar period (Num. xii. 10-15).

The solar hand was connected with that extensive class of mythic concepts in which the sun-god becomes old, weak, sick, impotent, crippled, paralyzed or bound in the evening and night, and even more appropriately in the fall and winter seasons; his escape, restoration or cure of course belonging to the morning or the spring and summer. In one view Osiris is the old sun of the west, underworld, and winter, while his son Horus is the young or restored sun. Thus in a "Hymn to Osiris" we read: "The arm (of Horus) has become strong in the great dwelling of Seb" (the earth—*Records of the Past*, IV, p. 112); and in the *Book of the Dead* (I, 7, Saïte), Thoth says: "I am with Horus in the act of supporting this left arm of the Osiris who is in Sekhem" (localized on earth as the city of Letopolis). Again, "the arm of Horus in Sekhem" is identified with the Tat in Tattu (*ibid.*, XVIII, both Recensions), while the

hands or arms of the deceased are assigned to the Lord of Tattu (apparently Osiris—XLII, both Recensions). And as *tat* is one of the Egyptian words for "hand," it is not improbable that the well-known *tat*-sign was identified by some as a symbol of the human hand, or arm and hand; the celestial Tattu being the region of the horizon circle as divided into the "two horizons," primarily of the east and west.¹ In a Pyramid text (Pepi I), where the several parts of the body of the deceased are identified with gods, the shoulders and arms (and hands) are said to be Set—as a figure of the underworld (Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 110).

The Egyptian Khem, Min, or Amsu, often figured in connection with the restoration of the deceased in the underworld, is a mummified god with one arm (generally the right) raised above his head, while the other is possibly wanting, but probably only concealed and bound in the mummy envelope (Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 97; *ibid.*, II, Plate, p. 8; Bonwick, *Eg. Belief*, p. 75; etc.). His weak or paralyzed condition appears to be indicated by his chief distinguishing mark, a supporting bar that extends from the ground to the back of his head. As a mummified god he belongs to the underworld, probably being assimilated to Amen-Ra as the soli-cosmic deity who raises his hand at dawn of day. He is called "the lifter of the hand" (*Records of the Past*, VIII, p. 142) and "the god lifting up his



THE EGYPTIAN
KHEM, MIN,
OR AMSU.

¹ The *tat* or *tet*, which finally became the sign of stability, is an upright with three, four, or five cross-bars, near the top. In all probability it originally represented a tree and had something of the flabellum form—the oblique branches finally becoming the horizontal bars of the extant examples. And as the props of heaven (otherwise the solar hands of Ra or Shu) were also originally tree trunks (with forked branches), it was natural enough for the *tat* to become identified as a symbol of the hand or arm and hand; from all of which we can understand how the *tat* became the sign of stability. It was sometimes mystically recognized as the backbone of Osiris, perhaps because some took it for a symbol of the great cosmic tree as identified with the pole of the universe supporting the longitudinal divisions of the celestial sphere. This appears to be indicated by the fact that the cross-bars of the *tat* sometimes become circular disks. Moreover, the *tat* is occasionally dressed in a man's clothes and given a human head, while again, it has human arms and hands below the cross-bars (Budge, *Book of the Dead*, II, p. 46; Guignaut, *Rel. de l'antiqu.*, p. 43, fig. 176a; etc.); in both of which forms it perhaps represents the cosmic god.—Tattu was an Egyptian name of the city of Mendes or Busiris; but there can be no doubt that every nome and city of Egypt (like Sekhem = Letopolis, etc.) was believed to be a terrestrial counterpart of some portion of the heaven. As Hermes Trismegistus has it in his *Asclepius*, "Egypt is the image of heaven, or rather, it is the projection below of the order of things above" (see also Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, I, p. 21).

arm," who has "the hidden skin" and "the mysterious shape" (*Book of the Dead*, CLXV, 11, 14, Saïte—where Khem is identified with Amen). In a¹ probability he is also "the god with his arm tied" (*ibid.*, XCIX, 20); for in the Saïte Recension the deceased opens the gates of Seb (from the lower to the upper world) and "frees himself from the god with his arm tied. . . . whose beaming is for the earth" (LXVIII, 1, 2—where the Theban has: "His hand had tied cords around me (the deceased) and his hand had darted (rays) upon me in the earth"). In Chapter CXXIV of the Theban Recension, Papyrus of Nu (as rendered by Budge), the deceased says: "My palm-tree is like Amsu"—doubtless because of the resemblance of that tree to the open hand and the solar flabellum. Khem or Amsu, like Osiris, holds a winnowing-flail (or flagellum) in his lifted hand, and Jesus Christ is to come with his fan (Gr. *πρόον* = winnowing-shovel) in his hand (Matt. iii. 12; Luke iii. 17).

Two of the commonest images of Krishna are companion pieces, in one of which his arms are bound close to his body by the folds of a serpent that bites his left heel, while in the other he dances or tramples on the head of a similar serpent, with his arms free, holding the serpent's tail over his own head (Sonnerat, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, Plates 46, 47). The former doubtless represents the solar or soli-cosmic god bound by the serpent of winter (and night), while the latter shows him free and victorious over the same enemy in spring and summer (as in the daytime).

In the *Book of the Dead* the deified deceased says that he delivers Ra from the sickness of his body, arm, and leg; binding up the arm, etc. (CII, Theban). In the Egyptian belief the hands and arms, and other parts of the body are restored to the deceased in the underworld—after which he apparently ascends into the celestial regions (*ibid.*, XXVI, etc.). Among the cures attributed to the agency of Æsculapius, as recorded on votive tablets at Epidaurus, is one of a man whose hand was paralyzed with the exception of one finger. He dreamed that the god seized his hand and straightened out the closed fingers: and when he awoke in the morning he went forth cured (Frazer's *Pausanias*, note to II, 27, 3).

Just as the Hindu Savitri lost one or both of his hands when impiously accepting a sacrifice, so in 1 Kings xiii. 4, 6, the hand (or rather, the hand and arm—Hebr. *yad*) of Jeroboam withered (or "dried up," as in the A. V.), so he could not draw it back when he impiously stretched it forth from the altar on which he was offering a sacrifice. This was in the act of pointing to a certain prophet whom he ordered seized, and the hand was shortly restored

as before through the intercession of the same prophet with God—the basic suggestion for this miraculous withering and cure probably being found in the waxing and waning of the moon. An actual cure of a hand was doubtless one of the miracles expected of the Messiah; for the Emperor Vespasian, who was recognized by some as the promised one of Jewish prophecy (Tacitus, *Hist.*, V, 12; Suetonius, *Vesp.*, 4; Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, VI. 5, 4), was said to have cured a man with a maimed hand by placing his foot upon



KRISHNA BOUND BY THE
SERPENT OF WINTER.

(From Sonnerat, in McClintock and Strong's *Cyclopedia of Biblical Literature*, s. v. Krishna.)



KRISHNA VICTORIOUS OVER
THE SERPENT OF WINTER.

it (Tacit., *Hist.*, IV, 81—Suetonius says it was a lame leg that was thus cured—*Vesp.*, 7).

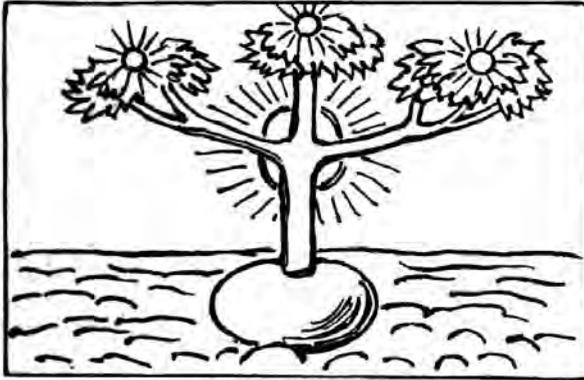
In connection with the one great Old Testament prophecy of miraculous cures in the Messianic kingdom, we read in Isaiah xxxv. 3: "Strengthen ye the weak hands. . . ." (Heb. and A. V.), or "Be strong, ye relaxed hands. . . ." (Sept.); and Zechariah (xi. 17) says of some "worthless shepherd" that "his arm shall be completely withered, and his right eye shall be utterly darkened"—

probably on a suggestion from the cosmic mythos. But in the story of Jeroboam we doubtless have the direct Old Testament type of the Gospel cure of the withered hand (or hand and arm—Greek *χείρ*). The Christian miracle is given by all three Synoptists (Matt. xii. 9-14; Mark iii. 1-6; Luke xi. 6-11); the original account presumably being that of Mark, who is followed closely by Luke with the added statement that the restored hand was the right—just as Josephus says that the restored hand of Jeroboam was the right (*Antiq.*, VIII, 8, 5). Jeroboam was afflicted and cured in the holy place of Beth-el, where he acted impiously; the Gospel cure occurred in a synagogue, where Jesus was accused of an impious act, that of working such a cure on the Sabbath. Jeroboam's hand remained stretched forth until it was restored or "became as it was before": that of the man in the Gospel story was stretched forth at the time it was "restored sound as the other" (in the same words in Mark and Luke). Before Jesus commanded the man to stretch forth his hand, He told him to arise and come into the midst of the congregation (Mark), to which Luke adds: "And he, having risen, stood up"—perhaps on a suggestion from the solar mythos. In the Gospel story the infirmity is evidently conceived as the result of paralysis; and according to the *Diatessaron* of Tatian (VII, 51) the restored hand "became straight"—implying that the fingers had been closed but were forthwith fully extended, like those of the solar flabellum at dawn, and those of the man cured through the agency of Æsculapius. St. Jerome, in his *Commentary on Matthew*, tells us that the man whose hand was restored was said to be a mason in the Gospel used by the Nazarenes and Ebionites (i. e., in the lost *Gospel of the Hebrews*); and as the usual Hebrew word for a mason is *goder* = wall-builder, it is not improbable that this idea was suggested by some myth of the solar creator as the builder of the horizon wall. The hieroglyphic determinative of the Egyptian *sapi* = to make, create, is a man building a wall, or sometimes simply a wall (Birch, *Dict. Hiero.*, s. v.); while Jehovah is described standing "upon a wall, with a plumb-line in his hand" (Amos vii. 7). Horapollon tells us that among the Egyptians a man's hand represented "one who is fond of building" (*Hieroglyph.*, II, 119).

In the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the right hand of Simeon "was withered for seven days" because he sought to slay Joseph (II, 2); a lunar character being here indicated for Simeon's hand by the fact that seven days comprise half the waning period of the moon. In *Pseudo-Matthew*, the hand of the midwife Salome (a lunar figure) withered when she doubted that a virgin could

have brought forth, but was cured by touching the garments of the new-born Jesus (13)—as probably suggested by the fact that the moon receives her light from the sun, while in the parallel story in the *Protevangelium*, Salome's hand "was dropping off as if by fire" (20). In the *Infancy of the Saviour*, the hand of the schoolmaster who flogged Jesus withered immediately, and he died (49). In the *Passing of Mary*, when the high priest raised his hands to throw down the bier of the Holy Virgin they were withered to the elbow, and part of them stuck to the couch; but he repented and was healed through the intercession of the Apostles (11-13).

Just as the eastern and western flabella are the hands of the soli-cosmic god whose body is invisible, so the full-orbed sun is sometimes conceived as his head; these three phases of the sun in a conventional view belonging to sunrise, noon, and sunset. In an

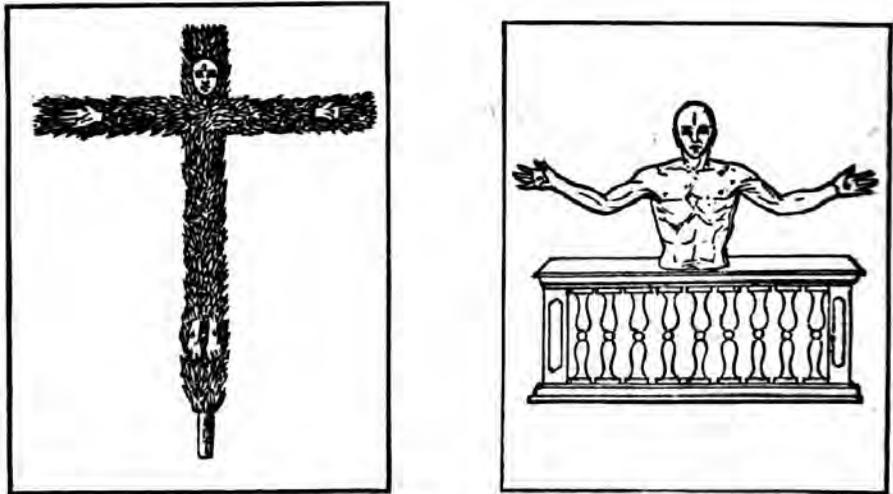


THE HINDU COSMIC TREE.

(From Creuzer's *Symbolik*, ed. Guigniant, I, Pl. 2, No. 16.)

Egyptian text the sun-god says: "I am Khepera in the morning, Ra at noon, and Atum in the evening" (*Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archeol.*, IV, Part II, p. 288); while the Hindus identified the three phases of the sun respectively with Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, who thus were recognized as one god (*Asiatic Researches*, I, p. 267; V, p. 254). In the story of the Phœnician solar man-fish Dagon in 1 Samuel v. 4, his image falls during the night, breaking off the head and both hands. The three phases of the sun appear as three suns in a cruciform example of the great cosmic tree of the Hindus (Creuzer, *Symbolik*, ed. Guigniant, I, Plate 2, fig. 16; Lundy, *Monum. Christ.*, p. 272, fig. 119). Of this it was taught that "the universe is the eternal tree Brahma, which sprang from an imperceptible seed" (Ward, *Hindoos*, IV, Int. 24). The cosmic tree is found in another highly developed form in the Yggdrasil

ash, of Norse mythology, on which Odin hanged or crucified himself (*Elder Edda*, "Havamal," 140-146). The monk Georgius, author of the *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, in that work (p. 206) gives two illustrations of the crucified Indra as figured in Nepal. One appears to suggest that the lower half of the god belongs to the underworld, for only the upper half of his body is visible, with his head and hands in exactly the same positions as the three suns on the Hindu cosmic tree; and Jesus as the Man of Sorrows is figured in the same way in a representation given by Jameson and Eastlake (*Our Lord in Art*, p. 364, fig. 263). In the other illustration in Georgius we find only the head, hands, and feet of the god nailed to a Latin cross, his body apparently being considered invisible;



TWO ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE CRUCIFIED INDRA AS REPRESENTED IN NEPAL.

(From Georgius, *Alphabetum Tibetanum*, p. 206.)

while the cross itself is covered with foliage ("wreathed with abrotono," according to Georgius), which serves to identify it with the cosmic tree. A somewhat similar representation, illustrating the Procession of the Logos (Christ), is given from Robertus de Fluctibus (Robert Flood) in Jennings's *Rosicrucians* (p. 329). In this the left-hand half of the cross is depicted dark (doubtless originally for the night and the west), while the right-hand half is light (for the east and the daytime); but nevertheless the branch of the cross holding the detached head is assigned to the east; that holding the right hand, to the north, etc.—the soli-cosmic figure with invisible body thus apparently being conceived by some as proceeding head first from east to west.

In the *Sibylline Oracles* (VIII, 301) it is prophesied of Christ on the cross that "He will spread his hands and measure all the universe (cosmos)"; and further on reference is made to the nail marks on His hands and feet, after His resurrection, as "denoting east and west, and south and north" (VIII, 322). In a medieval representation given by Didron, God appears in gigantic human form behind a crucifix, grasping the ends of its arms with His hands (*Christ. Iconog.*, p. 505, fig. 130). In a medieval legend the three suns are said to have appeared simultaneously in the heavens during the infancy of Jesus, to symbolize the Trinity (Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theolog.*, III, 36, 3). Again, the three phases of the sun appear to be indicated on an antique Christian tau-



KRISHNA CRUCIFIED IN SPACE. CHRIST CRUCIFIED IN SPACE.
(From Lundy, *Monumental Christianity*, pp. 157, 174.)

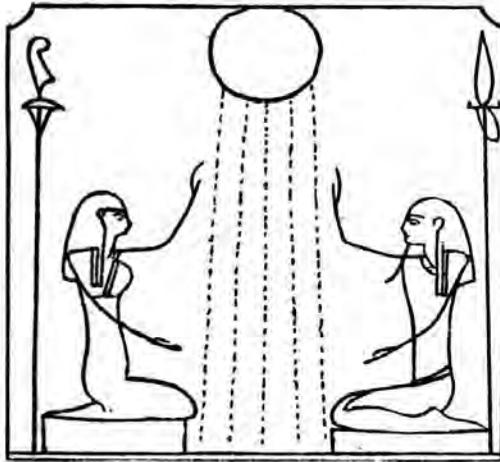
crucifix found in the Thames, England; for the nude man on the cross, with outstretched arms on a line with his head, has his feet turned to the right—as if to represent a solar figure proceeding from east to west while facing the south (Jewett, "The Tau Cross," in *Art Journal*, XXVII, p. 303, fig. 15). In all the earlier representations of the Crucifixion of Christ, as in some antique crucifixes, the cross is the tau, T. Surmounted by an ovoid, it becomes the *crux ansata*, the sacred *ankh* (life) symbol of Egypt, ☩; and some appear to have taken this for a hieroglyphic man with out-stretched arms, for a man's head sometimes replaces the ovoid—as in a Roman example from Pompeii given by Jewett (*loc. cit.*, p. 300, fig. 9), on a Gnostic gem in King's *Gnostics* (Plate 7, fig. 4), and in two

hermæ in Montfaucon (*L'antiq. expl.*, I, Plate 77, figs. 4 and 8). Indeed the so-called Crucifixion in Space (without the cross) of the Hindu Krishna (?) as well as of Christ (Lundy, *Monum. Christ.*, pp. 157, 174) may have been considered a mere variant of a soli-cosmic tau or crux ansata; thus illustrating perfectly what Justin Martyr says of the erect human figure with arms extended having the shape of a cross (*I Apol.*, 55). As we know from the Roman historians, the head and hands of Cicero were nailed up on the Rostra at Rome—the head between the hands—, as it was impracticable to send the whole corpse from his Tusculan villa where he was slain; an exhibition of this kind probably being considered equivalent to a crucifixion without either the body or the cross.

In Exodus xvii. 11-13, Moses as the soli-cosmic figure stands with his two hands held up by Aaron and Hur, one on either side, from early morning "until the going down of the sun"; thus insuring victory for the Israelites—as representing the forces of light. In the *Book of the Dead*, Chapter XVI, which is composed of pictures without text, the noon-day sun is shown above and between two human figures; the one on the right having its right hand raised (for the eastern flabellum), while the one on the left raises its left hand (for the western flabellum): and five rays (for the solar fingers) are represented descending from the sun (as when "drawing water"). In the Turin papyrus (Saïte Recension), the right-hand figure is a man with a conventionalized beard, while the opposite figure is a woman (in Lepsius, *Todtenbuch*, Plate VI); and they are mystically connected with the eastern and western *utchats* = solar eyes in Chapter CLXIII (both Recensions), where "a figure of the god-of-the-lifted-hand with the face of the divine soul" is assigned to the pupil of one of the *utchats*, while to the other is assigned "a figure of the god-of-the-lifted-hand with the face of (the goddess) Neith." Both figures are women in the Louvre Papyrus (Saïte, Chap. XVI; in De Rougé, *Rituel funéraire*, Pl. IV), thus probably being identified as the divine sisters Isis and Nephthys, who were perhaps represented by two women in the original account of the Crucifixion of Christ, in connection with which we now find three. Again, in one of the Assyrian emblems of Asshur we find two human heads on the outspread wings of that solar god, one on either side of his own head (Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Pl. 2, fig. 31; Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, I, Chap. 131, p. 256, ed. 1880); the additional heads probably representing the eastern and western phases of the sun. But in another view the sun and

moon have the eastern and western positions; sometimes appearing respectively on the right and left side of the crucified Christ, as in what is said to be the earliest known crucifix with the human figure of Christ (Martigny, *Dict. des antiq. chrét.*, Plate, p. 190; others in Jameson and Eastlake, *Our Lord in Art*, 2d ed., pp. 131, 151, 153, 167, 328, 329, etc.).

In the Gospel stories of the Crucifixion and its mythic variant, the Transfiguration of Christ, the two additional figures in each scene appear to represent the morning and evening phases of the sun. Of the two men crucified with Christ, one on either side, Luke says that one was repentant and therefore had the promise of paradise, while the other, unrepentant, was obviously destined



EGYPTIAN REPRESENTATION OF THE NOON-DAY SUN.

(From the Turin Papyrus, Saïte Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, Chap. XVI, fig. 3.)

for hades (xxiii. 39-43). The former was on the right and the latter on the left of Jesus, according to the *Gospel of Nicodemus* (i. 10) and the *Narrative of Joseph of Arimathæa* (3). They also belong to the east and west respectively, and it is from the east that the risen Christ and his penitent companion should properly be conceived as ascending to heaven. In Matthew and Mark the two men crucified with Christ are robbers (as in the Rev. Vers., Greek *λησται*); who were not necessarily so designated only because the Romans crucified robbers (Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, II, 13, 2, etc.), for it is not improbable that this character was attributed to such mythic variants of the solar hands because the hands of robbers, as the offending members, were cut off as a punishment among some peoples (e. g., in India—*Laws of Manu*, IX, 276). Thus,

too, the hand of a dead man was sometimes employed by robbers as a protective talisman. Holding a lighted candle, it is the medieval "hand of glory," which was believed to make the bearer invisible, reveal hidden treasures, burst locks, produce sleep, and even restore the dead to life (Baring-Gould, *Curious Myths*, pp. 406-410). All of these powers are also attributed to solar or cosmic personifications.

Moses and Elijah are the additional figures in the Transfiguration scene of the Synoptic Gospels. Matthew (xvii. 2) says that the face of Jesus "shone as the sun" when He was transfigured; at which time His head had reached to the heavens, according to the *Acts of John* (4). In the *Gospel of Peter*, two others came with Jesus in the Resurrection scene, supporting him on either side—"And of the two the head (i. e., their heads) reached unto the heavens, but the head of Him who was led by them overpassed the heavens" (10).

There are reasons for believing that some of the ancient astrologers assigned the morning and evening hands of the soli-cosmic figure respectively to Aries and Libra as the eastern and western signs of the zodiac in the precessional period of about 2000 to 1 B. C., when the former of these signs belonged to the spring equinox, and the latter to the autumn equinox. It was in the house of Aries, and above the Ram, that the Arabs figured a huge hand, their constellation of Kaff al H'adib = the Hand stained with henna (i. e., of reddish orange hue), which became the low Greek *Χεὶρ βεβαμένη* of Chrysococca the Græco-Persian astronomer, and sometimes the Hand of the Pleiades (Allen, *Star Names*, pp. 143-4). It was probably at the spring equinox in Aries that the Egyptians held a festival of the celestial arm or hand as connected with the resurrection, for on a libation vase of Oser-Ur it is said to the deceased: "Thou shalt not be repulsed by Osiris on the day of his great festival of the arm of the gods" (*Records of the Past*, XII, p. 80). This was perhaps the birthday of Osiris, in connection with which we read of the rescue of "the arm of the Great God. . . on the night of the festival of the fifteenth" of the month (*Book of the Dead*, CLIII, 8, 9, Saïte); which appears to put this festival at the time of the appearance of the first new moon after the spring equinox. A ram's head is one of the symbols frequently found on the palm and fingers of the Isiac hand (Montfaucon, *L'antiq. expl.*, II, Plate 137), which suggests that some in later times substituted the lunar for the solar hand in Aries.

Libra, the Scales, is the sign directly opposite Aries; and we saw above that the lunar hand, as the left, was associated with justice in Egypt and elsewhere; while the Greek Themis, like our Justice, is often represented holding the scales in her left hand. Egyptian pictures of the Judgment of the Dead, in the *Book of the Dead* and elsewhere, show a monkey seated on the beam of the scales, while another (figured in duplicate) appears in the frieze, poisoning the scales with his hands—in all probability because the monkey was the typical hand animal (with a hand like a man's), whence it probably received its Egyptian name *kaf*, which also signifies a hand. And thus perhaps the two arms of the deceased came to be identified with Hapi (the ape-headed) and Tuamutef (the jackal-headed), two of the Egyptian group of four funeral gods (Budge, *Gods*, p. 492). In place of the zodiac Scales, which doubtless originated in Egypt, the Babylonians and early Greeks figured the Claws (in other words, the hands) of the Scorpion (R. Brown, *Primitive Constellations*, I, pp. 66-71); but as this reduces the original twelve signs to eleven, it is quite probable that the Claws replaced an earlier Hand, perhaps because the latter in the course of time had been assigned to the god of the lower world as the sign of the sun at nightfall—just as Scorpio, as the Akkadian Girtab = Seizer-and-Stinger, was sometimes figured with the solar or lunar circle in its claws (Brown, *loc. cit.*, I, p. 72; II, p. 232, fig. 9). Libra is represented by a man holding the Scales in various Egyptian, Egypto-Roman, Persian, and Mithraic zodiacs, too numerous for individual references here (for an Egypto-Roman example, see *The Open Court* XX, p. 471).

In close connection with Libra (but now in the house of Virgo) is the constellation of the Centaur, which some of the Greeks, at least as early as the time of Eratosthenes, knew as Cheiron = the Hand-one—for the Greek *Χείρων* is simply *Χείρ* = the Hand, or rather, the Hand-and-arm with the nominative masculine singular suffix *-ων*; there being no sufficient justification for the usual rendering, Handy-one. The Greeks followed the Babylonians in figuring the constellation of the Centaur as a composite man-horse; but we know from Homer and Hesiod that neither Cheiron nor the other centaurs (= bull-slayers) had anything of the horse form originally, while no equivalent of the name Cheiron for the constellation has been found outside of Greece (see Brown, *loc. cit.*, p. 110). Therefore we may reasonably assume that Libra was represented in some lost sphere by a human hand, which later held the Egyptian Scales, and still later was attached to a human figure; this older celestial

Centaur, who thus obtained the name Cheiron, being finally identified with the Babylonian man-horse. Furthermore, it is not improbable that this older Centaur or Cheiron is the last in the group of forty-two Assessors in the Egyptian Hall of Maati; for these assessors probably represent the forty-two constellations recognized by some of the ancient astronomers (e. g., Eratosthenes and Hyginus), while the last of the Egyptian group is he "who brings in his own arm, who comes out of Aukert" (the underworld—*Book of the Dead*, CXXVb, both Recensions). In the Babylonio-Greek sphere that has come down to us, the Wild Beast (the modern Wolf) is in the house of Libra and below the claws of the Scorpion. It is primarily a figure of the night, and mythically identical with Fenrir, the wolf that bit off the hand of the solar Tyr.

In the *Book of the Dead*, the name of the oars or paddles of the solar boat is declared to be "the fingers of Horus" (XCIX, both Recensions). The human fingers gave their name to the Idæan Dactyli (=Fingers) of Greek mythology, who were connected with the worship of Rhea in Phrygia. They were five males, according to some; or ten in all, five males and five females, according to others—evidently for the right and left hand respectively (Pollux, II, 4; Strabo, X, p. 473; Diod., V, 64). They probably received their name Dactyli from the human fingers as employed in offering sacrifices; the fingers thus employed being referred to in the Vedas as "the ten sisters" or "twice five sisters"—who engender Agni (=Fire)—"awaking him at dawn"—"feeding him on oblation," etc. (*Rigveda*, IV, 6, 8, etc.). These twice five sisters reappear in the Parable of the Ten Virgins to whom the kingdom of heaven is likened in Matthew xxv. 1-11; in all probability having been assimilated originally to the fingers of the solar hands. Thus when they go forth in the night to meet the bridegroom (originally the day or the sun), the five wise virgins take oil in their lamps, while the five foolish ones take none in theirs. The latter go away to buy oil, so when the bridegroom comes, only the former meet him and are admitted to the marriage. The original connection of the two groups with the east and the west is well illustrated in the *Speculum Salvationis*, where the wise virgins, with their lamps burning, ascend a flight of steps on the right hand of Jesus; while their foolish sisters, with empty lamps reversed, descend another flight, or His left hand, going directly into the jaws of a monster symbolizing hell (Jameson and Eastlake, *Our Lord in Art*, 2d ed., I, p. 392, fig. 137).

WAS DAVID AN ARYAN?

BY PAUL HAUPT.

HOUSTON Stewart Chamberlain states in his book on the Foundations of the Nineteenth Century¹ that David seems to have had blond hair and a fair complexion; he thinks that the founder of the royal dynasty of Judah was born at Bethlehem, but that his mother was perhaps an Amoritess, so that he would have been semi-European.² It is true that the Amorites who, as the Israelitish poet Amos (ii. 9) says,³ were as tall as cedars, as strong as sturdy oaks, may have been pre-Hellenic invaders from the Ægean islands including Crete;⁴ but there is no evidence that the famous first king of Judah was of Amorite extraction. David's ancestors were Edomites,⁵ and he was not born at Bethlehem, but in the neighborhood of Hebron. His hair was not blond, and his complexion was brownish or olive.

David may mean *Beloved*. It is possible that this was not the original name, but an epithet bestowed on him by his adherents, just as Nabal the husband of Abigail, is evidently a nickname (*Fool, Impious*). David must have been an exceptionally fascinating man who inspired love and devotion everywhere. The view that the name was originally Dodo, a title of the sun-god, is untenable. In the Amarna tablets (c. 1400 B. C.)⁶ a high Egyptian official has the

¹ *Die Grundlagen des XIX. Jahrhunderts*, p. 369; see also p. 487 and Professor Sayce's remarks in *The Open Court*, No. 635 (April, 1909), p. 243.

² The use of *Aryan* in the sense of *Indo-European* is inaccurate; *Aryan* means *Indo-Iranian*; see my paper "The Aryan Ancestry of Jesus" in *The Open Court*, No. 635 (April, 1909), p. 199, n. 17; cf. my paper "Semites, Hebrews, Israelites, Jews" in *The Open Court*, No. 751 (December, 1918), p. 756.

³ Amos, whose patriotic poems seem to have been composed c. 740-735 B. C., was an Israelitish gardener living in Judah after he had been banished from the Northern Kingdom; see *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 35, p. 287.

⁴ See my remarks on "Amorites, Phenicians, Philistines" in *Johns Hopkins University Circular* No. 306, p. 22. Palestine as well as Asia Minor were connected with Europe rather than with Asia. The western coast of Asia Minor is almost a part of Europe. Similarly Africa Minor, i. e., Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis, is Mediterranean rather than African. Cf. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, eleventh edition, Vol. 1, p. 649b.

⁵ See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 36, pp. 93, 97.

⁶ See the notes on the translation of Joshua, in the Polychrome Bible, pp. 47-55.

name *Dûdu*⁷ which may be a contraction of *Dawûdu*. The Arabic form of the name is *Dâwûdu* or *Da'ûd*;⁸ but the limestone statue found at Bismaya⁹ in January, 1905, which Dr. E. J. Banks considered to be the oldest statue in the world,¹⁰ does not represent a king Da'udu of Udnun, but the ancient Babylonian king Esar of Adab (c. 2800 B. C.). Dr. Banks regarded *Esar* as the name of a temple. The two cuneiform signs read *Da-udu* represent the adjective *da-lu* = Assyr. *dannu*, mighty.¹¹

In the legends of David preserved in the so-called Books of Samuel we read (1 Sam. xvi. 12)¹² that David was ruddy and withal of beautiful eyes and goodly to look upon. This is the rendering given in the new translation of the Holy Scriptures according to the Masoretic text, issued under the auspices of the Jewish Publication Society of America (Philadelphia, 1917). Our Authorized Version has *of beautiful countenance*, but adds in the margin: Heb. *fair of eyes*. The term *ruddy* (Heb. *admônî*) would mean *rosy*, rose-cheeked. The Ethiopic Bible interprets *admônî* in this way in the Judean legend of the birth of Esau and Jacob (Gen. xxv. 25): *Esau was red all over like a rose*. Similarly the Ethiopic version of the Book of Enoch (cvi. 2)¹³ says that when Noah was born his body was white as snow and red like a rose; when he opened his eyes he lighted up the whole house like sunshine; he stood up under the hands of the midwife and spoke to the Lord of Righteousness, so that his father Lamech was afraid of him and ran to his father Methuselah.

⁷ See Knudtzon, *Die El-Amarna-Tafeln* (1908), p. 1560.

⁸ See Spitta, *Grammatik des arabischen Vulgärdialekts von Aegypten* (1880), § 29.

⁹ West of 'Amâra on the Tigris, north of Warka, nine hours southeast of Nippur.

¹⁰ The latest edition of *Who is Who in America* (1918-19), p. 158, repeats the statement that Dr. Banks discovered the white statue of King David, a pre-Babylonian king of 4500 B. C. (*oldest statue in the world*). See also *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 4, p. 11.

¹¹ See *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 21, p. 59; cf. the illustrations in Vol. 20, pp. 260-267, and the map on p. 276; contrast F. Thureau-Dangin, *Les inscriptions de Sumer et d'Akkad* (1905), p. 217; Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, Vol. 1, third edition (1913), p. 487; Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesestücke*, fifth edition, p. 24, No. 192; *Sumer. Glossar*, p. 131, line 9; Muss-Arnolt's Assyr. dictionary, p. 257, n. 1.

¹² The section 1 Sam. xvi. 1-13 represents a late popular expansion of the book, added after 400 B. C. See the edition of the Hebrew text in the Polychrome Bible.

¹³ The Ethiopic version was made from the Greek translation of the Aramaic original which was written in Palestine between 164 and 64 B. C. See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 9, p. 650.

The interpretation of *admônî* in the description of David (1 Sam. xvi. 12) as *rosy* was endorsed by the famous Göttingen Hebraist J. D. Michaelis (1774) in his translation of the Old Testament as well as by the distinguished scholar and diplomatist Baron C. C. J. von Bunsen (1860) in his *Bibelwerk* and by the great Strassburg theologian Eduard Reuss¹⁴ in his posthumous translation (1892) of the Old Testament; also by Professor Löhr, of Breslau, in his new edition (1898) of Thenius's commentary. Thenius himself (1864) rejected the rendering *red-cheeked*; he thought *admônî* might mean *tanned*, but he preferred to explain it as referring to the redness of the hair and the skin. Canon Cheyne,¹⁵ on the other hand, believed that *admônî* implied that David had not yet become browned by exposure to the sun.¹⁶

Michaelis admitted in his notes that *admônî* might denote a yellowish-brown color. Luther rendered: *brownish*. The orthodox Lutheran theologian C. F. Keil (1875) has the correct translation *he was brownish and withal of beautiful eyes and goodly to look upon*, although in the next line he gives the interpretation *red-haired*. This explanation is based on the translation given in the Latin Bible: *Erat autem rufus et pulcher aspectu, decoraque facie*. The rendering *rubicundus* would have been better. Nor does Heb. *yěfê 'ênáim*, fair of eyes, mean *pulcher aspectu*; the singular, *'áin*, eye, might mean *look*, aspect; but *yěfê 'ênáim* can only mean *with beautiful eyes*.¹⁷ Nevertheless the mistranslation of the Vulgate has been followed by Professor Nowack, of Strassburg, in his commentary on the Books of Samuel (1902).

Red may stand for *brown*: the Bedouins call a bay-horse *áhmar*, red.¹⁸ Heb. *hemár*, which is derived from the same stem, is the name

¹⁴ Reuss perceived nearly a hundred years ago (1834) that the Prophets were earlier than the Law, and the Psalms later than both: *the Law came in beside* (Rom. v. 20). Cf. the motto prefixed to Chapter 9 of Wellhausen's *Prolegomena* and Lagarde's *Symmicta*, Vol. 1 (1877), p. 56, line 30; *Mitteilungen*, Vol. 1 (1884), p. 199. Reuss also denied the existence of Davidic psalms as early as 1839; see Cheyne, *Founders of Old Testament Criticism* (1893), p. 179.

¹⁵ See his *Encyclopædia Biblica* (1901), col. 1939.

¹⁶ In the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 35, p. 63 (October, 1918), Batten retains the rendering *ruddy* and interprets it as *fair of complexion*.

¹⁷ The Targum has: *wě-hû simmôg, 'ênôhî yá'âyân wě-shappir bē-rêwéh*, he was reddish, his eyes beautiful, and good-looking.

¹⁸ Alhambra (Arab. *al-hamrâ'u*; for the intrusive *b* cf. *number = numerus*) is the feminine form of this word. The name seems to be derived from the mud-bricks of the outer walls. Sun-dried bricks (adobes) are not red, as a rule, but according to Baedeker's *Spain* (1908), p. 346, the soil consists of a mixture, peculiar to the Alhambra, of clay and marl, permeated with oxide of iron.

of the brown asphalt obtained from the Dead Sea. Heb. *ḥāmôr* means *ass*; the Eastern ass is generally dark-reddish in color. Our *donkey* is connected with *dun*, dull-brown. Span. *burro* is the Lat. *burrus* = Greek *πυρρός*, red (originally *fiery*, flame-colored), which we have in the name Pyrrhus (*Πύρρος*). *Bureau* denotes originally a russet or brownish stuff with which writing tables were covered; *burrel* is the name of a coarse russet cloth used in the Middle Ages; also *birrus* was originally a cloak of a reddish color. In Zech. i. 8 *ādummim*, red (horses) is a prefixed gloss to *sēruqqim*, sorrels. The horses in the visions of Zechariah (February 13, 519) represent the four quarters of heaven: the fiery sorrel corresponds to the south, black to the north, white to the east, and gray to the west.¹⁹ In Assyrian, *sharqu* denotes *red blood*, i. e., bright-scarlet arterial blood, and *adamatu*: black blood, i. e., dark-red venous blood.

The majority of the modern commentators explain the Hebrew term *admônî*, which the Authorized Version renders *ruddy*, as *red-haired*. Dr. John Skinner, Principal of Westminster College, Cambridge, says in his excellent commentary on Genesis (1910) p. 359: It is usually explained of the reddish-brown hue of the skin; but there is much to be said for the view that it means *red-haired*. The note on 1 Sam. xvi. 12 in the third edition of Kautzsch's new translation of the Old Testament (1909) thinks it possible that *admônî* refers to blond hair, adding that blond hair is not infrequent among the present inhabitants of Bethlehem, nearly all of whom are Christians. Klostermann (1887) even inserts the word for *hair* (Heb. *se'âr*) after *admônî*, and this emendation has been adopted by the Catholic theologian Schlögl (1904). The great Jewish historian Graetz, followed by Krenkel, H. P. Smith, and Kittel, substituted the noun *'âlm*, youth, for the preposition *'im*, with: *He was ruddy, a youth of fine eyes and goodly appearance*; but *se'âr*, hair, or *'âlm*, youth, would never have been corrupted to *'im*, with. The preposition *'im*, with, means *along with*, combined with, and this may mean *notwithstanding*, despite, although (*ὅμως*). In Neh. v. 18 *'im-zê*, with this, signifies *yet for all this*. The corresponding Arab. *ma'a* is used in the same way.²⁰ The narrator meant to say that David was dark-skinned, although he had beautiful eyes and a goodly appearance. The literal translation of the passage is: *He*

¹⁹ See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 32, p. 108.

²⁰ You say in Arabic e. g. *mā'a kāunihi qādiran*, with his being mighty, i. e., although he be mighty, or *qādduhā tawīlun mā'a riqqatin*, her stature is tall with slenderness.

was brownish (combined)²¹ with beauty of eyes and goodness of appearance.²²

The women of Upper Egypt are brownish, but have most beautiful large black eyes. The skin of the modern Egyptians is deep-bronze or dark-brown in Upper Egypt, tawny in Middle Egypt, and light-yellowish in Lower Egypt (including Cairo). The faces of the women are lighter than those of the men.²³ On the ancient Egyptian wall-paintings the skin of the Egyptian men is reddish-brown, while the complexion of the women is yellow. Some of the Syrian chiefs are depicted as brown, and some as yellow. All are black-haired.²⁴ The Edomites in southern Palestine may have been brown, and the Israelites in the north yellowish. The complexion of the Bedouins in southern Arabia is dark,²⁵ and this no doubt due to an admixture of African blood. At the beginning of David's career (c. 1000 B. C.) the Judaites in southern Palestine were semi-nomadic sheepmen, whereas the Israelites in Ephraim were settled tillers of the soil. The heathen Edomites may have been originally brownish, hairy nomadic hunters like the aboriginal hunters of South Africa, but the Bushmen have little body-hair, and their color is a dirty yellow.²⁶

In the story describing David's encounter with Goliath we read: (1 Sam. xvii. 42) that the Philistine²⁷ giant despised David because he was but a boy and brownish (combined) with beauty of appear-

²¹ Canon Driver rendered: *together with beauty of eyes*. The form *yēfê* is not the construct state of the adjective *yafê*, beautiful, but the construct state of the substantive *yefê*, beauty, a form like *re'ê*, friend; *geçê*, end; and for the adjective *tôb*, good, we must read the substantive *tûb*, goodness (cf. Zech. ix. 17). The original form of this noun *yefê*, beauty, is *yifay*; as a rule we have the syncopated form *yēfi* = *yify*.

²² Charles II of England (1660-1685) had a swarthy complexion, but beautiful black eyes and a fine figure; he was over six feet tall. Cf. below, n. 32.

²³ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 9, p. 31; Vol. 10, p. 242, and Nos. 6 and 7 on Plate I after p. 142 of Vol. 1 (1902) of Meyer's *Grosses Konversations-Lexikon*.

²⁴ See the polychrome frontispieces of the translations of Joshua and the Psalms in the Polychrome Bible, also the colored plates after pp. 242, 244, 290 in Meyer's *Geschichte Aegyptens* (Berlin, 1887), and p. 192 in Vol. 1 (1901) of Meyer's *Grosses Konversations-Lexikon*; p. 246 in Vol. 1 (1901) of Brockhaus's *Konversations-Lexikon*; p. 604 in Vol. 3 (1901) of Helmolt's *Weltgeschichte* or p. 54 of Riehm-Baethgen's *Handwörterbuch des biblischen Altertums* (1893).

²⁵ Cf. the modern Bedouins from the neighborhood of Damascus on p. 146 of the translation of Ezekiel in the Polychrome Bible.

²⁶ See Nos. 10 and 11 on Plate II after p. 142 in Vol. 1 (1902) of Meyer's *Grosses Konversations-Lexikon*.

²⁷ The Philistines were European invaders. They came from Crete in the twelfth century B. C. and occupied the harborless southern coast between Mount Carmel and Gaza, because the northern coast was held by the Phenicians; cf. above n. 4.

ance. Here the words *with beauty of appearance* are a scribal expansion derived from 1 Sam. xvi. 12. Goliath might have despised David, because he was a mere boy and dark-skinned, but the boy's beauty was no reason for despising him. Several distinguished exegetes therefore regard these words in 1 Sam. xvii. 42 as a subsequent addition.

The statement that David had a brownish or olive complexion, but beautiful eyes and a goodly appearance must be understood in the same way as the lines spoken by the maiden in the Biblical love-ditties (Cant. i. 5):²⁸

- 6,3 My dear one's am I, he is mine, too;
7,10 for my love he is longing.²⁹
2,1 The Saffron of The Park³⁰ am I,
the lily of the valleys.
1,5 Swarthy am I, but comely,
ye maids of Jerusalem,
Like the tents of the Sons of Kedar,
but like Solomon's arras.
6 Heed not my swarthy complexion,
it was the sun that burned me;
Wroth were the sons of my mother,³¹
they made me a watcher.

That is, I may be brunette like the pale-purple flowers of the meadow-saffron or even like the dark-purple sword-lilies, yet I am also just as beautiful as these flowers.³² Even if I were dark³³ like the tent-cloth of the Kedarene Bedouins,³⁴ I should still be as beautiful

²⁸ See *The Open Court*, No. 552 (May, 1902), p. 293; Haupt, *The Book of Canticles* (Chicago, 1902), pp. 5, 30; *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907), pp. 4, 38. Cf. *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 18, pp. 195, 220.

²⁹ For the rhythm of these lines (3 + 2 beats, not 3 + 3) see n. 21 to my paper "The Son of Man" in *The Monist*, Vol. 29, p. 128 (January, 1919).

³⁰ Heb. *sharôn*, luxuriance, denotes the park-like tract of the Palestinian maritime plain between Joppa and Mount Carmel. Throughout its whole extent it is gay with myriads of bright-colored flowers. See my remarks on the "Rose of Sharon" in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 36, p. 147. Sharon is a name like Elis, i. e., Lowland, which is etymologically connected with our *vale* and *valley*.

³¹ That is, *my own brothers*; her father may have had several wives.

³² In John Evelyn's *Diary* the Welsh mistress of King Charles II and mother of the Duke of Monmouth, Lucy Walter, is described as a *brown, beautiful, bold, but insipid creature*.

³³ The Bedouin girls consider themselves black or brown, and call the city girls white. The brown girls and the white girls play a prominent part in modern Palestinian erotic poetry.

³⁴ The tents of the Bedouins are made of black goat's hair, and their principal covering is a cloak of the same material; see *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 2, p. 759b. Cf. the Arab tents on p. 63 of the translation of Judges in the Polychrome Bible, and p. 729 of Guthe's *Bibelwörterbuch* (1903).

as the magnificent hangings in Solomon's palace. But I am not dark-skinned, only sun-burnt, because my brothers made me watch the vineyards.³⁵

Theocritus (10, 26-29) says to a charming Syrian brunette: The violets and the lettered hyacinths are dark, but both flowers are considered the most beautiful in any wreath. The ancients believed that the exclamation AI, woe, was marked on the petals of the hyacinth, i. e., a dark-purple sword-lily (*Gladiolus atroviolaceus*). The precious stone called *hyacinth* by the ancients was our amethyst, whereas Lat. *amethystus* denotes an amethystine sapphire or purple ruby. Theocritus (who flourished c. 270 B. C.) may have heard in Alexandria a Greek version of some of the Biblical love-ditties.³⁶ The father of bucolic poetry often borrowed from predecessors and contemporaries.

When Saul sent men to David's house to slay him in the morning,³⁷ Michal lowered David through the window and put teraphim, i. e., household gods, in the bed. At the head she placed a *kēbir 'izzim*, which was not a pillow stuffed with goat's hair, or a mosquito-net³⁸ of goat's hair, but a goat-skin bottle with the black hair left on, so that the leathern water-bag (Arab. *qirbah*)³⁹ looked from a distance, especially at night, like the head of a man with black hair. If the bed had been empty, the assassins would not have waited for the morning, although it was contrary to Oriental custom to kill a man while he was asleep (cf. Judges xvi. 2). The bed was a light portable frame like our field-beds or army-cots; therefore Saul said (1 Sam. xix. 15): Bring him up to me in the bed (cf. also Luke v.

³⁵ For the misplaced illustrative quotation to this verse, *Catch us the foxes, the little foxes, destroying vineyards, our vineyards in blossom* (i. e., our virgin charms), cf. the Thracian name of Dionysus, *Bassareus*, which has been interpreted as *he who keeps away the foxes from the vineyards*; see *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 8, p. 287a.

³⁶ The Septuagint is said to have been begun under the auspices of Ptolemy II Philadelphus whose accession to the throne in 285 B. C. is glorified in Ps. lxxii; see *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 33, p. 185.

³⁷ Cf. the title of Ps. lix which was composed at the beginning of the Maccabean period; see the translation of the Psalms in the Polychrome Bible, p. 188, line 15.

³⁸ A mosquito-net is mentioned in the story of Judith and Holofernes (Judith x. 21). The Greek text has *κωνοπέριον*, Lat. *conopeum*, from which our *canopy* and French *canapé* are derived; but instead of *under a canopy* in Judith x. 21 (cf. xiii. 9, 15; xvi. 19) we must render: *within the mosquito-net*. *Κωνοπέριον* is derived from *κόνωψ*, gnat.

³⁹ See the Oriental goat-skin bottles on p. 638 of the *Century Dictionary*; Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. 1, p. 621, and p. 92 of the translation of Joshua in the Polychrome Bible; cf. my remarks in the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 19, p. 171, and *Modern Language Notes*, Vol. 33, p. 432 (November, 1918).

18-25). The original narrator may have believed that the incident related in 1 Sam. xix. 9-17 happened in the night after the wedding of David and Michal (cf. *ibid.* xviii. 27) who may have looked somewhat like Othello and Desdemona.⁴⁰

The hair of most of the goats in Palestine is black, long, and silky. Therefore the lover says to the maiden in Cant. iv. 1: *Thy hair is like a flock of goats*, while in v. 11 the maiden says of her dear one: *His hair is as black as a raven*. The line *Thy locks are purple* (Cant. vii. 5) has the same meaning; the purple of the ancients was a dark, dusky color. Also in Greek, *purple* is often used for *black*.⁴¹

Michal, it may be supposed, took two teraphim to represent David's legs, and for the upper part of his body she used a water-bag. Both teraphim and skin-bottle were covered with a cloak (Exod. xxii. 27)⁴² or blanket (Arab. 'abā').⁴³ Only the end of the water-skin with the black goat's hair on the outside was exposed. The teraphim were probably less than three feet high.⁴⁴ Rachel hid her father's teraphim, which she had stolen, in her camel-litter or howdah (Gen. xxxi. 29-35).⁴⁵ It has been suggested⁴⁶ that these figures may have been so small that they could be used as lots,⁴⁷ as small perhaps as the Chinese Buddha pearls representing small seated images of Buddha, which have been inserted in Chinese river-mussels, so that they are covered with a nacreous deposit.⁴⁸ The teraphim may have been employed in divination, but we need not suppose that they served as lots. A. H. McNeile, of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, in his commentary on Exodus (1908), p. xiv, has called attention to the method of divination by means of an image, employed by the natives of Sierra Leone in Western Africa: a figure of light wood is held out by both hands from the waist, so

⁴⁰ Othello was not a negro, but a Moor. Iago alludes to him (1, 1, 124) as a *Barbary horse*. The Moors of Morocco have European features, black silky hair, and black eyes; their skin is light brown (*café au lait*).

⁴¹ Cf. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 33, p. 299.

⁴² In Homer we find cloaks used as bed-covers; see, e. g., *Odyss.*, 11, 189; 14, 520; 20, 4.

⁴³ See the illustration on p. 3 of the *Century Dictionary*.

⁴⁴ See the idols carried by Assyrian soldiers in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 7, p. 229, fig. 12; cf. Ulysses carrying off the palladium of Troy on p. 4244 of the *Century Dictionary*.

⁴⁵ See the photographic reproductions of camel-howdahs on the plate in G. Jacob's *Altarabisches Beduinenleben* (1897).

⁴⁶ See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 21, p. 31.

⁴⁷ The statuette of Astarte figured on p. 221 of Benzinger's *Hebr. Archäologie* (1907) is only about 4½ in. high.

⁴⁸ Cf. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 21, p. 26b.

that it can swing; if the figure gradually inclines toward the person holding it, this is regarded as a favorable answer.

The name *teraphim* means *providers*, just as the Lat. *penates* is derived from *penus*, provisions. Lamps seem to have been kept burning before the teraphim, and the eternal lamps in the synagogues and Catholic churches may be a survival of this ancient usage. The Biblical phrase *I have set up a light for him* means *His family will not be extinct*.⁴⁹ Similarly a taper or lamp was kept burning before the Roman *lares*. Each family had two penates and one lar placed between them. One of the *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, Lampridius, who lived in the first part of the fourth century, states in c. 29 of his *Vita Alexandri Severi*⁵⁰ that this last of the Syrian princes (222-235) among the Roman emperors,⁵¹ who had been adopted by his cousin Heliogabalus, had in his *lararium* busts of Orpheus, Abraham, Jesus Christ, and Apollonius of Tyana in Cappadocia, the Neopythagorean philosopher and wonder-worker who was born a few years before the Christian era, and whose doctrines were considered by some (Hierocles,⁵² Blount,⁵³ Voltaire, Wieland) to be superior to Christianity.

Michal was at first devoted to David, but afterward an estrangement took place, so that Michal had no child unto the day of her death (2 Sam. vi. 23). Michal did not despise David because he was a worshiper of יהוה,⁵⁴ but because, when the Ark was brought up to Jerusalem from the house of Obed-edom in the Philistine city of Gath, the king danced before the palladium, girded with an *ephod*, i. e., a loin-cloth.⁵⁵ The Roman emperor Heliogabalus (218-222) danced in public at the ceremonies in honor of the Syrian

⁴⁹ See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 33, p. 166; Vol. 35, p. 319.

⁵⁰ See Hauck's *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, third edition, Vol. 4, p. 66, line 55; Vol. 18, p. 259, line 1.

⁵¹ His chief adviser was the great jurist Ulpian.

⁵² Hierocles, who was a Neoplatonist and governor of Bithynia, is said to have been chiefly responsible for the persecution of the Christians about the end of the reign of Diocletian in 303 A. D.

⁵³ Charles Blount (1654-1693) defended marriage with a deceased wife's sister, which was not legalized in England before 1907. For the misinterpretation of Lev. xviii. 18 see the translation of Leviticus, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 88, line 50; cf. Lagarde, *Mitteilungen*, Vol. 1 (Göttingen, 1884), p. 134.

⁵⁴ For the name יהוה, i. e., *Yah-wê*, see the translation of the Psalms, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 163, line 41; cf. the *New Standard Dictionary* under *tetragrammaton*.

⁵⁵ In the passages where *ephod* denotes an idol we must read *aphûd* instead of *ephôd*. The *aphûd* was a xoanon cloaked with precious stuffs or a statue built upon a wooden frame overlaid with plates of gold; see the sixteenth edition of Gesenius's *Hebr. Handwörterbuch* (1915), p. xivb; *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 36, p. 145.

sun-god, but Michal did not approve of David's scanty attire;⁵⁴ therefore she said: How dignified was the king of Israel to-day, who exposed himself in the sight of the handmaids of his servants like one of the beggars (2 Sam. vi. 20).⁵⁷

The ephod was a loin-cloth like the *dhoti* of the Hindus, and the shoulder-pieces (Exod. xxviii. 7) correspond to the Brahminical *janeo*. The sacred thread is worn by the three higher castes.⁵⁸ The *dhoti* is the sacrificial dress of most Hindus. In the same way the ephod was the priestly garment of the ancient worshipers of JHVH. David and his successors were their own high priests. There was no Jewish high priest before the reign of Darius Hystaspis (521-486 B. C.).⁵⁹ The primitive loin-cloth afterward developed into a skirt falling below the knees and held up by ornamental shoulder-bands.⁶⁰ The loin-cloth was also the essential feature both of male and female dress among the pre-Hellenic Ægean peoples. At the present day both male and female pilgrims enter the sanctuary in Mecca barefoot and clad in the scanty waist-wrapper (Arab. *ihrâm*).⁶¹ The Bedouins in southern Arabia wear loin-cloths instead of shirts. The loin-cloth is originally a waist-ornament, not a covering to satisfy the claims of modesty. Concealment affords greater stimulus to sexual selection than revelation.⁶²

The term *admônî*, brownish, is used also in the legend describing the birth of Esau and Jacob. We read in Gen. xxv. 25: The first came out *admônî*, all over like a hairy garment, and they called his name Esau. The Authorized Version has *red* for *admônî*; but this would not have been exceptional; all new-born babes are red; even negro babies have a reddish chocolate or copper color, the dark coloring of the skin does not develop until some weeks after

⁵⁶ See *Johns Hopkins University Circular* No. 145, p. 40; *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 21, p. 7.

⁵⁷ This may mean *rogues, low fellows*; but the translations *rakes, libertines, debauchees, dissolute persons* are unwarranted; cf. Neh. v. 13; Judges ix. 4; xi. 3; 2 Chron. xiii. 7.

⁵⁸ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 5, p. 467a; Vol. 14, p. 420, and p. 419, Plate II, fig. 2.

⁵⁹ See my remarks in the *Journal of the Society for Oriental Research* Vol. 2, p. 78.

⁶⁰ See the translation of the Psalms, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 224, fig. 8, and the last two colored plates referred to above, in n. 24.

⁶¹ For the survival of primitive usages in religious ceremonies see the translation of Joshua, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 62, line 5; cf. *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 21, p. 42.

⁶² See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 3, p. 624a; Vol. 7, pp. 225a, 231, 227a, 232a. Similarly perfumes were originally not used for the purpose of concealing offensive odors, but as a substitute for attractive individual exhalations; see Albert Hagen, *Sexuelle Oosphresologie* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 226, 240; cf. Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder* (1907), pp. 22, 69, 91, 112.

birth.⁶³ Nor does the Name Esau mean *red*. In Gen. xxxvi. 9 Esau is called the father of the Edomites on Mount Seir. Esau was originally the god of the Edomites, just as Jacob was the god of the Israelites, who was worshiped in the form of a bull. The horns of the altar may be a survival of the ancient bull-worship.⁶⁴ *Esau* seems to be a dialectic form of Heb. 'ôsê, Maker, so that it may be regarded as an older name for JHVH, Creator, lit. *He who causes to be*; but the statement in Gen. xxv. 25 may reflect a popular etymology combining *Esau* with Arab. á'thâ which is said to denote not only *hairy*, but also *dark-skinned*. If *Esau* were really derived from the stem of Arab. á'thâ, we should expect *Eshau* in Hebrew; but the original pronunciation of *Esau* (with *Sîn*) was *Eshau*. The combination of *Esau* with Arab. á'thâ is not any more inaccurate than the derivation of *issâ*, woman, from *ish*, man, in Gen. ii. 23.⁶⁵

Edom is the name of the people, and *Seir* the name of their country between the Dead Sea and the northeastern arm of the Red Sea. *Se'ir* means *rough land*. The stem *sa'ár* is used of *rough* or *rugged land*, and of *rough weather*, also of *roughness* in the sense of *shagginess*, hairiness.⁶⁶ The corresponding German *rauch* (in *Rauchwaren*, *Rauchhandel*) signifies *peltry*. German *Rauch*, smoke, on the other hand, is our *reek*. The statement that the ancestor of the Edomites was hairy would explain the name *Esau*, if it was combined with Arab. á'thâ, shaggy. But *admônî*, red (or brown), is out of place in this connection. In Kautzsch's new translation of the Old Testament (1909) *admônî* in Gen. xxv. 25 is therefore regarded as a gloss.⁶⁷ Michaelis (1775) rendered:

⁶³ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 19, p. 344b.

⁶⁴ See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 33, p. 164, n. 9.

⁶⁵ See Haupt, *Die sumerischen Familiengesetze* (1879) p. 25, n. 6; *Beiträge zur assyrischen Lautlehre* (1883), p. 99, n. 1. Cf. below n. 78. We have the root of Arab. á'thâ, hairy, in Heb. 'ash, moth, which means originally *unhairing*, also in 'ôfa'im, foliage, Ps. civ. 12; cf. Lat. *coma*, hair or foliage, and Arab. á'fâ shâ'ra-'l-jâmali or 'áfati-'l-árdu, with *f = th*; see *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 34, p. 72, line 8.

⁶⁶ Heb. *se'ár* means *hair*, and *sa'r* (or *sê'arâ*) denotes *storm*. The primary connotation of *sa'ir*, he-goat, is *shaggy*, and the original meaning of *sê'arâ*, barley, is *awny*, just as Lat. *hordeum*, barley, is connected with *horrere*, to bristle; *hircus*, he-goat; *hirsutus*, *hirtus*, hirsute; and *erinaceus*, *ericus*, urchin, hedgehog.

⁶⁷ Gunkel, on the other hand, considers *admônî* to be a part of the original Judaic text and the clause *all over like a hairy garment* an addition from the Ephraimite document. If this view were correct, we should have to assume that the narrator misunderstood the story; he ought to have said: The first one came out *admônî* (or *adôm*) and they called his name Edom. Such misunderstandings are not impossible. A member of a German club, who had a plateful of beans, put one of the beans aside, and asked, What does this represent? When no one was able to guess it, he said, This means Bonaparte

the first who came out was covered all over with red hair like a shaggy fur, so that Esau would have resembled a young orangutan. The fact that the Edomites had more body-hair than the Israelites is suggested also in the story of Rebecca's stratagem in disguising Jacob, so that his father mistook him for Esau (Gen. xxvii. 16). The hairiness of the Edomites was no doubt much exaggerated in Israelitish legends.⁶⁸ We need not suppose that David's ancestors were completely coated with hair like our Miocene precursors, or that they were a hairy race like the Ainu of Japan; even the Ainu have not more body-hair than many Europeans, especially among the Russian peasantry; but the ancient Edomites may have had shaggy black hair covering the back and the chest.

The name *Edom* is explained in the story of Esau selling his birth-right for a lentil-soup, which we find in Gen. xxv. 29-34: Esau said to Jacob, Let me gulp down this red (or brown) stuff (Heb. *adóm*). A dish of lentils stewed with onions, rice, and oil, or small bits of meat and fat is still common in the East; the color of it is darkish-brown.⁶⁹ We may therefore conclude that the color of the Edomites was brown, and that David had an olive complexion and black hair.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

THE UNIMPORTANCE OF BEING CHRISTIAN.

BY JOHN DENMARK.

I TALKED not long ago with one of America's greatest Jewish leaders as he sat by the fireside with his family. His was an ideal home full of enlightenment and love. It was what we have learned to call a "Christian home." As we talked together of the problems of labor and social reform that confront us, I realized the true nobility and unselfishness of the man. Then the thought came to me, "How ridiculous it would seem for me to say that he was

(bean, German *Bohne*, apart). One of the men present thought this very clever; so, when he came home to dinner, he asked for some beans. He was told there were no beans, but he might have some peas. He said, All right, let me have some peas. He set one pea apart, and asked, What is this? When the family gave it up, he said triumphantly, Why, this is Napoleon!

⁶⁸ When we speak of some one *having been born in the purple* or *with a silver spoon in his mouth* or *on the wrong side of the blanket*, we do not expect a literal interpretation of these phrases.

⁶⁹ See Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. 3, p. 95a; contrast Vol. 2, p. 28a.

damned for his unbelief while I was saved by my Christianity." He had more of love and patience and idealism than I would ever have. He could convert me to Judaism sooner than I could win him to Christianity.

But I did not try to convert him to Christianity because I realized the unimportance of being Christian.

What I felt has been tacitly agreed upon by most Christians for a long time. Proselyting for the Christian religion has become a lost art. I mean real proselyting. When young men and women who have been surrounded by church influences all their lives finally reach the age of decision, their entrance into organized Christianity is as automatic and inevitable as their entrance into society. In fact it is little else but an entrance into moral society under the careful guidance of anxious parents. Put the same kind of children with the same kind of parents into Arabia and the apples would fall as readily into Mohammedan baskets.

When Billy Sunday preaching in a Christian nation after Christianity has been on trial for nearly two thousand years succeeds in winning several thousand converts to Christianity he is hailed as a remarkable teacher. He is a remarkable teacher. His success stands out in striking contrast to the failure of almost every other evangelist who has had the courage to preach Christianity in all its nakedness.

It requires no special investigation to discover that most people in America are genuinely indifferent to all that conversion implies. They are quite heedless of the preachers' solemn question, "Where will you spend eternity?" They do not know where they will spend eternity and they are quite certain that Christianity will not enlighten them in the matter. In the South and especially among the foreign workingmen who operate many of our greatest industries, hundreds are buried without funerals, utterly scornful even in their grief of the churches' teaching concerning life and death.

In opposition to this wide-spread indifference there are two classes of preachers who are successful in their proselyting, modern and genial pastors who never preach Christianity, and the vaudeville evangelists who by their magnetic power shock people out of their normal littleness.

I belong to the first class. I have converted many people to my own conceptions of morality and religion with the help of Biblical phrases and the authority which the Church has given me, but I have never converted any one to the religion of Jesus Christ. For a long time I thought that I was a Christian evangelist. Now I

know that there are very few Christian evangelists, and that the astute businessmen and special pleaders who fill our city pulpits are converting men not to Christianity but to certain moral standards of optimism, honesty, self-confidence and ambition that will guarantee their success in the present social system. If I, as a city pastor, should suddenly declare that unless my congregation abandoned their earthly work, took no thought for the morrow, trusted in God so much that the food supply should be obtained by prayer to the Father who promised through his Son that every one who asked should receive, I would instantly be asked to resign.

Men would say that I was preaching insanity. The tragedy is that they would be right, and I would be Christian.

But the professional evangelists who are attempting to defend Christianity are a far more interesting study than the sensible city pastors. They are the true successors of St. Paul, earnest, enthusiastic, and successful, because they have reduced religion to a compact formula which even the most ignorant cannot mistake. How delightfully simple this formula is! Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved. For the rest, be good!

The character of these evangelists betrays them. Even the laity is beginning to be suspicious of that character. I have met many evangelists and heard many more give forth the sound and fury of gospel heat, and I have never yet discovered an effective evangelist who had a good education coupled with sane and careful judgment. The foremost representatives of proselyting Christianity are emotional calliopes who play upon the ignorance and emotional hunger of their audiences. Some of them are sincere with the sincerity created by personal power and exciting success—it is hard for successful men to disbelieve in themselves and their mission. Some of them are sincere with the sincerity of unadulterated ignorance. Many of them are emotionally and morally rotten, afraid to face the simplest doubt with candid analysis.

The character of the revivalists throws suspicion upon the value of their message. It is not the falsehood of that message which impresses the observer so much as the unimportance of it. That unimportance is due at least partially to the remoteness of the message of the Bible.

The Bible is not only incomprehensible to the average man: it is incomprehensible to most scholars. This is not because of any unusual depth of reasoning but because it is the work of contradictory, untrained minds, speaking a language which we do not completely understand, and setting forth a view of life which we can

appreciate only by the systematic stretching of a trained imagination. We cannot understand the Bible unless we can "put ourselves back" into Palestine and catch a glimpse of the world as it appeared to Jewish prophets and priests. And when, after years of special training, the scholar succeeds in realizing something of the real Biblical view-point, he sees how little vitality there is in the message which ancient Jewish sages bring to us.

Let me make my own confession in regard to the Bible. I have never enjoyed reading it until there was placed in my hands a modern English version that put in clear, twentieth-century phrases the chapters that in the old King James version had regularly put me to sleep on Sunday afternoon. The enjoyment then was short-lived. The effect of this modern-speech version was startling. When compared with the works of almost any successful writer of my experience, the Bible stood out as ineffably dull not only in its subject-matter but in its style. How pedantic were the epigrams of Jesus! How easily the American preacher could equal the letters of St. Paul if he chose to write letters to his flock! How puerile were the rhapsodies of Revelation!

When I saw how outworn superstition was freely mixed with mystical epigram, I was tempted to throw the whole thing away. But the deep, bass voice of my professor of homiletics kept ringing in my ears: "Young men, use the Scriptures! No book in the world has such power over the thoughts and imagination of men as the Bible. If you want to convince men of your opinions, use the Bible."

So I have used the Bible, although I have used it with an increasing sense of its real unimportance. I have seen many lives transformed by faith in the Bible but I have never yet seen a life transformed by the Bible. The distinction is important. The bones of St. Anna have never yet killed a germ or straightened a muscle, but the absolute conviction of scores of people that the straightening and germ-killing would be accomplished by the bones has sent back many an invalid to his home healed and jubilant.

When a careful study is made of these people to whom the Bible is preeminently important, it will be found in almost every case that they are either professionals who must use the Bible in the development of their careers or ignorant people whose range of reading is so limited that the narratives and exhortations of the Bible are interesting. In so many thousands of the homes of our grandfathers the Bible was the only serious and vital literature that it became for them a genuinely sacred book. It contained the only philosophy and

poetry they ever read. In a life of endless monotony and commonplaceness, it was the only thing that demanded their reverence.

But with expanding knowledge, the Bible is gradually taking its more natural place with the other dust-covered articles on the parlor table or the bottom shelf of the family bookcase. Nehemiah, Jehoshaphat, and their kind are described in the Sunday school and then promptly forgotten. In the life of America the Bible has already become an unimportant symbol, like a literary rosary, to be purchased and occasionally thumbed over but seldom to be read.

There is another and much more significant indication of the unimportance of Christianity in our time. The moral ideas of the race when frankly examined show practically no dependence upon the maintenance of Christianity.

Even in the questions of personal morals we do not follow distinctively Christian standards. The reason is that there are no Christian standards that can be effectively used in solving our ordinary moral problems.

If I consult the teachings of Jesus in regard to wine-drinking, I cannot discover whether I should be a total abstainer or not. Jesus did not know anything about American saloons. If I am anxious to know whether a divorced person can be married again, I find that the teachings of Jesus are ambiguous. Jesus was never married and he knew nothing of syphilis, low wages for working girls, or the feminist movement. If I hesitate before entering the army and ask myself, "Is it possible for a Christian to be a soldier?" I find that Jesus can readily be made into a Quaker pacifist or a terrible fighter for all just causes. If I turn to the teachings of Jesus to find standards for honesty while earning a living, I find nothing beyond vague moral generalizations. Jesus know nothing of modern trusts, cut-throat competition, and business honesty.

In the absence of definite Christian standards of morality, Christianity becomes merely a label for the particular moral system we want to endorse. No one can tell the world what Christianity really is, so everybody's religious business becomes nobody's religious business. What Christianity really is becomes of no importance. What the moral habits of the race are becomes all important.

The thing we call Christianity will live for many centuries because it has succeeded in gathering unto itself the greatest moral qualities of the race and in using those qualities to bolster up an antiquated analysis of life and an institution which still dominates our moral life. So it has become a mixture of the most practical and noble truths with the most ridiculous deceptions. In the same

breath we are asked to believe that we should love our neighbors, and that a certain fish swallowed Jonah and kept him in the submarine stateroom for three days. We are asked to accept the gospel of peace, and to believe that peace can come only through the belief by all humanity that God became completely incarnate in a certain Jewish prophet who lived many centuries ago.

As we confront this queer, impossible mixture, we cannot feel that it is important for any man to be a Christian. Obviously, the one important task of our time is to work for that society based upon more equal opportunity which is the ideal of all men whose faces "are turned toward the light." When we have glimpsed this larger vision, we cannot help but recognize the real irrelevancy of Christian proselyting.

But the unimportance of being Christian does not include the unimportance of having churches. Quite apart from its function as an agent for the Christian Gospel the church is an organization of human beings met together for the purpose of reflection, service, and fellowship. In the vast, arid desert of our unorganized life any church that brings the people together in fellowship is doing much for human life.

The old village tavern taught the people of the countryside what they knew of gossip, manners, and politics. That social function was connected with the flowing bowl, but even the temperance reformer must recognize that the old tavern supplied a fundamental social need of the community. It brought men from loneliness into comradeship at a time when no other institution served the purpose. It taught men to know each other and to know themselves. It laid the basis of democracy.

So the church is helping the cause of democracy by bringing men under one roof who think and talk together of the common moral problems of the race. It is often dominated by class interests and unspeakably hypocritical, but to the man who observes *all*, life is dominated by class interests and unspeakably hypocritical. The church is no worse and probably a little better than most of our institutions. It is the only moral forum in thousands of communities; it is the most natural meeting-ground for those who are striving to do good. Until we have a better forum for the development of a people's philosophy and ethics, blessed be the church!

It is upon this rock that the enemy of the church most often founders. He denounces the church and praises what he calls "real Christianity." If he had studied the situation, his attitude would be just the reverse.

I have become an enemy of the Christian church but not an enemy of the church. I believe in the church but deny Christianity. I believe in the church not because of what it is to-day but because of the possibilities of a great temple of religious aspiration and moral reflection in the midst of a community whose thoughts are bent on petty things.

Ostensibly the church was built on Christianity, but it is now built upon something far more profound. Its real foundation is the craving for fellowship and the universal desire of men to know the secrets of life. The real basis of the public school is not White's *Arithmetic* or any other particular text-book, but the desire of the people for general learning.

Likewise the church. Eject Christianity (as it has already been partially ejected), substitute the religion and morals which each community works out for itself and you have a church more powerful than ever. The demand for such an institution will never die. Humanity must always go to church to learn more of the great mysteries of life, death, and conduct. When the unimportance of Christianity and the importance of the churches have been realized, then the church will reshape itself to meet the needs of a wiser and a frankly un-Christian world.

But what of the importance of the clergy?

The average clergyman is attacked by his critics for being lazy and generally useless. He is maligned as a parasite and ridiculed as a sexless goody-goody. But he is what the people want him to be. So long as the people believe in Christianity, the preacher will be what he is.

The preacher is a professional friend. He aims to give advice and counsel concerning those puzzling personal problems that trouble us all. As the doctor specializes in the problems of the body and the lawyer in the diseases of the business system, so the preacher specializes in the problems of goodness. He is often as bunglesome in his treatment as the doctor and lawyer, but he will continue in his place until society obtains a substitute for him.

Philosophers and parents are the two classes of people who must be trained to take the preacher's place. And what a task! Our philosophy has entangled itself in such endless masses of verbiage that it does not even exist for the untrained thinker. Our family life is so completely broken up that the moral teachings of the home concern themselves only with traditional rudiments.

The preacher will be with us for a good many centuries to come. He gives to the masses of the people, especially in rural

regions, the only philosophy they ever get. He stands out in many communities as the sole representative of education applied to moral life. His philosophy may be, probably is, a lie, but the people will cling to it until they find some one else who is intelligent enough and interested enough to give them a superior analysis of life in a way that they can understand. To them the preacher will be important until they become intelligent enough to see how little of life's secret he knows and how imperfectly human he is.

WHAT THEOLOGUES DISCOVERED IN NEW YORK CITY.

BY THE REV. AMOS I. DUSHAW.

HARRY, the favorite student of the Semitic department, had one absorbing passion, and that was to become a professor of textual criticism. But occasionally he would also take his canoe and paddle out into the ocean of higher criticism, so that he could not only reconstruct the text from a grammatical point of view, but could also rearrange the books of the Bible from a historical point of view.

He knew far better than did the Hebrews of 2500 years ago, who wrote the Song of Moses, the Ten Commandments, or for that matter any of the books, chapters, and verses of the Old Testament. To become thoroughly proficient along his line, he not only studied Hebrew grammar, but he also studied most faithfully Syriac, Chaldaic, and Aramaic.

Many a night he burned the "mid-night oil" in ciphering out the hieroglyphics on some newly dug-up Tell-el-Amarna clay tablet. He was one of the seminary's idols. He expected to continue his studies for a season at the great universities abroad, the Sorbonne, Leipsic, and Berlin.

He was destined for a professorial chair.

William, or Bill, as he was called by his classmates, was an entirely different kind of a student. He was a favorite of the president of the seminary, and particularly of the wives of the professors.

Harry was a worker; Bill was a shirker. Harry loved his work; Bill wanted to get through as quickly and as easily as possible. He never aimed high in scholarship. Harry was working his

way through the seminary, as he did through college, and he needed every dollar the seminary gave him for his living and his books.

Bill cared little for the minimum financial assistance which the seminary could legally and honorably give him. His parents gave him all the money he needed and wanted. Harry shone in the classroom; Bill shone at the "At Homes." Harry was married to his work; Bill was expecting to get married the day following his graduation.

Bill possessed a glib tongue, a graceful figure, rosy cheeks, mild blue eyes, a soft voice, and was always well-clad. At the prayer-meetings and other functions, he generally quoted quite freely Tennyson, and also Mrs. Browning to the extreme delight of the ladies.

Bill was destined for a fashionable church.

Jack was entirely unlike Harry and Bill. He possessed neither the love for dead languages, as Harry did, nor the sweetness of Bill. He was of a rough and manly exterior, honest in his work, passing his examinations above the average, and had a big heart.

He did his work, asked for no favors from the faculty or from their wives, had no fiancée, and never shone at the "At Homes." At such times he generally preferred a glass of tea with some of the boys on the East Side. Before taking up the study of theology, he had worked in one of Pittsburg's steel-mills, and he still carried a union card.

What was he destined for?

About 9 p. m. on Saturday, Harry had just finished the review of the Hebrew verb, when Bill entered.

"What! Still plugging away at that Hebrew?" said Bill.

"Just got through with it. How is it that you are here to-night? I thought you are generally away, from Saturday until Monday," replied Harry.

"So I am, but I am home to-night, and I am mighty glad of it. I must confess that during the three years of my seminary life I have been somewhat of a recluse. I know absolutely nothing of the foreign settlements of this great city. So far as I am concerned, I might just as well have studied in a village. However, I dare say I am not the only pebble on the beach in this respect."

"I guess you are right, old man," replied Harry. "I am in the very same boat. I have been four years in the city, and I have never seen those foreign sections either. I have been too busy plugging away at these dead languages."

"You see," said Bill, "I preached every Sunday out of town. Then I had to attend the numerous receptions given by the Presi-

dent, and other members of the faculty. And of course, I had to do some work in the seminary too. And last, but not least, there is a girl to look after."

"Glad to say that I have no girl to look after. I am married to my work."

"Let's quit work to-night, Harry, and spend the rest of the evening in taking in the sights of the lower parts of the city. Let's visit Jerusalem. You know that I am interested in the social problem. I have taken a special course at Columbia in economics and sociology, under Giddings. It appears to me that I ought to see for once, at least, how I can apply my theoretical knowledge to practical problems. As for yourself, you are a shark in Hebrew. Perhaps you would like to practise on a real Hebrew."

"I do not particularly care to see too many of those Jews. I see enough of them in Columbia. However, if you can get a good guide, I'll oblige you with my company."

"I think Jack will make a good guide if we can get him. I believe he knows every nook in the city. I heard him give an interesting talk on that part of the city. Furthermore, I think he, too, is interested in sociology. I meet him occasionally in Giddings's class, with his long hair and apparent disdain of conventionalities. He reminds me of an anarchist. So he would be just the one to conduct us through the lower regions, like Virgil conducted Dante through Hades."

"You surely do not think you are going to take me to Hades to-night?"

"Well, for us modern theologues, there is no such place. But come, let's call on Jack."

When Bill and Harry entered Jack's room they found him straightening up his table, which was covered with all kinds of sociological and socialistic literature.

"Hello gentlemen!" exclaimed Jack when the two friends entered. "Is there anything I can do for you?"

"I suppose you are through with your work for this week?" inquired Harry.

"I cannot say that I am. I was trying to find out how many Isaiahs there were, but I have arrived at no satisfactory conclusion."

"Why seven, of course," replied Harry, hardly able to control himself.

"Seven! Great Scot! Didn't you advocate a three-Isaiah theory at the last meeting of our seminar?" answered Jack.

"But that was two months ago," answered Harry, ready to defend his latest view. "I have made a more thorough investigation of the text since then, and what is more, Cheyne supports me."

"I am glad he does. But to tell the truth, I am tired now, and I would rather drop this subject for the present and take it up some more convenient season. Perhaps we will ultimately arrive at the conclusion that there were sixty-six Isaiahs."

"And what are you doing, Bill?" inquired Jack. "I thought you are generally away on Saturday."

"So I am, but I stayed home to-night because I promised to take dinner to-morrow with my fiancée at the President's home."

"You did!" exclaimed Jack while a smile of sarcasm overspread his face. "No one girl for me, old fellow. Fellows, I hope you will excuse me. I am now going down-town for a square feed."

"Will you show us the down-town sights to-night?" asked Bill. "You know that I am interested in the social problem."

"No, I was not aware of that."

"Didn't you see me in Giddings's class?"

"What if I did. Is that any evidence that you are interested in such prosaic themes? However, I shall be glad to take you along with me. But remember if your modesty is shocked that you will not blame me for taking you there."

"Certainly not," answered Harry and Bill.

Half an hour later, the three theologues found themselves on the sublime Bowery and Houston Street.

Jack stood for a moment, faced the two theologues, and said:

"Gentlemen, I do not take part in many of your social functions and prayer-meetings in the seminary. Will you now kindly permit me to preach to you a sermonette before we launch into one of the most crowded sections in the world?"

"I know that our 'Prof' in pastoral theology decidedly objects to the word sermonette. Gentlemen, this street is one of the dividing lines in this great city. To the west lies Rome, and to the east lies Jerusalem.

"Two thousand years ago, they battled for empire. Jerusalem both lost and won. It lost the controlling interest in politics; but it won the controlling interest in religion. It dethroned Jupiter, Mars, and Venus and in their place substituted Jehovah, Christ, and Mary.

"The Pope is only a guardian of another phase of Judaism. The Pope and the orthodox rabbi are the foes of higher criticism. Compare Romanism and Judaism, and you will be surprised how much they resemble one another. The same God, the same old

Bible. They both have tradition, which they prize more highly than truth.

"Both have fast-days, saints, and purgatories. The Pope commands not in the name of Julius, Augustus, Tiberius, Aurelian, or Seneca, or Virgil; but in the name of Simon Peter.

"Had it accepted Paul for its patron saint, Rome's history would have been entirely different. There is one thing sure, we would never have had a Martin Luther, nor a Reformation. Paul is the demolisher of fast-days, holy days, saints, purgatories, and popes. He is the eternal Protestant.

"Paul spells death to Judaism, Romanism, and stand-still Protestantism. Simon was always a Jew. He never ate pork, and observed the day of rest on Saturday. The Bowery is, therefore, the dividing line between two aspects of Judaism, and in proportion as each discards its views of Judaism, it drops its arms, buries its daggers of religious venom in the soil of indifference. They clasp hands, smile, and say to each other, 'What fools we were.'"

"Look here," inquired Harry. "If we visit Rome, is there any danger of being stabbed in the back?"

"None whatever. We have several Italian students in the seminary, and you know that they are gentlemen. They are a hard-working people, and mind their own affairs. The great majority are as honest as the rest of us. Listen attentively for a moment:

"Some in America tell us that the Republic is endangered by Roman aggression. It is not true. The Republic is endangered by the greed which occupies a front seat in many of our Protestant churches. The great magnates are Protestant, with some exceptions of course.

"American indifference and the public school are giving the death-blow to all religious bigotry. There are myriads of Catholics in America to-day who would not only refuse to shed blood in order to establish Rome, but would fight to keep Rome where it belongs.

"The zealous Roman claims 12,000,000 followers. How about the other 78,000,000? But, should the Protestant wing, out of business interest submit to Rome, remember there is another element in our population to be reckoned with. I mean the element that dethroned Rome once before. Friends, a word in closing. To the east lies Jerusalem, the eternal foe of priestly rule, and the champion of political freedom. Which side shall we now visit?"

"Jerusalem," they both exclaimed. And they turned into Rivington Street.

"Look at the masses!" exclaimed Bill when he saw Rivington Street, as crowded as sardines in a box. Everybody seemed to be in an awful hurry. No one desired to be left behind his fellows, so there was a constant, never-ceasing pushing ahead, while the shouting of pedlers rent the air. "Where in the world did they all come from?"

"This is a very pertinent question," said Jack. "They came here because of Christian love. The Christian State and Church of Holy Russia loved their souls so much that they did all they could to injure their bodies and rob them of their property and of all hope.

"They are the victims of a religion which we think is superior to every other religion, the religion of love. However, the Jew has yet to discover this. Even in our advanced and liberal churches, we do not find an overabundance of love for the race that gave to the world the Bible.

"Now that you are in the Ghetto for the first time in your life, you are in touch with real, live Jews. Hitherto you were mostly in touch with dead Jews, with Jews who lived several thousand years ago. Now is your chance to find out if all Jews are Shylocks, and grasping Jacobs.

"Let me put this thought in your minds: materially-minded people do not sacrifice home, wealth, and life for principle, as the Jews have done, since the day that they left Egypt."

"Are we safe here?" inquired Harry.

"Safer than you ever were on Fifth Avenue. Saloons do not thrive here. Let us enter this 'Wurst-store' and get something to eat."

"But surely you do not expect us to eat in that outlandish-looking place!" exclaimed Bill, the sociologist. "Do you speak their language?"

"I do. Now do not be afraid. No one will hurt a poor theologian here. Furthermore, now is your opportunity to gather material for your Ph. D. thesis. You might also gather material for a sermon on the social habits of the Jew. You will not have to eat anything that does not agree with your taste."

They knew that there was plenty of sarcasm in Jack's last utterances. They knew that he was ridiculing their superficiality in their treatment of the subjects suggested.

The delicatessen-store which the theologians entered was crowded with patrons. It seemed that the whole of Europe was represented there. They spoke English, German, Yiddish, Russian,

Polish, and Hungarian. They appeared to be very cheerful, as they sat around the tables eating, drinking, smoking, playing cards or dominoes, and discussing politics.

They sat down, and soon formed the acquaintance of some of the boys. In fact, Jack had been here before, and he was personally acquainted with the proprietor of the store, and with some of his customers.

Before very long, the theologues were engaged in discussing sociology and religion. Harry soon discovered how little Hebrew he really knew, although he had devoted several years of his life to the study of Hebrew syntax.

As for Bill, the sociologist, he was surprised how little he knew of sociological subjects. Not until then did he realize that Marx was not dead yet. A young Jew related his experiences in Odessa, when the Hooligans, incited by the Russian rulers, attacked and ruthlessly murdered many innocent people, chiefly women, children, and old men.

"You Christians," said he, "will have to stop wrangling over your religious convictions and seek to apply your boasted sublime love and teachings to those who differ from you in religious belief. How ridiculous it is for you to send missionaries to us! Live noble and exemplary lives; let your actions speak louder than your words, and seek to win us to your faith through superior living."

He then continued:

"It was in the afternoon and thirty-five of us were working in a carpentry shop, when a boy rushed in, his nose bleeding and several gashes in his scalp, and exclaimed, 'Thousands of Hooligans headed by officials and priests carrying icons, while the masses are singing the national hymn, are destroying Jewish property, and one of them hit me with stones, because I would not bow down to the icons. They are coming this way.'

"They had practised those tricks too often on us. But of late we were always prepared for them; prepared to sell our lives dearly; and we sent many a cowardly man to hell with our bombs. The mobs learned to fear us. Now the authorities brought the flag and icons to their assistance.

"We instantly stopped work. A leader was appointed, who was the brainiest and bravest of the fellows. We then asked those who were afraid to leave the company and hide somewhere. At the same time we gave warning that if any showed the white feather while facing the foe, he would be shot by us. Opposite our shop was a hardware store where arms and ammunition were sold. To

this place we all rushed and armed ourselves with revolvers, while we took all the cartridges we could carry.

"The owner of the store was a Russian, but he only pretended to object to what we were doing, for in reality he was in sympathy with us. We also had eleven bombs. Thirty-three of us, armed with revolvers, marched out into the street and took our place on one of the corners. The other two were ordered to take their places on the roof, and their work was to drop bombs upon the mob, at signals given by the captain.

"In the meantime about forty others joined us. These we armed with clubs and knives, and they were ordered to shout with all their might, as soon as they were ordered to do so, so as to make the enemy believe there were many of us.

"We were simply practising the tactics of Gideon.

"We waited for an hour and still they did not appear, but we held our places. While we waited there in silence a messenger approached us with a note from the university students, requesting us to send them several bombs. This we gladly did, because in this struggle with tyranny, they were with us.

"One of the men on the roof gave us the signal that the mob was approaching. Soon we heard their melodious voices, singing 'God save the Czar.'

"'Attention! Prepare your arms!' the captain called out. 'We must not let the mob come too near us. If they do, our doom is sealed. We are sorry to have to fire on the flag; but it is in defense of our lives. Boys, remember there is no surrender.'

"The mob was now in sight. The officials were dressed in their newest uniforms while the priests were blessing the people. They were now about two blocks away from us. We were silent, almost breathless. In an instant we recalled all the misery caused us by such mobs in the past. We recalled the Kishinef massacre. Some of us had lost our dearest relatives and friends there. Now we resolved to die, but in dying we knew that many of these brutes would go down with us.

"'Don't fire until I say so.' was the captain's order. 'Our cry will be, *Remember Kishinef!*'

"The mob was now only a block away; the suspense in which we were held was terrible. The mob was still singing the national hymn. Now they were only half a block away from us, and within deadly reach of bomb and shell.

"'One! two! three!' the captain exclaimed in an undertone, while at the same time he waved a crimson flag. A bomb was

dropped from the roof upon the mob, while at the same time we discharged our revolvers, and the crowd behind us yelled with all their might, 'Hurrah! Remember Kishinef!' We emptied our revolvers, refilled them, and emptied them again.

"For a little while we saw no people. They were hidden in the smoke caused by the terrific explosion of the bomb. But we did hear the cry of pain, and the panic caused in the ranks of the mob. When the smoke cleared away, another bomb was hurled at them, and we kept on firing and shouting.

The mob trampled on each other, in their endeavor to escape from this fire of hell let loose upon them, and the cry of the wounded and dying rent the air.

"We did not stop firing until the mob was clear out of sight. Then we saw what we had done. The pavement was torn up and bespattered with blood. The wounded and dying who were not carried off were carried by some of us to the nearest drug-store.

"Half an hour later, another signal was given by the sentinel on the roof. A mob was approaching us from the opposite direction. This mob had not yet learned of the fate of their comrades. The men on the roof then, carried their bombs to the part of the roof from where they would have to be hurled.

"Again we heard, 'God save the Czar!' Again a bomb was dropped upon them, while we discharged our revolvers and yelled like the demons of hell. I guess the poor deluded Russians must have thought so, anyway. Again there followed the same panic and confusion. We were saved for the present.

"At 4 p. m. of that afternoon, a messenger informed us that a large body of students were surrounded by two mobs; that they had used up the bombs we had sent them, and that now they needed our assistance. We instantly hastened to their assistance, and caught the mob in the rear.

"With a tremendous shout we made for them, hurled a bomb and also emptied our revolvers. The mob scattered pell-mell, and we after them. They all knew our yell by this time and they dreaded our bombs. We chased them to the great plain, the Kolikolo Polo, where we met another riotous mob, but here we were assisted by another body of students, armed with muskets. Before we got through with these Hooligans, we diminished their numbers by fully three hundred.

"We then returned to take up our old position. That evening, soldiers with rapid-fire guns were ordered out to attack us. The

Hooligans were both scared and useless now. We learned that that night thirteen hundred of them were killed.

"Late that night the soldiers started their rapid-fire guns in our neighborhood. They broke all the windows and killed many women and children, but we were not touched. Our captain ordered us to remain concealed behind the gates, and only to act on the defensive and at close quarters.

"We lost one man that night, because he disobeyed the order by seeking to join a second group across the street. He was killed by a stray shot. This was kept up during the night. By the following noon the military authorities had full control of the city.

"Four hundred and sixty were buried in the Jewish cemetery, mostly women and children. The Turkish and Greek consuls were there, and they wept like babes when they saw how frightfully mutilated the bodies were. It was evident that they were killed in cold blood by the mobs.

"Many babes were torn asunder, women had their breasts cut off, or had been disemboweled, while others had their eyes gouged out, limbs cut off, and nails driven through their brains. All these atrocious acts were blessed by the priests.

"There was a different sight on the Russian graveyard. There were no women and children among the slain, and there was no evidence of mutilation among those killed. But their dead by far outnumbered our dead. Had the soldiers kept out of the fray, there would have been no room for the Russian dead in their newest cemetery.

"But not all these Russians fought against us because they were our enemies. On the contrary, some of our best friends and supporters were Russians. All those who were not the hirelings of the crown were our friends. Many others were drawn into the mobs out of curiosity of following the flag, and singing the national songs.

"Those who were armed were so by the authorities, and filled with vodka by the authorities. Many of the latter, after they had sobered up, came over to us and begged our forgiveness, others out of remorse begged us to kill them.

"One Russian stopped a friend of mine in an out-of-the-way place and handed him his loaded revolver saying, 'Kill me, brother. I killed a family a few days ago, and now whenever I drink my tea or vodka it looks like blood.' My friend asked him to report his case to the rabbi."—

"Well, you certainly had a tough time of it in Russia," said Bill. "May I ask you why you finally left your native land?"

"Certainly! These friends of mine and I," he said, pointing to three fellows who were drinking tea with lemon, "were members of our thirty-five. The League for Defense advised us, for a time, to leave, because we were spotted by the officials. But our hearts are with our comrades, and as soon as peace will be restored in Russia, I, for one, will immediately return."

"And so will I!" exclaimed several voices.

It was now rather late, so Jack suggested to leave this place for the night. Both Harry and Bill were rather reluctant to quit the society of such enthusiastic fellows. Before departing, they both gave their names and addresses to their new acquaintances and urged them to call on them as early as possible.

Jack then led them out again into the crowded streets.

"Well, boys, what do you think of your visit to the Ghetto?" inquired Jack.

"I, for one," replied Bill, "am exceedingly sorry that I did not go there before to-night. Those Jewish boys were certainly interesting."

"And how about you, Harry? Will your visit to the Ghetto change your view of the Jew?"

"Confound it!" exclaimed Harry. "We theologues feed too much on theories. We are taught to consider one aspect of Jacob's character as being typical of the Jewish race. We are taught in the classroom that Shylock is the truest representative of the Jew. And yet, to-night, I listened to a story which reminded me so much of Judas Maccabeus. We are urged to love the dead Jews; but nothing is said to us about the living Jews."

"Now that I think of it Spinoza was a Jew, and so was Heine, and so was Neander, the church historian. The very tactics of these Odessa Jews reminded me of the tactics of Joshua, Saul, and of Judas the Hammerer. We have been taught to despise the Russian Jew. Why? I really do not know why."

"I will tell you why," answered Jack. "Because he will not become a Christian churchman."

MISTAKEN METHODS OF BIBLICAL CRITICISM, A REPLY.

BY T. B. STORK.

IF a man taking some great work of art, a tragedy of Shakespeare, a poem of Dante, were to criticize the events related for their want of truth or the characters depicted for some defect of manners, he would be considered guilty of a crass misapprehension of the subject criticized. Equally wide of the mark are critics who approach the Bible—I will not say attack, for many such are doubtless sincere in their endeavor to properly appreciate its meaning—and condemn it for unscientific statements, for accounts of events, miraculous or otherwise, which seem to them incredible. Whether the world was created in six days or six centuries: whether the water at the marriage in Cana was turned into wine, are unessential details which do not affect the purpose or the value of the book. Criticism of this sort is not only lacking in intelligent comprehension, it is perfectly ineffectual because it misses the vital significance of the book criticized.

What then is the vital significance, the true purpose of the Bible? Perhaps the best concise answer will be to refer to the fundamental distinction drawn by that acute critic of literature DeQuincey, who divided all literature into two great classes: the literature of knowledge and the literature of power. Now while the Bible, in a very misleading fashion it must be admitted, does seem to have many characteristics of the literature of knowledge—it is full of narrative, historical statements abound—it is nevertheless, and properly speaking for our purposes, exclusively and solely in the class of the literature of power: that is, its vital purpose is not to inform, but to create a certain spiritual state in its reader. Its purpose is not to instruct primarily, but to inspire, to make you feel, not precisely, but somewhat in the way the work of art makes you feel. It follows, therefore, that it calls for a very different criticism and is to be judged by a different standard. Its truth is the truth, very largely, of a work of art; it is spiritual truth by which it is to be tried. Does it make me feel: not, does it correctly inform me: is the true question. And the criticism that judges it by its statement of facts or its scientific accuracy is as impotent as an attempt to weigh a melody of Mozart or to calculate the logical value of a painting by Titian would be. Such criticism is not ab-

surd: it is impossible. Primarily the fault of such a critic is philosophical; he does not intellectually grasp the instruments of criticism appropriate to his task, those by which alone the value of the Bible is to be tried. How and what these instruments are is not easy to define in the inept language of ordinary discussion.

It may shed some light on the nature of the difficulty if I cite a case of similar opacity of vision or failure to grasp the reality of the matters discussed in a cognate branch of inquiry in which the writer was confronted with a demand for a proof of the immortality of the soul, much as he might have been requested to do a sum in arithmetic. "What sort of proof would you like?" might have been perhaps a rude but certainly an enlightening reply. It would have forced the questioner to consider the nature of the problem presented, and the kind of proof adequate and appropriate. Did the questioner suspect that I had something in my pocket or concealed about my person, some yardstick, scale, or mechanical device, that had only to be produced to settle the question? It never occurred to him what was the real nature and the only possible means of such proof: that it was not a question of logical propositions, but of values; that in himself, in his own soul, dwelt the only proof possible and that it was for him to seek it out for himself.

As a preliminary then to criticism, we must remember that in the Bible, much as in a work of art, there is set up a certain wonderful and delicate process which is the very heart and soul of the whole, a process that is nothing less than the transference of a state of feeling from one soul to another. The critic must lend himself freely to this process; must identify himself with the work he criticizes. In the analogous case of a work of art, Tolstoy tells us: "The receiver of an artistic impression is so united to the artist that he feels as though the work were his own."¹ It is only by submitting himself to this process that the critic becomes qualified for his critical work. He must himself become the artist *pro hac vice*. It is said that a shoemaker once faulted a painting by Apelles for an incorrect shoe-lace, and similarly we have critics who condemn Christ's teaching because in their view he was an ignorant peasant; because the facts of the Resurrection appear incredible, or they seize upon some detached sentence such as, Whosoever believeth in me shall have eternal life, and descant learnedly on the absurdity of supposing that a mere intellectual belief in any person or thing should have such vast consequences. In other words, they play the shoemaker to Apelles by carping and caviling at trifling details,

¹ Tolstoy's *What is Art?*

emphasizing single expressions torn from their context, ignore other and qualifying expressions explaining the true meaning of the criticized passages, such as in the matter of belief the reference to "them that believe to the saving of the soul" which implies very much more in the meaning of belief than a merely intellectual act. For their own purposes such critics emphasize isolated passages to a degree that the most extravagant advocates of verbal inspiration might hesitate to follow. They miss the vital meaning of the Bible and of Christ's teaching which must be taken, not only as a whole *totu conspectu* but spiritually as the work of art is taken.

It is of this sort of impotent criticism that a recent writer on Jesus is guilty. He does not understand the nature of the task he has set himself. The Bible as a whole, or the teachings of Christ in particular, are to be approached by the would-be critic much as one approaches a great work of art. Both appeal to very much the same tests; they undertake a spiritual process, attempt to arouse and shape feelings, emotions; in fine, make their assault on the soul itself in its inner fastnesses. The question is not, Is this statement of fact, this representation of nature or man true? but the higher, deeper question, To what extent and in what direction do these move my soul?

In this way alone can we understand or approach our subject. We are not in a world of physical reactions of matter; the persistence of force, the indestructibility of matter have no meaning here, nor are we concerned even with the rational world of intellectual reasonings; logical propositions, excluded middles, the syllogism *Barbara* are not in point. We have come to a world of spiritual reactions, of which if we know very little positively, we may be still quite sure negatively that all those laws of the physical and rational world have no place. We must start on a different plane with different rules and standards. Let the critic ask himself, for example, what he knows of the change of human character brought about by means of personal example and teaching; how does he understand the working out of this spiritual miracle of God? If he be honest and fair he would be compelled to own his incompetence to deal with such a matter.

To justly criticize a poem, a melody, a painting, the critic must place himself in close and harmonious relation with them: he must receive and assimilate what they undertake to *convey* to him ere he can be fitted to pass competently on their merits or their defects, and the same attitude is required of the Biblical critic. The Bible expressly appeals to this method of appreciation of its work for it

declares in so many words that its teaching is only to be understood by those who obey; that is the test, the only test of the divinity of its precepts. "If any man will do his will he shall know of the doctrine whether it be of God."

Or to put it a little differently and more simply, the criticism must be empirical: you must try the Bible in the way it asks to be tried: apply the tests it itself appeals to. It makes a bold challenge, has no fear of the most severe tests, only the tests must be such as are appropriate to its work, not some arbitrary tests chosen at the will of the critic who insists for his own ends in disregarding that which the Bible presents as its sole and only aim. The critic must, if he would truly criticize, make the trial the Bible offers. It says, in effect and very simply: follow me and I will make you good and happy. The conduct of critics who, refusing this, undertake a rationalistic or a scientific examination of the Biblical writings, seems very much like that of a set of savants with whom the mooted question, let us say, was, whether spring-water would assuage what is known as human thirst. I can imagine these gentlemen seated around a council table, a glass of water before them, which each wise gentleman would take up and proceed to learnedly descant upon its pellucid appearance: remark its temperature, quantity, liquidity, etc., etc., and from these would draw conclusions on its ability or inability to quench the thirst of man. I can then further picture to myself the entrance into this learned group of some plain man, who, on being informed of the question in dispute, should say in the simplicity of his heart, "Why, gentlemen, your dispute is easily settled," and taking up the glass should forthwith drink the water, and turning to them should conclude, "Well, I do not know how it may be with you, but that water certainly cured my thirst."

This empirical test the Bible answers both personally and subjectively as in the case of the glass of water, and objectively and externally. It says to the critic personally, I can do such and such things for you; and it says further, I have done these things for nearly two thousand years for every sort and condition of men in all countries: Romans, Jews, Greeks, civilized and savage, bond and free, millions and millions of men, some of the best, some of the worst of mankind; some of the ablest intellectually the world has ever known, some of the most degraded.

More than this, it may be safely asserted that there is no case of its failure, where properly and seriously tried, to answer this test, to meet all the legitimate demands for what it purports to afford. What other or different proof of truth would the most

captious critic require? "And does it then all come to so simple a question as that?" our critics may ask. Yes, on its practical side it is as simple as life itself is simple, that life which we live every day without understanding its why or wherefore. On its philosophical side, however, to puzzle-minded critics it is high as heaven, deep as hell, mysterious as death itself.

This, very briefly, is an imperfect statement of the place and function of the Bible and Christ's teaching in the minds of thinking men, and it is this that its critics have to meet if they would make an effective attack upon it.

MISCELLANEOUS.

OUR FRONTISPIECE.

President Wilson's stay at the residence of the Murat family while in Paris recalls the picturesque career of Joachim Murat (1767-1815), great-grandfather of the present Prince Murat, which is closely associated with the first efforts to create a united Italian kingdom, now at last crowned with success in overabundant measure. The son of an inn-keeper and destined to become a priest, Joachim Murat enlisted in the army when his money was gone. Owing to the political situation, however, his advancement was slow—not at all to the liking of his vain, ambitious, headstrong nature. The storms of the Revolution he weathered in much the same fashion as his future brother-in-law, Bonaparte, to whom he became greatly attached during the Italian campaign (1796-97). The battle of the Pyramids (1798) laid the foundation of his fame as a cavalry leader, in which capacity he served Napoleon in practically all his subsequent campaigns up to the battle of Leipsic. He married Napoleon's sister, Caroline, in 1800, was made Grand Duke of Berg in 1806, and King of Naples in 1808.

At last Joachim Murat was a king, and his vanity might well have allowed him to rest on his laurels. But he was also a son and heir to the Revolution, with its total disregard for historical traditions, its revaluation of all values of social standing, its bold application of common sense to problems that baffled all other solutions: so he seemed to be predestined to undertake more. Napoleon's triumphs over Austria and the old Empire had put the ideal of the Italian patriots within sight and even within grasp, his failure to satisfy the expectations which he had aroused seemed to assign to Murat the historical task of uniting Italy.

When Murat saw that the battle of Leipsic was lost he entered into secret negotiations with Metternich and, returning to his kingdom in haste, obtained

from Austria the signature to a treaty guaranteeing his throne and even promising him territorial aggrandizements. At this time (January, 1814) Napoleon was as yet by no means beaten. The fall of the emperor changed the situation, creating one of the knottiest problems the Vienna Congress had to solve. For if faith was not kept with Murat there was the probability of a general uprising throughout Italy, headed by the revolutionary king. On the other hand, if he was definitely installed as King of Naples, he might at any time become the center of just such a movement for the unification of Italy as everybody dreaded. At last Murat saw what he had to expect from the legitimists in control of the Congress, who thought they could guarantee the future peace of Europe by holding down everything that savored of the Revolution. Things were still in the balance when the news came of Napoleon's escape from Elba. By clever diplomacy Murat could possibly still have gained all his points without changing front again, but he thought the moment had arrived to attempt more, to march north, drive the Austrians before him, and make himself king of all Italy. The Austrians beat him decisively in the battle of Tolentino (May 2, 1815).

Napoleon, who was preparing his Waterloo campaign, refused to receive the traitor, and Murat finally went to Corsica. But so firmly did he believe in his star and his cause that he decided to make a last desperate attempt to regain his kingdom, thus strangely paralleling Napoleon's own course of action, *en miniature*, to be sure. He landed with thirty armed men at Pizzo in Calabria, on the 8th of October, 1815, expecting a general uprising of the people as whose liberator from the reestablished Bourbon régime he came. But the people were indifferent. He soon had to retreat to the coast, where he was overtaken, clubbed into submission, and taken prisoner. He was court-martialed under a law of his own, as a breaker of the peace, and had to face the firing squad (October 13). He was buried at Pizzo.

The present Murat family owes its rank and title to the restoration of the empire under Napoleon III.

JENKIN LLOYD JONES.

(1843-1918)

On September 12, 1918, all friends of a new religious life based directly upon a modern conscience, suffered one of their greatest losses in the death of Jenkin Lloyd Jones. The impressive funeral service, held two days later at Hillside Chapel, Tower Hill, Wisconsin, was described in the daily papers. Somehow, however, it was felt that fuller expression should be given to what was stirring in the hearts of thousands, so that the very death of the leader might become the test of the vitality of his ideals. On Sunday, November 17, a memorial service was held in his own church home in the Abraham Lincoln Center, Chicago, where the mourners gathered from east and west to prove their loyalty. The present writer had not the privilege of attending this service personally, but a late November issue of *Unity*, for decades the expression of Jenkin Lloyd Jones's thought, presents in an admirable fashion the spirit in which the idea of the service was realized. Under the chairmanship of the Hon. William Kent nearly a dozen addresses were delivered, each one of them characteristic of the deceased in one aspect or another, while that of the Rev. W. C. Gannett furnished his psychological biography as an impressive back-

ground for all. Thus they testified to the magnetic influence of this man—besides those mentioned, Rabbi E. G. Hirsch, Rev. John H. Holmes, Mrs. William Kent, Mr. Francis Neilson, Dr. G. C. Hall, Jane Adams, Rabbi Joseph Stolz, Rev. Herbert L. Willett, Rev. William Covert—some of whom had been his co-workers almost all his life, some whose acquaintance with him seemed to be of yesterday in comparison.

To bring out the particular interest *The Open Court* takes in honoring the memory of Jenkin Lloyd Jones, we wish to quote from Rev. Gannett's address, while at the same time we refer our readers to our issues of November the 2d and the 9th, 1893 (Vol. VII, pp. 3855ff, 3863ff), when we had occasion to report at length about the Parliament of Religions here spoken of.

"...I suspect the year that both he and you would select as really the most significant and beautiful of all your history was 1893, the year of the World's Parliament of Religions in connection with the Columbian Exposition... It is not generally known, perhaps not known to all of you, how very much your minister had to do with the inception and the form and the success of that World's Parliament. On such a day as this it is fair to claim more for him than he ever would have claimed himself. He was not only the official General Secretary and the unofficial general chore-boy of it all, but more than of any other one man it was the child of his inspiration and his shaping. At the time when in the councils of the Commission that had charge of it everything was dim ahead, his comrades dazed with the unprecedented task assigned to them, it was his program... that gave form to the scheme and courage to the faint hearts and changed bewilderment into enthusiasm. The truth is he was the one man readiest in the city, possibly in the nation, to plan such a thing. It was precisely in the line of his own spirit and self-training. For years, as I have traced these to you, and as you know well, the whole trend of the man, of his unconscious and his conscious endeavor of life, had been to just this end,—unbarriered Fellowship in Religion... Then you know how he gathered the high ideal notes of what was uttered on the platforms of the Parliament into a book, "The Chorus of Faith." And *then* you know how he felt that the remaining work of life for him must center in perpetuating and widening the spirit and the influence of the Parliament, and making true the prophecies for religion inherent in it,—this by instituting National Congresses of Religion throughout the land. These grew until... they have become international, and Boston, London, Amsterdam, Geneva, Berlin, Paris, all have known them. His own longing eyes had added Asia to Europe, and seen a vision of a Congress at ancient Benares on the Ganges. It yet should be,—that Congress,—and why not in part as a memorial to him? What, if he knew, could bring him greater joy? The Parliament's success and these outcomes of it are what I meant by Mr. Jones's second main achievement..."

DR. CHARLES CROZAT CONVERSE.

(1832-1918)

It is with deep regret that we chronicle the death of Charles Crozat Converse, who peacefully passed away at his home in Highwood, Bergen County, New Jersey, on the eighteenth of October, 1918, only a few days after his eighty-sixth birthday. The deceased, although a lawyer by training (LL.D., Rutherford College), also won recognition as a composer of songs, of sym-

phonic works, church and other music. His contributions to *The Open Court* were chiefly in the form of martial songs, the last of which ("God for Us," dedicated to the Grand Army of the Republic) we published in the November number of *The Open Court*, 1917.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE SHORTER BIBLE: THE NEW TESTAMENT. Translated and arranged by Charles Foster Kent, with the collaboration of Charles Cutler Torrey, Henry A. Sherman, Frederick Harris, Ethel Cutler. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1918. Pp. xix, 305. Price \$1.00 net.

Two of the collaborators whose names appear on the title-page being prominent members of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. respectively, perhaps we are not mistaken in calling this new translation of the New Testament "the Y. M. C. A. Gospel." Internal evidence points in the same direction, for, while in the past any reinterpretation of the Bible ordinarily resulted merely in the founding of a new denomination or a new sect jealously guarding its distinctness, it has been the constant and conscious effort of the Y. M. C. A. movement, especially as it developed during the war, to create a common ground on which *all* Christians should find it possible to meet. This "getting together" spirit is manifested in the volume before us the aim of which is, as stated in the Preface, "to single out and set in logical and as far as possible in chronological order those parts of the Bible which are of vital interest and practical value for the present age."

This pragmatic intention called for an elimination of all passages that only repeat better or fuller accounts of the same events or teachings elsewhere. Consequently there appears but one single record of the life of Jesus, made up of bits and fragments taken almost exclusively from the three Synoptic Gospels; the Gospel of John, as the latest writing, is given separately at the end of the book. The second part is headed "The Teachings of Jesus," regrouping the didactic passages chiefly of the Synoptists under titles intended to point out their "social, religious, and economic" significance. Acts are given fairly complete, as are the Epistles, from which, however, the Second and Third Epistles of John and the Epistle of Jude are omitted. Revelation has lost eleven of its twenty-two chapters, the rest is condensed. The time-honored chapter and verse divisions are of course discarded throughout the book.

All told, we have about two thirds of the Scriptural text—"the true heart of the Bible," in the words of the Preface. Needless to say that an expression like this, innocent though it may look, really involves quite a new doctrine, and, from the standpoint of many a denomination, a decidedly heretical one, for it evidently ignores any belief in divine inspiration. Yet nobody who *still* calls himself or herself a Christian is liable to take serious offense, which goes to show to what pass matters have come with our ancient creed.

How much, then, does really still stand, and what does it represent? In view of pending legislation the miracle at the wedding in Cana (John ii. 1-11) apparently does not belong to the "true heart" of the Scriptures. Nor do the two little apocalypses in Mark and in Matthew. Matthew xxiv which contains the prophecy of the second coming of Christ within the generation then alive is skipped without a trace being left; Mark xiii is given, but to the exclusion

of verses 14-29, corresponding to the omitted passages in Matthew, so that the words "Verily I say unto you, that this generation shall not pass, till all these things be done" are made to refer merely to the prediction of the fall of Jerusalem and the individual hardships ahead of the listeners. One may entertain a few doubts whether such treatment of Holy Writ is after all permissible, especially since the editors claim, in the Preface, that by syncopated versions such as here characterized "the main idea of the *original writer*" is suggested (the italics are ours), so as "to put the reader at once in touch with his point of view." We are afraid we are not being put in touch with the Evangelist's point of view at all but rather with that of the editors, and we would have absolutely no objection to this if they would openly say so. For, as we understood it from the beginning (see quotation above), we are here not dealing with an attempt to reconstruct the thought of the days when the Gospels were being written, but with a new presentation of the Gospel to the "present age." In a book like this we are not concerned with the history of Christianity but with Christianity itself, the Christianity of our own day, which we have as much right to create and proclaim as the Apostles had to create theirs, for after all neither they nor any nation or generation attempting to be Christian has ever done anything but try to find its own equation for that Great Unknown, Jesus of Nazareth. It follows that the intention of the editors (Preface) to "present the thought of the Biblical writers so plainly that commentaries will be unnecessary" can not possibly be carried into effect. Either they will represent the thought of the Biblical writers and then commentaries will be as necessary now as ever; or commentaries will indeed be superfluous, but then the editors will not represent the thought of the Biblical writers, nor even so much their own (at least they cannot be sure of actually transmitting it), but that of their readers. And that is what this book should represent—but in that case any pseudo-historic pretense on the part of the editors was, to say the least, uncalled for.

We are grateful to Mr. Kent for his masterly translation in "simple, dignified, modern English" indeed! The divorce of the Gospel from the quaint language of King James's version will certainly assist readers much in discerning between what in the ancient records is really directly applicable in our own society and what has passed beyond our conception. The "service" value of the New Testament is thus decidedly and considerably enhanced.

The book comes in convenient pocket size, in a neat and durable binding. An edition of the Old Testament prepared on the same principles is promised.



HENRY LORD BROUGHAM (1778-1868).
After K. Bowyer.

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. XXXIII (No. 2)

FEBRUARY, 1919

NO. 753

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TRUTH AND CONDUCT.

BY M. JAY FLANNERY.

THE bulletin-board of a church which I pass every day on my way down-town has held for several months the legend, "Truth is given to us to translate into conduct." This may be the saying of some prophet or seer whose words are the commonplace knowledge of every person with any pretensions to literacy, but in me they awaken no response of literary memory or association. So far as I know they may be original with this particular pastor as the expression of his moral philosophy.

But the philosophy expressed in these words is not original; in fact, it is the philosophy of common sense, the thought of practically every man who has made any effort whatever to render explicit his vague ideas of ethics, and the implicit thought of all who have made no such effort. The idea that truth, a fixed law of ethics, is first given, and that conduct slowly brings itself into conformity with this law, is all but universally accepted. Does not the whole of history teach this lesson? Were not ethical systems, the bibles of the world, works containing the highest expressions of ethical truth couched in language the most apposite and beautiful, among the earliest productions of man? Do not the old prophets, of all nations and races, express conceptions of moral duty of a character so high that the prophets of to-day find it impossible to improve on what their predecessors of olden times have left them, and spend their time in the study and exposition of the ancient scriptures? Surely, he is a very rash man who would set himself up against what is practically the unanimous opinion of mankind. It is the order of the moral world, says the philosophy of common sense, that the principle comes first and that its application follows.

In this view, truth is something which comes to man from

some outside source; adapted, no doubt, in some way to his nature, but made *for* him and not *by* him. It is something which exists external to him, has existed without him from all eternity, and would continue to exist to all eternity were he wiped out of existence. To its making he contributes nothing, and no effort which he can put forth will affect it one iota. The kingdom of moral principles is an autocracy, in which the subject has no part in the making of laws, and in which his only function is to obey. Though we live in a political democracy, and some of us are looking forward to an industrial democracy, in our thinking on moral and religious subjects we still live in the old autocratic world of the ancient prophet. We do not realize how his ideas of God and the moral law were formed on the only model of government and law known to him, the despotisms of his time. And when we find him making *right* the will of a god, responsible in no way to the subjects of the law, a god pronouncing sentence for the infraction of a law which was the mere expression of his pleasure, we fail again to realize that the prophet has in mind the autocratic rulers of his own day. The fact is, that it was impossible for him to think otherwise in a world where civil law was, in theory at least, the expression of a despot's will. Nor do we realize how much our own thinking in morals and religion is colored by our knowledge of the records of those times and by our acceptance of them as something too sacred to be examined in the light of our moral and religious notions of to-day.

In opposition to this old and still almost universally accepted belief in the precedence of truth to conduct, it is my desire to set what modern philosophy teaches to be the true order of the moral life—that truth is the product, not the cause, of ethical conduct. In the realm of ethics, as in all other realms, truth is made by man in the workshop of his every-day life. The principles which actually direct a man's moral life are not the precepts and maxims found so often on his tongue, the teaching of parents and other instructors, whose deeds do not exemplify their words. No doubt these precepts have value when they are of the homely sort and have grown out of the actual conditions of life, and are, further, not in advance of the cultural stage reached by his family and community. Probably this last condition is involved in the preceding ones. But, however his soul may glow with the feeling that his life is being influenced by noble ideals, his conduct and his evident satisfaction with his conduct show that these maxims cannot be understood in any wide sense, but that their meaning is limited by his own moral

experience and by the moral stage which the group to which he belongs has attained.

The mistake made by all moral idealists is that because moral truths are stated in general terms (as of necessity they must be) they are understood and accepted in some general and therefore pure and noble sense. This feeling, that because one can use a general term he really understands it to some infinite limit, is common to all departments of one's mental life, and the objection urged by those who demand that all learning by children shall, wherever possible, be by contact with things and not simply from books or the *ipse dixit* of the teacher, is justified by this weakness of human intelligence. Because a man holds ever before him some high ideal which he has found expressed in beautiful language by prophet or poet, is no guarantee that, in his actual contact with the world, his conduct will be better than that of the hind who knows no poetry but does know life. In fact, the chances are that the better instructed man will be the worse practical moralist. It is one of the commonplaces of criticism that those who make noble professions do not live better lives than their non-professing neighbors. The layman will sometimes be shocked to find that the minister will be guilty of a meanness and trickery which he, though making no such profession as does his clerical friend, would not be guilty of. For some reason contact with high moral ideals does not always make the minister a happy exemplar of his own teaching. Only as he has experience in actual commerce with men is his moral life strengthened, or rather, created. This is no attack upon a great profession, for ministers themselves sorrowfully confess the surprising shortcomings of many of their brethren.

This is true of all persons who live a life of seclusion or semi-seclusion. One of the arguments often urged in favor of giving the right of suffrage to woman is that her influence on political life would be for good. Is not woman better than man? Has she not been kept pure and unspotted from the world, while man has been subjected to moral pollution in the ugly world of business and politics? Even the anti-suffragists use as their strongest argument the awful warning that woman's pure soul will be soiled by the dirty ways of the world, so that she will become as bad as man. This superstition of woman's superior morality is one of the worst stumbling-blocks in the way of her progress. In the home, which has been her peculiar sphere, woman has developed a strong sense of domestic moral values, but her inexperience of the outside world has, until recently, made her insensitive to moral distinctions in

business and in the treatment of working people which are perfectly obvious to men of a rather coarse type. It is well known how apparently refined and sympathetic women will drive hard bargains and seem utterly indifferent to the hardships of those who do their menial service or cater to their wants in shop or store. There are noble exceptions, of course, but the truth is in the statement, and it is easier, as a rule, to make a man see the harshness and injustice involved in much of our industrial system than to make a woman see them. And this not because they profess different codes, but because woman has not yet *made* her moral code for the world outside her home. And she never will, or can, make it in the seclusion of the home. Not till she has had her opportunity in the world of strife beyond the four walls which have hitherto limited her world, can she become the moral equal of her mate. The soil on his garments is not an evidence of pollution, but of the fact that he is doing his part to make a living code in actual contact with his fellows. This may be one of the unforeseen benefits of this accursed war, that through it woman may be compelled to rise to the moral heights already reached by man.

Real moral truths, those which actually affect the life of the individual, are *made* by him, not imposed from without or from above. They are made first by the atmosphere in which the child grows up; not by the preaching of his mentors, but by the life they live. With this cultural inheritance he goes out into life and there remakes it in conflict with other men. In the dirt and noise of the street and the shop practical habits and practical ideals are worked out, and these, and not the superfine sentiments of the nursery, make him the moral being he really is. It is not denied that moral ideals somewhat in advance of his present moral state are formed by every man who is growing in moral stature. But these cannot be much in advance if they are to have any real influence on his life. They are merely "working hypotheses" used to assist in taking the next step. They must be stated in general terms, and this may deceive even their makers into believing that they express very high notions of abstract goodness. But if their makers interpret them in this sense, these ideals lose their value, and their possessor becomes a dreamer and not a doer, or passes his ideal life in one world and his actual life in another.

Let us consider a general rule of conduct which comes to us from a hoary antiquity and is made weighty by the authority of a Teacher whom we all profess to reverence. It is the Golden Rule, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye

even so unto them." Surely, here is a principle clearly stated, and of whose meaning there can be no question. And yet there is practically no agreement among men of different generations, or among men of the same generation, as to its practical application. And it is not meant here that the difficulty is that men do not try to live up to it. Even if they did try, they would not agree as to what constitutes living up to it. But it is not certain that they do not try. It is true, of course, that most men have a feeling that they are not living the moral law as they should, but that is not because of the violation of general principle, but because there is in the mind of every person who is growing morally a vague feeling of the next step in advance. This is true in the intellectual as well as in the moral world. It is a question whether the feeling of the infinite, not the mathematical construction but the intellectual haunting, means more than that which is just beyond the intellectual grasp. At least this is certainly the case in the moral realm. One's feeling for the moral perfection apparently expressed by a principle is simply a vague apprehension of the next step.

In the days before the Civil War a slave-holder explained the Golden Rule as applied to the relation between master and slave to mean, not that the master was bound by it to set the slave free, simply because the master desired freedom for himself. To him slavery was a divine institution, and the Rule simply meant that he should treat his slave as one who served by divine decree and as he (the master) ought to wish to be treated had he had the misfortune to be born subject to that decree. In our industrial system there are many things which seem to some of us not consonant with a right interpretation of this Rule. But there seems no question that the employer, in most instances, does not see anything wrong with the relation. It is easy to accuse him of hypocrisy, but the chances are that he is not conscious of anything of the sort. His actual relations with the workers may be on a higher plane than are ours, and it is almost certain that, were we in his place, without his practical experience, our conduct toward the workers would not be as high as his. It is impossible for us to interpret a general principle in advance of our moral experience.

But it may be said that the general truth is there in advance and that we only slowly learn what it means. Truth is eternal and eternally the same, we are told, and we simply discover it. As we look back we see a gradual progress toward a higher and still higher conception of the meaning of moral precepts, and this, we are told, is simply our gradual discovery of a meaning which was there from

all eternity. But who put a meaning into them, and what purpose does it serve? If God put it there in the beginning, why did He waste this value, since it is of no use to man till he puts meaning into it for himself? Why isn't it as high a conception of God to believe that He made it possible for truth to be the final product—so far as there can be anything final in human life—of the relations of men to each other? Why isn't the belief that truth is eternally being made as good and pure a belief as its opposite?

And think of the democracy of it! We are not the subjects of any autocratic power in our moral natures, but are the makers of our own moral destiny. It seems to me a most inspiring philosophy to be able to say with William James: "There is no such thing possible as an ethical philosophy dogmatically made up in advance. We all help to determine the content of ethical philosophy so far as we contribute to the race's moral life. In other words, there can be no final truth in ethics any more than in physics, until the last man has had his say." (*The Will to Believe*, p. 184.)

Man is the measure and the maker of all things human, and without him is not anything made which hath been, or shall be made. No autocrat dictates to him what his character or ideals shall be. The world of morals is a true democracy.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE.

BY JAMES CARLILE.

IN the autumn of the year 1826 Henry Brougham propounded to Matthew Davenport Hill the idea of a society to be formed for the purpose of publishing works of an instructive character at cost price. Davenport Hill sought about for a publisher who would undertake the work under the auspices of the proposed society, and he bethought himself of young Charles Knight, the son of a Windsor bookseller, who had himself made a small venture in the direction of periodical literature. Hill wrote to Charles Knight to come to town, and took him one evening in November to Brougham's chambers in Lincoln's Inn.

To the end of his very long life Charles Knight retained a vivid impression of that evening's conversation. Brougham was

then in the height of his power: for some years both with pen and voice he had been doing the work of six capable men; he had taken all knowledge for his province, and he seemed to Charles Knight that evening to be nothing less than an intellectual archangel, as he expounded to the young publisher his idea that sound information in all departments of human thought should be rendered accessible to all classes of the community, even the very poorest.

The moment was really an auspicious one for such an attempt. Though, to the outward eye, England might seem entirely occupied with party politics, yet there was also considerable intellectual stirring. The London University had lately been founded: in all the larger towns literary and scientific societies were growing up: mechanics institutes were spreading in the smaller towns, and there were already the beginnings of cheap reprints in Edinburgh and the northern towns. True there was no system of primary or secondary education except in Scotland, and Brougham had so far failed in his repeated endeavors to bring his adopted country up to the level of the country of his birth. But there were many signs of a genuine thirst for knowledge, and the three men determined to embark on the task of testing the depth and extent of that desire.

Brougham drafted the prospectus of a society whose object was to be the "imparting of useful information to all classes of the community, particularly to such as are unable to avail themselves of experienced teachers or may prefer learning by themselves." To this prospectus he secured the support of the following, all of whom became active members of the Committee: William Allen, Lord Althorp, C. Bell, T. Fowell Buxton, T. Denman, Agar Ellis, Richard Forster, Olinthus Gregory, Isaac L. Goldsmid, Henry Hallam, Capt. Basil Hall, Matthew Davenport Hill, Rowland Hill, George Cornwall Lewis, George Long, J. W. Lubbock, Sir J. Mackintosh, Dean Maltby, John Herman Merivale, James Mill, Lord Nugent, Sir H. Parnell, T. Spring Rice, Lord John Russell, Lord Suffield.

There are few among the above names who are not worthy of remembrance even after the lapse of nearly a century. A more capable committee was never brought together, and when we add that it included a Quaker, a Jew, a bishop (for Maltby became bishop of Durham), and more than one agnostic, it would appear to have been fairly representative, save for the fact that it included no one who could be regarded as an opponent of reform.

The original *Prospectus* promised a number of elementary treatises explanatory of the fundamental doctrines of every department of human thought. Each "treatise" was to consist of about thirty-

two octavo pages and to be issued to the public at the price of six-pence. The Committee included in their scheme a series of volumes under each of the following headings: Natural Philosophy (including Mathematics), Intellectual Philosophy, Ethical Philosophy, Political Philosophy, History of Science, History of Nations, and Biographies of Individuals. Brougham led off with a preliminary "Discourse on the Objects, Advantages, and Pleasures of Science." But before the Committee had been in existence six months its work began to assume a more ambitious form, and it was resolved that the Society should aim at publishing a complete "Library of Useful Knowledge," including not merely the elements but the latest developments of every branch of knowledge; and concurrently with this the Committee decided to publish a "Library of Entertaining Knowledge" consisting of volumes, largely illustrated, relating to history, biography, antiquities, travel, and discovery. Brougham led off this series also with a pamphlet to which he gave the title which became a national catchword, "The Pursuit of Knowledge under Difficulties."

The need of a publisher who should devote his whole time to the Society's work became pressing, and, at a meeting of the Committee in July, 1827 (James Mill in the chair), it was resolved that Charles Knight be requested to undertake the superintendence of the Society's publications. Thenceforward Charles Knight devoted himself to the work of the Society to such purpose that to all outward seeming the name "Useful Knowledge Society" was merely a title which appeared on the front page of Charles Knight's publications. This was very far from being the whole truth, for Charles Knight has himself testified to the immense amount of work, voluntary and unpaid work, which was done by the majority of the Committee; but it is certain that the most important part of the Society's publications would never have been undertaken at all if it had not been for Charles Knight's initiative and his incessant personal exertions.

Knight had, before he left Windsor, tried his hand at a little *Penny Magazine*. He now persuaded the Committee to embark on *The Penny Magazine of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*. The weekly penny number consisted of eight pages, small folio, double columns. The contents of the number for October 13, 1832, will give a fair idea of the general plan of the magazine:

Tivoli (illustrated).
 The Flemish Language.
 The Diving Bell (illustrated).

Fascination of Serpents (illustrated).
 Natural Magic.
 Two Biographies of the Week.
 The Ornithorhynchus.

At the close of the first twelve months, when the fifty-two numbers appeared in volume form, the Society was able to congratulate its subscribers on the success of the magazine. Forty years earlier Edmund Burke had estimated the number of readers in Great Britain at 80,000. The Society had now shown that a periodical containing no element of sensationalism or excitement, no gossip or abuse, no fiction and no party politics could command a weekly sale of 200,000. The financial profit was not large, for the expense of woodcuts was considerable and the Excise duty of threepence in the lb. on the paper amounted to £70 a week.

The Society had now reached a point at which it challenged the two indispensable accompaniments of success, imitation and abuse. The "Christian Knowledge Society" devoted a part of its large funds to the publication of the *Saturday Magazine*, an avowed imitation of the *Penny Magazine*, and soon afterward the same body superintended the preparation of a series of popular works on general literature and science. The publication of the first few volumes of the "Library of Entertaining Knowledge" was followed immediately by Mr. Murray's announcement of his "Family Library," and the "Library of Useful Knowledge" found an immediate competitor in Lardner's *Cabinet Cyclopædia*, a series of separate treatises differing in form from the Society's "Library" but identical in plan.

As to the abuse, it was plentiful. Cobbett in his *Register* attacked the "Society for the *Confusion* of Useful Knowledge" and derided its *Penny Magazine* thus:

"The *Penny Magazine* has this day a portrait of the American wood-pigeon. When I was in America, I once brought down fifteen of them at one shot, and none of them were such fools as the readers of this penny stuff who suppose they are gathering in what is called useful knowledge. If you want useful knowledge read my *Register*."

This was followed up by much more to the same effect in Cobbett's usual breezy style.

Attacks of a more spiteful nature began in the *New Monthly Magazine* in 1833. The Society's publications were described as "fraudulent pretense," "anti-Christian propaganda," "concealing under the guise of popular instruction a mere bookseller's specula-

tion bringing in thousands a year to Charles Knight," and so on. The allegation of irreligion was one which weighed seriously with many people with whom it was an article of faith that all instruction should have a direct religious purpose and that scientific teaching of any other description led straight to infidelity.

On June 30, 1832, the Committee announced in a circular to the subscribers that the success of the *Penny Magazine* had induced the Committee to undertake the publication of a *Penny Cyclopædia*, intended to be a moderate-sized book of eight volumes, adapted to the class of readers who had supported the *Magazine*. It was intended to be a compilation, not a collection of original articles, and Prof. George Long, of London University, was called in to take the editorship and to assume control of the staff of contributors. Naturally he turned for advice to his colleagues in Gower Street and especially to Alexander Ramsay and Augustus De Morgan. To these three, with Charles Knight, belongs the credit of transforming the *Cyclopædia* from the modest reference book for the newspaper reader originally designed by the Committee, into a work of the greatest value to scholars and students of that and the next generation. With a sublime disregard for the limitations of size imposed by the Society, the editors had only reached the letters *An* when the first volume was finished and the eighth volume found them still in the letter *C*. Ultimately twenty-seven volumes were issued, followed by two more supplementary volumes.

The *Penny Cyclopædia* was the *magnum opus* of the Useful Knowledge Society. It was not completed until the year 1844, by which time its cost had amounted to £42,000 for literature and illustrations, and £16,000 in Excise duties. During all the eleven years occupied in its publication, the monthly parts were never once behindhand for a single day. But after the first year it was found necessary to raise the weekly 1d. to 2d., and after three years the price was raised to threepence. The sales during the first year were 75,000 a week; when the price was doubled the sales fell off to 55,000 a week; after two years the number decreased to 44,000, and before the end of the alphabet had been reached the subscription had fallen to 20,000 a week. The copyright of the work was vested in Charles Knight who some years later reissued it in a revised and altered form under the name *The English Cyclopædia*. Charles Knight estimated that the two works had involved him in a loss of £30,788, but he had the satisfaction of having published a work which, in the departments of biography, of mathematics, and of certain portions of physical science, is of permanent value, and

which contains such original and suggestive matter as the contributions of De Morgan and such a masterpiece of exposition as G. B. Airy's article on "Gravitation."

The Society now proceeded to effect two other important reforms. The only existing maps were either incredibly bad or very costly, frequently both. The Society had an entirely fresh series of two hundred maps prepared for publication, together with a number of plans of important cities. When finished they constituted an atlas such as had not hitherto been seen, and yet it was sold at a fraction of the cost of the cheapest of its predecessors. The second new departure was the *British Almanac and Companion*, which the Society issued annually until its dissolution. This was the first really useful and trustworthy almanac published in Great Britain, and the *Companion* contained each year some articles of permanent interest and worth.

The Society's income from subscriptions never exceeded £300 a year, but from the royalties on some of its works it derived considerable sums, all of which it devoted to the publication of works of utility on which no profit could be expected. Such were a set of large astronomical maps, a tabulation of the sickness and mortality experience of Friendly Societies, tables of logarithms and of squares, cubes, etc., and a set of statistics both of Great Britain and of the British Empire.

The Society's last great enterprise was a general biographical dictionary. The scale on which it was planned may be judged from the fact that seven volumes were required to complete the letter *A*. It would thus have rivaled in extent any work of the kind ever executed or even contemplated. But the reception of the work was chilling; only 1161 copies of the first volume were sold, and only 789 of the seventh volume, and the loss involved in these volumes exceeded £5,000.

It was this loss which led to the dissolution of the Society. Lord Campbell, indeed, in his *Life of Brougham*, attributes the untimely death of the Society to the fact that it published Brougham's volumes on *Political Philosophy*. But as a matter of fact Brougham's fragment had been published six years earlier. In a dignified address to the public (the composition, largely, of Professor De Morgan) the Committee announced the reasons which led them to advise the dissolution of the Society. The Committee felt that their work had been done. "The fear of the spread of knowledge has now departed"; and they claim, fairly and justly, that "the effect of the Society's labor is proved by the extensive

adoption of the principles on which they started," and, it may be added, the principles which they unhesitatingly pursued to the end. "Its efforts have had a remarkable success in bringing before large numbers an amount of accurate knowledge which was formerly the property of a few only. The industrious student, if he required books of a high character, was obliged to content himself with those of a past age, which had gradually descended within his means as to price. If he can now commence his labors with the advantage of more modern assistance, he has to thank in great measure those who discovered for him that books of the more learned character might be successfully published on the principles of cheapness which had been so often applied in other branches of trade. The numbers of editions of the best writers on all subjects which have appeared at almost artisan's prices within the last six years, and the amount of books now obtainable by persons of very small means, may without arrogance be attributed to the example of the 'Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge'" (1846).

The following is believed to be a complete list of the Society's publications:

1. "The Library of Useful Knowledge," comprising three hundred and sixty volumes or pamphlets.
2. "The Farmer's Series," being a library of pamphlets on agriculture.
3. "The Library of Entertaining Knowledge."
4. The *Journal of Education*, a quarterly continued during the Society's existence.
5. The *Penny Magazine*—nine volumes.
6. The *Penny Cyclopaedia*—twenty-nine volumes.
7. The Society's Atlas of two hundred maps.
8. The Star Atlas.
9. The *Gallery of Portraits* with biographies, seven volumes.
10. *The British Almanac and Companion*, continued annually.
11. *The Working Man's Companion*.
12. The "Library for the Young."
13. The Statistics of Great Britain and of the Colonies.
14. *A Treatise on Friendly Societies*.
15. *A Treatise on Annuities*.
16. *A Manual for Mechanics Institutes*.
17. A series of treatises on governments (a design of Brougham's left unfinished).
18. Several sets of mathematical tables.
19. *The Pictorial Bible*.
20. *The Biographical Dictionary* (not completed).

There are also other works projected by the Society, some of which were afterward completed and published by Charles Knight.

SAVAGE LIFE AND CUSTOM.

BY EDWARD LAWRENCE.

VIII. SUPERSTITION, MAGIC, AND RELIGION.

WE have now to consider the most difficult, yet at the same time most significant and important feature in the mental life of our savage—his belief in the supernatural and the customs which he has, in the course of time, gradually built upon that belief.

All savages believe in the existence of, and the influence exercised by, beings to which the name supernatural is applied by ourselves; but there is this profound difference: to the savage mind these things are part and parcel of the natural order of things; they exist as part of nature, not above or beyond it; in other words, they are natural and not, in our sense of the term, *super*-natural.

Everything in nature is held by the savage to be permeated by some vivifying, unseen influence, and it is his belief in this mysterious agency which shapes his course in life, from birth to the grave, and which forms the basis of his conduct and his religion.

Absurd and foolish as many practices to be detailed may appear to us, nevertheless these customs are profoundly significant, for out of them have grown the complicated codes of law and ethics of civilized communities.

Had not the conduct of primitive man been moulded by his superstition, it is a question whether any other form of influence would have been equally powerful in shaping his life and in restraining him from performing certain acts which are in themselves anti-social and which long experience proves that nature does not desire. Superstition, perhaps, has on the whole made for good.

Thus, for example, savages usually regard adultery as a most heinous crime. It is usually punished with the death of one party or the other, sometimes both offenders are killed. It is considered to be not only a crime against the person but against the community at large, for it causes bad weather and prevents rain; it mars the earth's fertility and blights the crops.

Again, if a man goes to battle he must live a continent life, otherwise his expedition will fail or calamity overtake his family.

Superstition likewise comes to the aid of sanitation. No savage, if he can prevent it, will allow any person to possess any portion

of his clothing or of his nail parings, because the possessor would be able to exert a magical influence over him and even cause his death. Hence savages take constant precautions to hide away their discarded belongings; all offal and excreta are buried or destroyed, and thus, as Basil Thomson has well pointed out, superstition creates a law of cleanliness more rigid than that enjoined by the Mosaic code itself.

In India the fear that the dead may at any time return as *choorah* or ghosts and persecute those persons who have tyrannized them during their life on earth, has to a great degree the merit of restraining would-be oppressors.

To justify his beliefs, the savage can triumphantly point to many facts which appear to coincide with his superstitions. Thus on one occasion a medicine-man in the Congo State was flogged for poisoning certain people. The following day a severe storm arose—a most unusual occurrence—consequently the natives held that the punishment of their doctor had brought about the storm!

Beccari, the Italian traveler who explored Borneo in 1865, relates that he himself was warned not to touch a certain house which was inhabited by *antus* or spirits, otherwise evil would befall him. Prompted by curiosity, he disregarded native fears and made an examination. The same evening, to the satisfaction of the offended people, he had a sharp attack of fever.

Lumholtz tells us that while traveling in Mexico, a Huichol shaman prophesied that within four days his dog would die, and die that dog did.

An African necromancer once informed Sir Harry Johnston that the steamer for which he was waiting had run aground and that another steamer would call for him, and this information turned out to be quite correct.

Travelers who relate these stories are unable to account for them or find any satisfactory explanation. But coincidences like those narrated continually occur and make one think that there must exist a side to savage superstition which requires further elucidation and which the white man has been unable to fathom.

Europeans frequently make practical use of native credulity. Uncivilized man holds that a part of anything possesses the same power as the whole. This belief was once utilized by an English overseer in the following amusing manner. He found that the gang of laborers of which he had charge constantly took a rest whenever his eyes were turned away. So he procured an artificial glass eye and placed it upon a stone where the men could see it,

with the result that during his absence the men worked as hard as if he himself had been present!

Savages do not believe in a personal omnipotent God, nor in the Devil; but they do believe in the existence of ghosts or souls, and in a multitude of good and evil spirits. While they make unto themselves images of wood and of stone and bow down to them they never worship the image itself, but the spirit which is supposed to reside therein. Savages are not such fools as some think. Many of their supposed idols or gods are really scarecrows or spirit-



Fig. 24. WOODEN FIGURE SET UP BY THE NICOBAR ISLANDERS TO SCARE AWAY EVIL SPIRITS.

British Museum. (Photo, reproduced by permission of the Trustees.)

frighteners, intended to drive or frighten away evil spirits (Fig. 24).

No bad spirit dare enter any dwelling upon which such an image has been fixed. In England and elsewhere, spirit-frighteners are still in use, but their original significance has been forgotten. The familiar horseshoe is an example; to the modern idea it means "good luck"; to our ancestors it meant that no evil being in shape of a witch could enter the place protected by it.

Everything in nature has its spiritual as well as its physical side. Thus the natives of Guiana consider that men and animals,

the heavenly bodies and all inanimate objects are alike composed of body and soul and differ only as to their powers.

The spiritual essence or soul of all human beings has the power of leaving the body and returning again at will. A native Australian on being asked whether his soul could leave his body replied: "It must be so; for when I sleep, I go to distant places, I see distant people, I even see and speak with them who are dead." Likewise, a man's soul can occupy the roof of his hut while he himself in bodily form remains below.

When the man dies, his spirit hovers near its old haunts, where offerings of food are made to it from time to time. Out of this custom has grown that great system known as "ancestor-worship," a worship which has reached its highest development in the religious system of the Chinese.

A clear distinction appears to be drawn between two classes of spiritual beings—between the disembodied spirits of the dead and other spiritual beings who have apparently never been men at all.

The spirit of a dead person is frequently regarded with a certain amount of fear. Unless well treated, it may return and cause a great deal of mischief. It not infrequently happens that a dying man will threaten to return as a spirit in order to take vengeance on his living enemies! At Accra, on the Gold Coast, a fetishman was put to death for murder. Before his execution he vowed that he would come back in spirit form and haunt those who were the cause of his destruction, and many natives believe that he did return.

In South Africa, women are sometimes accused of possessing a certain dangerous spirit (*iere*), which is capable of killing any person; the possessor is therefore dissected alive so that this evil spirit may escape!

On Penrhyn Atoll, in the South Seas, a certain chief died and was buried. Soon afterward, the village was troubled by his ghost. A council of head-men was held, which resolved to take the body from its "resting"-place, and reinter it face downward, in order that it may not see its way back to the village, and thus to prevent its visits!

In Uganda, East Africa, special precautions were taken to prevent the spirits' return to take vengeance on the living. When men were about to be put to death, a magical draught, consisting of beer mixed with certain medicines, was administered to them. This potion was supposed to kill their souls. It was administered from a

pot especially made for the purpose and known as the "slaughter pot" (Fig. 25). It consists of a bulb with three mouthpieces; the center one was for the use of princes, another for the use of chiefs, and the third one for the common people. After taking the draught, the victims were made to smoke a mixture of tobacco and medicine; they were then taken to the place of execution and cut into pieces, with the exception of one man who was allowed to escape. Their remains were afterward thrown upon a framework and burnt. Both the pot and the pipe are now in the British Museum.

Our first impression of these customs may be that they are very cruel ones; but second thoughts will make it obvious that they



Fig. 25. UGANDA SLAUGHTER POT FOR KILLING SOULS.
British Museum. (Photo, reproduced by permission of the Trustees.)

make for good order by creating a desire to live at peace with all men; for not only in this life but in the future, vengeance may in some way or other overtake any one who commits a wrong.

In many places, as in Celebes and parts of Melanesia, elaborate "ghost houses" are erected in the enclosures of secret societies (Fig. 26). No uninitiated man, nor any woman or child, is allowed to enter the sacred precincts where the spirits reside.

Witchcraft and witch-doctors—male and female—play a most important part in the life of our savage. It is they who hold an intermediate place between ordinary mortals and the spirits in the unseen world and who have intimate converse with those spirits.



Fig. 26. HOUSE OF GHOSTS, BERLIN HARBOUR, NEW GUINEA. The spirits ruling fate live in these houses. There are carefully executed paintings on the gable ends and walls, and remarkable carvings on the balustrades.

(From Meyer's and Parkinson's *Album von Papua-Typen.*)

At every death that takes place they are called in to discover the cause, it is they who track the thief and who cast the evil spirits from men which cause disease.

As I have said, the idea of nature and natural causes is altogether foreign to the savage mind. Nature, as we understand it, is to them not physical, but spiritual in essence. Everything has a "magical" origin or cause, instead of a "natural" one. Death itself is seldom natural; man apparently would continue to live were he not



Fig. 27. LADY WITCH-DOCTOR AND HER ATTENDANT DANCING WOMEN, UPOTO, UPPER CONGO.

Note the elaborate beads and brass ornaments which show how profitable their spiritual service proves.

(Photo, by the courtesy of the Baptist Missionary Society, London.)

killed either in war or by magical means. Therefore when death occurs it must be some enemy or ill-wisher that has caused it, and the business of the witch-doctor is to discover the guilty party. To accomplish this, he works himself into a state of frenzy by whirling his body round and round on his toes; he is then seized with terrible convulsions, foams at the mouth, and finally falls down in a state of complete collapse. It is while in this state that the name of the culprit is revealed by the spirits. Nearly every tribe possesses at least one doctor.

King James I of England, in his famous book on demonology, explained to his lawful subjects that "the Devil teacheth to make pictures of wax or clay that by roasting thereof, the persons that they bear the name of may be continually melted or dried away by continual sickness." This is known to us to-day as "sympathetic magic."

Among the savage Malays of Malacca, the sorcerer takes a little wax, and muttering over it a spell, awaits his opportunity to perform his deadly work. He waits until a strong wind is blowing toward the house of his intended victim; then, taking the wax, he places before him a vessel of water, with a couple of lighted candles, mutters another incantation and then fixes his eyes intently on the water till he discerns therein the image of his intended victim; he then throws the wax into the air. Caught by the wind it is transported to the victim who immediately feels a blow, sickens, and eventually dies.

In the Upper Congo, when a Bushongo has lost anything he goes to the medicine-man, pays him a fee, and requests him to discover the thief. The doctor produces a divining instrument made of a piece of wood shaped like a crocodile. He commences to rub the back of this with a small wooden disk, repeating as he does so the names of any person likely to be suspected of the theft. When the name of the guilty is mentioned the disk refuses to move again, and the suspected person is then made to submit to the ordeal of poison.

After many years' close study of savage life, I cannot help thinking that there must be some quite unknown factor at work behind all this superstition. It not infrequently happens that the sorcerer does actually discover the thief by his methods, and instances might be readily quoted from happenings in civilized life where some such unknown factor appears to have been at work.

Captain Creagh, late of the 1st Royals, gives an instance where an Irish gentleman was fired at and mortally wounded, but who was quite unable to cast the least suspicion upon any one. Shortly before his death, however, he solemnly and formally declared, as a dying man, that a certain peasant had been the cause of his death. The man was arrested on suspicion but discharged for want of proof. Many years afterward, on his own death-bed, he actually confessed to the crime of which he had been accused.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

WAS DAVID AN ARYAN?

BY PAUL HAUPT.

II.

MY interpretation of *adóm*, the brown stuff, in Gen. xxv. 30, and *admônî*, brownish, in 1 Sam. xvi. 12; xvii. 42, which I gave in my *Biblische Liebeslieder* (1907), pp. 58, 123, has been followed by Gunkel in the third edition of his admirable commentary on Genesis (1910), p. 296. Some exegetes have revived Boysen's conjecture, made more than 150 years ago, that *adóm* in the story of Esau selling his birthright for a bowl of lentil-soup, does not mean *red* or *brozen*, but corresponds to the Arab. *idâm* which denotes anything eaten with bread.⁷⁰ But Esau had no bread;⁷¹ besides, it is expressly stated (verse 29) that Jacob had cooked the dish, so it was not merely a sandwich. The layers of cottage cheese and chopped olives on a Spanish sandwich might be called *idâm*, also leek, garlic, onions,⁷² even cucumbers⁷³ and melons (see Num. xi. 5).⁷⁴ *Idâm* means originally *cover* and corresponds to the German *Belag* of a *belegtes Brötchen*. Heb. 'al, upon, however, is often used in the sense of *in addition to*: e. g. Lev. ii. 1, *He shall pour oil upon it, and put frankincense thereon*, means simply that the offerer must give with his offering of fine flour both oil and frankincense.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Relish, opsonium (Lat. *obsonium*). Greek *ὀψώνιον* refers especially to fish (cf. Mark vi. 41).

⁷¹ According to verse 34, Jacob gave to Esau bread and lentil-soup. The following words *and he ate and drank* may refer to the eating of the bread and the lentil-soup. Esau may have had water before he came home, but he had not had anything to eat. *Soup* is in modern Arabic: *shûrbah* (Turkish *chorba*), i. e. *drink*. The Latin term for *soup* is *sorbitio*, from *sorbere*, to suck in, swallow, sup up. *Soup* and *supper* are connected with *to sip* and German *saufen*. Our *sherbet*, *sorbet*, *syrup*, *shrub*, *shrab* are derived from Arab. *shâriba*, to drink. The Arabs say also *shârib dukhân*, he drank smoke, for *he smoked*. Arab. *shâriba*, to drink, means originally *to be parched*; it is identical with Assyr. *sharâpu*, to burn, just as our *thirst* is connected with *torrid*.

⁷² In Bible lands leeks and onions are commonly eaten raw as a relish with bread (cf. also Iliad, II, 630). In Bavarian beer-houses large black (or white) radishes are eaten in this way.

⁷³ Arab children in Palestine bring to school as their dinner harley-bread and cucumbers; see Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. 2, p. 29b.

⁷⁴ The diet of the Berbers in North Africa largely consists of onions, cucumbers, water-melons, gourds, and a small artichoke; see *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 3, p. 766.

⁷⁵ See the translation of Leviticus in *Johns Hopkins University Circular* No. 114, p. 113, and the notes on the translation of Leviticus, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 63, line 44.

For *Please let me have some sugar with my coffee* you would say in classical Hebrew: *Give me, I pray thee, a little sugar upon it.*⁷⁶

Edom cannot mean *red-haired*; there are no red-haired races; red hair is an individual anomaly. The explanation of *Edom* as *red-skinned* or *brown-complexioned* is merely a popular etymology. *Edom* seems to be a dialectic form of Heb. *adám*, man. The ancient Egyptians called themselves *rômet*, men. Also the name *Bantu* signifies *men*. Heb. *adám*, man, is connected with *adóm* or *admôni*, red or brown, and the primary connotation of the feminine form of *adóm*, man, *âdamâ*, earth, is *the brown one*. Humus is dark-brown or black. Sahara (Arab. *ṣaḥrâ'u*, plur. *ṣaḥârâ*) means *tawny*; the intensely dry wind of the Sahara, which is known in Sicily and southern Italy as *sirocco*, brings with it immense quantities of reddish dust. The sirocco dust is called also *red fog* and may occasion *blood-rain*. The grains of the Sahara dune-sand may appear reddish-yellow, from the presence of iron, but in the mass they have a rich golden hue.⁷⁷ The ancient Egyptians called the deserts around the valley of the Nile *the red land*. But the name *red earth* for Westphalia is derived from the blood-ban (power of life and death) exercised by the Fehmic courts.

According to Gen. ii. 7 (cf. 1 Cor. xv. 47) *adám*, man, is derived from *âdamâ*, earth, so that *adám* would mean *earth born*. The most learned of all Romans, Marcus Terentius Varro (116-27 B. C.), and the *Christian Cicero*, Lactantius (c. 260-340 A. D.), combined *homo* with *humus* and *ἄραϊ*, but if the Hebrew word for *man* were derived from *âdamâ*, earth, we should expect *admathôn* or *admôn* or *admathi* or *admî*. The popular etymologies which we find in the Genesis legends are inaccurate: as stated above, *ishâ*, woman, is not the feminine form of *ish*, man, and *Babel* signifies *Gate of God*, not *Confusion*.⁷⁸ Nor does *adám*, man, mean *the brown one*; the primary connotation is *cover*, integument, skin. German sportsmen call the hide of a deer *Decke*, cover. *To hide*, to conceal, is ultimately connected with *hide*, skin and *hood*.

⁷⁶ *Lê-tôk haq-qahwâ* would mean that the sugar is to be put in the coffee. For Heb. 'al, upon, over = *in addition to*, cf. our *over and above*.

⁷⁷ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 23, p. 105b; Vol. 25, pp. 21b, 175b. *Sirocco* is derived from the Arab. *sharq*, east, which we have also in *Saracen*. In Algeria, Syria, and Arabia this parching wind is known as *simum*, Arab. *samûm*, from *samm*, poison, which is ultimately a Sumerian loanword (see *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 34, p. 73; *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. 30, p. 61). In Egypt it blows at intervals for about fifty days and is therefore called *khamûm*, fifty. The Assyrian name of the wind was *shûbu* (see *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 35, p. 157).

⁷⁸ See Gen. xi. 9; cf. above, n. 65, and Haupt, *Purim* (1906), p. 2, line 38.

In Semitic, *skin* is used for *mankind*, men, persons. Arab. *báshar* signifies both *skin* and *mankind*, and the corresponding Hebrew word *basár* means *flesh* and *mankind*.⁷⁹ We have adopted this Biblical use of *flesh*, but we say also *He tried to save his bacon* or *his skin* and *He tried to get my skin* or *He did not want to risk his hide*. We use *blood* for *kindred*, family; *flesh and blood* for *progeny*. *Young blood* means *young people*, and *the blood* denotes the royal family. *Body* is used for *person* (cf. *somebody*, *nobody*; *a good old body*). In German, *Haut*, skin, is often used for *person*; the phrases *Er ist eine treue, ehrliche Haut* or *sich seiner Haut wehren* or *seine Haut teuer verkaufen* or *seine Haut zu Markte tragen* are quite common. Martial (3, 16, 4) says *de corio suo ludere*, and Horace (Ep. 1, 2, 29; Sat. 2, 5, 38): *cutem* or *pelliculam curare*. Also German *Balg*, skin, which is connected with our *bellows* and *belly*, is used for *person*, especially for a lewd woman or a naughty child.

The primary connotation of Heb. *adám*, man, is *cover*, integument, skin, and Heb. *adóm*, red, means originally *covered*, then *coated*, stained, blood-stained, blood-red. We say *White lead covers well*, and we speak of a *coat* of paint. *Color* is connected with *celare*, to conceal. In Jer. ii. 22 Heb. *niktám*, covered, signifies *blood-red* (not *marked*). In Is. i. 22 the Targum uses *kētimîn*, covered, in the same sense. In the Talmud *kātm*, covering, denotes especially *blood-stain*. St. Augustine tells us that the Punic word for *blood* (Heb. *dam*) was *edom*. In the Turko-Tatar languages *böt*, *bot* means *cover*, *color*, *redness*, *blood* (see Vambéry's etymological dictionary, 1878, No. 220). *To color* means originally *to cover*, to coat, but it has also the special meaning *to redden*: the phrase *he colored up* means *he became red* in the face. We can say *covered with blood* or *blood-stained*, *blood-colored*, *blood-red*.

The story of David and Goliath in 1 Sam. xvii. 1-xviii. 5 represents a later tradition. According to 2 Sam. xxi. 19, the slayer of Goliath was not David, but Elhanan-ben-Jair, of Bethlehem, one of David's warriors. Afterward this exploit was transferred to David himself, but in 1 Chron. xx. 5 we have the harmonistic correction that Elhanan-ben-Jair slew Lahmi, the brother of Goliath of Gath. This *Lahmi* is merely the second part of Elhanan-ben-Jair's epithet *Bêth-hal-lahmî*, the Bethlehemite. Elhanan, the slayer

⁷⁹ The Arabic term for *gospel* (i. e., *good spell*, glad tidings) is *bishârah* (Heb. *bēsôrâ*). The primary connotation is *skinning* in the sense of *affecting the skin*, i. e., bringing news which causes the recipient to turn white or red in the face. It denotes especially a *flush of joy*. Tennyson (*Maud*, XVII) says: *Pass and blush the news*.

of Goliath, may have been a Bethlehemite, but David was not a native of Bethlehem, nor was any descendant of David ever born there. Jesus was not a son of David, and He was born at Nazareth.⁸⁰

In the legend of the slaughter of the innocents at Bethlehem the scribes say (Matt. ii. 5) that the Christ, i. e., the Messiah, is to be born at Bethlehem in Judea. The passage in the Book of Micah, on which this answer is based, is a later addition (103-76 B. C.) to a Maccabean poem written c. 135 B. C. The Hasmonean priest-kings were not descendants of David, and some glossator, who believed that only a son of David could be the legitimate king of the Jews, added this quotation from an ancient poem written at the time of the birth of the Davidic scion Zerubbabel (c. 538 B. C.) who is glorified in Is. ix. 6, 7; xi. 1-9, and in Pss. xx, xxi. cx, cxxxii.⁸¹ This anti-Hasmonean quotation at the beginning of the fifth chapter of the Book of Micah says:

And thou, O House of Ephrath,⁸²
 so young 'mong Judah's clans,
 From thee is come to us
 the ruler-to-be o'er Israel.
 He'll reign through JHVH's power,
 exalted to the bounds of his land.

Lit. *he will be great to the ends of the land* (not *earth*), i. e., he will be recognized as the legitimate king of Judah and will restore the former extent of the Davidic kingdom. Ephrath, which may have been originally the name of one of the fertile valleys about Hebron, was the name of David's clan. Similarly Saul belonged to the Benjamite clan Becher,⁸³ and Gideon to the Manassite clan Abiezer. David's sept was young among Judah's clans;⁸⁴ it may have joined the worshipers of JHVH at a comparatively late period. Nor was David of ancient lineage like Saul; in fact he was an upstart. The

⁸⁰ See my remarks on the birthplaces of David and Christ in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, Vol. 12, col. 67 (February, 1909), and my paper "The Aryan Ancestry of Jesus" in *The Open Court*, No. 635 (April, 1909), p. 194.

⁸¹ See my translations of these patriotic poems in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 33, p. 168, and in my papers "The Coronation of Zerubbabel" and "Assyr. *dagûlu*, to look for, in the Old Testament" in Vol. 37 of that Journal; also *Journal of the Society of Oriental Research*, Vol. 2, p. 81.

⁸² The *lêhem* between *Bêth* and *Ephrâth* is a later insertion; see Haupt, *The Book of Micah* (Chicago, 1902), pp. 10, 54.

⁸³ See *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 509, line 4.

⁸⁴ Cf. also Judges vi. 15 and 1 Sam. ix. 21.

statement in 1 Sam. xvii. 12, that David was an elder (i. e., sheikh) among men in the days of Saul,⁸⁵ is a later addition.

Zerubbabel was an Ephrathite, just as Saul was a Becherite or Gideon an Abiezrite, not a Bethlehemite. Queen Mary, the consort of the present King of England, was a Princess of Teck, but she was not born at the ducal castle of Teck in Württemberg; her father was created Duke of Teck by the King of Württemberg in 1871, and Queen Mary was born in 1867. George V is a grandson of Queen Victoria's prince-consort Albert, duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, but both King George and his father Edward VII were born in London, not in Coburg. The present King of Italy is a scion of the House of Savoy, but he was born at Naples, and Savoy belongs now to France. There is not a single passage in the Old Testament where *Ephrathite* denotes *Bethlehemite*. In the three passages in which *Ephrathite* seems to mean *Ephraimite* we must read *Ephrâmi*. The Syriac and Ethiopic Bibles have this reading in Judges xii. 5. In Ps. cxxxii. 6 *Ephratha* denotes *cultivated land* in contradistinction to *woodland*,⁸⁶ just as in the duchy of Gotha *das Land* is distinguished from *der Wald*.⁸⁷ All passages in which Ephrath is identified with Bethlehem are post-Exilic.

In 1 Sam. xx. 8 (which may antedate 800 B. C.) *bêth-lêhem*⁸⁸ is the name of the banquet-hall where David intended to join his fellow-clansmen in celebrating the New Year's festival (about the time of the autumnal equinox). This, it may be supposed, was situated in or near Hebron which is about twenty-three miles south of Jerusalem, whereas Bethlehem is only about five miles south of Jerusalem. *Bêth-lêhem*, banquet-hall,⁸⁹ is synonymous with *lishkâ*

⁸⁵ In *zaqên bâ ba-'ânashîm*, which is supposed to mean *he went among men for an old man*, the verb *bâ* is merely an erroneous repetition of the first two letters of *ba-'ânashîm*.

⁸⁶ See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 33, p. 165.

⁸⁷ See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. 24, p. 260a.

⁸⁸ Heb. *lêhem* (or *lâhm*) means not only *bread*, but also *food*, *meal*. In Arabic, *lahm* denotes *flesh*, *meat*. Sacrifices are called *God's lêhem*; see the notes on the translation of Leviticus, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 91, line 36. In a tertiary gloss to the Book of Ecclesiastes (x. 19a) the phrase *making bread* means *feasting*; see Haupt, *Ecclesiastes* (1905), p. 16, ττ; cf. our colloquial phrase *to make a meal*, but *meal*, *repast*, and *meal*, *flour*, are not identical. In German, *Brot* is used for *meal*, e. g., *Mittagbrot*, midday meal; *Abendbrot*, evening meal. German *Mehl*, flour, is derived from *mahlen*, to grind in a mill, whereas *Mahl*, repast, is identical with *Mal*, time (cf. *Mahlzeit*).

⁸⁹ The Assyrian name is *bît-akîti*, banquet-house; see Haupt, *Purim* (1906), p. 31, line 5. An illustrated description of Sennacherib's *bît-akîti* disinterred in the ruins of Assur, the primitive capital of Assyria on the west bank of the Tigris, is given in No. 33 (June, 1907) of the *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin*. Cf. Haupt, *Esther* (Chicago, 1908), p. 32 n. †.

(1 Sam. ix. 22) which has passed into Greek as λέσχη.⁹⁰ The Authorized Version renders *parlor*, while the Greek Bible has the same word (κατάλυμα) which we find in Luke ii. 7. These halls served also as inns (khans, caravanseries). The name Bethlehem may be derived from an inn near the town. Kimham's Inn⁹¹ near Bethlehem on the high road from Jerusalem to Hebron, is referred to in Jer. xli. 17. Also the edifice which Samson pulled down was not a temple of Dagon, but a *bêth-lêhem*, i. e., a hall for a banquet or sacrificial feast.⁹²

We must render in 1 Sam. xx. 28: *David urgently asked (leave) of me to feast in the banquet-house of his town.*⁹³ The interpretation *He asked for leave of absence until dinner-time* is impossible.⁹⁴ Jonathan states in the following verse that David wants to celebrate the feast with his sept; therefore he does not appear at the royal table. Jonathan could not tell his father, David asked me for leave of absence until dinner-time, to feast with his sept: Saul's feast on New Year's day and the feast of David's sept took place at the same time. If David had asked for leave of absence until dinner-time, he would have been obliged to appear at the royal table on the first day of the feast.

The misinterpretation of the term *bêth-lêhem*, banqueting-hall, in 1 Sam. xx. 28 may be responsible for the later view that David was born at Bethlehem. Nor does the statement in 2 Sam. ii. 32, that David's nephew Asahel was buried in his father's sepulcher at Bethlehem, prove that David was a Bethlehemite. Asahel, Joab, and Abishai were the sons of David's sister Zeruah. Her husband may have been a native of Bethlehem, but neither David nor any of his descendants was born at Bethlehem.

According to 2 Sam. xxiii. 13-17, David longed for a drink of water from the well of Bethlehem, which is by the gate, and three

⁹⁰ *Lishkâ* is a by-form of *nishkâ*, from *nashâk*, to bite. The original meaning is *bait*, i. e., a hall for refreshment or rest in the course of a journey. *To bait* means *to cause to bite*.

⁹¹ The Authorized Version renders: *the habitation of Chimham*. The Greek Bible read the same word (*gerûth*, derived from *ger*, stranger) in Ps. cxx. 5 (cf. below, n. 111). The Vulgate renders the first line of this verse: *Heu mihi, quia incolatus (= παροικία) meus prolongatus est*. This hostelry near Bethlehem may have been founded by Chimham, the son of Barzillai, the wealthy Gileadite, who followed David to Jerusalem (2 Sam. xix. 38). Bethlehem is a name like the Persian *Khawarnaq* or the German *Wormlage*; see Haupt, *Bibl. Liebeslieder* (Leipsic, 1907), p. 119, and Meyer's *Grosses Konversations-Lexikon*, Vol. 20 (1908), p. 776a.

⁹² See the translation of Judges, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 87, line 31.

⁹³ The Hebrew text should be read as follows: *Nish'ôl nish'âl Dawid me-'immadi la-'id bêth-lêhem 'irô*.

⁹⁴ Contrast *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 1020, n. 2.

of his most famous warriors invaded the camp of the Philistines and brought water from that well to David; but the king would not drink it: he poured it out as a libation for JHVH. A similar incident is related of Alexander the Great.⁹⁵ In his lectures on Hebrew poetry, delivered at the Johns Hopkins University in 1896, a distinguished Scottish Hebraist referred to this story in connection with the discussion of the Davidic authorship of the Hebrew Psalms, remarking that a man who was capable of so poetic an act was certainly capable of producing poetic compositions. This argument brought down the house, but it can hardly establish the Davidic authorship of a Psalm.

Nor does the story prove that David was a native of Bethlehem: *bêth-lêhem* in 2 Sam. xxiii. 15 denotes the *mess-hall* in the camp of the Philistines.⁹⁶ If we use the military terms of the Romans, we may say that the well was the water reservoir of the pretorium (or *principia*) near the decuman gate.⁹⁷ There are no springs in Bethlehem, but there are several in the Valley of Rephaim, the present *buqâ'ah* southwest of Jerusalem, where the Philistines were encamped,⁹⁸ and it was natural that the *bêth-lêhem* or mess-hall was erected near one of these wells.

David was not a Bethlehemite. He began his career (c. 1000 B. C.) as a captain of outlaws in southern Judea. If he was originally a shepherd, he may have been a sheep-farmer like the chiefs of the Border clans in Sir Walter Scott's ancestry who varied their peaceful occupation by rough marauding exploits. He may afterward have served in Saul's army, just as some of the Roman soldier-emperors were generals before they were placed on the throne. Galerius (305-311) was originally a Thracian herdsman, but distinguished himself as a soldier, so that he received in marriage the emperor Diocletian's daughter Valeria, just as David was given Saul's daughter Michal. Before he united Israel and Judah he was enthroned at Hebron as King of Judah, a title like the Mohammedan Commander of the Faithful, Judah being a collective name for the worshipers of JHVH. Hebron was again the capital of the heathen Edomites in the Maccabean period (1 Macc. v. 65). Not all Edom-

⁹⁵ Cf. Plutarch, *Alex.* 42; Arrian 6, 26, 2; Curtius 7, 20, 12.

⁹⁶ We must read: *Mî yashqênî máim mib-bêr bêth-lâhm harwâth Pêlish-tim, âshûr bash-shâ'r.* Cf. 4 Macc. iii. 13, and for *harwâth* (cf. Arab. *hîwâ'*, plur. *âhwiyah*) *Pêlish-tim* see *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 23, p. 227.

⁹⁷ See the plan of a Roman camp on p. 779b of the *Century Dictionary*.

⁹⁸ The statement in verse 14b, that a post of the Philistines was then in Bethlehem, is a later addition.

ites were worshipers of JHVH, only the Edomites who had come under the influence of the solar monotheism of ancient Egyptian theology.⁹⁹ The heathen Edomites were not judaized before 128 B. C.

David was at first a vassal of the Philistines, but afterward he freed the country from the yoke of the European invaders who had come from the Ægean islands including Crete. The name of David's body-guard, Cherethites and Pelethites, means Cretans and (other) Philistines. Ittai of Gath and the Hittite Uriah served in David's army, but after David had united Israel and Judah, he tried not only to make JHVH the national god, but also to create a national army. This was the object of his attempt to number the people; his census was a registration for military purposes:¹⁰⁰ it was entrusted to Joab and the captains of the host (2 Sam. xxiv. 2). The Chronicler (1 Chr. xxi. 1) regards this registration as having been inspired by Satan.

The fact that David's body-guard consisted of Cretans and other Philistines does not prove that the first king of Judah was of European extraction. After the pretorians had been disbanded by the Roman emperor Septimius Severus (146-211) the new household troops consisted of barbarian soldiers. The German emperor Frederick II (1215-1250) had a body-guard of Saracens. The last Byzantine emperors of the Palæologian dynasty (1259-1453) had Norman household troops. The Turkish janizaries, who were abolished in 1826, were originally recruited from sons of Christians, especially Albanians, Bosnians, and Bulgarians. The senior unit of the *Gardes du Corps* of the French king Francis I (1515-1547) was the company of Scottish archers. Scott's Quentin Durward was an archer of the Scottish guard in the reign of Louis XI (1461-1483). The famous Swiss Guards died for Louis XVI on August 10, 1792. The Pope still has a small company of Swiss guards (*Guardia Svizzera*) who wear costumes of the sixteenth century.

David as well as Moses were Edomites. Moses founded the Jewish religion, David established the kingdom of Judah, i. e., the worshipers of JHVH. The men of Judah represent a blend of Asiatic,

⁹⁹ See my paper "Kir = Ur of the Chaldees" in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 36, p. 94; cf. *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 35, p. 3.

¹⁰⁰ One of the most eminent modern military writers, F. W. Rüstow, who escaped from Prussia to Switzerland in 1850, and who was Garibaldi's chief of staff in 1860, published military biographies of David, Xenophon, and Mont-luc whose admirable memoirs (Bordeaux, 1592) were called by Henri IV *la bible du soldat*. Rüstow's *Militärische Biographien* (Zürich, 1858) is inaccessible to me at present. For David as a tactician, Cheyne, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 1035, refers to the monograph of the distinguished French engineer and archeologist Marcel Dieulafoy, *David the King* (1902).

African, and European elements, including not only Edomites and converted Israelites, but also Horites, Ishmaelites, Moabites, Ammonites, Canaanites, Amorites, Philistines, Hittites, Egyptians, Ethiopians, etc. Moses's wife is called in Num. xii. 1 an Ethiopian woman; David's ancestress Ruth is said to have been a Moabitess; Solomon's mother was the wife of the Hittite Uriah;¹⁰¹ Rehoboam's mother was an Ammonitess (1 Kings xiv. 1). There was no Jewish separatism before the days of Ezra (c. 450 B. C.). Ezekiel (xvi. 3) says to Jerusalem: Thy father was an Amorite, and thy mother a Hittite.

Judaism was introduced in Israel by David c. 1000 B. C. after he had conquered the northern confederation of Israelitish tribes,¹⁰² but after the death of Solomon (c. 930) the Israelites relapsed into their former idolatry.¹⁰³ The Israelites have vanished; they survive only, mixed with numerous foreign elements, including a considerable percentage of Aryan colonists, in the Samaritans whose number is now reduced to 170 souls. The Israelites were not in Egypt, but the Edomite ancestors of the Jews were there c. 1230 B. C. At that time the Israelites were settled in Palestine north and south of the Plain of Jezreel¹⁰⁴ and in Gilead east of the Jordan.

David is undoubtedly the greatest of all the kings of Israel and Judah: he completed the work of Moses, he created Judah, he united Israel and Judah, and made Jerusalem the center of Judaism; but he has been very much idealized by later Biblical writers. We have three types of David, represented by the Books of Samuel, the Chronicles, and the titles of the Psalms. According to the Chronicler, he was the founder of the Temple service; according to the titles of the Psalms, he was preeminently the Psalmist; but according to the Books of Samuel, he was originally an outlaw with a band of wandering companions:¹⁰⁵ he was a Judean Robin Hood or Rob

¹⁰¹ Bathsheba may have been a Hittite woman. She was the daughter of Eliam or Ammiel, and Eliam is also the name of a son of Ahitophel; but there is no evidence that these two Eliams are identical; see *Encyclopædia Biblica*, col. 102, line 5. In the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 34, p. 44, I have pointed out that Hosea's erring spouse may have been a Cimmerian woman.

¹⁰² See my paper "The Burning Bush and the Origin of Judaism" in the *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 48, No. 193, p. 358; cf. *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 35, p. 14.

¹⁰³ Cf. Josh. xxiv. 23; Gen. xxxv. 2.

¹⁰⁴ See my address on "Armageddon" in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 34, p. 418.

¹⁰⁵ Cf. W. W. Guth, "The Unity of the Older Saul-David Narratives" in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 25, p. 116, and his dissertation *Die ältere Schicht in den Erzählungen über Saul und David* (Berlin, 1904). See also G. Beer, *Saul, David, Salomo* (Tübingen, 1906), pp. 24, 33, 34, 37, 40, 41, 43, 54, 71.

Roy, although his hair was not red. Sir Walter Scott says in Chapter 32 of *Rob Roy* that this famous Scotch outlaw, who died in 1734, had a shock-head of red hair; that part of his limbs, from the bottom of his kilt to the top of his short hose, which the fashion of his country left bare, was covered with a fell of thick, short, red hair, especially around his knees, which resembled in this respect, as well as from their sinewy appearance of extreme strength, the limbs of a red-colored Highland bull.

The term *sweet psalmist*, which we find in the Authorized Version of the so-called Last Words of David in 2 Sam. xxiii. 1, is a mistranslation: the phrase means *sung in Israel's lays* or *chanted in Israel's songs*.¹⁰⁶ The first three couplets of this late religious poem should be translated as follows:

David-ben-Jesse said,
the man who was raised on high,
The anointed of Jacob's God,
sung in Israel's lays:

יהוה's spirit spake within me,
His word is upon my tongue,
The God of Jacob¹⁰⁷ said to me,
the Rock of Israel spake:

He who rightly rules over men,
who reigns in the fear of God,
Is like a cloudless morn,
like the sheen of the earth's fresh verdure.¹⁰⁸

There are no Psalms of David.¹⁰⁹ For a long time commentators discussed the question, Are there any non-Davidic hymns in the Psalter? Then they began to ask, Are there any Davidic poems in the Psalter? The question was no longer, Are there any Psalms written after the Babylonian Captivity? but, Are there any pre-Exilic Psalms? And now the problem is not, Are there any pre-Exilic Psalms? but, Are there any pre-Maccabean Psalms?¹¹⁰ There

¹⁰⁶ See *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 32, p. 143.

¹⁰⁷ Read *Jacob* instead of *Israel*. It is possible that *of Jacob* was originally an appositional genitive, so that *the god of Jacob* meant *the god Jacob*; see *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, Vol. 12, col. 212.

¹⁰⁸ For the second *môshêl* read *môlêk*; the clause *boqr isrâh shamsh* is a gloss as is also *mim-matâr*; for *min-nôgah* read *kê-nôgah*.

¹⁰⁹ Contrast *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 35, p. 18. Cornill, *History of the People of Israel* (4th ed., Chicago, 1909), p. 76, thought that the last four verses of Ps. xxiv were Davidic; but these lines must be appended to Ps. xxi which glorifies the coronation of Zerubbabel in 519; see above, n. 81; cf. also the seventh edition of Cornill's *Einleitung* (Tübingen, 1913), p. 233.

¹¹⁰ See *Johns Hopkins University Circular* No. 163, p. 54.

are undoubtedly pre-Maccabean Psalms, e. g., the so-called Songs of Degrees or, rather, Songs of Ascent, which refer to the time of the Return from the Captivity;¹¹¹ also Pss. xx, xxi, cx, cxxxii which glorify the grandson of the last legitimate king of Judah, the Davidic scion Zerubbabel, whom the Jews, at the beginning of the reign of Darius Hystaspis (c. 520 B. C.) regarded as the Messiah destined to restore the national independence of Judah.¹¹² The prototypes of the songs in the Hebrew Psalter are cuneiform hymns and penitential psalms,¹¹³ just as several features of the Levitical ritual, including the Jewish method of slaughter, are derived from Babylonia.¹¹⁴

The majority of the Psalms belong to the Maccabean period (170-70 B. C.) which furnished the most inspiring themes to the national poets. This was shown sixty-five years ago by the great Hebraist Justus Olshausen, and the existence of Maccabean psalms was pointed out more than 1500 years ago, about the time of St. Jerome, by the great Biblical critic, Bishop Theodore of Mopsuestia in Cilicia.¹¹⁵ In method he was superior to Origen, Eusebius, and St. Jerome, and of all patristic writers this anti-allegoric exegete came nearest to the modern spirit; but he had to state his critical conclusions in a somewhat diplomatic form: he said, the Psalms were indeed all written by David, but David had prophetically predicted the destinies of his people. Theodore's opinion that the historical notices given in the titles of the Psalms do not contain genuine traditions (cf. above, n. 37) is now accepted by all competent scholars.

In Am. vi. 4, where the poet is supposed to say that the rich men of Samaria invent for themselves instruments of music, like David, we must read *millê shîr*, words of song, instead of *kêlê-shîr*, instruments of song, and *like David* is a later addition. The couplet should be rendered:

Who lie on ivory sofas
and sprawl on their dining-couches,

¹¹¹ See the translation of Pss. cxx-cxxxiv in *Hebraica*, Vol. 11, pp. 68-75; cf. *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 27, pp. 110-119. In the *American Journal of Semitic Languages*, Vol. 35, p. 49 (October, 1918), these oldest psalms are regarded as *later lyric*.

¹¹² See above, note 81. Also the *Benedictus* in Luke i. 68-79 was originally a Hebrew poem glorifying the birth of Zerubbabel c. 538 B. C.

¹¹³ The older Sumerian dialect of the non-Semitic cuneiform penitential psalms is called *eme-sal*, lit. *language of enlargement*, i. e., *release from distress*, deliverance; see my paper on the litanic dialect of Sumerian in Vol. 31 of the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*.

¹¹⁴ See *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. 36, p. 259.

¹¹⁵ That is the modern Missis near Adana, northwest of the Gulf of Alexandretta.

Snapping the lute o'er the sound-hole,
inditing words of song.¹¹⁶

The only poem that can possibly be ascribed to David is the beautiful dirge on the death of Saul and Jonathan, but the feeling expressed by it is purely human; the religious element is conspicuous by its absence; the name of God is not mentioned.

This elegy may be translated as follows:¹¹⁷

- 18a O Judah! list the dread news!
19a O Israel! bitterly mourn!
19b Alas! how are fallen the heroes!
25a even in stress of battle!
- 20 Proclaim it never in Gath,
nor tell it in Ashkelon's streets,
Lest Philistine damsels rejoice,
lest barbarian wenches exult!
- 23a Saul and Jonathan,
the loved, the cherished,
23c Swifter than eagles,
stronger than lions,
23b In life and death
never divided.
- 22a Free from blood,
from pith of heroes,
22c The sword of Saul
was sheathed never,
22b Nor Jonathan's bow
was returned ever.
- 24 Ho! maidens of Israel!
wail ye for Saul!
Who clad you in scarlet
and gorgeous raiment,
And brought for your garments
golden adornments.
- 25b Thy death is anguish, O Jonathan!
26a alas for thee, O my brother!

¹¹⁶ See my address on "Armageddon" in *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 34, p. 420. Professor Elhorst, of Amsterdam, has recently proposed to read: *kad wa-yad hashēbū lahēm*, which is supposed to mean *they have invented to themselves as instruments of music mug and hand*; he thinks that the revelers of Samaria accompanied the sound of the harp with all sorts of improvised musical instruments, so that this accompaniment would have resembled the *Bierwalzer* during the third part of which German students stamp the floor, whistle, strike the glasses with their large night-keys, etc. See *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*, Vol. 35, p. 63. The German night-keys often were 4-6 inches long.

¹¹⁷ In the beginning and at the end we have two six-beat couplets, and between them three four-beat triplets. For typographical reasons the lines have been divided into hemistichs with three or two beats, respectively.

- 26c To me thy love was a wonder
 26d above the love of a woman.
 21a No dew be on ye, nor rain,¹¹⁸
 21b for ever, ye heights of Gilboa,
 21c Where heroes cast away shields,
 27b abandoned the weapons of war.¹¹⁹

If David wrote this poem, he was undoubtedly a great poet, but not a Psalmist. He was a worshiper of JHVH and forced the Israelites to embrace the religion of Judah, but he was an Edomite, not an Israelite. He had Europeans in his army, but he was not of European extraction. His hair was not red or blond, but black, and his complexion not fair, but brownish or olive. His stature may have been somewhat low, and his frame light. The view that David was an Aryan¹²⁰ is untenable.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE BUDDHISM.

BY WILLIAM MONTGOMERY MCGOVERN.

[In introducing to our readers the Rev. Wm. M. McGovern, priest of the Nishi Hongwanji, Kyoto, Japan, we take pleasure in quoting the following from a personal letter:

"In Hinayana, one cannot become a full priest, much less obtain higher degrees or hold office, until one has spent ten years in a monastery, as of course you know. In Shin, however, promotions are made irrespective of time, and only by passing certain examinations. (In order to become full priest one has to pass examinations in ten studies, six of which are on physical sciences etc.) Accordingly, I have been enabled to obtain, by examinations, quite high posts in the Hongwanji [Shin], which as you know is the largest sect in Japan. A large portion of my time I spend in preaching in the vernacular to the various temples (of all schools) throughout the country.

Naturally I have devoted a good deal of study to all the twelve sects, but have specialized in the Kusha, Sanron, and Tendai sects, the *philosophical* sects, as well as giving special attention to the contemplative sect, Zen, and the practical sect, Shin. I have by no means confined my investigations to Buddhism, however, but have been very much interested from the historical point of view in the various folklore tales and superstitions throughout the country. . . ."—Ed.]

ONE of the interesting, and at the same time most distinctive, features of Buddhism, and especially of the Mahayana, or northern branch, is its great all-inclusive comprehensiveness. In its

¹¹⁸ Cf. No. 189 of the Hudhailian poems in Wellhausen's *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, Part I, p. 139 (*lā sūqiyat Amûlu*).

¹¹⁹ The words omitted represent later additions; see my restoration of the original text (2 Sam. i. 18-27) in *Johns Hopkins University Circular* No. 163, p. 55.

¹²⁰ See above, note 2.

various aspects may be found sects whose doctrines include or approach practically every system of religious or philosophical thought which has ever been formulated. It has on one side its agnostic and even materialistic aspect which has caused it to receive the sympathy of like-minded persons in the Occident, and at the same time it has its dogmatic side to the satisfaction of those who delight in having some external authority which they can regard as infallible. It is difficult to say whether Mahayana comes nearer to its sister faith, Hinayana (Southern Buddhism), or to Christianity, Hinduism, or Taoism, so closely does it approach in many respects the fundamental teachings of each and all of them.

The most amazing part of it all, however,—the feature that is the most important and interesting—is that all these seemingly contradictory ideas have been reconciled, and in a very plausible manner, it must be admitted. Mahayana, when viewed as a whole, is not a jumble of conflicting theories imperfectly grouped together, but rather presents the appearance of a solid whole composed of complementary parts closely welded together. It is, in a word, the missing link in the religious and philosophical world.

In the opinion of most competent authorities Mahayana is not the work of any one man or school but a gradual development, and if such be the case it is one of the most fascinating problems of history to note how from the materialistic philosophy of Hinayana, Mahayana has gradually evolved a system which, while including all the doctrines of the former, yet has room for, in a but slightly modified form, practically every dogma held by orthodox Christianity, such crudities as eternal damnation, etc., alone excepted.

Many persons regard the difference between the two schools of Buddhism as too apparent and too great to be explained by a process of internal development, and have been forced to come to the conclusion that Mahayana has borrowed directly and wholesale from Christianity, and that, accordingly, it is not a genuine Buddhist product at all. It is my intention to show, however, that even the latest features of Northern Buddhism, such as the Shin and the Pure Land sects of salvation by faith alone, are all latent in Hinayana and that their development may be clearly traced from Hinayana itself, through systems verging on both Hinayana and Mahayana and the so-called apparent or undeveloped Mahayana, to Mahayana as we find it to-day. Though the order of the introduction of the sects into Japan by no means coincides in all cases with the order of their original establishment, yet nevertheless, a very accurate idea of the process of this doctrinal evolution may be

found in the history of Buddhism in Japan, ranging from the first Hinayana sects to be introduced down to the latest, the Shin and the Nichiren sects.

The Kusha Sect.

Taking them up more or less in their chronological order, we first come to the Kusha or the Abhidharma-kosa-sastra sect, which was one of the first Buddhist sects to be officially introduced into Japan. It first made its appearance in China in 563 A. D. and was brought over to Japan in the first half of the seventh century. It is chiefly noted as being the sect which approaches more closely than any other to the orthodox Hinayana school of the South, for except for details it may be said to agree more or less with Buddhism as it is found in Burma, Siam, and Ceylon to-day. It is more or less materialistic in tendency, and its important principles may be said to be the existence of the *dharma* (Jap. *ho*), literally "law" or "thing" but actually the "material world," and the non-existence of the ego-entity or *atman* (Jap. *ga*).¹ According to this latter doctrine, the soul, instead of being an unchanging thing in itself, is but a combination of five aggregates (Skt. *skandha*, Jap. *on* or *un*), which are form, sensation, idea, conception, and cognizance. United they form the phenomenal ego, but this ego is purely a combination and has no absolute existence. This system, though called materialistic, is not so in the usual strict sense of that word, since it acknowledges the existence of both matter and spirit, the first of the aggregates belonging to the former division, and the remaining four to the latter.

Nevertheless, one sees there is not one word about God or the Supreme, and even while admitting and affirming the reality of the external world, the sect is entirely silent regarding the nature of its origin or its end. Like most, if not all of the other Hinayana sects it assumes either an attitude of entire agnosticism in regard to the existence of the supraphenomenal, or else definitely denies its reality. What its speculations lack in breadth, however, they more than make up in depth, for this school is noted for its hair-splitting. The principal other doctrines of the sect are comprised in its conception of the twelve *ayatanas* (*sho*) or places, the eighteen *dhatu*s (*kai*)

¹ This doctrine of non-atman, which is one of the principal teachings of all the Buddhist sects, is one of the most difficult things for Western students of the subject to understand. A full explanation lies entirely outside the scope of the present article, but those unacquainted with the idea will find a more detailed account in any standard book on Hinayana, and the fourth chapter of my book on *Mahayana Buddhism*, as well as in Dr. Paul Carus's *Gospel of Buddha*.

or elements, and the seventy-five *dharma*s (*ho*, lit. "laws") or things. Everything in the universe is supposed to be the result of the interaction of these.

The Kusha sect has never had any temples or priests in Japan, nor even an independent existence, having been brought over to Japan by the founder of the Hosso sect and thereafter maintained by that school as a subsidiary system.

The Jojitsu Sect.

An even older sect is the Jojitsu, or Satya-siddhi-sastra school, which was studied by the famous Shotoku Taishi (the Constantine or Asoka of Japanese Buddhism) and the emperors of Japan when Buddhism was first introduced there in the sixth century, but which really belongs to a later stage of development.

In this system may be found the first great step which leads to the true Mahayana system, namely the denial of the real or absolute existence of the dharma. The Kusha sect, as we have observed, denied the existence of the thing but affirmed the existence of that which composed the thing. Even this last, however, the Jojitsu sect denied, chiefly through carrying to its logical extent the Buddhist idea of change and the illusoriness of time, though limitations of space prevent a full presentation of the metaphysical niceties by which this result was obtained. The real and absolute existence of matter and spirit thus being undermined, some other explanation of the nature of existence had to be given, and accordingly the idea that existence is purely mental, arose.

Buddhism was thus transformed into a sort of subjective idealism. This idea was just beginning to manifest itself in this sect, however, so that many questions as to the nature of existence and the origin of the mental action which resulted in the formation of the material world were left unanswered. In fact its very doctrine of non-existence is relative, since it says that matter *as we know it* does not exist, for in reality it is a constantly changing whole, and not a definite thing in itself (much the modern Bergsonian idea), and accordingly that the world as we think it is, is the result of our mental actions rather than actually the world itself. Like the other Hinayana sects, the Jojitsu school has never had an independent existence in Japan, having been the companion philosophy and protégé of the San Ron sect.

The Ritsu Sect.

The third and last Hinayana sect to be found in Japan is the Ritsu or Vinaya sect, which, however, is of little importance for the

purpose of studying the development of Mahayana, since the school practically shut out all metaphysical speculation. Instead, it contented itself with the arrangement and classification of the various moral laws and precepts of Buddhism, so that while it has never had any important direct influence, yet its classifications have been much studied by members of the other sects, as has been, indeed, also the case with the other two Hinayana sects.

The Hosso Sect.

We now leave the realms of Hinayana orthodoxy and come to a more definite systematization of the ideas brought forward by the Jojitsu sect. There we found the vague and general assertion that all existence is mental, but little or no attempt was made to formulate a thoroughgoing logical system based upon that conception. In the Hosso or Dharma-lakshana sect we have a step made in this direction. According to this school there are five divisions of all things, namely, (1) mind kings (*chitta raga*), (2) mental qualities (*chitta dharmas*), (3) things having form (*rupa dharmas*), (4) things separated from mind (*chitta viprayukta dharmas*), and (5) immaterial things (*asamskrita dharmas*). This school holds, however, that though five things are enumerated, yet in reality there is nothing but mind (*chitta*). The first division or "mind kings," consists of eight kinds of knowledge: eye-knowledge, ear-knowledge, nose-knowledge, tongue-knowledge, body-knowledge, mind-knowledge, "soiled mind" knowledge, and finally *alaya vignana*, literally "receptacle-knowledge." As a matter of fact, this last or *alaya vignana* is the most important feature not only of this sect but to a large extent of the other divisions of Mahayana Buddhism as well. In reality it comes very close to the Hindu or Vedanta idea of *maya* or the illusory mind-substance that is the essence and the cause of all material existence. It is, to use a very imperfect metaphor, a thick mist or vapor that arises on the universal water of mind, and which assumes various transformations. These transformations result in the formation of units of consciousness, which result, in turn, in the appearance of the material world. The Hosso school, while apparently advanced but little beyond the teachings of the Jojitsu sect, yet shows one important development inasmuch as it explicitly states for the first time that which was latent in all Hinayana sects and especially in the one just mentioned, namely that we are all but manifestations of one substance, and are thus identified with one another through identity with this One.

The San Ron Sect.

The San Ron or the Three Sastra sect,² introduced into Japan in 625 A. D., witnesses the next important evolution in Mahayana. While Hosso declared the external world to be non-existent, it taught that the phenomena which manifested themselves in it are real, and accordingly it is called the "school of being" or Madyamaya ("apparent Mahayana"), in contradistinction to San Ron which is termed the "school of non-being." As a matter of fact, however, the difference between them is very slight and is due rather to the emphasis which the San Ron sect lays upon the absoluteness and indefinability of the original mind. In this sect there is in reality neither spirit nor matter but only a single norm of existence which transcends them both, and of which the universe is but a partial and illusory manifestation. According to this school the two greatest possible heresies are, first, to believe that the world exists, and, second, to believe that the world does not exist, since in reality it both exists and does not exist at the same time, i. e., its existence is purely relative.³ The San Ron sect also maintains the idea that the world is manifested through the agency of the *alaya vignana*, or *maya*.

But while, therefore, the actual difference between this sect and the preceding one is small, there may be said to be one especial distinction in general tendency which differentiates them, namely that one is positive and the other negative. Paradoxically enough, the San Ron sect which lays even greater emphasis on the unreality of the world than does the Hosso, is in reality the more positive and affirmative sect of the two, or in fact of all the schools thus far met with.

Up to this time the development of Buddhism has been along an entirely negative line, denying first the *atman*, then the material world, and finally the very phenomena which seem manifested in the material world. In the San Ron sect this negativity reaches its climax, and by its very destructiveness it becomes more constructive than the others, for in thus vigorously denying everything possible it is forced necessarily to formulate more explicitly the doctrine of a one underlying substance. While the other sects were obliged to more or less admit its existence, the San Ron sect was the first

² A *sastra* is a classical commentary upon the *sutras*, i. e., scriptures.

³ For a fuller explanation of the Mahayana conception of the existence or non-existence of the world see Asvaghosha's *Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana*, trans. by D. T. Suzuki.

to show by its denial of both spirit and matter that the ultimate must be superior to both of them—immutable, transcendent, yet immanent, infinite, and eternal. Accordingly, we have here the elements, the foundation of the doctrine of the *Supreme*, which we have seen to be one of the chief features of Mahayana, and the idea which distinguishes it most clearly from Hinayana.

The Kegon and Tendai Sects.

Even in the San Ron sect, however, the idea of the supreme transcendent Mind (Jap. *Myoshin*) is more or less in a latent form, so that the Hosso and the San Ron sects are classified together under the title of "apparent, or undeveloped Mahayana," in contradistinction to the remaining schools which have the doctrine in a more perfect and developed form.

The first sect introduced into Japan having the true Mahayana philosophy was the Kegon or Avatamsaka sect which came to Japan in 736 A. D. This sect and the following one, the Tendai, present the Mahayana philosophy in all its beauty, and in fact may be said to represent the philosophical high-water mark—the later sects all taking their fundamental principles from these two and arranging and adapting them to suit specific needs at different epochs. The theologies (if I may be pardoned that word) of both the Kegon and Tendai schools, though differing widely about details, are much the same in general outline, and may therefore be considered together.

It should be remarked that with the establishment of the Kegon sect the first period of Japanese Buddhism closes. The above six sects were all introduced while the capital of Japan was in Nara and are therefore grouped together as the Nanto (southern capital) schools. Their material prosperity lasted only as long as they were under direct imperial favor, and with the removal of the seat of government to Kyoto and the establishment of the Tendai and Shingon sects they rapidly waned in influence, until all but the Hosso and Kegon sects are entirely extinct and these between them have less than seventy-five out of a total of between fifty and a hundred thousand Japanese Buddhist temples.

The fundamental doctrine of both the Tendai and the Kegon sects is their conception of the Bhutatathata. While the Universal Mind had been but an abstraction in San Ron, in these two systems it received systematic and devotional treatment. Starting with the principle that there was an existence which transcended but included matter and spirit, life and death, Samsara and Nirvana, they declared that the only true way of expressing this was by the word *bhutata-*

thata ("suchness of existence") or the Japanese *shinnyo hosho* ("principle of absolute truth"). It is in Mahayana the true form, the norm of existence, the acme of being, the warp and the woof of the universe.⁴ It comes near to Hegel's conception of the Absolute inasmuch as it is not the force behind evolution only, but also the very process of evolution itself. Retaining as Kegon and Tendai do the conception that existence is mental and that it is the illusory and relative manifestation of ignorance working upon the Universal Mind, thus causing the *alaya vignana*, they declare that the *Bhutatahata* is both identical and non-identical with the material universe. It is, to use a simile of *Asvaghosha*, one of the great Hindu Mahayana patriarchs who lived about the time of Christ, as if the ocean (the *Bhutatahata*) were stirred up by the wind (of ignorance) and the waves (the material worlds) were produced. "The water can be said to be identical in one sense and non-identical in another sense with the waves. The waves are stirred up by the winds but the water remains the same. When the wind ceases the motions of the waves subside but the water remains the same."⁵

Preceding systems had formulated the doctrine that every Buddha has three bodies, the *Dharmakaya* (Jap. *Hosshin*) or body of the law; the *Nirmanakaya* (*Ojin* or *Keshin*), the body of transformation; and the *Sambhogakaya* (*Hōshin*), the body of compensation. In these two sects, however, the *Bhutatahata* is regarded as a sort of Universal Buddha; accordingly it was likewise considered to be possessed of the three bodies, and consequently we have an almost Christian idea of the Trinity. The *Dharmakaya* corresponds to God the Father, consciously guiding the course of evolution, the *Nirmanakaya*, like the Christian God the Son, is the Supreme revealed in the universe for the purpose of bringing the world nearer to enlightenment, while the *Sambhogakaya* takes the place of the Holy Ghost. Every Buddha, or enlightened sage, is supposed to become one in essence with the Supreme so that his appearance on earth is equivalent to an incarnation of divinity.⁶ So, too, the conception of *anatman* (*muga*) received a different interpretation, for from simply de-

⁴ I would suggest that those who are interested in the subject should read Dr. Paul Carus's *Philosophy of Form* for a more detailed account of a similar, though not identical conception to that held by Mahayana.

⁵ *The Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana*, trans. by D. T. Suzuki.

⁶ I might mention here that, in the opinion of modern Mahayana scholars, Christ must be considered as one of the Buddhas, so that they may be said to believe in the divinity of the Christian Saviour. The only difference is that in Mahayana the divine incarnation is not confined to one individual.

claring, as in Hinayana, that there is no such thing as the soul-entity or atman, Tendai and Kegon taught that the atman does exist but that the *atman of me* is not different from the *atman of you*, nor from the essence of the Bhutatathata. Mahayana teaches us to believe, therefore, that we are all but various transformations of an infinite spirit of life which is working toward perfection manifested on earth, and that consequently I am in you and you in me and that we both are one with God.

The Shingon Sect.

The next three sects, the Shingon, the Zen, and the Nichiren, are not so much doctrinal developments as various adaptations of the foregoing philosophical foundation. They are, however, noted for several important and distinctive traits. The first and most interesting of these is the gradual transformation of Mahayana from a philosophy into a religion. This implied practically no dogmatic change, as I have said, but merely the inspiring of a devotional besides the metaphysical spirit.

This tendency was first clearly manifested in the Shingon (Skt. Mantra) or True Word sect, which was introduced into Japan by her greatest abbot, Kukai or Kobu Daishi. This celebrated priest went to China at approximately the same time as did Dengyo Daishi (in the early part of the ninth century). There the two studied the profound doctrines of Chinese Buddhism and finally returned to Japan and promulgated two new sects, the latter Tendai and the former Shingon. Shingon, while holding the same ideas about the Bhutatathata as does Tendai, prefers to give it a more personal touch and calls it by the name of Vairochana Buddha (Jap. Dai Nichi Nyorai), the Great Being of (or coming from) the Sun. The sect is by far the most mystical one in Japan and divides all the schools of Buddhism into two divisions, those teaching the exoteric and those teaching the esoteric doctrine, putting all the other sects into the former division, and itself alone into the latter.

While strictly monotheistic in the sense of acknowledging but one supreme God, Shingon has innumerable minor deities in its pantheon (most of the more important ones being personifications), and one of its chief features is its *mandalas* or pictorial symbols of various classifications of these beings, each mandala, as well as each "god," having a hidden significance of its own. The Tendai sect has much decayed in influence in recent years, but the Shingon sect still maintains a strong hold over a considerable portion of the Japanese

people, though even it is not nearly as virile as some of the more modern of the sects.

Shingon owes part of its popularity to the fact that it, first of all the sects, attempted to combine the ancient native faith of Japan (Shinto) with Buddhism. Kōbu Daishi realized that as long as there was no room in the Buddhist religion for the Shinto deities, Buddhism could have no serious hold over the lower classes of Japan, so he declared that the native deities were but incarnations of the various Buddhist Buddhas and gods. The principal other features of the sect are its three secrets (which are too metaphysical and of too little importance to require detailed explanation), and its idea of the ten stages of Buddhism—itsself, of course, being the highest.

The Zen Sect.

Shingon and Tendai belong to the medieval period of Japanese Buddhism, and for two or three centuries after their establishment these two sects continued to exercise an almost undisputed sovereignty over the Japanese religious mind. At the end of that time a great spiritual wave arose, one of its manifestations being the introduction from China in 1191 of the Zen sect by Eisai. Zen in many ways holds a unique position in the history of the world's religions, its nearest approach in the West being perhaps the Quaker sect.

Practically all the other sects of Buddhism have based their doctrines on some one or two sutras (sacred books supposed to have been spoken by Buddha) or sastras, and have given them a worship which quite equaled that of the Protestant Christians for the Bible. Zen, however, cast them all aside and said that the truth was not to be found in books, but hidden in the heart of each man, and that accordingly it could be unlocked by a proper system of meditation or contemplation (Skt. *dhyana*, Jap. *zenna*, whence the name of the sect). The most that books could do was to point out the way. Nor was dependence upon sacred writings the only subject of criticism, for Zen declared it not less injurious to waste time upon the worship of personalities and vehemently decried the idolatry which was given by some believers to the historical Buddha to the detriment of an understanding of the Universal Buddha, and the reverence given by many Zen patriarchs to Gautama is little more than that given by broad-minded members of other religions. As a matter of fact, however, this iconoclasm is found latent in the other sects inasmuch as they all teach that every one is possessed

of the Buddha nature, and that we have only to purify our minds and perfectly realize this truth to reach supreme enlightenment, but Zen was the first to carry this idea to its logical extreme.

One of the most distinctive features of Zen is its system of *koan*, or hidden words or phrases which are given to each student to elucidate, as a means of training the mind. One or two instances will suffice to give a good idea of their general nature. A monk once asked one of the Zen masters named Tung Shang (Jap. Don Zan), "Who is the Buddha?" to which the master replied, "Three pounds of flax." Again a monk asked Tsui Wei (Suibi) what was the significance of the first Zen patriarch's coming over from India to China, which is considered equivalent to asking the first principle of Buddhism. Tsui Wei answered, "Wait until no one is within ear-shot and then I will tell you." They then entered the garden, whereupon the monk said, "There is no one about here, I pray you tell me." Then Tsui Wei pointed to a bamboo, saying, "That bamboo is so high and that one rather short." A similar story is told of Mu Ping (Mokyo) who, when asked what was the first principle of Buddhism, answered, "How large that melon is."

The Nichiren Sect.

The simplicity of Zen in contradistinction to the useless hair-splitting of the earlier sects, its encouragement of manliness, self-reliance, and self-discipline, gradually gained for it the allegiance of a large majority of the noble and intellectual classes of Japan. However, a system which would be more acceptable to the populace, and be more readily understood by them was still wanting, until its place was filled by the school founded by the famous Japanese priest Nichiren whose name it bears. It is worthy of note that the Nichiren sect is the only sect known by its founder's name, but its use in this case is more than justified, for the sect is inseparably bound up with its founder's personality.

Nichiren was born in 1222, the son of a poor fisherman, and he was first a priest in several of the other denominations, until finally, becoming convinced that they were all hopelessly corrupt and degenerate, he went about establishing his own sect, preaching in the market-place and at street corners the glory of his gospel, the Sutra of the Lotus of the Good Law. Ridiculed as a fool and a fanatic, persecuted as a danger to the empire, finally escaping decapitation by a hair's breadth (his followers say by a miracle), he ever went on filled with the ecstasy of proclaiming what he considered his divine mission, until by his piety, his earnestness, and his zeal he

secured the allegiance of thousands and the respect and admiration of all Japan, and this in spite of his narrowness, his bigotry, and his lack of a properly balanced mind. To-day he has practically two million followers, all of them in Japan.

In spite of his vehement denunciation of the other sects and their teaching, Nichiren added practically nothing new to Buddhist speculation, and his chief service lay in simplifying and popularizing. Formerly, while Buddhism had been nominally the religion of the whole of the Japanese Empire, in reality it was only the intellectual classes who were its true adherents, for the common people regarded it as a vast system which one could never fully understand, and at which one could only marvel. As far as the nation as a whole was concerned, Buddhism was more of an ornament than a living faith. Nichiren, however, to a large extent changed all this. By bringing forward and emphasizing the essentials of the Buddhist faith and relegating the details to the background, he managed to let the populace know what he really wanted them to believe, and then by his eloquence persuaded them that they should do it.

The Jodo Sect.

Founded several years before the Nichiren sect, the Jodo (Skt. Sukhavati) or Pure Land school belongs, nevertheless, to a later stage of development. All the other sects taught that a man continued being reborn here on earth (though between lifetimes he would stay for a time in one of the heavens or hells) until he attained Buddhahood, or supreme and perfect enlightenment.⁷ Now it must be remembered that this Buddhahood is not in itself extinction, or a sort of heaven, nor mere freedom from life and death, nor a place of eternal and happy existence. It is nothing more or less than a state of mind, a sort of spiritual ecstasy that preserves one free from sin and doubt while at the same time going about the every-day duties of life. Manifestly, then, being but a mental condition, the place of its attainment is unlimited. In other words, it is a fundamental Buddhist doctrine that it may be gained here on

⁷ It should perhaps be noted here that one of the chief differences between Hinayana and Mahayana is that the former teaches that Buddhahood can only be gained by one or two persons in the course of many thousands of years, ordinary humanity being perforce content with *Arhatship* or ordinary freedom from birth and death, while the latter holds that the supreme goal is open to all who will but earnestly endeavor to reach it. The distinction between Arhatship and Buddhahood is primarily one between mere salvation and supreme enlightenment, but it also involves the principle of self-sacrifice, since the *Arhat* is supposed to endeavor to reach the goal for the sake of saving himself alone, while the Buddha strives to do so in order to save the world at large. According to Mahayana, all its followers are Bodhisattvas or Buddhas-to-be.

earth or in one of the numerous heavens or even hells which Buddhism declares to exist.

We know, however, that amidst the multitudinous distractions which everywhere surround us in the material world the attainment of mental freedom is difficult, and putting together the two ideas that Buddhahood may be gained anywhere, and that it is difficult to obtain it here on earth, the Jodo sect teaches its followers to seek to be reborn at death in the Pure Land (*jodo*), where, the external conditions being more favorable, the attainment of supreme enlightenment is much easier.

How is this rebirth in the Pure Land to be obtained? According to the Jodo sect, it is by means of faith (not mere belief) in, and reliance on, the Supreme, whom they usually know as Amitabha.⁸ By opening our hearts and minds to the realization of the greatness of, and our true oneness with, the Universal Buddha, we become so filled with purity and wholeheartedness that we are supposed to become worthy to enter at death into the Pure Land, which is but a step removed from Buddhahood.

Jodo teaches that there are two ways of acquiring merit and attaining Buddhahood. One is through "self-power" (*jiriki*) and the other is by means of the "other power" (*tariki*), and the school goes on to declare that men should forsake their self-striving after Nirvanā and place their entire reliance upon the other power, or in other words gain the Pure Land solely by depending upon the merits of Amitabha. This conception will, of course, appear crude and un-Buddhistic until it is remembered that Amitabha is not a petty anthropomorphic deity but the heart of the universe and the higher self of each one of us. "It is not I that work, but the Father that worketh in me." "Give up thy self if thou wouldst live," etc. In fact, have not all the great books and all the great prophets come to bring the same message?

The Jodo sect teaches, therefore, that we must surrender our love of, and reliance upon, the petty personality, the little you and

⁸ Owing to the wide variety of the names of the Supreme, Western students of Buddhism often meet with a serious misunderstanding. Notwithstanding that Amitabha, Vairochana, Bhutatathata, and Yakushi refer to only one Being or his different aspects, they have come to regard Mahayana as an inexplicable polytheism. Accordingly, it should be strongly impressed upon the mind that Northern Buddhism, while admitting the existence of innumerable minor deities, such as Buddhas and devas (angels), is explicit in its affirmation that there is in reality, behind all differences of terminology, but one norm of existence and fount of life. In the Shingon sect, Vairochana is the Dharmakaya, the glorified Sakyamuni the Nirmanakaya, and Amitabha the Sambhogakaya. In the Jodo sect, however, Amitabha alone is the Universal Buddha, of whom all other deities are but manifestations.

I, and invoke the latent strength of the real You and I, who is the Great Buddha. We can to a certain extent make progress by depending upon, and longing after, the little separate individuality, but all Buddhism teaches, and this school lays especial emphasis upon the fact that rapid progress can only be made and the ultimate goal attained by the forgetting of self in the contemplation of the Supreme Reality, which includes but transcends all ideas.

Furthermore, Buddhism teaches, as we have already noted, that every Buddha is possessed of three bodies, and since we are, according to Mahayana, all Buddhas (only that we fail to recognize the fact), we also are supposed to have the three bodies, though of course in a decidedly latent form. The possession of the three bodies in a perfected form enables one to enter Jodo (which is also a state of mind quite as much as a place), and since the practice of tariki (other power) is supposed to develop the three bodies, it accordingly results in rebirth in the Pure Land. Manifestly, however, "the practice of the presence of God," to use a Christian expression for a typically Buddhist idea, varies with each person in intensity of earnestness, so that the degree of development also varies. Accordingly, instead of having, as Christianity, one reward for the truly devout and for the mere believer, Jodo teaches that there is an ever-varying degree of reward, but with two main divisions, the *hodo* ("true land") for the earnest, and *kwedo* ("apparent land") for those whose faith is tinged with selfishness and doubt.

One very important feature of the Jodo theology which has often been overlooked by Western students of the subject, is that it teaches that even after being reborn in the Jodo, a man must come back repeatedly to earth for the sake of saving all creatures.⁹ Accordingly there is but very little real difference between the teachings of the salvation-by-works school and that by means of Pure Land, for, to quote a booklet written by S. Kuroda and given the imprimatur of practically all the existing important sects of Japan, "Though there are the two different passages of *shodomon* ('holy path') and *jodomon* ('Pure Land path'), *moksha* (literally, 'emancipation,' here equal to Buddhahood) can be obtained equally through both. . . . Those who follow the former division, though they obtain Buddhahood in this world, must still accomplish the excellent deeds and vows of Bodhisattvas (Buddhas-to-be) in the Pure Land, while the followers of the latter, though they are born

⁹ Called in Japanese the *genso yeko*.

in the Pure Land, must likewise cultivate and practise them, being reborn in the Impure Land (this world)."

The Shin Sect.

It is a matter of general supposition in the West that the teachings of the Pure Land sect are of comparatively recent origin, and that in reality they are not pure Mahayana at all. As a matter of fact, however, we may trace their history back as far as the documents of Mahayana go. We find mention made of them, for example, in the famous book called the *Mahayana Sraddhotpada Sastra* (Jap. *Daijo Kishinron*) or "the Awakening of Faith in the Mahayana," which was written by the great patriarch Asvaghosha who lived at about the time of Christ, and Suzuki argues from his quoting one of the Jodo sutras as authoritative, that these must have been written at least one or two centuries earlier. Then again, Nagarjuna, often called the second founder of Mahayana (Gautama, of course, being considered the first), to whom no less than eight of the twelve Japanese sects trace back their direct origin, explicitly brought out the doctrine of rebirth in the Pure Land through faith in Amitabha, as did also another famous patriarch, Vasubandhu, whose Pure Land sastra I am at present translating. These three men are all of Indian origin, but in China Doshaku, Donran, and Zendo stood as prominent defenders of the idea of salvation by faith, while in Japan we have first Genshin and then Genku, the founder of the Jodo sect as we know it to-day.

Genku, while holding tenaciously to the principle of salvation by faith, retained the ancient ecclesiastical discipline, and it remained for his even greater disciple, Shinran, to carry the conception to its logical extreme by abolishing the vegetarianism, celibacy, abstention, and poverty of the priests. If we are really to be saved by faith in the Supreme and not the mere personal working out of merits, what need is there, demanded Shinran, for ascetic practices?

Accordingly, the sect which Shinran established, the Shin or True sect, while differing but little in doctrine from the parent school,¹⁰ allows its priests to marry, eat meat, etc. While the ideal of the priests of the other sects is to flee from the distraction of the world in order to gain enlightenment and salvation, the aim of the

¹⁰ The chief points of difference are, first, that the Jodo sect teaches that the constant repetition of the name of the Supreme which the believers indulge in has a merit in itself, while the Shin sect teaches that it is only an outward manifestation of a lively faith; and secondly, that according to the Shin sect, entering Jodo is equal to becoming Buddha.

TABLE REPRESENTING THE TWELVE SECTS OF JAPANESE BUDDHISM.¹¹

Hinayana (<i>Shojo</i>).	Madyamayana (<i>Gondaijo</i>).
<p>1. <i>Kusha</i>, Materialism: Non-existence of atman, but existence of the things (atman or dharma), which comprise the atman. (Associated with Hosso sect.)</p>	<p>4. <i>Hosso</i>, Subjective Idealism: All existence purely mental. Absolute Nihilism: Truth an inconceivable existence beyond matter and spirit.</p>
<p>2. <i>Jojitsu</i>, Nihilism: Existence of neither thing nor matter (<i>Uinaya</i>), precepts of Buddha.</p>	<p>5. <i>San Ron</i>, Absolute Nihilism: Truth an inconceivable existence beyond matter and spirit.</p>
<p>3. <i>Ritsu</i>, Practical Morality (<i>Uinaya</i>): The moral precepts of Buddha.</p>	
Mahayana (<i>Jitsu daijo</i>).	
<p>6. <i>Kegon</i> and <i>Tendai</i>, Realistic Pantheism: Bhutatathata (the Absolute) the essence of being.</p>	<p>8. <i>Shingon</i>, Mysticism: Vairochana (Universal Buddha) the principle of all being.</p>
<p>7. <i>Tendai</i>, Realistic Pantheism: Bhutatathata (the Absolute) the essence of being.</p>	<p>9. <i>Zen</i>, Contemplation: Truth not to be found in tradition but in individual realization.</p>
	<p>10. <i>Nichiren</i>, Realistic Pantheism: Tendai system modified and popularized.</p>
Holy Path (<i>Shodomon</i>).	
	<p>11. <i>Jodo</i> and 12. <i>Shin</i>, Mysticism of exclusive adoration: Truth to be attained by the grace of Amida (Amitabha).</p>
	Pure Land Path (<i>Jodomon</i>).

¹¹ I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness in compiling this chart to Mr. J. Fujishima, author of *Le Bouddhisme Japonais*.

Shin school is to go into the world and endeavor to raise its standards ever higher. Its doctrine of the uselessness of ascetic works is not, of course, meant to lower the standard of morality, since, with Protestantism, the Shin sect holds that good works are an invariable accompaniment of devout faith, and that the greater faith the more unfailing the morality.

JESUS IN THE KORAN.

BY BERNHARD PICK.

THE Koran, the sacred book, the Bible of the Mohammedans, is unquestionably one of the great books of the world, and has left its impress upon the ages. It claims to be the product of divine inspiration by the archangel Gabriel, who performed the function assigned to the Holy Spirit in the Scriptures. In the fifty-third Sura¹ the Koran is thus described:

"The Koran is no other than a revelation revealed to him:
 One terrible in power [Gabriel, i. e., the strong one of God] taught
 it him,
 Endued with wisdom. With even balance stood he
 In the highest part of the horizon:
 Then came he nearer and approached,
 And was at the distance of two bows, or even closer,—
 And he revealed to his servant what he revealed."

Gibbon calls the Koran an "endless, incoherent rhapsody of fable and precept and declamation, which seldom excites a sentiment or idea, which sometimes crawls in the dust, and is sometimes lost in the clouds."² Carlyle calls the Koran "the confused ferment of a great rude human soul; rude, untutored, that cannot even read, but fervent, earnest, struggling vehemently to utter itself in words," and he speaks of its reading in English as "a toilsome task," adding, "Nothing but a sense of duty could carry any European through the Koran. We read it, as we might in the State-Paper Office unreadable masses of lumber, that we may get some glimpses of a remarkable man."³

Leaving aside the various estimates of the Koran as a literary production, we are concerned with the Christian elements which it

¹ Rodwell's translation, which is here followed throughout.

² *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, Chap. L.

³ "The Hero as Prophet," in *Heroes, Hero-Worship, and the Heroic in History*, London, 1840.

contains. For as Döllinger remarked, "Islam must be considered at bottom a Christian heresy, the bastard offspring of a Christian father and a Jewish mother, and is indeed more closely allied to Christianity than Manicheism, which is reckoned a Christian sect."⁴ For this reason I have here collected the *disjecta membra* in the Koran which treat of the founder of Christianity. Wherever possible reference has been made in the notes to Apocryphal literature and in the appendix will be found the Koranic notices on John the Baptist.

In fine I wish to state that the reader must not expect to find too much in the following pages, for the Christology of the Koran is a curious mixture of facts and Apocryphal fictions, of reverence for the man Jesus and denial of his divine character.

MARY.

"Remember when the wife of Imran⁵ said, 'O my Lord! I vow to Thee what is in my womb, for Thy special service.⁶ Accept it from me for Thou hearest, knowest.' And when she had given birth to it, she said, 'O my Lord! verily I have brought forth a female.'— God knew what she had brought forth; a male is not a female—'and I have named her Mary, and I commend her and her offspring to Thy protection from Satan the stoned.'

"So with goodly acceptance did her Lord accept her, and with goodly growth did he make her grow; and Zacharias reared her. So oft as Zacharias went in to Mary at the sanctuary, he found her supplied with food.⁷ 'O Mary!' said he, 'whence hast thou this?' She said, 'It is from God; verily God supplieth whom He will, without reckoning!'"

Sura III, 31, 32.

⁴ *Lectures on the Reunion of Churches* (trans. by Oxenham, 1872), p. 7.

⁵ According to the Koran and Mohammedan tradition the parents of Mary are called Imran and Hannah or Anna.

⁶ Compare what we read in the Apocryphal Gospels. Thus in the *Prot-evangelium of James* (iv): "And Anna said 'As the Lord my God liveth, if I beget either male or female, I will bring it as a gift to the Lord my God and it shall minister to Him in holy things all the days of its life.'" In the *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary* (i): "They [the parents of Mary] vowed that, should the Lord happen to give them offspring, they would deliver it to the service of the Lord."

⁷ In the *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary* (vii) we read: "For daily was she visited by angels, daily did she enjoy a divine vision which preserved her from all evil and made her to abound in all good." In the *Prot-evangelium of James* (viii) we read: "And Mary was in the temple of the Lord, as if she were a dove that dwelt there, and she received food from the hand of an angel." In the *History of the Nativity of Mary* (vi) we read: "Every day she ate only the food which the angel brought."

JESUS.

Annunciation of His Birth.

“And when the angels said, ‘O Mary! verily hath God chosen thee and purified thee, and chosen thee above the women of the world.

“‘O Mary! be devout toward thy Lord and prostrate thyself, and bow down with those who bow.’

“This is one of the announcements of things by thee unseen: To thee, O Muhammad, do we reveal it, for thou wast not with them when they cast lots with reeds,⁸ which of them should rear Mary; nor wast thou with them when they disputed together.

“When the angel said, ‘O Mary! verily God announceth to thee the Word from Him; His name shall be, Messiah, Jesus the son of Mary, illustrious in this world and in the next, and one of those who have near access to God:

“‘And he shall speak to men when in the cradle and when grown up; and he shall be of the righteous.’

“She said, ‘How, O my Lord! shall I have a son, when man hath not touched me?’ He said, ‘Thus: God createth what He will, when He hath decreed a thing then He only saith, Be, and it is.

“‘And He will teach him the Book, and the Wisdom, and the Law, and the Evangel, and he shall be an apostle to the children of Israel.’”

Sura III, 37-43a.

“And make mention in the Book, of Mary, when she went apart from her family to a place eastward,

⁸ The reference here is to an event narrated in the Apocryphal Gospels, viz., *Gospel of the Nativity of Mary* (vii, viii); *Protocangelium of James* (viii-x); *History of the Nativity of Mary* (viii); *History of Joseph the Carpenter* (iii). The gist of the matter is this. When Mary was twelve (or fourteen) years of age, the high priest commanded all the virgins that were in the Temple to return to their homes and be married. But Mary refused, for she said that she had vowed virginity to the Lord. Thus the high priest was perplexed and he had recourse to God to inquire what he should do. Then a voice from the ark (or an angel) answered him; and they gathered together all the widowers in Israel (or all the marriageable men of the house of David), and desired them to bring each his rod. Among them came Joseph and brought his rod, but he hesitated to present it, because he was an old man and had children. Therefore the other rods were presented and no sign occurred. Then it was found that Joseph had not presented his rod; and behold, as soon as he had presented it, a dove came forth from the rod and flew upon the head of Joseph (or, a dove came from heaven and alighted on the rod). So Joseph, in spite of his reluctance, was compelled to betroth himself to Mary, and he returned to Bethlehem to make preparations for his marriage (or: he betook himself to his occupation of building houses), while Mary went back to her parents' home in Galilee.

"And took a veil (to shroud herself) from them. And we sent our spirit to her, and he appeared before her like a perfect man.

"She said, 'I fly for refuge from thee to the God of Mercy, if thou fearest Him!'

"He said, 'I am only a messenger of thy Lord, that I may bestow on thee a holy son.'

"She said, 'How shall I have a son, when man hath not touched me, and I am not unchaste.'

"He said, 'So shall it be. Thy Lord hath said, Easy is this with me; and we will assuredly make him a sign to mankind, and a mercy from us. For it is a thing decreed.'" Sura XIX, 16-21.

The Birth of Jesus.

"And she conceived him, and retired with him to a far-off place.

"And the throes came upon her at the trunk of a palm. She cried, 'O would that I had died ere this, and been a thing forgotten, forgotten quite!'

"And one cried to her from below her, 'Grieve not thou, thy Lord hath provided a streamlet at thy feet;

"'And shake the trunk of the palm-tree toward thee:⁹ it will drop fresh ripe dates ready gathered upon thee.

"'Eat then and drink, and be of cheerful eye, and shouldst thou see any of mankind.

"'Then say, Verily, I have vowed a fast unto the God of Mercy; to no one therefore will I speak this day.'

"Then came she with the babe to her people, bearing him. They said, 'O Mary! assuredly now hast thou done a strange thing!

"'O sister of Aaron! Thy father was not a wicked man, nor unchaste thy mother.' And she made a sign to them, pointing toward the babe. They said: 'How shall we speak with him who is in the cradle, an infant?'

"It said, 'Verily, I am the servant of God, He hath given me the Book, and He hath made me a prophet.

"'And He hath made me blessed, wherever I may be, and hath enjoined me prayer and almsgiving, so long as I shall live;

"'And to be dutiful to her that bare me; and He hath not made me proud, depraved.

⁹ In the *History of the Nativity of Mary* (xx) we read of a like incident which took place on the third day of the flight into Egypt.

“‘And the peace of God was on me the day I was born, and will be the day I shall die, and the day I shall be raised to life.’

“This is Jesus, the son of Mary; this is a statement of the truth concerning which they doubt.

“It beseemeth not God to beget a son. Glory be to Him! When He decreeth a thing, He only saith to it, ‘Be,’ and it is.”

Sura XIX, 22-36.

“And we appointed the son of Mary, and his mother for a sign; and we prepared an abode for both in a lofty spot, secure, and watered with springs.”

Sura XXIII, 52.

Miracles of Jesus.

“[Jesus says:] ‘Now have I come to you with a sign from your Lord. Out of clay will I make for you, as it were, the figure of a bird; and I will breathe into it, and it shall become, by God’s permission, a bird.¹⁰ And I will heal the blind, and the leper; and by God’s permission will I quicken the dead,¹¹ and I will tell you what ye eat, and what ye store up in your houses! Truly in this will be a sign for you, if ye are believers.’” Sura III, 43b.

“When God shall say, ‘O Jesus! son of Mary! call to mind my favor upon thee and upon thy mother, when I strengthened thee with the Holy Spirit, that thou shouldst speak to men alike in the cradle¹² and when grown up:

“‘And when I taught thee the Scriptures and the Wisdom, and the Law, and the Evangel: and when thou didst fashion of clay, as it were, the figure of a bird, by my permission, and didst breathe into it, and by my permission it became a bird; and thou didst heal the blind and the leper, by my permission; and when, by my permission, thou didst bring forth the dead; and when I withheld the children of Israel from thee, when thou hadst come to them with clear tokens; and such of them as believed not said, This is naught but plain sorcery.¹³

¹⁰ This bird-story is narrated in the *Gospel of Thomas* (ii) and the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy* (xxxvi, xlvi).

¹¹ Instances of such quickening are found in the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy* (xliv) and the *Gospel of Thomas* (ix, x).

¹² That Jesus spoke in the cradle is also mentioned in the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy* (i).

¹³ Precisely the same expression is applied to Jesus in the *Arabic Gospel of the Infancy* (xxxvi, at the end).

“‘And when I revealed unto the Apostles, Believe on me and on my Sent One, they said, We believe, and bear thou witness that we are Muslims.’

“Remember when the Apostles said, ‘O Jesus, son of Mary! is thy Lord able to send down a furnished *table* to us out of Heaven?’ He said, ‘Fear God if ye be believers.’

“They said, ‘We desire to eat therefrom, and to have our hearts assured, and to know that thou hast indeed spoken truth to us, and to become witness thereof.’

“Jesus, son of Mary, said, ‘O God, our Lord! send down a table to us out of Heaven, that it may become a recurring festival to us, to the first of us and to the last of us, and a sign from Thee; and do Thou nourish us, for Thou art the best of nourishers.’”

“God said, ‘Verily, I will cause it to descend unto you; but whoever among you after that shall disbelieve, I will surely chastise him with a chastisement, wherewith I will not chastise any other creature.’”

Sura V, 109-115.

Activity of Jesus, His Mission and His Testimony.

“And of old sent we Noah and Abraham, and on their seed conferred the gift of prophecy, and the Book; and some of them we guided aright; but many were evil-doers.

“Then we caused our apostles to follow in their footsteps, and we caused Jesus, the son of Mary, to follow them; and we gave him the Evangel, and we put into the hearts of those who followed him kindness and compassion; but as to the monastic life, they invented it themselves. The desire only of pleasing God did we prescribe to them, and this they observed not as it ought to have been observed; but to such of them as believed gave we their reward, though many of them were evil-doers.’” Sura LVII, 26, 27.

“And in the footsteps of the prophets caused we Jesus, the son of Mary, to follow, confirming the Law which was before him; and we gave him the Evangel with its guidance and light, confirmatory of the preceding Law; a guidance and warning to those who fear God.

“And that the people of the Evangel may judge according to what God hath sent down therein. And whoso will not judge by what God hath sent down, such then are the perverse.”

Sura V, 50, 51.

¹⁴This is obviously a reference to the Eucharist.

"To Moses gave we the Book, and we caused apostles to succeed him; and to Jesus, son of Mary, gave we clear proofs of his mission and strengthened him by the Holy Spirit. So oft then as an apostle came to you with that which your souls desired not, did ye swell with pride, and treat a portion as impostors, and slay others?"
Sura II, 81.

"Some of the apostles we have endowed more highly than others: To some God hath spoken, and He hath raised others of them to the loftiest grade; and to Jesus the son of Mary we gave manifest proofs, and we strengthened him with the Holy Spirit. And if God had pleased, they who come after them would not have wrangled, after the clear proofs had reached them. But into disputes they fell; some of them believed, and some were unbelievers; yet if God had pleased, they would not have thus wrangled; but God doth what He will."
Sura II, 254.

"And remember when Jesus the son of Mary said, 'O children of Israel! of a truth I am God's apostle to you to confirm the Law which was given before me, and to announce an apostle that shall come after me, whose name shall be Ahmad.'¹⁵ But when he (Ahmad) presented himself with clear proofs of his mission, they said, 'This is manifest sorcery.'
Sura LXI, 6.

"[Jesus will say:] 'And I have come to attest the Law which was before me, and to allow you that which had been forbidden you; and I come to you with a sign from your Lord: fear God, then, and obey me; of a truth God is my Lord and your Lord: therefore worship Him. This is a right way.' And when Jesus perceived unbelief on their part, he said, 'Who will be my helpers in the cause of God?' the Apostles said, 'We will be God's helpers! We believe in God, and bear thou witness that we are Muslims.'
Sura III, 44, 45.

"O ye who believe! be helpers of God; as said Jesus the son of Mary to his Apostles, 'Who will be my helpers in the cause of

¹⁵ A reference is here no doubt to the promise of the Holy Ghost "the other Paraclete" (John xvi. 7). This promise Mohammed applied to himself by a singular confusion of *Paracletos* with *Periclytos* (i. e., heard all around, famous) or *Ahmad* (i. e., the glorified, the illustrious), one of the prophet's names. The Moslems also refer some other passages of Scripture to Mohammed and his religion. Thus in Deut. xxxiii. 2 Sinai is said to mean the Jewish, Seir the Christian, and Paran the Mohammedan revelation. In Matt. xx. 1-16, the "morning" means Judaism, the "noon" Christianity, and "even" Islam.

God?' 'We,' said the Apostles, 'will be helpers of God.' And a part of the children of Israel believed, and a part believed not. But to those who believed gave we the upper hand over their foes, and soon did they prove victorious." Sura LXI, 14.

"And when Jesus came with manifest proofs, he said, 'Now am I come to you with wisdom, and to clear up to you a part of those things about which ye are at variance; fear ye God, therefore, and obey me;

"'Verily, God is my Lord and your Lord; wherefore worship Him: this is a right way.'" Sura XLIII, 63, 64.

"They surely are infidels who say, 'God is the Messiah, son of Mary'; for the Messiah said, 'O children of Israel! I worship God, my Lord and your Lord.' Verily, those who join other gods with God, God doth exclude from Paradise, and their abode shall be the Fire; and the wicked shall have no helpers.

"They surely are infidels who say, 'God is a third of three'; for there is no God but one God;¹⁶ and if they refrain not from what they say, a grievous chastisement shall assuredly befall such of them as believe not.

"Will they not, therefore, turn unto God, and ask pardon of Him? since God is Forgiving, Merciful!

"The Messiah, son of Mary, is but an apostle; other apostles have flourished before him; and his mother was a just person; they both ate food. Behold! how we make clear to them the signs! Then behold how they turn aside!" Sura V, 76-79.

"The Messiah, Jesus, son of Mary, is only an apostle of God, and His word which He conveyed into Mary, and a spirit proceeding from Himself. Believe therefore in God and His apostles, and say not, 'Three.' Forbear—it will be better for you. God is only one God! Far be it from His glory that he should have a son."¹⁷ Sura IV, 169.

¹⁶ Comp. also the next paragraph.

¹⁷ In rude misconception or wilful perversion, Mohammed seems to have understood by the Christian doctrine the Trinity of Father, Mary, and Jesus. The designation and worship of Mary as "the mother of God" may have occasioned this strange mistake. From Epiphanius (*Haer.*, 79) we know that there was in Arabia in the fourth century a sect of fanatical women called Collyridians, who rendered divine worship to Mary.

“And when God shall say, ‘O Jesus, son of Mary, hast thou said unto mankind, Take me and my mother as two gods, beside God?’ he shall say, ‘Glory be unto Thee! It is not for me to say that which I know to be not the truth; had I said that, then verily Thou wouldst have known it. Thou knowest what is in me, but I know not what is in Thee; verily Thou knowest things unseen.

“I spake not to them aught but that which Thou didst bid me: Worship God, my Lord and your Lord; and I was a witness of their actions while I stayed among them; but since Thou hast taken me to Thyself, Thou hast Thyself watched them, and Thou art witness of all things.

“If Thou punish them, they are verily Thy servants, and if Thou forgive them, then verily art Thou the Mighty, the Wise.”
Sura V, 116-118.

The Death of Jesus.

“[The Jews said:] ‘Verily we have slain the Messiah, Jesus, the son of Mary, an apostle of God.’ Yet they slew him not, and they crucified him not, but they had only his likeness (lit., *one was made to appear to them like [Jesus]*).¹⁸ And verily they who differed about him were in doubt concerning him. No sure knowledge had they about him, but followed only an opinion, and they did not really slay him, but God took him up to Himself. And God is Mighty, Wise.

“And there shall not be one of the people of the Book, but shall believe in him before his death, and in the day of resurrection, he will be a witness against them.”
Sura IV, 156, 157.

“And the Jews plotted, and God plotted; but of those who plot is God the best.

“When God said, ‘O Jesus! verily I will cause thee to die, and will take thee up to myself and deliver thee from those who believe not; and I will place those who follow thee above those who believe not, until the day of resurrection. Then, to me is your return, and wherein ye differ will I decide between you.

¹⁸ This absurd docetic idea is supposed to be the common belief of Christians, but is no doubt derived from Apocryphal sources. The Gnostic sect of Basilides supposed Simon of Cyrene (comp. Irenæus, *Adv. Haer.*, I, 24, 4 [ed. Stieren, Leipsic, 1853, I, p. 244]; Epiphanius, *Haer.*, 24, 3); the *Gospel of Barnabas* supposes that it was Judas the Betrayer; according to Leucius Charinus it was some unknown person who was crucified instead of Jesus (Photius, *Bibliotheca*, ed. Bekker, Berlin, 1824, I, p. 90); Mani (*Epist. Fund. ap. Evodium*) says that the Prince of Darkness was nailed to the cross, and wore the crown of thorns.

“And as to those who believe not, I will chastise them with a terrible chastisement in this world and in the next; and none shall they have to help them.’

“But as to those who believe, and do the things that are right, He will pay them their recompense. God loveth not the doers of evil.”

Sura III, 47-50.

The Koran knows neither a Resurrection nor an Ascension of Jesus.

APPENDIX.

John the Baptist.

“There did Zacharias call upon his Lord, ‘O my Lord!’ said he, ‘vouchsafe me from Thyself good descendants, for Thou art the hearer of prayer.’ Then did the angels call to him, as he stood praying in the sanctuary:¹⁹

“‘God announceth John (Yahia) to thee, who shall be a verifier of the Word from God, and a great one, chaste, and a prophet of the number of the just.’

“He said, ‘O my Lord! how shall I have a son, now that old age hath come upon me, and my wife is barren?’ He said, ‘Thus will God do His pleasure.’

“He said, ‘O Lord! give me a token.’ He said, ‘Thy token is that not for three days shalt thou speak to man but by signs; but remember thy Lord often, and praise him at even and at noon.’”

Sura III, 33-36.

“A recital of thy Lord’s mercy to His servant Zachariah;

“When he called upon his Lord with secret calling,

“He said, ‘O Lord, verily my bones are weakened, and the hoar hairs glisten on my head,

“‘And never, Lord, have I prayed to Thee with ill success.

“‘But now I have fears for my kindred after me; and my wife is barren.

“‘Give me, then, a successor as Thy special gift, who shall be my heir and an heir of the family of Jacob; and make him, Lord, well pleasing to Thee!’

“‘O Zachariah! verily we announce to thee a son, his name John;

“‘That name we have given to none before him.’²⁰

¹⁹ Comp. Luke i. 21.

²⁰ Comp. Luke i. 61.

"He said, 'O my Lord! how when my wife is barren shall I have a son, and when I have now reached old age, failing in my powers?'

"He said, 'So shall it be. Thy Lord hath said, Easy is this to me, for I created thee aforetime when thou wast nothing.'

"He said, 'Vouchsafe me, O my Lord! a sign.' He said, 'Thy sign shall be that for three nights, though sound in health, thou speakest not to man.'

"And he came forth from the sanctuary to his people, and made signs to them, as though he would say, 'Praise God at morn and even.'

"We said, 'O John! receive the Book with purpose of heart,' and we bestowed on him wisdom while yet a child;

"And mercifulness from ourself and purity; and pious was he, and duteous to his parents, and not proud, rebellious.

"And peace was on him the day he was born, and the day of his death, and shall be on the day when he shall be raised to life!"

Sura XIX, 1-15.

"And Zacharias, when he called upon his Lord saying, 'O my Lord, leave me not childless: but there is no better heir than Thyself';

"So we heard him, and gave him John, and we made his wife fit for child-bearing. Verily these vied in goodness, and called upon us with love and fear, and humbled themselves before us."

Sura XXI, 89, 90.

"And Zachariah, John, Jesus, and Elias, all were just persons."

Sura VI, 85.

MISCELLANEOUS.

AN EIGHTH-CENTURY ANGLIAN ACCOUNT OF PURGATORY AND HELL.

BY A. G. WITTING.

In connection with Roy Temple House's "Notes on the Medieval Conception of Purgatory" in the November issue of *The Open Court* it might be of interest to recall an early English description of Hell, Purgatory, and Paradise, a prototype to Dante's *Comedia*. It is found in Book V, Chapter XII, of *Historia Ecclesiastica* by Beda Venerabilis, written 731 A. D.

A Northumbrian, Drithelm, "died in the beginning of the night; but in the morning early he suddenly came to life again." During the night he was con-

ducted on a truly wonderful journey by a man with "a shining countenance and a bright garment." They walked silently toward the northeast. "Walking on, we came to a vale of great breadth and depth, but of infinite length; on the left it appeared full of dreadful flames, the other side was no less horrid for violent hail and cold snow flying in all directions; both places were full of men's souls, which seemed by turns to be tossed from one side to the other, as it were by a violent storm; for when the wretches could no longer endure the excess of heat, they leaped into the middle of the cutting cold; and finding no rest there they leaped back again into the middle of the unquenchable flames. Now whereas an innumerable multitude of deformed spirits were thus alternately tormented far and near, as far as could be seen, without intermission, I began to think that this perhaps might be Hell, of whose intolerable flames I had often heard talk. My guide, who went before me, answered to my thought, saying, 'Do not believe so, for this is not the Hell you imagine.'"

Here follows now a picture of the mouth of Hell, of which more anon. Drithelm is then led by his guide in another direction and finds himself suddenly on the top of a wall "the length and height of which, in every direction, seemed to be altogether boundless. . . . Within it (the wall) was a vast and delightful field, so full of fragrant flowers that the odor of its delightful sweetness immediately dispelled the stink of the dark furnace, which had pierced me through and through. So great was the light in this place, that it seemed to exceed the brightness of the day, or the sun in its meridian height. In the field were innumerable assemblies of men in white and many companies seated together rejoicing. As he led me through the midst of these happy inhabitants, I began to think that this might, perhaps, be the Kingdom of Heaven, of which I had often heard so much. He answered to my thought, saying, 'This is not the Kingdom of Heaven, as you imagine.'"

Drithelm was permitted a fleeting glance of the light of Paradise, but was immediately led back by his guide.

"When we returned to those joyful mansions of the souls in white, he said to me, 'Do you know what all these things are which you have seen?' I answered I did not; and then he replied, 'That vale you saw so dreadful for consuming flames and cutting cold, is the place in which the souls of those are tried and punished, who, delaying to confess and amend their crimes, at length have recourse to repentance at the point of death, and so depart this life; but nevertheless because they, even at their death, confessed and repented, they shall all be received into the Kingdom of Heaven at the day of judgment; but many are relieved before the day of judgment by the prayers, alms, and fasting of the living, and more especially by masses. . . . This flowery place, in which you see these most beautiful young people, so bright and merry, is that into which the souls of those are received who depart the body in good works, but who are not so perfect as to deserve to be immediately admitted into the Kingdom of Heaven; yet they shall all, at the day of judgment, see Christ and partake of the joys of His Kingdom; for whoever are perfect in thought, word, and deed, as soon as they depart the body, immediately enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.'"

We have here a beautifully artistic treatment of the dogma of Purgatory dating as far back as to the beginning of the eighth century. It is moreover interesting to note the dualism of Greek philosophy and reminiscences of the old Germanic myths, adopting the Elysian Fields as a waiting-place for

the not quite perfect and the "vale" between Muspelheim and Nifheim for the not altogether bad.

The Venerable Bede's description of Hell will also be of interest as a supplement to Dr. Pick's article on "The Punishments in the Other World," as it appears to have inspired Milton to the verses quoted by Dr. Pick.

"When he had conducted me, much frightened with that horrid spectacle, by degrees to the farther end, on a sudden I saw the place begin to grow dusk and filled with darkness. When I came into it, the darkness, by degrees, grew so thick that I could see nothing besides it and the shape and garment of him that led me. As we went on through the shades of night, on a sudden there appeared before us frequent globes of *black flames*, rising as it were out of a great pit and falling back again into the same. When I had been conducted hither, my leader suddenly vanished and left me alone in the midst of darkness and this horrid vision, while those same globes of fire, without intermission, at one time flew up and at another fell back into the bottom of the abyss; and I observed that all the flames, as they ascended, were full of human souls which like sparks flying up with smoke were sometimes thrown on high, and again, when the vapor of the fire ceased, dropped down into the depth below. Moreover, an insufferable stench came forth with the vapors, and filled all those dark places.

"Having stood there a long time in much dread, not knowing what to do, which way to turn, or what end I might expect, on a sudden I heard behind me the noise of a most hideous and wretched lamentation, and at the same time a loud laughing, as of a rude multitude insulting captured enemies. When that noise, growing plainer, came up to me, I observed a gang of evil spirits dragging the howling and lamenting souls of men into the midst of the darkness, while they themselves laughed and rejoiced. Among those men, as I could discern, there was one shorn like a clergyman, a layman, and a woman. The evil spirits that dragged them went down into the midst of the burning pit; and as they went down deeper, I could no longer distinguish between the lamentation of the men and the laughing of the devils, yet I still had a confused sound in my ears. In the meantime some of the dark spirits ascended from that flaming abyss, and running forward, beset me on all sides, and much perplexed me with their glaring eyes and the stinking fire which proceeded from their mouths and nostrils...."

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE COMPLETE WORKS OF PLOTINUS. Translated by *Kenneth Sylvan Guthrie*. Together with the Lives of Plotinos, Commentary by Porphyry, and Illustrations by Jamblichus and Ammonius. With Studies in Sources, Development, and Influence. Concordance of 60 pages to Subjects, Thoughts, and Words. 4 vols. 1400 pages, cloth-bound, \$12 net. Comparative Literature Press, Alpine, N. J.

Emerson, Swedenborg, St. Augustine, and many other mystics were fond of quoting stray thoughts of Plotinos, as the fount of the wisdom-religion that has come down the ages. But up to the present time this great mine of practical religious and philosophical thought has been inaccessible. Translations, of course, there were; but the French, that of Bouillet, was scarce at \$50; the German, at \$20, was as difficult to understand as the original, if not more so.

The scattered booklets translated by Thomas Taylor were of no more than dilettante value, useless to a systematic student, and at that, unreliable in rendering. This complete translation into modern English cannot therefore fail to be of inestimable value to all constructive thinkers, and students of religious and philosophical progress.

But this is not merely a translation; it has altered the status of Plotinos in the history of philosophy. Up to the present time it has been customary to call Ammonius Sakkas the Father of Neo-Platonism; and that on a mere tradition, whereas there remained, of Ammonius Sakkas, only a few trifling fragments, ascribed to him jointly with some other writer. This statement continued to pass as truth for another reason, namely that his disciple's works, those of Plotinos, were in such a confusion that almost anything could be read into them. For instance, they have been used by Augustine and others as a mine of practical mysticism, while the German Drews used them as supports for Hartmann's Philosophy of the Unconscious.

In order to clear up the situation, two things were necessary. The first is a translation that would make the sources as a whole accessible. The length and the difficulty of the undertaking had deterred the most laborious. First as to the length, it would have proved a deterrent, except that the life-problems of a student who in his youth had attempted to throw together an outline of the philosophy of Plotinos compelled him to undergo the ordeal. As to the difficulty, his translation does not pretend to solve insoluble problems; problems which must have been present to the author; for had he analyzed his thought more clearly, he would have probably stated it unmistakably. All that the present translation pretends to do is to present in clear English the thought of the translator, as a provisional means of approaching linguistic difficulties to which centuries of research are welcome; with the advantage that doubtful passages have been interpreted in the light of parallel statements, and in harmony with the philosophical sources of the text.

But mere translation made the reigning confusion still more striking. It reminded very much of the Pentateuch in the Bible. Criticism has there unraveled the tangle, by demonstrating that some editor mixed sources in themselves coherent, in obedience to some prearranged purpose. Was there such a purpose in the mind of Plotinos's editor, Porphyry? The latter, in his Preface, explains it in detail. It was, in those days, fashionable (not even the works of Plato had entirely escaped this process) to group an author's works by subject, or length—in this case into six "enmeads" of nine books each, with a fine disregard of the chronology of their origin. Porphyry claimed to have made this arrangement in order to group the works by subject; but such an idea was illusory, in view of the desultory nature of Plotinos's thought in many individual essays; and the result was such a confusion that the very first essay is practically the last one written by Plotinos.

Under such circumstances, it was no wonder that readers of Plotinos found it difficult to discover consistency, inasmuch as it is the natural course of life for thinkers to grow in power, and even fail in later years, as happened to Schlegel, to Plato, and others. Indeed, Porphyry explicitly records that of Plotinos. It was therefore necessary to unravel this tangle by both doing the work of translation, and by printing the works in their chronological order. The result was as illuminating as with the Pentateuch. It was discovered that the earlier period was Numenian, or Gnostic-Platonic, the second Por-

phyrian, or Stoic, while in later years Plotinos returned to his earlier views. The latter indeed may not be the case, if in his later years he was merely giving out early incomplete works, to put his writings together.

It will of course be asked, How could so great a thinker as Plotinos prove as changeable in his views? The answer is interesting. Plotinos was absorbed in thinking, and left writing to his secretaries; writing must to him have been laborious, especially in later years when his eye-sight was low, for neither his speech nor writing was scholarly; Porphyry mentions specific vulgarisms. He had as first secretary Amelius, the legatee of the works of Numenius, who knew them all by heart. Is it any wonder, then, that in the writings of the Amelian period a number of Numenian expressions can be demonstrated? In the second or Porphyrian period, we find the most systematic treatises, Stoic in character. When Porphyry wished to commit suicide and was persuaded as alternative to sojourn in Sicily, Plotinos was thrown back on his earlier thought; and therefore it is no wonder that he returns to Platonic opinions. Thus Plotinos's views become consistent, in each period; and therefore we will in the future, as we do with Plato, not speak of Plotinos's views, but of views of Plotinos in his first, second, and third periods.

Interesting as this rescuing of Plotinos's progress of views is, it would be no more than interesting were it not for the light that it sheds on the origin of the philosophy of Christianity. In Plotinos we find a number of Nicene formulations a century before that council; and so more than ever do we realize that just as Plato summated early Greek philosophy, so Plotinos fused the thought of Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics, and put this Greek heritage in a shape in which it could be used practically by a young religion as explanation of many of its mysteries.

There is still another living issue in our study of Plotinos—What is the independent value of the mystic ecstasy, the authority for which has always more or less involved Plotinos? Numenius had drunk deep at the Oriental Hermetic sources, and through Amelius this doctrine must have been found convenient to explain the epileptic attacks to which we are told Plotinos was subject. But to demonstrate a physical basis for mystic experiences does not deny the latter, nor invalidate them; but it does supply a cautious basis for more careful criticism of these experiences.

Plotinos summates Greek thought; he is the sunset of the ancient world-conception, and the dawn of the new; and this latter can never be justly evaluated without a knowledge of its source, Plotinos.

KOREAN BUDDHISM, History—Condition—Art. Three Lectures. By *Frederick Starr*. Boston: Marshall Jones Company, 1918. Pp. xix, 104. Price, cloth, \$2.00 net.

We welcome this little volume as the first breach made in the wall of neglect and ignorance which, in Europe and America, is still surrounding Korean Buddhism. As late as 1910, Hackmann, who devoted thirteen pages to the subject in his book *Buddhism as a Religion*, had to content himself in his Bibliography with a single item referring to it, *The Korea Review*, a monthly published in Seoul from 1901 to 1906.

It is plain that, in regard to Korean Buddhism perhaps more than any other religion, it is imperative to have been on the spot, and to have seen with

one's own eyes in order to say anything worth while about it, especially on account of the new life that at last seems to be awakening in it. Professor Starr had this advantage and he made the most of it, his itinerary including trips to the most inaccessible monasteries in the mountains where Korean Buddhism has made its home practically ever since the persecution in the late Middle Ages. In fact, Dr. Starr's whole enterprise might best be termed a prospecting tour—he does not bring home the precious metal, but he tells us where and how to get it.

Of course he has to point to the enormous materials stored in the native sources, voluminous works in Chinese and Korean dealing with Korean history, the records of the monasteries—few of them printed—and innumerable inscriptions. Naturally, all this is best accessible to Orientals trained, more or less, in the scholarship of the West. That their efforts are not lagging is shown by the example of Mr. Yi Nung Hwa, who, we are informed, has prepared a history of Korean Buddhism covering the entire field. This does not mean that it will actually be published, for, in the words of the book before us (p. 38), "everything that is printed in Korea must pass under the eye of the Japanese government, and can be printed only with its permission. It makes no difference whether the material is secular or religious, social, economic, literary or political. At the time when we were speaking about his book it had been sent in to the government for examination." The chances it has of passing the censorship may perhaps be best measured in the light of another quotation (pp. 64f), incidentally furnishing quite an interesting commentary on the binding force of universal religions:

"Korean Buddhism has, perhaps, a political part to play. When the Japanese took over Korea, Buddhists came into the country in great numbers. Japanese priests and temples came with these settlers. These priests and temples are in the cities and larger towns. They do not, however, fit with the Koreans. There might be thousands of them and they would still not make Korean converts—not because the Japanese are not ready to do mission work, but because the Koreans are not ready to accept it. The Korean Buddhism of to-day is actually Korean, not Japanese.

"I can imagine nothing that would be more dangerous to Japanese control than a strong and vital Korean Buddhism that was hostile to Japan. On the other hand, I can think of nothing that would be a greater help to Japan than a Korean Buddhism developed among those people by their own priests and friendly to Japan. What Korean Buddhism is to be in the future depends upon its relation to the government now there. If Korean Buddhism accepts and cooperates with the Japanese control, it will become the mightiest factor that can be devised to make Japan's hold on the peninsula secure. If hostile to Japan, when the crisis comes, as it surely will come, when Japan will be tried out again and once for all on Korean soil, Korean Buddhism may be the decisive element in that moment of test."

The book throughout makes refreshing and stimulating reading, giving neither a dry traveler's log nor an erudite, systematic, final interpretation of the facts presented. Explanations are most amiably given wherever "the general reader" may need them. Finally we mention the plates, thirty-seven in number, which illuminate the text, of prime importance of course in the last of the three chapters, on Korean Buddhist art.

THE Open Court Publishing Company
announce with profound sorrow the
death, following a prolonged illness, of

DR. PAUL CARUS,

Editor of *The Open Court* and *The Monist*,
at La Salle, Illinois, on Tuesday, February
the eleventh, nineteen hundred and nineteen.

A memoir of the lifework of Dr. Carus
and of the long and faithful service which
he rendered our country and humanity in
general will be found in a subsequent num-
ber of this journal.

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. XXXIII (No. 3)

MARCH, 1919

NO. 754

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DEATH.

O DEATH, in thee we reach life's consummation;
In thee we shall find peace; in thee our woes,
Anxieties and struggles will be past.
Thou art our best, our truest friend! Thou holdest
The anodyne that cureth every ill.

Thou lookest stern, O Death; the living fear thee;
Thy grim, cold countenance inspireth awe,
And creatures shrink from thee as their worst foe.
They know thee not, for they believe that thou
Takest delight in agony and horror,
Disease and pain. The host of all these ills
Precedes thee often, but thou brook'st them not.
'Tis life that is replete with suffering,
Not thou, O refuge of the unfortunate,
For thou com'st as surcease of pain; thou grantest
Release from torture, and thy sweetest boon
Is peace eternal. So I call thee friend
And will proclaim thy gift as greatest blessing.

Death is the twin of birth; he blotteth out
The past but to provide for life's renewal.
All life on earth is one continuous flow
Which death and birth cut up in single lives
Of individual existences
So as to keep life ever new and fresh.

Oblivious of the day that moulded us,
We enter life with virgin expectations;
Traditions of parental past are we,
Handing the gain of our expanding souls

Down so succeeding ages which we build,
 The lives of predecessors live in us
 And we continue in the race to come.
 Thus in the Eleusinian Mysteries
 A burning torch was passed from hand to hand,
 And every hand was needed in the chain
 To keep the holy flame aglow—the symbol
 Of spirit-life, of higher aspirations.

'Tis not desirable to eke out life
 Into eternity, world without end.
 Far better 'tis to live in fresh renewals,
 Far better to remain within time's limits.
 Our fate 'tis to be born, to grow, to learn,
 To tread life's stage; and when our time has come
 There is no choice but to depart resigned.
 Again and evermore again, life starteth
 In each new birth a fresh new consciousness
 With larger tasks, new quickened interests,
 And with life's worn-out problems all renewed.
 But we must work the work while it is day,
 For thou, O Death, wilt hush life's turbulence
 And then the night will come to stay our work.

When we have tasted of the zests of life,
 Breathed in the bracing air of comprehension,
 Enjoyed the pleasures of accomplishment,
 When we have felt the glow of happiness,
 The thrill of love, of friendship, of endeavor,
 When we have borne the heat of day and sweated
 Under the burden of our tasks, we shall,
 Wearied of life's long drudgery, be glad
 To sink into the arms of sleep, to rest
 From all our labors, while our work lives on.
 As at the end of day we greet the night,
 So we shall tire of duties, pains and joys
 And gladly quaff the draught of Lethe's cup.

Wilt thou be kind to me, O Death, then spare me
 The time to do my duties, to complete
 My lifework ere I die. Let me accomplish
 The most important tasks that lie before me,
 So when I die I have not lived in vain.

But has my purpose grown beyond myself,
I shall be satisfied and welcome thee.

Kinder thou art than thou appearest, Death!
Peace-bringer, healer of life's malady,
Thou lullest us into unconsciousness.
Thine eye, well do I know it, solves the transient
Into mere dust; but thou discriminatetest,
Thou provest all, O just and unbribed judge,
Appli'st the touchstone of eternal worth
And so preservest the enduring gold.
Thou settest free the slave, soothest all anguish,
Grantest an amnesty for trespasses,
Abolishest responsibilities,
Ordainest the cessation of the ills
That harass life. Withal thou simply closest
A chapter in time's fascinating book,
There to remain as we have written it,
And so thou dost no harm. Happy is he
Who neither feareth nor inviteth thee.

I honor thee, great sanctifier Death,
Lord of the realm of no return—High Priest
Of the unchangeable, thou consecratest
Our souls when gathering them unto their fathers
In their eternal home; I honor thee,
Yet will not seek thee! I am here to live
And so will bide until the summons come
To enter on my Sabbath eve of life.
But neither shall I shrink from thee, for truly
I see no cause why I should face thee not.
Thou dost not doom me to annihilation,
Thou wipest out my trace of life as little
As any deed can ever be annulled.
Indeed, thou comest to immortalize,
To finish, to complete, to consummate,
To sanctify what I have been and done.
Therefore, I shall be ready at thy call
And deem the common destiny of all
Meet for myself, so when thou beckonest,
Friend Death, grant me thy sweet enduring rest.

PAUL CARUS.

ANDREW DICKSON WHITE AS I KNEW HIM.

BY EDWARD T. HEYN.

SHORTLY before the cessation of hostilities in the world war. came the death of Andrew Dickson White. It was not granted him to see the end of the contest with its promise of universal peace, a cause which he so brilliantly and assiduously advocated. His lofty but well tempered idealism and his profound scholarship commanded the greatest respect at home and abroad. A zealous guardian of his country's rights, he performed his difficult task as Minister, and subsequently as Ambassador, to the German Empire with admirable success, and with dignity worthy of emulation.

It was in Berlin in 1901 that the writer, entering upon his work as Correspondent of the *Chicago Record*, was first privileged to make the acquaintance of Dr. White. A warm letter of introduction by Charles Kendall Adams, the President of my Alma Mater, the University of Wisconsin, undoubtedly contributed greatly to the special kindness and courtesy with which I was received, for Dr. Adams was an intimate friend of the American Ambassador, and at one time closely allied with him in his historical studies. After Dr. White's resignation, Adams became his successor as President of Cornell University. The high regard in which Dr. White held President Adams can be seen from the following letter which he wrote me from Bad Homburg, August 13, 1902, when I informed him of the death of the former President of the University of Wisconsin.

"The news of President Adams's death is a grief to me. My friendship with him began in 1857, when, on arriving as a young professor at the University of Michigan, I found him in my lecture room. He was one of my two best students in historical and kindred subjects. He at that time became greatly interested in history, and showed not merely a tenacious memory, but a power of thinking and judging on historical men and questions that interested me in him.

"On my taking a year's leave of absence from that university in 1863, I selected him to carry on my classes as an instructor, and on my departure to take the presidency of Cornell, he succeeded me in the professorship. His work was admirable from the first;

his published articles in the *North American Review* and elsewhere, gained the highest approval, and were translated abroad.

"After some time, when the circumstances of Cornell University allowed me to do so, I called him, during several successive years, to give a course of historical lectures to the senior class, and they were greatly admired.

"When, on my resignation at Cornell, after twenty years of service, the Trustees requested me to nominate my own successor, I named him, and he was elected with virtual unanimity.

"His career at Cornell, in all its most important elements, was a thorough success. He had a most remarkable gift of choosing members of the faculty. Every professor whom he nominated turned out to be of the very best. He had also admirable judgment in regard to matters of administration. Of his resignation from his Cornell presidency, it is too early to speak; but it is only justice to him to say that both the circumstances which led to it and his whole course in regard to it were to his credit. Feeling this deeply, I recommended him to a committee of the Regents of your State University, who called him, and his career there you know better than I can. All that I can say is that my observation at my short visit to Madison during his presidency showed that he was doing noble work there for the State and, indeed, for the Nation. He, like myself, was a warm believer in the mission of the great state universities of the West. He believed, as I did and as James Bryce, in his remarkable book on America, has stated, that they are among the greatest, most valuable, and most promising of American creations. That being the case, he threw himself heartily into the work, and the great institutions at Ann Arbor, Ithaca, and Madison have every reason to be grateful to him and to express their gratitude by proper memorials to him. Cornell has already done so, the Trustees having secured a fine portrait of him and hung it in the great reading-room of the University's Library.

"I regret that I must simply send you this hastily dictated letter; but I hope that some other person, who has more leisure, will do better justice to him."

I may say that during the time that Dr. White was American Ambassador in Berlin I saw a good deal of him and I learned to admire him not only for his great knowledge and splendid grasp of all matters relating to the diplomatic service, but also for his fine qualities as a gentleman, his freedom from all narrow prejudices, and his unflinching kindness. And upon coming into closer relations with many leading men of affairs connected with the German

government, the universities, and German industry, I soon realized how highly the genial American Ambassador was regarded in all these circles.

The key-note of Dr. White's success in his diplomatic career was admirably expressed by John Hay when he wrote of the Ambassador upon the occasion of the latter's retirement from the diplomatic service: "He has the singular felicity of having been always a fighting man, and having gone through life without a wound. While firm in the advocacy of any cause which he espoused, his methods in bringing his opponents to his point of view were always conciliatory and marked by consummate tact."

Dr. White, while Minister at Berlin in 1879-1881, had won the friendship of Baron von Bülow, then Prussian Minister of Foreign Affairs, and when he returned to Berlin in 1897 as American Ambassador, a similar friendship sprang up between him and Prince Bernhard von Bülow, the German Secretary of Foreign Affairs, who later (1900) became Imperial Chancellor. Of the Von Bülows, Dr. White in his autobiography writes:

"Father and son were amazingly like each other, not only in personal manner, but in their mode of dealing with public affairs. With the multitude of trying questions which pressed upon me as ambassador during six years, it hardly seemed possible that I should be still alive were it not for the genial, hearty intercourse, at the Foreign Office and elsewhere, with Count von Bülow. Sundry German papers indeed attacked him as yielding too much to me, and sundry American papers attacked me for yielding too much to him; both of us exerted ourselves to do the best possible each for his own country, and at the same time to preserve peace and increase good feeling. Occasionally during my walks in the Tiergarten I met him on his way to parliament, and no matter how pressing public business might be, he found time to extend his walk and prolong our discussions."

Dr. White placed great value on these informal discussions. When the policy of our Government in favor of the open door in China assumed a definite shape, Dr. White handed me the following memorandum:

"The Imperial Chancellor and the American Ambassador were observed, day before yesterday, taking a walk together in the Tiergarten, and, to all appearance, chatting happily in apparent continuance of the old friendship which existed between Count von Bülow's father and Mr. White when the latter was Minister here twenty years ago. Those who know that, during the past week,

the Ambassador has presented to the Foreign Office a new and more definite memorandum from his government against land-grabbing in China, may see in this some confirmation of the general opinion here that Germany inclines to take a friendly attitude toward the American view."

It was from Prince Herbert Bismarck, son of the Iron Chancellor, that the present writer learned how highly Dr. White had been regarded by his father. Prince Herbert Bismarck stated to me that not since the days of Motley had there been an American held in such high esteem by the man of blood and iron, as had Dr. White. At a later date, when the Ambassador had published an article on Bismarck (I think in the *Century Magazine*), a somewhat bitter controversy arose in one of the Hamburg papers, in the course of which, some of Dr. White's statements with regard to his relations to Bismarck were challenged. I took occasion to send him the original text of the article in the Hamburg paper to Italy where he then was, and received the following reply from him:

"Arriving in Alassio, I find your kind letter of November 13th, [1903,] and for the first time see the original text of the article in the *Hamburger Nachrichten*.

"I, of course, do not wish to enter into a question of veracity with one who writes in the spirit shown in this article, but I may say to you, personally, that, apart possibly from the one trifling detail, every statement made in my Bismarck article is exact in every particular.

"The only possibility of mistake is as to the exact date of my first sight of Bismarck. My article was written at Berlin, my diaries being in America, where they are now, and there is a bare possibility that my memory may have deceived me as to the date, though I still think that it must have been in 1868.

"It is also barely possible that upon seeing Bismarck and his family at that time in south middle Germany, I may have jumped hastily to the conclusion that they were coming from Kissingen. But apart from those two unimportant details every other statement is exactly and literally conformed to the truth.

"I beg you as a friend not to bring me into any controversy on the matter; I have no time nor taste for it. When the articles are gathered in book form, I shall have given them careful revision, and should I find any mistake anywhere it shall be rectified."

Mr. White's Bismarck letter also brings to mind the very interesting conversation I had with the Ambassador after I had shown

him a very illuminating letter which I had received from the great historian of ancient Rome, Theodor Mommsen. It may still be recalled that during the Spanish-American War, Mommsen, although previously always most friendly to the United States, revealed an antagonism to our country not unlike that shown in the great war just over, by certain prominent German professors. Mr. White, after reading Mommsen's letter then told me with much satisfaction, how during the Spanish-American War he had induced Mommsen not to publish a highly sensational article in an English magazine, in which the historian charged that the United States had become "a robber power, a piratical power, and that by pouring her incomparable resources into military designs she might menace the world's quiet, and might like Rome carry forays into every continent."

I may say that I was not in Berlin during the Spanish-American War, but in 1902, when Cuba became free and independent, I wrote Mommsen as follows: "The enclosed clipping will show you that the sceptical predictions of the German press that the United States would not grant independence to Cuba has been proved false by the establishment of the Cuban Republic." Mommsen's letter in reply, to which I have already referred, written in excellent English, contained the following:

"Do you know what the Germans call a *Hans in allen Ecken*? I should certainly get in this not very flattering predicament if I dared to sit in judgment between the United States and Cuba. Still I do not hesitate to give my private opinion. The actual American imperialism, utilizing the lesson of the South-African War, allows to Cuba full self-government, reserving political supremacy to America. This certainly will be the substance of the paramount treaty between Cuba and the United States. This final decision may be very wise, and on the whole, the new form of the Monroe Doctrine will raise, I should think, no opposition in Germany, but I cannot find it so extraordinarily generous as you seem to think."

I recall that Mr. White, while Ambassador in Berlin, gave a dinner in honor of his friend the late Frederick W. Holls of New York, who with him had been one of the American delegates to the International Peace Conference at the Hague in 1899. A reference to Dr. Holls in this article has a certain interest at the present time, for Mr. White can be quoted as authority for the statement that while both Chancellor von Hohenlohe and his Foreign Secretary, then Count von Bülow, had assured Mr. Holls while on a visit to Berlin, that Germany at the Hague conference would support the

suggestion of the United States for arbitration treaties, it was the Kaiser who finally prevented the acceptance of the far-reaching plan, which might possibly have prevented the world war.

The saddest day for the American colony in Berlin came in 1902 when it was informed that Dr. White would retire from his ambassadorial post on his seventieth birthday. Americans then living in the German capital felt that soon they would lose their best friend, and this sentiment was well expressed by the late Senator John L. Mitchell of Wisconsin when he wrote me in 1903: "Mr. White must be greatly missed by Americans in Berlin. . . ., so gentle, kind, and helpful in every way." The friendly interest of Americans in Mr. White was admirably expressed by President Roosevelt when he wrote Mr. White on his seventieth birthday: "The best is yet to be and certainly, if world-fame, troops of friends, a consciousness of well-spent years, and a great career filled with righteous achievement are constituents of happiness, you have everything the heart could wish."

Many former American university and musical students can still testify to the personal interest which Mr. White took in them while they were in Berlin. Indeed he always said that he considered it a pleasure and honor to render them service. Especially American women students were greatly indebted to him, for it was chiefly through Mr. White's efforts that the doors of the Berlin and other German universities were finally opened to American womanhood.

Mr. White was formerly a great admirer of the German universities and especially of the Berlin University, and it was therefore of special interest to me that he wrote in a letter which was read at the Alumni dinner of Cornell students in New York, November 29, 1916: "Stronger and stronger becomes my belief that the American universities are now to take the lead in the advanced education of the world, and that the American people will recognize this fact, and stand back of these institutions in the epoch-making days now at hand."

After his retirement from his post, in several messages Mr. White gave me further proofs of his interest and good will, and I recall with pleasure his interesting letter in 1909, when I served the American Government in an official capacity in Bohemia. On a visit to Prague, after I had written Dr. White of this intensely interesting city, he answered that he would have been much pleased to again have visited the "Hradschin," the castle where the Bohemian kings once lived, and especially the "Landstube," that part of the old "Burg" where the famous "defenestration" took place.

when the two imperial Austrian commissioners Martinitz and Slavata, by an angry crowd were thrown from a high window and had a very narrow escape from death. The aforesaid reference made by Dr. White to an incident in Bohemian history, which, ushering in the Thirty Years' War, led to the destruction of Bohemian independence, is of particular interest just now when Prague is again the center of attention through the establishment of the Czechoslovak Republic.

In 1910 when I went to Catania, Sicily, and while on a beautiful Thanksgiving day I sojourned in Syracuse, I was reminded of the introduction which Von Moltke gave to Dr. White when he presented him to the German Empress: "Mr. White was born in Homer, he lived in Syracuse, and he was once President in Ithaca." In the last named American city is Cornell University, and this famous institution, and a fine statue of Dr. White now standing before Goldwin Smith Hall, dedicated in his presence in 1915, are embodiments of his work and of his personal appearance. In his autobiography Dr. White states, that not in a boastful spirit, but reverently he had recorded his achievements in the line of education, literature, science, politics, and diplomacy, and that he had sought to fight the good fight and keep the faith. What some of these achievements were while Dr. White was American Ambassador in Berlin, I have in a small way attempted to tell in this article.

BOLSHEVISM AND THE LAWS OF PROPERTY.

BY HOMER HOYT.

THE Russian revolution was a lesson in the anatomy of nations. The slender nerve filaments that control the huge corporate bodies of material wealth and the institutions of Church and State were laid open before the eyes of the world. This dissection taught us not only that nations possess a central nervous system, but that a shock to a vital part of this nervous system will cause the disintegration and paralysis of a mighty empire. Chief among these vital points is the system of distributing wealth, or rather the laws of property and contract which control the distribution of that wealth. Recent events in Russia have demonstrated that a sudden shock to the laws of property may shatter the structure of credit which rests on the foundation of stability in property values, that it may deaden the nerves of business enterprise, kill the specializa-

tion, interdependence and large-scale production which absolutely rely on mutual confidence, stop the wheels of transportation, and carry the entire nation centuries backward to the crudities of medieval barter. Business men will not venture on unknown seas without chart or compass; the spirit of industry dies when the terror of plunder, pillage, and violence runs riot through the land. As industry languishes, and respect for the laws of property disappears, the demoralization is communicated to other stable institutions like marriage and religion, and they go down before the savage onrush of the primitive instincts that seek a long-denied gratification. Idleness, profligacy, and the gambling spirit attack the soul of a nation like a dry rot; world contacts established by peaceful intercourse are broken; and the fine gold of civilization, accumulated by centuries of careful saving, is dissipated in a wild orgy of revolution.

The very masses of the people who hoped to gain from the disturbance they created, lose their employment, their small capital, their peace of mind, their liberties, and their health; as industries close their doors, as the fountain of justice becomes polluted, and as disease, unrestrained by the enforcement of hygienic regulations, stalks abroad through city and country. The people who pull down the temple of property, perish like Samson, under the falling columns.

This dismal picture does not present a moral for the United States—at least not yet. The laws of private property cannot be overturned suddenly by a fiat of either people or State, unless the ground has been prepared. As long as the masses of the people benefit from the continuance of the existing order or as long as the masses have not much to gain from an equal division of the country's resources, business men and lawyers can safely boast of the unvarying stability of the laws of property. But if the disparity should ever become sufficiently great, the ground underneath our feet will begin to tremble and the distant roar of the coming deluge will be heard. If the concentration of wealth under the legitimate rules of the game should proceed to the point where a few toil little and enjoy disproportionately much and where the many work long and receive disproportionately little, then there will come into existence a reason for revolution. Then the seeds of Bolshevism and the I. W. W. will be carried over the land with the speed of the whirlwind and their crop will come soon and it will be bitter. The breaking-point is finally reached in every case of growing con-

centration of wealth. It was reached in France in 1789; it was reached in Russia in 1917.

Although the menace to us is yet far distant, it behooves us to take warning and to relieve the growing pressure by reversing the tendency toward concentration. The gradual restrictions on inheritances, the guarantee of better living conditions to labor, shorter hours and higher pay will not register any violent effect on our economic or social system. Such reforms will also probably prevent the gradual emergence of two poles—one the pole of concentration of wealth and the other the pole of poverty—that finally causes the electric shock of revolution.

Since the forces that affect the lives of nations traverse centuries in their course, wise statesmen who have the enduring stability of our country at heart must be unusually alert to detect the first germs of the peril that may threaten America in the far distant future. The adjustment of our legal balance wheel so that it will maintain the proper equilibrium between labor and capital, will prevent the formation of a social environment that is favorable to Bolshevism.

AMERICAN IDEALS AS APPLIED TO CHINA.¹

BY GILBERT REID.

AMERICAN ideals are higher than mere opinions, which too often are a distorted shaping of the prejudices of passion. Our ideals in these days of world war and world catastrophe have been voiced by the Chief Executive of our nation. Probably the clearest expression of these ideals was contained in the President's address of September 27 of last year in New York City. This address inspired hope in all who wish well for humanity. It encouraged the sentiments of peace in the three enemy countries. It has been spoken of as a Magna Charta for the world.

As with all of President Wilson's pronouncements there are apparently mutually contradictory statements representing two sides to all theorizing. Only one who has been nourished in strict Calvinism and knows how to harmonize the freedom of the human will with God's sovereignty, is capable of harmonizing all of Presi-

¹We are privileged to publish this article from the pen of Dr. Gilbert Reid, of the International Institute of China, who only recently returned from Shanghai.—Ed.

dent Wilson's utterances, even those of September 27. Some pugnacious individuals quote only the part about the villainous character of the governments of the Central Empires. Others, more charitable, dwell on the principles of universal application, assuring a League of Nations. If difficulty of harmonizing ideas exists it is because of difficulty of applying general principles to enemy governments.

There should be no difficulty in applying these general and good principles to an associate in war so friendly as China, whose entrance into the war was induced by representatives of our own government. This application may be an interesting topic for discussion, as well as informing to not a few of the noble adherents of the League of Nations.

1. "Shall the military power of any nation or group of nations be suffered to determine the fortunes of peoples over whom they have no right to rule except the right of force?"

In 1900, after the barbarism and atrocities of the Boxer uprising, all foreign powers proceeded to take the Chinese monarchical government in hand, and in a military way to occupy Peking and all adjoining towns. These powers, all of them, proceeded to dictate a humiliating peace, though at that time they insisted on plenipotentiaries from the old empress dowager, the guilty head of a sinning government. But all this was eighteen years ago.

Since 1914 the fortunes of the Chinese people, as also the present military autocracy of Peking and all north China, have been gradually and imperceptibly determined by the military power of Japan, or, if this be too prejudiced a view, by the military power of the Entente group of nations, with whom the United States has associated herself.

The question therefore arises: Can China at the close of this war free herself from military or political power assumed through favorable opportunities by "any nation or group of nations" during these last four years? On the principle just cited, no outside nation has the "right to rule" in any part of China, whether Manchuria, Shantung, the Yang-tze valley, or any other part, or to attempt that rule, that dictation, that extraterritoriality, by the so-called "right of force."

Is China to be set free?

2. "Shall strong nations be free to wrong weak nations and make them subject to their purpose and interest?"

Suppose we trace the wrong done to China from the year 1871—the year Alsace-Lorraine was made a conquest to Prussia

and, in part at least, restored to German rule—what a record we would have. Tongking taken by France from the suzerainty of China in 1883; Formosa and Liaotung in Manchuria taken by Japan in 1895 “through conquest of military power”; Kiaochow leased by China to Germany in 1898 (afterward occupied by Japan); Port Arthur and Dalny leased to Russia (afterward occupied by Japan); Kwan-chow-wan leased to France, and Weihaiwei and Kowloon leased to Great Britain, all in the same year, and all instigating the Boxer fanaticism of 1900; and the Legation area of Peking arranged as a fortress in 1901, the recompense for Chinese outrages.

All this wrong is merely in territory. Other and perhaps deeper wrongs are in the general treatment which China has received at the hands of “strong nations,” especially since this war of Europe was thrust into China just struggling into a republic. Take the renewal of opium trade through the British Opium Combine. Take the introduction of morphine into Manchuria and Shantung by the Japanese. Take the twenty-one demands of Japan—and the insulting ultimatum that went with them. Take the various forms of dictation, generally denominated “friendly advice,” which the Chinese government has received week after week for the last year or more, since China was persuaded to imitate the United States in severing relations with the Imperial German government. Take the secret compacts connected with Japan’s request for Chinese cooperation in intervention in Siberia. Take all the secret negotiations by loan-mongers of more than one nation, which have loaded China with burdens grievous to be borne. These are so many hints as to the way “strong nations” are trying to “subject” China “to their purpose and interest.”

At the peace conference shall China, one of our associates in war, be freed from the domination of superior force?

3. “Shall peoples be ruled and dominated even in their own internal affairs by arbitrary and irresponsible force or by their own will and choice?”

This may be taken to mean not arbitrary use of force by foreign powers in China, but the “arbitrary and irresponsible force” of the present recognized government in Peking. That government, since July, 1917, has been “arbitrary and irresponsible.” “Military power” dissolved Parliament, and overthrew President Li Yuan-hung. Even war on the two Central Empires was declared without sanction of any legislative body. The legal, constitutional government of the republic has been assembled in Canton. It consists of

progressive men from every province of China. The distinguished statesman, Dr. Wu Ting-fang, has appealed to the Entente Allies and the United States for recognition, but the appeal is other than that of the Czecho-Slovaks, the Russians, or the Poles.

Will the peace conference help to set China free from her own arbitrary rule?

4. "The impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favorites and knows no standard but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned."

This dictum applies to both sides of this great war. It is a warning to the conqueror; it is good-cheer, based on fair play, to those who surrender.

Suppose we apply it to China and to affairs of these nations in China, what happens? Will Germans be again accorded "equal opportunity of trade and industry," already vouchsafed by Japan in agreement with Great Britain, Russia, France, and the United States, or shall German trade be destroyed? Shall German concessions in railways and mines be restored to Germans or be allowed the Japanese? Shall the beautiful port of Tsingtao be held by the Japanese, be handed over to China, or be returned to Germany, if China herself so permits? Is there to be discrimination against Germans after the war, even as there has been during the war, and this not so much by Chinese as by Germany's enemies in China?

As to China, in comparison with her great rival, Japan, is American sympathy to go out to the latter more than to the former, even in matters pertaining to China? Shall our State Department make arrangements with China about "special interests" in China, or with Japan? Ought China to be given at the peace conference an equally high seat with Japan, and will China's rights be determined by the common action of all?

5. "No special or separate interest of any single nation or any group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interest of all."

Shall Japan be this "single nation" with "special" interests in China? Shall Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Japan, and the United States, together form a powerful group to direct, reform, or rejuvenate China, or shall all powers take a hand, whether China wants such aid or not? Shall the benevolent moulding of China be even left to the great Anglo-American combination? Will

it after all be possible for us to see in China the fruition of "the common interest of all"?

6. "There can be no special selfish economic combinations within the league and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion."

Will British or Japanese merchants in China give support to this principle? The law is good; will victors sustain the law?

7. "All international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world."

Another good principle, but can even a League of Nations guarantee its observance? Are "the two Central Powers" the only offenders? If the rule, an eminently sound one, is to be applied to the Far East, by what pressure can Japan and the present military government in Peking be brought to publish their varied agreements since China declared war on Germany and Austria-Hungary? Is the baneful element of secrecy to be limited to "treaties," or shall it also be forbidden to all *contracts* in which diplomats concern themselves? What of secret "conversations"?

8. "*Special alliances and economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific source in the modern world of the plans and passions that produce war. It would be an insincere as well as an insecure peace that did not exclude them in definite and binding terms.*"

Write this in letters of gold. No alliance, no allies. President Wilson has consistently refrained from saying, "our Allies."

It was economic rivalry that brought the war on to Chinese soil. Can it be expunged at the peace conference?

In maintaining these high ideals, as well as others, President Wilson finds the task a hard one just as much with his own countrymen and the strong Allied nations, as with the two Central Empires.

It may be safely asserted that the people of China are with our President in every one of these ideal principles. Will he be able to reciprocate and help China in the face of opposition from "any single nation or any group of nations"?

Well-wishers of China as well as the Chinese people are looking to President Wilson to guide the nations and peoples on all the continents to a sincere and secure peace such as this that is planned on the basis of true righteousness.

BYZANTIUM.

AN HISTORICAL POEM.

ROLL on, thou Bosphorus, in wrath or play,
 Roused by the storm or gilded by the ray;
 With thy blue billows, to the boundless sea,
 Roll on, like Time, into Eternity.
 Thy empire naught shall change—upon thy breast
 Guilt hath no record, tyranny no rest.
 Roll on, the rock-built city shall decay,
 Men sleep in death and kingdoms pass away,
 But thou unbowed shalt steal like music by,
 Or lift thy Titan head and dare the sky.

Alas for proud Byzantium! on her head
 The fire may smoulder and the foe may tread,
 Yet with heroic look and lovely form
 She mocks the deep, unconscious of the storm.
 Her footstool is the shore, which hears the moan
 Of dying waves—the mountain is her throne.
 Her princely minarets, whose spires on high
 Gleam with their crescent in the cloudless sky;
 Her temples bathed with all the pomp of day;
 Her domes that backward flash the living ray;
 Her cool kiosks 'round which from granite white
 High sparkling fountains catch a rainbow light,
 And the dark cypress, sombre and o'ercast,
 Which speaks the sleep the longest and the last,—
 Each scene around the haughty city throws
 A mingled charm of action and repose;
 Each feature breathes of glory wrapt in gloom—
 The feast, the shroud, the palace, and the tomb!

Yet thou art fair, and still my soul surveys
 A vision of delight, and still I gaze,
 Proud city, on the last, when first the beam
 Slept on thy temples in its midday dream.
 Methinks the genius of thy fatherland
 Raised his gray head and clenched his withered hand,

Exulting in a parent's pride to see
 Old Rome, without her gods, revived in thee.
 Fair Queen, unlike thy proud and high compeers,
 Thou wert not cradled in the lap of years,
 But like celestial Pallas, hymned of old,
 Thy sovereign form, inviolate and bold,
 Sprang to the zenith of its prime,
 And took no favors from the hand of Time.

Oh, every glorious gift of every zone
 Was flung before thee on thy virgin throne.
 No breeze could blow but from thy yielding slaves
 Some handmaid ship came riding o'er the waves;
 The costly treasures of the marble isle,
 The spice of Ind, the riches of the Nile,
 The stores of earth, like streams that seek the sea,
 Poured out the tribute of their wealth to thee.
 How proud was thy dominion! States and kings
 Slept 'neath the shadow of thine outstretched wings,
 And to the mortal eye how more than fair
 Were thy peculiar charms, which boasted there
 No proud Pantheon, flaming in the sun,
 To claim for many gods the meed of One,
 No scene of tranquil grove and babbling stream
 For vain philosophy to muse and dream,
 Till reason shows a maze without a clue,
 And truth seems false and falsehood's self seems true.
 Oh no! upon thy temples gladly bright
 The truth revealed shed down its living light;
 Thine was no champion badge of pagan shame,
 But that best gift, the cross of Him who came
 To lift the guilty spirit from the sod,
 To point from earth to Heaven—from man to God!

Alas, that peace so gentle, hope so fair,
 Should make but strife and herald but despair.
 Oh thine, Byzantium, thine were bitter tears,
 A couch of fever and a throne of fears,
 When Passion drugged the bowl and flashed the steel,
 When Murder followed in the track of Zeal,
 When that Religion, born to guide and bless,
 Itself became perverse and merciless,

And factions of the circus and the shrine,
 And lords like slaves and slaves like lords were thine.
 Then did thy empire sink in slow decay;
 Then were its stately branches torn away;
 And thou, exposed and stripped, were left instead
 To bear the lightnings on thy naked head.

Yet wert thou noble—still in vain, in vain,
 The Vandal strove, he could not break the chain;
 The bold Bulgarian cursed thee as he bled;
 The Persian trembled and the pirate fled;
 Twice did the baffled Arab onward press
 To drink thy tears of danger and distress;
 Twice did the fiery Frank usurp thy halls,
 And twice the Grecian drove him from thy walls;
 And when at last up-sprang thy Tartar foe,
 With fire and sword more dread than Dandolo,
 Vain was the task, the triumph was not won
 Till fraud achieved what treason had begun.

But in that fierce distress, and at thy cry,
 Did none assist thee, and did none reply?
 No, kings were deaf, and pontiffs in their pride,
 Like Levites gazed, and like them turned aside;
 While infidels within Sophia's shrine
 Profaned the cup that held the sacred wine,
 And worse than base idolators of old,
 Proclaimed that Prophet-chief whose books unfold
 The deadliest faith that ever framed a spell
 To make of Heaven an Earth—of Earth a Hell!
 Yet stood there one, erect in might and mind,
 Before whom groaned despair and death behind.
 Oh, thou last Cæsar, greater midst thy tears
 Than all thy laureled and renowned compeers!
 I see thee yet—I see thee kneeling where
 The Patriarch lifts the cup and breathes the prayer;
 Now in the tempest of the battle's strife,
 Where trumpets drown the shrieks of parting life;
 Now with a thousand wounds upon thy breast
 I see thee pillow thy calm head in rest,
 And like a glory-circled martyr claim
 The wings of death to speed thy soul from shame.

But thou, fair city, to the Turk bowed down,
 Didst lose the brightest jewel in thy crown.
 They could not spoil thee of thy sky, thy sea,
 Thy mountain belts of strength and majesty;
 But the bright Cross, the volumes rescued long,
 Sank 'neath the feet of the barbarian throng;
 While rose the gorgeous Harem in its sin,
 So fair without, so deadly foul within—
 That sepulcher, in all except repose,
 Where woman strikes the lute and plucks the rose,
 Strives to be glad, but feels, despite the will,
 The heart, the heart is true to nature still.
 Yet for a season did the Moslem's hand
 Win for thy state an aspect of command.
 Let Syria, Egypt tell, let Persia's shame,
 Let haughty Barbarossa's deathless name,
 Let Buda speak, let Rhodes, whose knighted brave
 Were weak to serve her, impotent to save.
 Zeal in the rear and Valor in the van
 Spread far the fiats of thy sage divan,
 Till stretched the scepter of thy sway awhile
 Victorious from the Dnieper to the Nile.
 Brief, transitory glory! foul the day,
 Foul thy dishonor when in Corinth's bay
 'Neath the rich sun triumphant Venice spread
 Her lion banner as the Moslem fled;
 When proud Vienna's 'saulting troops were seen,
 When Zenta's laurels decked the brave Eugene;
 When the great Shepherd led the Persian van
 And Cyrus lived again in Kouli Khan;
 And last, and most when Freedom spurned the yoke,
 And tyrants trembled as the Greeks awoke.

That name shall be thy knell, the fostering smile
 Of five bright summers on sweet Scio's isle
 Hath beamed in vain. Oh, blood is on thy head!
 The heartless living and the tombless dead
 Invoke their just avengers. Lo, they come!
 The Muscovite is up. Hark, hark, the drum
 Speeds its prophetic summons on the gale!
 Thy Sultan trembles and thy sons turn pale.
 Up for the Prophet! Conquer or die free.

The Balkan make the Turks' Thermopylæ.
 Up for the Prophet! No, the axe and cord
 Suit Moslem hands far better than the sword.
 Then bow your heads, your towers are bought and sold,
 Prepare the parchment, weigh the bribing gold,
 While rings the welkin with the tale of doom,
 And faction smiles above her yawning tomb.

Now joy to Greece, the genius of her clime
 Shall cast her gauntlet at the tyrant Time,
 And wake again the valor and the fire
 Which rears the trophy and attunes the lyre.
 Oh, known how early and beloved how long,
 Ye sea-girt isles of battle and of song!
 Ye clustering isles that by the Ægean pressed
 In sunshine slumber on her dark blue breast!
 Land of the brave, athwart whose gloomy night
 Breaks the bright dawn and harbinger of light,
 May Glory now efface each blot of shame,
 May Freedom's torch yet light thy path to fame;
 May Christian truth, in this thy sacred birth,
 Add strength to empire, give to wisdom worth,
 And with the rich-fraught hopes of coming years
 Inspire thy triumphs while it dries thy tears!

Yet joy to Greece, but e'en a brighter star
 On Hope's horizon sheds its light afar.
 Oh Stamboul! thou who once didst clasp the sign,
 What if again Sophia's holy shrine
 Should, deaf to creeds of sensual joy and strife,
 Reecho to the words whose gift is life?
 If down those aisles the billowy music's swell
 Should pour the song of Judah, and should tell
 Of sinners met in penitence to kneel,
 And bless the rapture they have learned to feel?
 Then, though thy fortunes and thy fame decline,
 Then, oh! how more than victory were thine!

Ah, dear Religion, born of Him who smiled
 And prayed for pardon while the Jews reviled.
 No rose-decked houris, with their songs of glee,
 Strew the rich couch, no tyrants strike for thee;

Thy holier altar feeds its silent fire
 With love, not hate, with reason, not desire.
 Welcome in weal or woe, thy sovereign might
 Can temper sorrow and enrich delight,
 Can gild with hope our darkest, gloomiest hours,
 Or crown the brimming cup of joy with flowers.
 Thine is the peace-branch, thine the pure command
 Which joins mankind like brothers hand in hand.
 And oh, 'tis thine to purge each guilty stain,
 Wrench the loose links that form this mortal chain,
 Whisper of realms untraveled, paths untrod,
 And lead, like Jacob's ladder, up to God!

The following letter was received with the foregoing poem:

To the Editor of The Open Court:

During the summer of the year 1852, there appeared in a newspaper published in the provincial town of York in Pennsylvania, a poem of rare merit and extraordinary beauty—an imitation of Byron at his best, the manuscript of which in its illiterate defects clearly indicated that the writer thereof was not the author of the poem. No trace of it could be discovered among the productions of ancient or modern poets. Twenty-five years thereafter, the poem again appeared, this time in a New York journal of high literary character, accompanied by a letter from a gentleman who had revised its first publication, and who had first mentioned its existence to the writer of this letter,—and also by a criticism from a distinguished Princeton professor, who attributed it to some Philhellene who, inspired like Lord Byron by sympathy for the Greek in his revolt against the Moslem rule, had gone to Greece to aid her cause—an Englishman or an American with an English education. Sixteen years later the poem reappeared in a magazine—*Modern Culture*, now extinct,—but as in the other publications seems to have attracted little or no attention, though the writer hopes that this does not “speak the sleep, the longest and the last.”

With “grim-visaged war rearing its terrible front” on the continents of Europe and Asia until recently, involving the continent of America and “all the world and the rest of mankind,” with Anglican, Greek, and Roman Catholic, disciples of Luther, Calvin, and Knox, with “furious Frank and fiery Hun,” aye Christendom, Israel, and Moslem in deadly conflict, may not the beautiful poem foreshadow the restoration of Byzantium and of Sophia's holy shrine, where

“The Patriarch lifted the cup and breathed the prayer,”

and of the land where from Sinai's Mount, Moses proclaimed the oracles of God, and the Son of Man “the Resurrection and the Life”?

The writer has ever had a vague suspicion, conjecture, or surmise that the author of the poem was the gentleman who was responsible for its first publication. This supposition is based upon the fact that in the schoolboy days

of the suspect, in youthful debating societies, his favorite theme was classic Greece, her grand history, and her esthetic mythology, and in later years, the writer heard him deliver an original poem which bore the earmarks of the same sympathy and train of thought and expression. The reason for concealment, the writer has failed to divine, for the gentleman was naturally proud of his literary productions, and surely this would have added to his modest fame. The writer, long and well as he knew him, never ventured to make the accusation to him, but he is sure that he could have said to him: "Thou art the man."

But whosoever may be the author, the writer hopes that the poem may be deemed worthy of republication in your valued magazine, inasmuch as he thinks that it "makes a few remarks appropriate to the occasion"—the most momentous crisis in the history of the world.

HORATIO GATES GIBSON,
Brig. General U. S. A.

THE RELIGION OF BEAUTY.

BY F. W. FITZPATRICK.

THE eye is virtually the main doorway to the mind and is undoubtedly also one of the most important factors, or instruments, or whatever you want to call them, that can be used in the process of civilizing, educating, bettering the human kind, the *genus homo*. We have evidences of it every day.

We just naturally crave for pleasant or pretty things to look at, and light is one of them. It is also one of the greatest crime-preventors known. We are not going to delve into a lot of statistics, for this is not a scientific treatise but just a chat between friends. But we do know that nearly all crimes are "deeds of darkness." The philosophy of the thing has been known for ages, but only in very recent years have we had gumption enough to apply what we knew. For instance, certain localities in our larger cities have for years been renowned for their lawlessness and bloody deeds; those were dark and dismal streets where travel was most unsafe after sunset. Policemen in pairs patrolled those beats, expeditious galore were resorted to to reduce the criminality thereabout, but murders and the like went merrily on with but slight abatement. Then some one had a flash of intelligence and a few arc-lights were installed in those streets and alleys, the ash- and the garbage-man cleaned them up with greater regularity and, presto, they're as safe now for night travel as is Broadway or the main thoroughfare of any city. A bright light and crime are not congenial bedfellows, one invariably tumbles the other out.

So with our tenements and the humbler domiciles, the wisest regulation any city can introduce is that which prescribes a reasonable amount of outdoor window surface for light and air into every living- or sleeping-room. That regulation has cut down crime and disease amazingly.

Comparatively few men are attracted to the corner barroom for the actual drinking they can do there. It's the companionship, sociability, and, most of all, the bright lights, the cheer, the sparkle, the pictures, the beauty (?) of it all that allures. Provide those features in some other combination, without the *guzzling*, and you'll cut down the bar attendance mightily.

Not so many years ago a manufacturer would establish his plant at a convenient point, but that was about all he thought of. Even if the buildings were half-way respectable the surroundings were sadly neglected. All around those buildings scrap-heaps accumulated, the more unsightly the place became, the dirtier, why, the busier was it supposed to be, the more prosperous its owner. Indeed the so-called hard-headed business man would have been ashamed to make a concession to, or expend any money for, what he termed "silly prettiness." Art and Business couldn't travel together, the latter looked down upon the former as effeminate, an evidence of weakness, something to be scorned. Then came the insurance experts who made at least decency in factories profitable. They offered lowered premiums if those factories were cleaned up a bit and the refuse removed. Not that the insurance companies were doing this in any virtuous or *pro bono publico* spirit, but simply because it would lessen the danger of fire and their consequent losses. Followed then the pure-food "cranks" who had the authorities step in and insist that in at least certain factories extreme cleanliness must be the rule. And, my, there was a howl of opposition!

But after a while it was noted by the alert business men that in those "reformed" factories the operatives did better work, more of it, and seemed more cheerful. So much so that the keen business men began to put one and one together, and it dawned upon them that cleanliness, much daylight and at least half-way decent surroundings were assets instead of mere expenses, that what had been termed useless extravagance was actually producing a profit. A few pioneers plunged even farther, they made their workshops beautiful, cheerful, convenient for the workers. They actually added frills, rest-rooms, pictures, gardens with real fountains in them and behold, it all produced big returns upon the investment. The

workers felt it, they came better dressed, cleaner, brighter in mind and body; more self-respecting and self-reliant they speeded up the work and evidenced greater loyalty to their employers. To-day the man who maintains a slipshod, dirty, unattractive factory generally has an exceedingly poor investment on hand. Art in Business *does* pay.

Why, in Cuba they've known that for years, and in the big cigar factories a good reader is employed to read interesting stories to the workers. Their work is the better for it.

A man who puts a fresh coat of paint on his house feels an inch taller when he goes down the street. Take a hobo and wash him up and dress him in natty raiment and he'll act like a gentleman—for a while anyway. When he falls it will be because he's very far gone in some disease or other and very weak. Isn't drink a disease?

An old school-teacher was telling me some time ago that in the old times when he took a village school where the big bullies had a reputation for manhandling every teacher who had attempted to preside there, his first move was to whitewash and clean up that schoolroom, hang up a few chromos in it, put a couple of cans of flowers in the window, and then invite those bullies to help him keep the flowers watered and a certain daintiness about. He avers he never had any trouble, and his physique was not such as to inspire awe, so he attributes the reform to the power of Art over Matter!

The civic leagues and societies that get after the authorities to compel the cleaning up of cities and who offer prizes and other inducements for well-kept lawns, attractive flower-beds, reformed back yards, and the like, are doing more real good work to advance culture, civilization, and Christianity than are the missionaries sent, at infinitely greater cost, into far distant lands.

Perhaps I may be thought to be a bit radical when I say that Art should be made more or less compulsory. I mean by *Art*, Beauty. A little child may and probably will squirm at being bathed. We know that bathing is necessary, therefore it is administered willy-nilly. So in this case, we know that the general public, much as the little child, rebels, just naturally squirms at anything intended for its own good. Here's the point: By years of patient hammering we have gotten our cities to insisting upon buildings being erected a certain way, so they will neither fall down, nor burn up with the old-time alacrity; we've secured the relegation of soap or other smelly factories to regions where they no longer

offend us; so with boiler and such noisy shops; we're cutting down the bell-ringing, yelling, and other unnecessary noises in our cities. Our ears and our noses are being fairly protected, albeit it has been hard work, for each step was most bitterly opposed, it was fought for tooth and nail. The broad principle of the greater good of the many even at the cost of the individual is not very well understood here. The average American citizen, proud of his liberty and rights, couldn't get it out of his noddle that he ought to be able to build where and how he pleased upon his own property and make all the racket he wanted to and be as much of a nuisance as he might elect. His "personal" liberty stuck out all over him porcupine-like. Well, we've done so well for the ears and nose and progressed so far for the safety of the rest of our anatomy that, it seems to me, we ought to give some little thought and attention to the comfort and pleasure of the eyes as well.

In many cities they've followed Washington's example and have an Art Commission that passes upon all public work to keep it in harmony with some established plan of artistic development. I'm urging that we go further than that. Our Building Departments carefully examine every plan made for private as well as for public buildings and prescribe just how the walls shall be for strength, how high the building may go, what the sanitary details must be, etc., etc., all in the effort to make our buildings safe and healthful. The people have become used to such control and direction. Why not go a step more? There have been many such steps since the first big fight that was made because the city wanted its sidewalks alike and the same width and level. Theretofore personal liberty was such that you walked on brick, stone, plank, or cinders, all in the same block, and you went up or down steps to the different levels to which the kind-hearted owners of property built their sidewalks in an earnest endeavor to have you break your neck.

The city Art Commissions should have greater power and should cooperate with the Building Departments and pass on all plans for all buildings, private as well as public. Not that I'm clamoring for a certain style of architecture, or that greater expense and elaboration be insisted upon in private buildings, all I want is that our eyes should not be abused, offended, murdered any more than we permit our ears and noses to be. Buildings on any one block should conform to certain major lines, they should not be allowed to scream at each other, there should be a certain harmony of color and material, an effort made toward the really artistic. As it is now buildings are planted down every one differ-

ent from the other, a new and sometimes startling creation every twenty-five feet, for all the world as if a confectioner attempted a novel confection by sticking together slices of every imaginable kind, color, shape, and previous condition of cake he could lay hands upon and then wonder at the hodge-podge effect.

Why should we have to look upon buildings that appal us with their utter ugliness? Why should we put all our efforts into one class of building? For instance, here in Washington there are wondrously fine public buildings, marvels of art, but the private individual is permitted to build any freak construction he wishes and the uglier it is the better it seems to serve his purpose. In consequence there are miles and miles of hideous brick rows and, spite of the beautiful government buildings, the city as a whole is irreparably marred, spoiled beyond redemption. Everywhere, in Cleveland as well as Washington, in San Francisco as well as in New York there are misfits, awful efforts at originality, colors that swear at one, "designs" that were conceived in sin and brought forth in terrible travail. In some cities they rule distressingly crippled beggars off the streets; by the same token why must we tolerate advertising signs and such things that literally insult any sense of beauty we may possess.

It's a big field, there's endless work to be done in it. We need to cultivate beauty in our homes, in our schools, on our streets, everywhere in our lives and wherever we are, and we'll be the better for it all. They say cleanliness is next to godliness and, I maintain, beauty is first cousin to cleanliness, nay, I do believe they are twins!

Now, don't get excited, art and beauty do not necessarily mean the expenditure of great sums of money, building with fine marbles and gold, dressing in satins and sables. Those words are merely synonyms for good taste and refinement. I've seen a simple gingham dress that expressed beauty as forcefully as did any elaborate gown by Worth, and one of the most beautiful bits of architecture done this year anywhere in the country was a modest little three thousand dollar bungalow on a far western hill.

Perhaps I haven't made myself quite clear as to what Art is. At first blush it may seem simple enough to decide, but lexicologists as well as artists and other recognized authorities have fussed for years over the term and are fussing still. We find variants of the term that I think have no place there, distinctions and additions that have crept in and are almost recognized. To-day you have to specify and term your art, fine art, useful art, mechanic art.

Why, even our pugs practise a pugilistic art and we are barbered by tonsorial artists and dressed by a sartorial one. It is all correct enough in a general way. There is an art of living, a gastronomical art, even the art of hatred. And others would disassociate Art from everything practical making it so that its votaries withdraw themselves in a sense from the urgencies of practical life and become esoteric and ultimately nuisances of the first water.

Some would have Art always purely decorative; true Art is the making of everything beautiful as well as useful. A picture painted without any regard as to its decorative value, the proper filling of some space, is but a bauble; a bow on a lady's dress that has no function, just a "decorative" bow, is, I claim, inartistic, useless, meaningless. Art is not essentially embellishment; it is the function of doing things well, exercising good taste, gratifying the sight.

The history of the origin and development, growth and decline of beautiful artistic form constitutes a major portion of the history of civilization. As regards each particular people, the history of their efforts to conceive and express absolute perfection, or what is commonly called Beauty, in form and color, is with the *single exception* of the history of their speculative opinions, the most reliable test of the stage of progress which they have attained; nor is it an indication of the abundance of their external resources or even of their intellectual activity alone, that the history of the Art of a people is thus important. It determines their moral, their religious position, for the inseparable connection between the beautiful and the good is in no way more clearly manifested than in that fact, that the first inroads of demoralization and social disorder are invariably indicated by a diminution in the strength and purity of artistic forms, especially in architecture.

Am I wrong in praying for greater attention to matters artistic, the popularizing of Art, making it an every-day, intimate, and working function?

We've learned that our religion, whatever it be, is not a Sunday dress to be set aside work-days; it's something we must live to, something to be with us constantly and to guide our every thought and act. To our religious beliefs, whatever they may be—and no man is so low as to be without some—let us add (for our own material and spiritual welfare, our selfish interests if you wish) the RELIGION OF BEAUTY.

SAVAGE LIFE AND CUSTOM.

BY EDWARD LAWRENCE.

IX. CANNIBALISM AND HUMAN SACRIFICES.

WE must now proceed to give particular attention to those two remarkable, though quite distinct customs which have been practised by many savage races in all parts of the world—the eating of human flesh and the offering of human sacrifices to the gods or the spirits of the dead.

Cruel and gruesome as such practices must appear at first sight, we must nevertheless endeavor to cast aside all preconceived ideas. Even the savage is entitled to any benefit of the doubt which all of us ought to give when complete knowledge is lacking. We must also remember that even our own ancestors indulged in such rites and that there still exist in many of our customs to-day, distinct traces of those practices.

The early Christians themselves were accused by their so-called enemies, of killing and eating a child at their sacramental feasts. Again, in the seventeenth century, Oliver Cromwell, in a diplomatic message to the Duke of Savoy, charged his Royal Highness with allowing his troops to dash infants on the rocks and cook and eat the brains of others!

It may also be called to mind that, during the French Revolution, Brissot, the Girondin leader, justified cannibalism on the ground that it was natural, because animals in a state of nature ate one another!

While the practice of eating human flesh is quite common to many of the very lowest races, although unknown to others on a similar plane of culture, the offering of human sacrifices is quite unknown to these peoples. It is only when man has attained a higher stage in civilization that the latter rite appears. Thus, for example, while cannibalism is practised by the Australians and the nomad tribes of Brazil, it is quite unknown to the Andamanese, and human sacrifices are unknown to either.

The early Portuguese travelers of the sixteenth century were the first to bring accounts to Europe of cannibalism in Africa.

Joano Dos Santos in 1586 said that near Tete, on the Zambesi River, there existed one tribe which kept prisoners in pens and

killed and ate them in succession. Gruesome reports were also circulated in Europe of like doings in the Congo regions. It was declared that in those regions tribes existed which ate their enemies captured in battle; who fattened and devoured their slaves, and whose butcher shops were filled with human flesh instead of beef and mutton.



Fig. 28. CANNIBAL BUTCHER SHOP, AS DEPICTED BY A SIXTEENTH-CENTURY ARTIST.

(From *Regnum Congo, per Philippum Pigafettam*. 1598.—After Huxley.)

The truth of these early accounts has been abundantly confirmed by explorers during the last fifty or sixty years. Not only in Africa, but as I have said, practically all over the world we meet with cannibal practices in some shape or form.

Cannibalism is rife over the greater part of the Upper Congo

River. The Bangalas eat all they kill in battle; they remove the inside, stuff the body with bananas, and roast whole over a fire. It is said that two men will eat one body in a night. Even a corpse will be snatched from the grave in order to be eaten. Before eating a slave, the victim is kept prisoner for three days, his limbs are broken and he is fastened to a log chin-deep in a pool of water, to make the flesh tender. With some tribes it is the custom to decapitate the body, clean it out, cut it up, and cook in large pots. The head is not eaten, and the teeth are used as ornaments by the women.

Mr. John H. Weeks, the well-known Baptist missionary, has given a vivid description of the Bangalas returning from the field of battle, laden with their human spoil.

He says: "While we were sitting at our tea, the last party of returning warriors filed past our house, carrying the limbs of those who had been slain in the fight. Some had human legs over their shoulders, others had threaded arms through slits in the stomachs of their dismembered foes, had tied the ends of the arms together thus forming loops, and through these ghastly loops they had thrust their own living arms and were carrying them thus with the gory trunks dangling to and fro. The horrible sight was too much for us, and retching badly we had to abandon our meal and it was some days before we could again eat with any relish. The sight worked on our nerves, and in the night we would start from our sleep, having seen in our dreams exaggerated processions passing before us, burdened with the sanguinary loads of slain and dismembered bodies."

The Basongo sell slaves and children as food; children will eat their own parents as soon as they show signs of decrepitude. One man who accidentally killed his father expressed regret that he could not eat him, being forbidden by taboo, but he gave the body to his friends for them to eat.

It is no unusual thing to see women carrying portions of human flesh in baskets suspended from their heads, to serve as provisions during a journey.

The Niam-Niam allow women and children to eat human flesh, but the men themselves must only eat those whom they have killed in battle.

On the Mubangi River, slaves are kept and fattened for the butcher. The purchaser feeds them up, kills them, and sells the meat in small joints, and what remains unsold is smoked. Some tribes are said to prefer the flesh of women and children to that

of men. One African traveler tells us that he never bought flesh of any kind in the market for fear it might be human.

Among the Baluba, only those who are initiated into the secrets of a certain sect are allowed to eat human flesh, which is done secretly. Some of the victim's bones are burnt and the cinders put into a small pot on which a larger pot is placed upside down. A pin is then attached to the smaller pot and fastened by a cord to a branch fixed in the ground. The object of this is to imprison the victim's soul and thus prevent it doing harm to the living.

The Bambala will eat any corpse that is not in the last stage of decomposition. The body is buried for two days before being eaten; a fire kept burning on the grave, the body is then exhumed, cooked with manioc flour and practically all eaten.

The Fiji Islanders considered every unfortunate wrecked upon their shores a fit candidate for their cooking-pots. When a canoe was launched they celebrated the event by a cannibal feast, the man to be cooked being decked out, and his face painted. After a battle the bodies of the slain were dragged by ropes tied to their necks, and in this manner taken to the temple where they were offered to the gods. Afterward all the bodies were cooked and divided among the men and the priests. During this time, every restraint was laid aside. Sometimes the victims were not killed, but were bound and placed alive in the ovens, and on special occasions were even made to eat part of their own bodies.

The bodies were cut up by means of a bamboo knife, a special fork with four prongs being used to convey the flesh to the mouth, it being considered too sacred to be touched by human hands. The bones of the dead were afterward placed in the branches of a tree.

The savages of the South Seas exercise a discriminating taste, and show a decided preference for the flesh of John Chinaman to that of John Bull. They say the Chinaman is a vegetable feeder and his flesh is therefore sweet to the taste, whereas the white man is frequently a hard drinker whose flesh is also rendered rank from the habitual use of tobacco. Consequently the yellow man more frequently finds his way to the cooking-pot than does his white brother.

In New Britain portions of the dead are sold to neighboring tribes, and it is declared that the women are worse cannibals than the men.

The natives of New Ireland hang up by the neck the bodies of those killed in battle, washing and scraping them carefully. After certain ceremonies have been performed the bodies are cut up into

small pieces, wrapped in tough leaves to make them tender and put into ovens in the ground. Four days after the flesh is eaten. Their own bodies are also rubbed with this "human" food, which now resembles grease; so fond are they of its odor, they do not wash themselves for several days so that the smell of the flesh shall not be lost.

A case is reported from New Guinea where a lad was partly devoured by a crocodile; his mother and sister finished what the crocodile had left, the lad's flesh being eaten raw.

In Australia, when a child was weak, it was fed with the flesh of an infant brother or sister to make it strong. These Australians consider that the fat surrounding the kidneys is the most important for consumption, as it contains the center of life; the kidney fat being frequently extracted while the victim is alive.

Sometimes a man killed in a fight will be skinned and eaten. A burning stick is passed over the body which causes the skin to peel off and leaves the corpse nearly as white as the body of a white man.

The Cocomas of the Upper Amazon, after eating the body, ground up the bones which were afterward put into fermented liquor and drank.

In Nicaragua the head was cut off, the body cut up into small pieces and boiled in earthen pots with salt and garlic and then eaten by the chiefs with Indian corn. The head was neither cooked nor eaten, but was placed on a stake in front of a temple.

Lionel Decla, while traveling in Central Africa, unknowingly dined off human flesh on more than one occasion. The natives in order to test the white man's knowledge, supplied his cook with human flesh to see if the traveler found it out. Decla made several meals before he did find it out and relates how he ate the flesh with great relish and particularly enjoyed the grilled bones which afterward turned out to be ribs of man and not ribs of beef!

Now comes the question: Why do men eat men? The custom is not primarily due to hunger, because cannibalism is most rife in those countries where the food supply is abundant. It is not due to cruelty, or to the ferocity of the savage, because the cannibal is usually a "gentleman" and most kindly in disposition, as Robert Louis Stevenson found by experience. The Congo cannibals are more advanced socially and far less bloodthirsty than tribes in the same region which do not dine upon their fellows.

In many instances it was due to revenge—to punish the dead man and destroy his spirit. Thus in Hayti, the thief was punished

by being eaten. In Australia white men have frequently been devoured because of their cruelty to the natives. In the New Hebrides it was usually a murdered or a detested enemy that was eaten.

In other cases it was to obtain the qualities of the dead. The Ashantis ate a portion so that their own spirits and courage would not waste away. In South Australia, only the old men and women were allowed to partake, in order to obtain fresh vitality.

The eater was polluted by his act and frequently had to undergo certain rites before he resumed his usual place in the community. Thus the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia were not allowed to eat any warm food for sixteen days; even the spoon, dish, and kettle must be thrown away four months after the act. Whenever a man wished to leave the house, he had to do so by a secret door at the back; if he left by the usual opening the ghost of the dead man was ready to pounce down upon him. In Melanesia, while cutting up a human body, the operator covered his mouth and nose for fear the spirit of the dead might enter into him and cause him hurt.

Thus, while the savage may assign various, though to us unsatisfactory reasons for devouring his own species, it will be obvious that magical and religious motives are really at the bottom of the rite. Abhorrent as this horrible and gruesome custom must appear, it will be allowed that civilization has also its grave defects. As Robert Louis Stevenson said of the South Sea cannibals, rightly speaking it is far less hateful to cut a man's flesh when he is dead than to oppress him while he lives. Weighing all the facts one is, after all, inclined to agree with Joaquin Miller that civilized life is a sort of moral cannibalism where souls eat souls, and where men kill men in order to get their places!

In giving attention to the other sanguinary rite about to be detailed, we must not forget that any preconception on our part must necessarily prejudice our judgment.

Human sacrifices are acts which belong to a stage of civilization in advance of that found among the very lowest races, although the sacrifices themselves may be accompanied by cannibalism.

The sacrificial act was an act made either on behalf of an individual or on behalf of the community at large. It appears to have had two distinct objects—one to bring prosperity or avert disaster—and the other, to provide attendants for the dead in the land of spirits. In order to achieve these supposed results, hundreds and hundreds of victims have been, from time to time, offered up alive.

In many parts, children were offered to the earth-spirits in order to fertilize the soil and thereby ensure good crops. In other cases, to avert famine, a child will be offered, as for instance during a draught in India some years since, a lad was discovered in a temple near Calcutta, with his throat cut and his eyes staring out of his head.

In the same country, in order that a journey may prove successful, a child was buried alive in a hole up to its shoulders; loaded bullocks were then driven over the poor little victim, and in proportion as this trampling was thoroughly done, so was the journey likely to prove an equally successful one.

It is stated that the Lambadis—a tribe of carriers known all over southern and western India—up to a recent period carried off the first person they met; took him to a lonely spot, where a hole was dug in the ground and the victim buried up to the neck. A dough made of flour was then placed on his head and filled with oil, four wicks were stuck in and set alight. The men and women formed a circle, danced and sang around the victim until he expired.

A case is also recorded from India where a litigant made a final appeal to the Privy Council in England, and to ensure success, caught a harmless lunatic and killed him as a sacrifice in order to obtain a successful issue to his cause.

In Oceania, in order to bring peace, two women were sacrificed. The victims arrayed themselves in their best clothing, specially made for the occasion, and their bodies were then offered upon the altar. The ears were divided between the two contending chiefs and the noses among the political sovereigns, and thus was peace "signed."

To make young braves courageous, the witch-doctor in South Africa killed a boy and a girl, mixed their blood with that of an ox, and then used it as a magical potion.

To ensure good crops, the Pawnees formerly sacrificed a young girl, who had been carefully tended and fed for several months. At the approach of spring, she was painted half red and half black, then attached to a gallows, slowly roasted over a fire, and finally shot to death with arrows. Her heart was then torn out and devoured by the chief priest. The still quivering flesh was now cut into small pieces and taken to the cornfield where a little of her blood was pressed upon some grains of corn, in order to make the crops plentiful.

In Africa, as elsewhere, human sacrifices were made to provide attendants and wives for the deceased in the land of spirits. The hill-tribes of North East India make raids specially for this pur-

pose, upon the weak Bengali of the plains, and will kill their captives at the funeral of their chief in order to provide him with a retinue in his new world.

The Hawaiians on making an expedition of great magnitude offered victims to induce the gods to grant them victory by striking terror in the hearts of their enemies. These victims were either captives taken in battle or persons who deserved punishment for having broken their sacred laws. War-gods were carried by the



Fig. 29.
HEAD OF WAR-GOD OF THE
SANDWICH ISLANDERS.*



Fig. 30.
SACRIFICIAL DRUM OF THE
ASHANTIS.

(Photos by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.)

priests on to the field of battle, the body of the god being made of wood and crowned by this helmet or mask (Fig. 29). All will agree that the terrible and distorted features of this hideous image were well calculated to strike panic in the hearts of the enemy.

The gods were kept in or near a palisaded enclosure which was of considerable extent and of which offenders had the right of

* Made of basket-work from the aerial roots of a fig-tree; covered with string net-work, overlain with beautiful red and yellow feathers. The eyes are of mother-of-pearl. The teeth are those of dogs or sharks. Human hair adorns the top of the head.

sanctuary. Here dwelt the priests and here were buried kings and high chiefs.

During a sacrifice the victims were dragged by the priests into the presence of the god and slain, and their bodies placed upon the altar, face downward in front of the idol. Sometimes as many as twenty persons were killed at one time.

In that land of blood, Ashanti, hundreds of victims were killed at one time, on the death of important persons. The executions were announced by the priests beating the celebrated sacrificial drum, which was ornamented at the sides with human skulls and thigh-bones (Fig. 30).

To prevent the victims screaming out or cursing their executioners, long knives or skewers were thrust through their tongues and cheeks. The executioners rushed forward and lopped off the right hands of their victims, which they threw at their feet and then severed the heads from their bodies. The remains of the chief having been placed in a basket, a man was called forward to assist in lowering the corpse into the grave. While doing this he received a severe blow at the back of his head by which he was stunned; he was then swiftly gashed in the neck and his body toppled into the grave on top of the dead chief. The heads of the other victims were deposited at the side of the corpse.

During the Ashanti harvest festival or "yam custom" which took place in the autumn, large numbers were also put to death every year. The festival was attended by all the chiefs under dire compulsion. Executioners grotesquely adorned and with painted faces danced and beat time with their long executioner's knives on human skulls which they carried. Slaves and other persons who were guilty of offenses were put to death and their blood placed in a large brass pan, and mingled with a decoction of vegetable and animal matter.

When danger threatened, a newly-born child, not more than a few hours old, would be torn to pieces and its limbs and members scattered around. If the country feared an invasion, men and women were sacrificed and their bodies placed along the road by which the foe must travel. Sometimes the corpses would be extended cruciform fashion and stakes driven through the bodies. When the British under Lord Wolseley invaded Ashanti, the victims were placed along the road leading to the capital, with their severed heads toward their advancing foe, and their feet toward Coomassie.

The Kondhs of India systematically offered sacrifices to the

earth-spirit to ensure good crops and to obtain immunity from disease. Children who had not been guilty of any impurity were purchased to be offered up. They were carefully tended, fed and clothed at the public expense.

A month before the sacrifice the whole community indulged in intoxication, danced and fêted themselves. On the day before the offering, a child was stupefied with toddy and bound to the bottom of the sacrificial post. The assembly now danced and addressed the earth: "O god, we offer the sacrifice to you. Give us good crops, seasons, and health." Then addressing the victim they cried: "We bought you with a price and did not seize you. Now we sacrifice you according to custom and no sin rests with us." The following day the victim is again made drunk, anointed with oil and carried in procession round the village. He is then seized and thrown into a pit, his face pressed downward until he is suffocated in the mud. The priest cuts off a portion from the body which is buried near the village idol as an offering to the earth. All the assembly now help themselves to a portion of the body and carry their bloody prizes to their villages. The head and face alone are left untouched.

Another method of sacrifice was to fix the victim to an image of an elephant's head, rudely carved, which was fixed to the top of a stout post on which it revolved—the victim being fastened to the trunk. Amid the shouts and yells of the assembled multitude, the disk was turned rapidly round, and at a signal given by the priest the mob rushed forward and amid the shrieks of the little victim, gashed the flesh from his body as long as life itself lasted. The remains were then cut down and the skeleton burnt.

Sometimes the victim was dragged through the fields, surrounded by screaming and gesticulating Kondhs who rushed upon the victim, cut the flesh piecemeal from his body till he expired, then the remains were burnt and the ashes mixed with new grain to preserve it.

The following custom is said to be peculiar to the Kondhs of Jeypore. A stout post was fixed in the ground and at the foot a grave was dug. To the top of this post the sacrifice was secured firmly by his hair. Then four men advanced, outstretched his arms and legs, the body itself being suspended over the grave and facing the earth. At different intervals the priest hacked the back of the shrieking victim with his sacrificial knife, and as he did so, repeated the following prayer:

"O mighty one, this is your festal day. On account of this

sacrifice you have given us kingdoms and swords. The sacrifice we now offer you must eat, and we pray that our battle-axes may be converted into swords, and if we have any quarrels with other tribes, give us the victory. Preserve us from the tyranny of kings and their officers."

He then addressed the victim and said:

"That we may enjoy prosperity we offer you a sacrifice to our god, who will immediately eat you, so be not grieved at our slaying you, you were purchased for sixty rupees, therefore no sin is on our hands but on your parents."

The sacrifice is now decapitated, the body thrown into the grave, but the head is left attached to the post to be devoured by wild beasts.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the Indian government, probably these sacrifices are still practised in secret, and only as recently as 1902 a district magistrate actually received a petition requesting him to allow a human sacrifice to be performed.

Among the tribes of the Lower Mississippi, when a chief died, the youngest wife and some hundred men offered themselves as living sacrifices to the shade of the departed. The temple of sacrifice was built like the house of a chief, with the exception that it had figures of three eagles which looked toward the rising sun. High walls of mud surrounded this building, and upon the wall, spikes were placed which held the heads of those killed in battle or of persons who had been sacrificed to the sun. The center of this temple contained an altar at the foot of which a fire was kept burning continually by two old priests. If lightning set one of these temples on fire, five infants were thrown into the flames to appease the angered spirits.

When a chief was dead, his household esteemed it a great honor to follow him hence. Dressing themselves in their best finery, they repaired to the temple where all the tribe had assembled. Having sung and danced, a cord of buffalo hair, made with a running noose, was passed around them. The priest came forward, and commanding them to join their master in the land of spirits, strangled them, their bodies being afterward placed in a row in the temple (Fig. 31).

Such are a few of those customs practised by uncivilized man which illustrate in a most forcible way that king of all beliefs—the doctrine of a future life.

While one may well stand horrified at the manner in which the savage gives expression to that belief, at those rites which to us

are so gruesome and so sanguinary, yet one cannot fail to be moved deeply by their intensity and reality, and by the "sacrifices" which primitive man is always ready to make on behalf of his creed. No such "faith" exists in Christendom. That which we call the doctrine of a future life is but a flimsy shadow of that serious belief which is so tenaciously held by those poor savages whom we so ignorantly



Fig. 31. HUMAN SACRIFICES IN LOUISIANA.
 Depicted by an artist in the early part of the eighteenth century.
 (From Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages*.)

despise. If life itself is real to the savage, death and the beyond are yet more real. Hence he shapes his life as if death itself and the continued life beyond counted for more than aught else. It has been stated, over and over again, that those who went forward to their slaughter, sang with joy and danced as if their happy time had come at last, and willingly submitted themselves to the knife

of the executioner. There are lessons—and they are many—which civilized man might well learn from his naked brother, and one of those lessons is, that if faith and creed are to be held at all, they should be acted as well as believed.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

PARACELSUS AS A THEOLOGICAL WRITER.¹

BY JOHN MAXSON STILLMAN.

UNTIL recently little notice has been taken of the very considerable activity of Paracelsus (1493-1541) as a thinker and writer on theology. To be sure, it was known from very early records that Paracelsus had written works of this character. Even the inventory of his personal effects recorded at Salzburg after his death makes mention of a collection of theological manuscripts presumably written by himself. So also Conrad Gesner in his *Bibliotheca Universalis* (1545) says of Paracelsus that he composed and dedicated to the Abbot of St. Gall, "I know not what theological works which I believe not to have been published."²

Moreover there exists on record a receipt signed by Johann Huser³ at Neuburg, October 10, 1594, for a collection of autograph manuscripts by Paracelsus upon theological subjects. The collection includes some twenty-five titles of works. Other lists of his theological writings are in existence dating from the latter half of the sixteenth century. In 1618 a publisher, Johann Staricius, issued a volume containing a few of these theological essays. In his preface the editor asserts that he knows a place where nearly a cart-load of the theological manuscripts may be found.⁴

Of all these manuscripts not one is now known to exist as autograph, though Sudhoff's search through the libraries of Europe has brought to light collections of copies in the libraries at Leyden, Görlitz, and elsewhere, some of these copies dating as early as 1564 to 1567, and many of them bearing titles included in the early list

¹ The following is a chapter taken from a book on Paracelsus by Professor Stillman which we intend to publish soon.—ED.

² Netzhammer, *Theophrastus Paracelsus*, p. 53.

³ Joh. Huser had just published the medical, philosophical, and surgical writings of Paracelsus (Basel, 1589-91).

⁴ Cf. Netzhammer, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

of autograph manuscripts as receipted for by Huser, or in other early lists.⁵

These manuscripts borrowed by Huser from the library at Neuburg were manifestly intended to be used in the published collection of his works. That they were not so used is easily explained by the tenor of the contents of such as have been in part printed or abstracted by Sudhoff.⁶ For they are very outspoken and indeed frankly heretical in their criticisms of many of the institutions and observances of the Roman Church. Huser was himself a Roman Catholic, and the publication of the works of Paracelsus by Huser was undertaken under the patronage and with the support of the Archbishop of Cologne. Though Paracelsus claimed allegiance to the Catholic Church and died and was buried at Salzburg as a Catholic, yet his views were so radical and so severely critical of many of the essential doctrines of the Church, that their publication could hardly have been possible under such support and supervision. Indeed it is evident that any wide circulation of his writings would have brought upon him the severest discipline of the Church. Even the Lutheran clerical party would have had little sympathy with his point of view. It is quite probable indeed that Paracelsus himself made no effort to print them but rather avoided their publication, preferring merely to place them in the hands of congenial thinkers or to leave them for posterity.

It is certain that the revolt of his contemporary Luther, and his countryman Zwingli, as well as the critical spirit of Erasmus exercised a great influence upon Paracelsus—predisposed by natural temperament to independent and free thinking and criticism of authority.

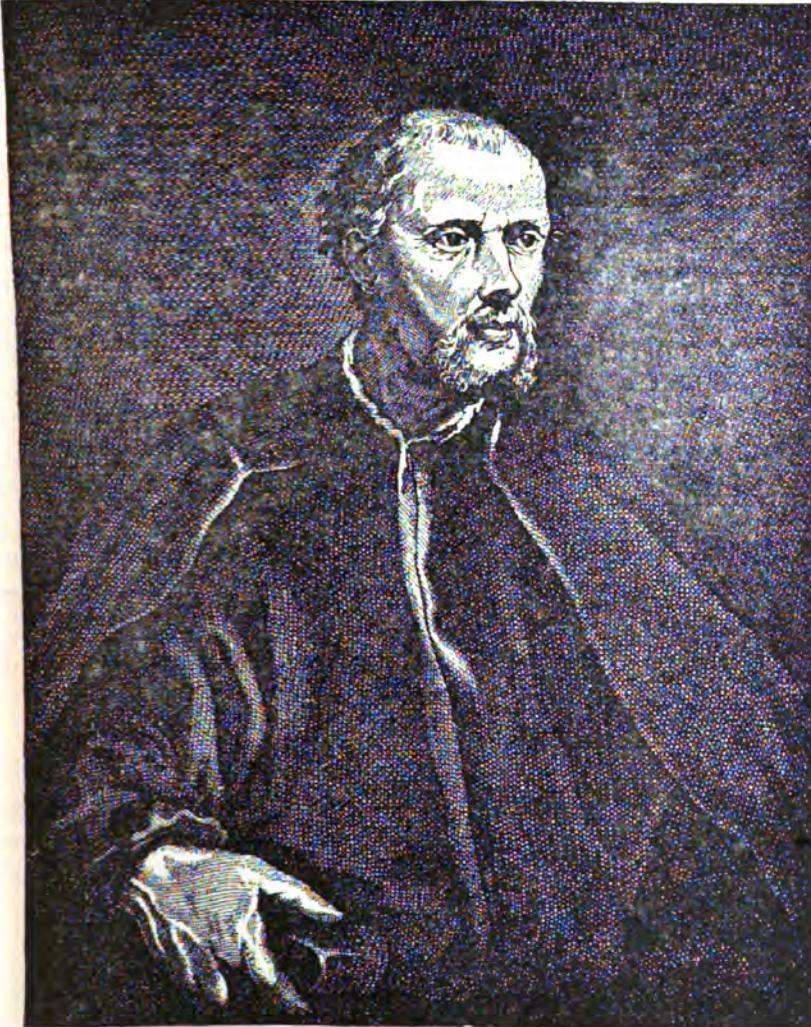
It should be kept in mind also that severe criticism of the orthodox Church, its observances and corruption was quite prevalent even before the time of the Protestant Reformation. Thus in Italy Macchiavelli writing about 1500 thus freely criticizes the corruption of the Church: "Should we send the Curia to Switzerland, the most religious and martial of countries, that experiment would prove that no piety nor warrior's strength could resist the papal corruption and intrigue. . . . The peoples nearest Rome have least religion. . . . We Italians have to thank the Church and the priests that we have become irreligious and corrupt."⁷

⁵ For statements as to evidence of authenticity of many of these manuscripts, cf. Sudhoff, *Versuch einer Kritik der Echtheit der Paracelsischen Schriften*, Vol. II, Introduction.

⁶ *Versuch* etc., Vol. II.

⁷ W. Dilthey, *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie*, Vol. IV, pp. 636-7.

ALTERIVS NON SIT QVI SVVS ESSE POTEST



AVREOLVS PHILIPPVS
AD HOHENHEIM.

*Stemmata nobilium genitus PARACELSVS
aurorum.*

*Qua vetus Heluetia claret Eremita humo.
Sic oculos Sic ora tibi, cum plurima longum
Discendi studio per loca fuit iter*

I. Tintoret ad unum pinxit.



THEOPHRASTVS BOMBAST
DICTVS PARACELSVS

*Lustrum novum et medium vixit lustro ante
Lutherum*

*Postque tuos lustro fincas, Erasme, rogos
Astro quater Jena Septembris luce subivit:
Ossa Salsburga nunc cineresque jacent*

F. Chauveau sculpsit.

PARACELSUS BY TINTORETTO (?).*

Engraved by F. Chauveau.

* May be by an artist of about 1520-25, when Paracelsus was in the Venetian wars. Tintoretto was born 1518.

So also Savonarola, the great Dominican monk—writing in 1493, the year of the birth of Paracelsus: "Go to Rome and throughout all Christendom: in the houses of the great prelates and the great lords, they busy themselves with nothing but poetry and rhetoric. Go and see, you will find them with humanistic books in their hands;—it will appear as if they knew how to guide souls by Virgil, Horace, and Cicero. With Aristotle, Plato, Virgil, and Petrarch they feed their ears and do not trouble themselves about the salvation of souls. Why do they not teach instead of so many books, that one in which is contained the law and the life." The prelates, said Savonarola, are sunk into ambition, shamelessness, and luxury, and the princes—"their palaces and courts are the refuge of all beasts and monsters of the earth, asylums for all rascals and criminals. These stream thither because they find there opportunity and incitement to give free rein to all their boundless desires and evil passions. . . . and what is worse, there also may be seen churchmen who join in the same accord."⁸

Whatever stimulus may have been given to the unorthodox theology of Paracelsus by the Protestant Reformation, it is evident that he was not less critical and unsympathetic toward the Lutheran interpretation than toward the Catholic. This is evidenced by many passages in his writings wherein he refers to the Protestant leaders of his day as false prophets, etc.

"Those who stand with the Pope consider him a living saint, those who stand with Arianus⁹ also hold him for a righteous man, those who hold with Zwingli likewise consider him a righteous man, those who stand with Luther hold him to be a true prophet. Thus the people are deceived. Every fool praises his own motley. He who depends on the Pope rests on the sand, he who depends on Zwingli depends on hollow ground, he who depends upon Luther depends on a reed. They all hold themselves each above the other, and denounce one another as Antichrists, heathens, and heretics, and are but four pairs of breeches from one cloth. It is with them as with a tree that has been twice grafted and bears white and yellow pears. Whoever opposes them and speaks the truth, he must die. How many thousands have they strangled and caused to be strangled in recent years."¹⁰

"They pray in the temples—but their prayer is not acceptable

⁸ Cf. Paulsen: *Geschichte des gelehrten Unterrichts*, 2d ed., Vol. I, pp. 10-11.

⁹ Doubtless Arius, founder of the Arian heresy.

¹⁰ Sudhoff, *Versuch* etc., Vol. II, p. 411.

to God, for it means nothing, and they are altogether,—Papists, Lutherans, Baptists, Zwinglians:—they all boast that they are of the Holy Ghost, that they are founded on the Gospel. Therefore they cry 'I am right,—the right is with me, I declare the word of God, here is Christ and his word as I tell it you,—follow me, I am he who brings you the Gospel.' See what an abomination among Philistines this is."¹¹

More specifically may be judged the extent of his departure from the doctrines of his own Church in such passages as the following:

"It is vain—the daily churchgoing and all the genuflection, bowing and observances of church rules by clericals and the wordly,—none excepted,—all a vain work with no fruits,—the will and service of the Devil,—opposed to Christ and the Holy Trinity. The reasons?—the Church is called in Latin *Catholica* and is the spirit of all true believers, and their coming together is in the Holy Spirit. These are all in the faith, that is in the *fides catholica*, and it has no place of worship. But *Ecclesia* is a wall" [i. e., the true Church is in the spirit, the corrupt Church worships in walled buildings].

Continuing, he condemns public prayers in the churches, church-festivals ("a dance of devils")—"God wishes a humble and contrite heart and no devilish holiday observances, offerings, or displays." Fasting in the "walled churches" is an invention of the Devil. The giving of alms in the churches "does not serve toward eternal blessedness," and the giving of alms in the Catholic churches comes only from credulity and from no love from the neighbor nor for the neighbor. Pilgrimages, dispensations, "running to the saints" are all in vain and have no merit. The monastic orders, the religious orders of knighthood and the like are inventions of the Devil and maintained in his honor. Spreading the faith by the sword is from the Devil.

"Who can presume to consecrate and bless the earth? It is God's earth, blessed to bring forth fruit; the water is blessed by God to quench thirst, to breed fish, to water the earth, not to sprinkle to banish the Devil as holy water."¹²

Similar points of view are found expressed in his printed works though naturally with less of detail in his criticism.

Thus from the *Paramirum*: "God will only have the heart, not ceremonies. . . . For every man is with God a neighbor and has

¹¹ Schubert-Sudhoff, *Paracelsusforschungen*, Heft II, p. 153.

¹² Sudhoff, *Versuch* etc., Vol. II, pp. 338ff.

full power to take up his affairs with God. But if a man gives this power out of his hands and does not keep what God has given

♦ ALTERIVS NON SIT ♦ QVI SVVS ESSE POTEST ♦



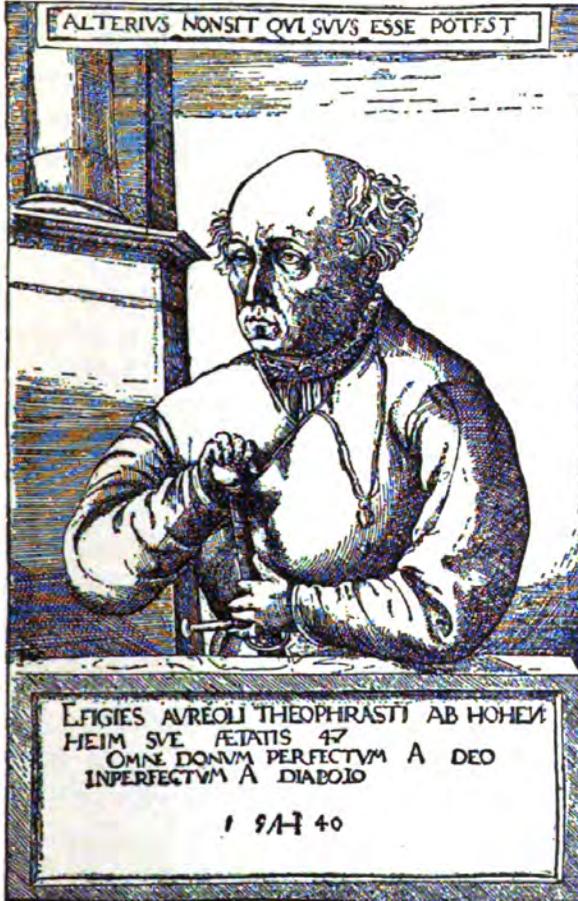
*Theophrastus von Hohenheim,
Lehrer der heiligen Schrift
und beider Arzneien Doctor*

PARACELSUS THREE YEARS BEFORE HIS DEATH.*

him, but surrenders it to another and seeks it again from that other, then he falls into ceremonies and depends upon despair.

* This portrait and the one following are by Augustin Hirschvogel (c. 1503-1569), engraved after sketches from life. The signature reproduced underneath reads: "Theophrastus von Hohenheim, der Heiligen Schrift und beider Arzneien Doctor."

For every ceremony is the way of despair....For if we have anything to receive from God it is our hearts he sees and not the ceremonies. If he has given us anything, he does not wish that we should employ it in ceremonies but in our work. For he gives it for no other purpose but that we should love God with all our heart and our might, and soul, and that we should help our neighbor.



PARACELSUS IN HIS LAST YEAR.

If that which he has given us helps toward that, all ceremonies will be forgotten.”¹³

That such expressions as the above are not to be harmonized with the doctrines of the Church to which he claimed allegiance would appear obvious. The Rev. Raymund Netzhammer of the Benedictine order, one of the recent biographers of Paracelsus, thus expresses himself upon this point:

¹³ *Op. fol.*, I, 114-115, “Paramirum.”

"Far more in the domain of theology than even in medicine, does Paracelsus, who sometimes calls himself Doctor of Sacred Scripture, seem to recognize no authority, but to consider his own thinking and philosophizing as authoritative for him. That with this principle of free investigation, denying every authority, even that of the Church, he departed from the foundations of Catholic doctrine every well-informed person knows. But not only by this principle as such, but still more through its practical development did he separate himself from the faith of his fathers: he combatted the hierarchical establishment of the Church, the power of the keys, its monastic orders, its ceremonies, its public prayers and devotions. He rejected preaching among Christians, who should teach themselves from the Scriptures, and banished the apostles and preachers to the heathen. . . . It must, however, not be denied, but on the contrary emphasized that Theophrastus possessed a very high, though unfortunately too mystical a concept of many doctrines and sacraments, as for instance of hereditary sin, of baptism with its inextinguishable symbols, and notably also of the communion. Baptism and communion are for him the two principal roads which lead to Heaven."¹⁴

The question as to his orthodoxy has been viewed differently by his biographers. His editor Huser mildly defends his Catholicism. "Some are inclined to hold him in suspicion on account of his religion, because in various places he speaks in opposition to certain abuses: in my opinion this is unjust, for, as concerns his faith, it is well known that he did not separate from the holy Catholic and Roman Church, but remained in obedience to it, as the Archbishopric and City of Salzburg can bear witness, where he died in the year 1541, a Catholic and Christian and was honorably interred."

Schubert and Sudhoff summarize the results of their studies into the life and character of Paracelsus thus:

"If we consider his attitude toward the religious parties of the time, we may perhaps find that in the years before 1531 he felt some inclination toward the Reformation of Luther and Zwingli, perhaps only in so far as he presumed in them who had broken in matters of faith with ancient tradition, a greater sympathy also with his reform ideas in the domain of medicine and natural science. . . . Later—after the year 1531—there is no further talk of sparing the Protestants. On the contrary, if he also combatted the Roman hierarchy, the external forms of worship and other

¹⁴ Netzhammer, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-9.

ceremonials, he yet rejects all dissenting religious parties as 'sects,' almost even more violently."¹⁵

Though none of the theological papers of Paracelsus was published during his life, so far as is known, yet his views were more or less known, either from manuscript copies, or from his free oral expressions, and evidently brought upon him the displeasure and disapproval of Catholic authorities. Evidence as to this appears in a manuscript among the collection examined by Sudhoff and published in large part in his volume on the manuscripts of Paracelsus.

The extract translated below is so eminently characteristic of his point of view in theological matters and so well illustrates his relation at the time to the orthodox theology, that it forms one of the most interesting expressions of his spiritual experience.

"Your daily disputations and sharp attacks upon me on account of my truth-speaking, namely, that I have sometimes and several times in taverns, inns, and roadhouses spoken against useless church-going, luxurious festivals, vain praying and fasting, giving of alms, offerings, tithes, . . . confession, partaking of the sacrament, and all other priestly rules and observances, and have accused me of drunkenness on account of this, because this has taken place in the taverns, and the taverns are held to be inappropriate places for the truth;—and that you call me a corner-preacher;—Why do you do this to me at this time, when you were silent and well pleased when in the taverns I advised people to give offerings to you and to follow you and not speak against you? If that was proper in the inns and was of service to you,—then let it please you now that the truth is spoken in the inns. For then in the inns I was a believer in you, but now I am a believer in Christ and no longer in you. And if I came into the inns with you, then I would say to these same people, 'Guard yourselves against false prophets and deceivers who are sent by the Devil.' I would never again speak of giving to you, but of taking away from you, the usurped power which you have long exercised through the Devil's power. . . . Also you say of me that I have just sense enough to reason with peasants. . . . You say I should go amongst the doctors at Löwen [Louvain], Paris, Vienna, Ingolstadt, Cologne, where I should have real persons under my eyes, not peasants, not tradesmen, but masters of theology. Know then my answer to this: to those will come their own equals. If it be not I, it will be another, but my teaching and my witnessing for Christ will come forth and overcome them. Christ never came to Rome, yet Rome is His vicar; St. Peter never

¹⁵ Schubert-Sudhoff, *op. cit.*, Heft II, pp. 152-3.

came to Cologne, yet he is her patron saint, and if in the end I do not come that is not my fault. For the teaching is not mine, it is from Christ. He will send a Netherlands messenger if I cannot speak the language, and to those of Vienna and Ingolstadt he will send their countrymen, and the truth will be born amongst them and through them will come to light and not through me. And when I am dead the doctrine will live on, for it is of Christ, who dieth not. And if I were at Louvain and at Paris it is not me they would punish,—upon which you count,—they would but punish Christ and not me. Yet I believe that my speaking to-day will be heard by them as well as if I had spoken in their presence. For Christ does not let his word be lost at any time. Nor does he let it lie hidden, it must go forward. It is not for one alone, it must be spread abroad. Everything must be opened to it.

“You complain much and loudly that I have made the peasants contumacious, so that they never make offerings and care little for you or not at all. Consider,—if my speech were from the Devil, they would follow you and not me. But as they follow me and not you believe no else than that the Holy Spirit is in them which teaches them to recognize your character, trickery, and great falsehoods. For I have not invented anything myself,—what I have said that is from the Holy Ghost. It is the Gospel. . . . and has been the Gospel from the time of Christ till this day. But your trickery is more ancient—from Cain and from the old hypocrites and bishops. The new [Gospel] is true, the old false. The new condemns the old, not the old the new. Were the Old Testament from which you take all your deceptions fully good and true, Christ would not have renewed it again.”¹⁶

The doctrines of theology which Paracelsus accepted appear not only from the above strong statement but consistently from numerous extracts throughout his works to be his own literal interpretation of the teachings of Christ. He asked for no intermediate authority to interpret to him their meaning, and entertained no doubts as to the correctness of his own rendering. That he was deeply impressed with the spirit of the teachings of Christ often shows itself, particularly in its practical relation to the service of man toward his fellow. Love and helpfulness for the neighbor, the poor, and the sick are frequent themes of his appeals.

Among the manuscripts which Sudhoff has reproduced is a sermon containing an autobiographical fragment, manifestly written

¹⁶ Sudhoff, *Versuch* etc., Vol. II, pp. 333ff. “De septem punctis Idolatriæ Christianæ.”

in his later years, which is retrospective and introspective, and so completely in accord with the known facts of the life of Paracelsus, that it bears the strongest possible internal evidence of genuineness. The manuscript is at Leyden and is a copy made between 1590 and 1610. Copies of somewhat later date exist also in Copenhagen, Salzburg and the British Museum, the latter in a Latin version.

For the estimation of the personality and mental experiences of Paracelsus, it is too important to be omitted.

"As I have undertaken to write of the blessed life of Christian faith, it has not seemed proper to attempt to portray that without this introduction. . . . Therefore I have undertaken to write this preface to the blessed life of Christian experience that I may excuse my delay in writing this book, as I began working upon it in the twentieth year [1520]. Why I have so long postponed and delayed has not happened without reasons. One of these is that youth should not come forward before its proper time, as nothing should appear before its time, but should await the determined hour toward which we all progress. For another reason, not only my youth, but that other matters of my profession have prevented me, namely that astronomy, medicine, and works in philosophy had to be described, that is to say, that which concerns the Light of Nature, so that I had to leave for a later harvest the Sacred Writings :—that they might be well ripened, they have been postponed to the end and the lesser things completed first. These are two reasons that have strongly influenced me. But not only from these causes has the delay arisen, but much more from this that I was raised and grew up in great poverty so that my resources have not permitted me to act according to my desires.

"And even when I had nearly finished there arose in my affairs public and private, much opposition which has lain on my shoulders alone, and there has been no one to hold back and shield for me. For very strange kinds of people have persecuted and accused me and hindered me and discredited me, so that I have had little reputation among men but rather contempt. For my tongue is not built for chattering but for work and for the truth. That is the reason that I have not counted for much with the logicians and dialecticians in medicine, philosophy, and astronomy. Also their pomp and display and fine speeches for princes and the rich,—I have been nothing like that, and have therefore been forsaken. So also has greatly tormented me the winning of my bread [*der Pflug meiner Nahrung*]. For the world is not to be gained by astronomy, as it has little value except for itself, nor by medicine, as it has not power over all

AVREOLVS PHILIPPVS THEOPHRASTVS PARACELSVS. EX

Der hochgeleret vnd tiefſinnig natur- kundiger Philippus Theophrastus von Hohenheim, beider Artzneyen Doctör

Inuentum in medicina reuolucione: magis tamen Me quoque firmum hoc sacra scripta probant.

Geboren im Jahr 1493

Aus seinen propheetischen

Der doctör in dem teufel halt Einigkeit, nicht im feil, er hat die pateroster, guld ringe, vnd lere nach statz der heil. Stecht in dem laubrosche ring, wider vnsich kein nachhinder, Ersetzet über toetenen wasser, Der rhen stuch, gleich ring, off, die goldhaube vns über den Zehnecht sey hen, vnschaff, vnd kuff.

11	24	7	20	3
4	12	25	8	16
17	5	13	21	9
10	18	1	14	22
23	6	19	2	25

Auf dieſe gegewenrige zee

Nicht wessen der heil in lere, Werdn heil als ist jungkerten, Wer guld ist mit wasser kuff, Die pateroster lere, er was wasser, Die wasser sein wasser er was, Was fu in ihr allez vermag, Zerresen wie sich erresen, Darin all andre stoffen, Die er mit wasser wasser ist, Beside von die vnd Hohenheim kuffen.



OMNE DONVM PERFECTVM A DEO: IMPERFECTVM VERO A DI. BOLO.

All kunst vnd artzney man findt Beim Theophrasto, so ge achurnde, Als vor wol bey der ruffen yam, Bey keinem menschen ward erfarn, Als Perillaten, Schley, Füllend fache, Aufsatz, vnd Zappern verruche, Sump andre bruchheit mancher art, Sit er geheile der hochglare Wie Dorer in der Malerz, So dierer in der Artzney, Der vnd nach ihm keiner kan, Der Ihm hiern dempfer beyam, Muß es darumb vom Teufel sein, Derselb sey fern, ach nem, ach nem Enddecke der Kunst vnd vthum all, Mißbrauch, alß gawig, vnd ganz er fall

Epitaphium eius quod Sabburgim No loco- mo, apud S. Nicolaus T. amon, ad tempus marion ere- ctum, spectatur, lapidi inscriptum.

CONDITVR HIC PHILIPPVS THEOPHRASTVS IN SIGNIS MEDICINÆ DOCTOR, QUI DIRA ILLAVLNERA LEPHAM, PODAGRAM, HYDROPISEM, ALIACQVE INSANABILIA CORPORIS CONTAGIA, MIRIFICA ARTE SVS TVLIT, AC ROMA SVA IN PAVTERES DIEBVS REVICIA COLLOCANDAQVE HONORAVIT. ANNO M D XXXIII DIE XXIII SEPTEMBRI VITAM CVM MORTE MV LAVIT

zu saltzung hab ich ohne klag, vnd schaff her an die jungsten tag, Alß in der got, mein grab enddecke, Alß mich in der geseit, erresen.

Ob er in Hohenheim Schrift, studere, Werdn aus sein hochern gang grader, Dem aus sein bey der hundert schriften Lere, lere, Theolog, vnd Kersten, Was war in himmel vnd Erden ist, Was dieſer Doctör z aller frist, Doch was er frist der schweitz kuff, Die man ihn kufftege aus vngantz, Auch Ehligfich sein hat gunde, Demo die menschen wider kuche Von doct. Daru die grob metall Hat er sein sündern können all In rüber vnd in vater Gole, Wer wolt menslichen nicht sein hale, Hat all sein gut den armen geben, Got geb ihm fere, das ewig leben

Philosophische vnd Biblische Sprache Theophrasti.

Eius auctora breue sol nemo sit. Der für sich bleiben kan allen. Gut sich, frid den menschen in Den erschaffen er can eig

Matth. 4. Ich hab vnd schick gantz mit friden, das du allen lere hilffest das ich sicher wene.

Matth. 19. Ich weis das wenn Christus lebe, vnd er wird mich hernach aus der erden auffwrecken, vnd werde hernach mit dir in der himel.

Corinth. 12. Es sind den menschen mancherley gaben von Got gegeben, einem jeden nach seiner vrsach, aber durch einen geist.

Matth. 14. Der mensch von weibe geboren lebet ein kurze zeit, vnd ist vol wunde, gehet auf wie ein blim vnd felle ab, er hat seine bestimte zeit, die zal sein wunden stehet bey dir, da hast ein ziel, jere, das wird er nicht überden.

Matth. 13. Alß lere lere mich das es ein ende mit mir haben muße, vnd mein leben ein ziel habe, vnd sich dauon muße.

Rom. 14. Dusei keiner lebe im selber, vnd keiner stirbe im selber, leben wir so leben wir den Herren, sterben wir so sterben wir den Herren, darumb wir leben oder sterben so sind wir des Herren. Seid getrost, ich hab die wete überwunden. Ioh. 16.

ΣΙΕΤΡΟΥ ΜΟΡΕΛΛΟΥ.

Ελλάς καταβήσασα Θεοφράστου Παρακίλιου

Εικόνα της φύσεως φρεσολογιστροπιδίου,

Καὶ παλαιῶν ὀφειστικῶν χειρῶν ἀποδείξει,

Επισημῶς ἡ ἀναμῆ ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ὀφειδία,

Τύρηντι Εὐμας, ἐπὶ οὐκ ὀφειδία ἀποδείξει, οὐκ ἔστιν ὀφειδία, ὡς ἀποδείξει οὐκ ἔστιν ὀφειδία,

Τὴν μαθῶν βιβλίον γράφει χειρῶν ἀποδείξει,

Καὶ τοῦ ὀφειδίου ἐπισημῶς ὀφειδίου ὀφειδίου,

Ἐπὶ μαθῶν βιβλίον φρεσολογιστροπιδίου,

Ὅτι ἐπισημῶς ὀφειδίου ὀφειδίου ὀφειδίου,

Ἐπὶ μαθῶν βιβλίον φρεσολογιστροπιδίου,

Ἐπὶ μαθῶν βιβλίον φρεσολογιστροπιδίου,



GILLII PINAVTII

Græcia paracelsiæ contemplare vultum

Com Paracelsianæ conspectus effigiem.

Prisca ætate tuam quatuor cœtus hinc hinc

Græci: Germanus continet vna fano.

Alter hypoborea hic Anachoritis præcipue

Ingenu Argivas qui tibi præcipue spes

Illius e scriptis fructari videra terere.

Enotebique potes fœdare templi poli.

Sicque maritima hæc terra videra terere.

De postis longis enumerare dies.

Illius et dictis sic non parere recuso.

Aliteris ne sis qui tuas spes potes.

ISTA CABALISTA REAM NATURAE INDVSTRIS INDAGA

BROADSIDE ON PARACELSUS (before 1606).

Engraved by Balthasar Jenichen after originals by Hirschvogel.

diseases, nor by philosophy [i. e., natural philosophy] likewise, as it is held in contempt, but by tradesmen's wealth and courtly manners. That has been a cross to me and still is to this day.

"Nor has all this been the least: . . . The other [reason] is so great that I can hardly describe it,—that is the greatest cause which has hindered me from writing,—that I have not been considered a true Christian,—that has troubled me severely. For because I am a creature of God, redeemed by His blood and through it have received food and drink in the new birth,—that has seemed sufficient to me to make me a true Christian.

"But there has arisen against me another crowd and faction who say, 'Thou as a layman, as a peasant, as a common man, shouldst not speak of such things as pertain to the Sacred Scriptures, but shouldst listen to us—to what we tell you and hold to that, and shouldst listen to no others nor read anything except us alone!' I was thus forced into a delay,—I hardly dared to stir, for they were powerful in this world,—I had to endure it as one who must lie under the stairs.

"But nevertheless when I read the cornerstone of Christendom and heard the preaching and disputations of the others (it was like a miller and a coal-heaver against each other), it became necessary for me and manifest that I should accept rather the truth than lies, rather righteousness than unrighteousness, rather light than darkness, rather Christ than Satan. When I perceived the difference I let the opposition go without contradiction and accepted for myself the Christian cornerstone. As I then found that in the layman, in the common man, in the peasant (which name they employ when they would abuse their opponents most scornfully), the perfection of the blessed Christian life most abides, and not at all in those others, then I began to write of the truth of the life of Christ. When I had then finished the writing and concluded with much hope, there broke out the division of the kingdom of this world as it now is [i. e., the Reformation?]. So I delayed and took pause—postponed it till another autumn and harvest. It has now seemed good to me to make an end, and so to close with these books, the fruits of the seed which has been with me from the beginning.

"Therefore I have included in one work the relation of Christians to the blessed life and likewise the relation of Christians to the unblessed life. . . . Those in the unblessed life are great, are arrogant,—they own the world, it is theirs,—they are the children of the light of the world. But the blessed—they have not the

world—but they have their kingdom which is not of this world but of the Eternal, and with the Eternal: where two of the blessed life are together, there is Christ the third. Those are the riches that they have in this world. And although those who have opposed me have greatly hindered me, they have not suspected what has lain in my pen;—I have kept my mouth closed, that the storm and the thunderbolt should not strike me to earth. Thereby I have brought it forward till this day and have not troubled myself about them, but have held companionship with the common people of whom they are ashamed and have myself therefore been despised. This has been my preparation for this work."¹⁷

THE TALMUD ON DREAMS.

BY JULIUS J. PRICE.

THE human mind has at all times sought to arrive at some explanation of what on the surface appears mysterious or wonderful. Man through the centuries of his development has endeavored to account for these strange phenomena of his sleeping hours that we call dreams.¹ The suspension of the will-power clothes the ideas with reality; and, as a result, one man acts many parts.² The phenomenon of dreams has not only occupied the minds of the superstitious, but it has engaged the careful attention and earnest study of the scientist³ as well as the scholar,⁴ by reason of its points of contact⁵ with other mental conditions.⁶ A scientific study of dreams proves that there is a similitude between the suspension of the higher mental activities known as the dreaming state, and the instinctive state of human development observed in the lower orders of human and animal life.

But though these phenomena might seem to the average man of to-day to be but a "state of mind,"⁷ yet we find that even such

¹⁷ Sudhoff, *Versuch* etc., Vol. II, pp. 406-408.

¹ Plutarch, *De placitis philosophorum*, V, 2, pp. 904f.

² Xenophon, *Cyrop.*, VIII, 21; cf. also Cicero, *De divin.*, I, 30-63.

³ Aristotle, *De insomniis*, II.

⁴ Æschylus, *Prom.*, 485f.

⁵ Hesiod, *Theog.*, 211; also Euripides, *Iph. Taur.*, 1262.

⁶ Maimonides however regarded dreams as a form of prophecy; see *Guide of the Perplexed*, tr. by M. Friedländer, p. 240.

⁷ Cf. *Odyssey*, XIX, 562f. tr. by Butcher and Lang.

a cyclopedic work as the Talmud has endeavored to give an explanation of the observed facts. Let us then briefly see what the Rabbis have to say on the subject.

In one passage we find that the Rabbis are of the opinion that we dream at night what we think in the daytime. Rabbi Jonathan said:⁸ "It is the thoughts of his heart during the day which appear to a man in a dream; for it is said: 'As for thee, O King, thy thoughts come into thy mind upon thy bed' (Dan. ii. 29)." Rava observed: "It must be so; for they never show to a man a golden tree or an elephant passing through the eye of a needle," inasmuch as man never thinks of these.

The expression, "thoughts of his heart," sounds like an anticipation of the Freudian theory of "wish-fulfilment." Is Professor Freud acquainted with this interpretation of dreams in the Talmud, and, if so, may he not possibly have been unconsciously influenced thereby?

A further utterance of the kind we have referred to is to be found in several other passages of the Talmud, one of which reads as follows:⁹ "Cæsar said to Rabbi Joshua ben Chananyah [who is supposed to have been a contemporary of Trajan]: 'You say that you are exceedingly wise; tell me what I shall see in my dream.' He replied: 'You shall dream that the Persians will make you work for them, spoil you, and make you tend cattle with a golden crosier.' He thought of it the whole day and saw it at night." The Talmud has still another passage, as proof of the above, in the following: "Shevur, the king of Persia [perhaps this is none other than Sapor¹⁰ who took Valerian prisoner], once said to Samuel the Babylonian: 'You say that you are exceedingly wise; tell me what I shall see in my dreams?'"¹¹ He replied: 'You shall see the Romans come and take you prisoner and compel you to grind date-kernels with golden grinders.' He thought of it the whole day and saw it at night."

In another instance we find that the Rabbis are of the opinion that it is not the dreams but the interpretation that we give of dreams that is really realized.¹² Thus Rabbi Beris related of the aged Rabbi Benaab that "one day he went to all the twenty-four interpreters at Jerusalem to tell them his dream. Each gave a different interpretation and each was fulfilled—which, says the

⁸ Berachoth, 55b.

⁹ Berachoth, 56a.

¹⁰ Meyer's *Ancient History*, Part II, p. 149, note 1.

¹¹ Berachoth, 56a.

¹² Cf. Apuleius, *Metam.*, IV, 910; *ibid.*, II, 125.

rabbi, confirms the saying that it is the interpretation and not the dream that is realized."¹³

The Rabbis give various interpretations of the phenomena supposed to have been seen in dreams. In one case I find that the Rabbis state: "If one dreams that he is excommunicated he requires ten men to absolve him."¹⁴ Another passage reads as follows: "Among the four wise men,¹⁵ he that seeth Rabbi Yochanan ben Nuri in a dream may hope to be a sin-eschewing man; if Rabbi Eleizer ben Azaryah, he may hope to be a great and rich man; if Rabbi Ishmael, he may hope to be a wise man; if Rabbi Akiba, let him apprehend misfortune."

The Rabbis also give an interpretation of the meaning of various animals seen in a dream. For example, we read: "He that seeth a goose¹⁶ in a dream may hope for wisdom; for it is said: 'Wisdom crieth in the streets' (Prov. i. 20) [and so does a goose]. וְהָבֵט עָלֶיהָ will be made the head of a seat of learning."¹⁷ At this Rabbi Ashi remarked: 'I had such a dream and was thus promoted.'

In another passage we read as follows: "If one sees a dog in a dream, let him when awake say: 'But against any of the children of Israel shall not a dog move his tongue' (Ex. xi. 7), before he is anticipated by the text: 'They are greedy dogs' (Is. lvi. 11). If he sees a lion in a dream let him when awake say: 'The lion hath roared, who will not fear?' (Amos iii. 8), before he is anticipated by the text: 'The lion is come up from his thicket' (Jer. iv. 7). If he sees a bullock in a dream, let him when awake say: 'His glory is like the firstling of his bullock' (Deut. xxxiii. 17), before he is anticipated by the text: 'If an ox gore a man' (Ex. xxi. 28)."¹⁸

In two cases we find that dreams¹⁹ accurately foretold events that were to occur in the lives of several of the Rabbis.²⁰ "Ben Damah, the son of Rabbi Ishmael's sister, said to his uncle: 'I have seen in a dream both my cheeks drop off.' The latter replied: 'Two Roman military bands have resolved to do thee mischief, but they died!' Bar Kappora said to Rabbi Judah-han-Nasi: 'I have seen in a dream my nose drop off.' The Rabbi replied: 'Some one's anger against thee has been subdued.' 'I have seen in a dream both my hands cut off.' He replied: 'Thou wilt be spared manual

¹³ Berachoth, 55b.

¹⁴ Nedarim, 8a.

¹⁵ Avoth d'Rav. Nathan, Chap. XLI.

¹⁶ Berachoth, 57a.

¹⁷ The words given in Hebrew are untranslatable, but their import can easily be ascertained by reference to a lexicon.

¹⁸ Berachoth, 56b.

¹⁹ Cf. Plutarch, *Vit. Pelop.*, XXI.

²⁰ Cf. Æschylus, *Eum.*, 104, and Pindar, *Frag.* 108 (Bergk).

labor.'"²¹ Another example is found in the following quotation: "Rabbi Yochanan ben Zakai saw in a dream, the night following the Day of Atonement, that his sister's son would lose one thousand seven hundred denars in the course of a year.²² He therefore asked them again and again for sums of money to be given to the poor, till, on the eve of the next Day of Atonement seventeen denars remained with them of the sum they were destined to lose.²³ On that very day the government of Cæsar demanded seventeen denars of them. Rabbi Yochanan told them that they need not fear lest more should be exacted from them. 'And how dost thou know it?' they asked.²⁴ He told them of his dream which had induced him to make them distribute the doomed money in charity. 'But why,' they asked, 'didst thou not tell us of it before?' 'I wanted you,' said he, 'to give the money from a pure motive.'"

Various counsels are given by the Rabbis as to what is to be done in the case of a dream being forgotten or left uninterpreted. The following would take place when a dream was forgotten, according to the interpretation of Mar Zutra and Rabbi Ashi: "Whosoever has had a dream and cannot call it to mind, let him stand before the priests when they spread out their hands to bless the people, and say: 'Lord of the Universe, I am Thine and my dreams are Thine; I have dreamed a dream and know not what it is; whether I have dreamed about myself, whether my neighbors have dreamed about me, or whether I have dreamed about others; if the dreams be good, strengthen and confirm them, like the dreams of Joseph; if they require healing, heal them as the bitter waters were by Moses, as Miriam was healed of leprosy, Hezekiah of his illness, and the waters of Jericho by Elisha, and as Thou didst turn the curse of the wicked Balaam into a blessing, so turn all my dreams into good.'"²⁵ On the other hand, if a man had dreamed, and his dream was interpreted as of ill omen, the Rabbis prescribed as follows. Rabbi Chanan said: "A man should not despair of mercy, even when the master of dreams has told him that he should die to-morrow; for it is said: 'In the multitude of dreams, and many vanities and words, fear but God' (Eccles. v. 7)."²⁶

While the Rabbis at various times stated that dreams were of comparatively small significance, and in many cases that little atten-

²¹ Berachoth, 56b.

²² Cf. Plato, *Crito*, 44b; also Herodotus, III, 124, and Plutarch, *Cimon* XVIII, p. 490.

²³ Cf. *Iliad*, XXIII, 65; also *Odyssey*, IV, 796f, and XIX, 536f.

²⁴ Bava Bathra, 10a.

²⁵ Berachoth, 55b.

²⁶ Berachoth, 10b.

tion was to be paid to them, yet I have found one instance where the Rabbis urge the interpretation of dreams. For according to Rabbi Chisda a dream not interpreted is like a letter not read, [of no consequence, says Rashi, for all depends upon the interpretation]; if so, Joseph was guilty of deliberate murder. Rabbi Chisda further said: "Neither a good dream nor a bad dream is wholly realized"; again, "A bad dream is better than a good dream; for a bad dream is neutralized by the sadness it causes, and a good dream is realized by the joy it brings."²⁷

We see then that although some Rabbis regarded dreams as of no consequence, yet some,²⁸ on the other hand, were able to foretell future events²⁹ as well as ward off hardships that were to come upon them. Although dreams in general are made little of, yet people³⁰ from the earliest times³¹ to the present day have believed in them as something more than the result of a full stomach or a cherished thought.

DREAMS.

BY T. B. STORK.

APROPOS of Professor Freud's "Interpretation of Dreams," which for the last few years has called forth considerable discussion, I would like to call attention to a theory of dreams published some years ago, whether strictly new and original I know not, but which seems at least simpler and less open to the charge of being fantastic.

According to this view, dreams are what might be called blind perceptions; that is, they are the efforts of our perceptive faculty to form an intelligible perception with defective materials. An example will best illustrate the idea.

We are all familiar with the story of the dreamer who dreamed that he had enlisted in the army, was guilty of some grave offense for which he was condemned to death, and was just about to be

²⁷ *Berachoth*, 55a.

²⁸ Cf. Pausanias, IX, xxxix, 5f, where we are told that the oracles of Trophonius and Æsculapius were dream-oracles where the sick slept, seeking means of cure, and where those who desired to know future events went to obtain it through dreams.

²⁹ Xenophon, writing about the retreat of the 10,000, states that he constantly depended on dreams. Cf. his *Hipparch.*, I, 1; also *Cyneget.*, I, 1f.

³⁰ Hippocrates, I, 633, *De insomniis*; cf. also Artemidorus, *Oneir*, passim.

³¹ *Iliad*, II, 322f.

shot. The sound of the guns of the execution awakened him and he heard the sound of a door slamming with a loud bang; this not only aroused him from his slumber, but was the active cause of his dream, which he had dreamed in the interval elapsing between the first sound of the slamming door and his actual awakening: of this the explanation is quite easy and satisfactory.

The auditory nerves of the slumberer had conveyed to his consciousness a loud sound; it had intruded, so to speak, on a consciousness empty of all other sensations, and the perceptive faculty working in an automatic way had endeavored to form a rational perception of the sound, but with no other material than the sensation of the sound itself. This was impossible. In order to form a rational perception of the sound and make it intelligible, it was absolutely essential to have other sensations, other material, to build up the perception, and in the absence of any real sensations, the perceptive faculty called upon memory and from its store of past sensations, drew the materials that were wanting, supplied guns as the source of the sound and accounted for the guns by the rest of the events of the enlistment, misbehavior, etc., these latter not being perhaps essential to the immediate perception of the sound, but required by the sensations or material, the guns etc., invented to make the perception of the sound possible. A rational perception of a sound all by itself is impossible for the mind, it cannot perceive in the philosophical sense a sound by itself with nothing but a sound, no sensation from any other organ of perception, accompanying it. Yet, on the other hand, there is a sensation of sound presented to consciousness, real, persistent, that will not be denied or set aside, and so the perceptive faculty must do something with it, must form an intelligible perception containing it, and so for want of any other material, it catches up from memory any odd or end that will help make it rational, much as a woman might take up from her worktable any piece of finery or stuff to complete a garment. It is a sudden, almost instantaneous operation that flashes through the consciousness during the short time between the slumberer's hearing the noise and his awakening to full consciousness.

Here undoubtedly is the source of one large class of dreams; that is, of dreams caused by some external irritation of the senses, and is it not quite likely, reasoning from analogy, that the dreams of a different class, those which are not directly traceable to any external irritation of the senses, may be caused by other less obvious internal irritations, obscure nerve-excitements transmitted by the bodily organs when not in a normal condition? There is a story

of a woman who had a dream that her husband was being executed; she awoke with a sensation of horror at the dreadful occurrence. Not long after she was taken with an attack of smallpox; it is reasonable to suppose that, some prognosticating symptom of the disease making itself felt in her sleeping consciousness and insisting upon being perceived, there occurred the resultant dream of her husband's peril.

Dr. Maudsley in his work on *Dreams* gives an instance of his own experience much to the same effect, viz., that he dreamed he was dissecting a subject when it suddenly revived; his horror and mortification were nothing more than the suffering from an intestinal disturbance which introduced into his consciousness such a sensation of pain that the perceptive faculty had to accept and perceive it to the above effect.

The theory will take a greater appearance of completeness if we contrast, for the moment, the blind perception of our dreaming with the true perception of our waking reality; the former built up by some single real sensation, to which other artificial sensations have been added from memory's store in order to make it possible to combine the real sensation into a rational perception; the latter a congeries of real sensations unified and rationalized into a true perception by the mysterious and hidden operation of the perceptive faculty—"apperception," Kant has called it, thus distinguishing it as the active work of the ego, from the more passive reception of sensations in consciousness. For example, I have a perception of myself walking along the street in a great city; innumerable sensations go to make up this perception, the absence of any one of which would render the perception defective, either wholly or partially unintelligible. Among the chief of these sensations—I will not presume to name them all, perhaps that is impossible—are: first, the sensation of sight; I see the street, the houses, the pavement, they all are sending sensations to my consciousness; there is a sensation of hearing; the sound of my footsteps on the pavement; many other sounds of less prominence announce the presence of surrounding objects; there is a sensation of feeling; I experience under my feet the resistance of the pavement to their touch; and further, there is another, less definite and not so easily recognized, a feeling of the muscular contraction taking place in my limbs as I exert them in the act of walking. Shut out any one of these and the perceptive faculty is at a loss to form its perception; it becomes puzzled. Assume that only the muscular contraction of the limbs renders a sensation in consciousness: I see and hear nothing, and

the perceptive faculty is compelled to make a perception out of this alone. What could it do? How could it render it intelligible? If I had already had a perception made out of real sensations and were merely closing my eyes and ears to everything transmitted through them, I could recall the sensations just experienced and by means of my memory complete a true and full perception of what was suggested by the single real sensation. The action would be very similar to that posited as taking place in dreams, with the difference that here I consciously recall and rehabilitate at the suggestion of the single sensation all the rest. Thus I get my perception, blind, it is true, in that with the exception of feeling, all the other sensations are merely invented, artificial or imaginary, yet nevertheless intelligible, a copy of the actual perception which by an act of conscious will I have made impossible by closing my eyes and ears to the other sensations of which it was composed.

MISCELLANEOUS.

REGARDING CHRISTIAN ORIGINS.

BY EDGAR A. JOSSELYN.

A number of interesting articles have appeared in *The Open Court* on the origin of Christianity, about which there seems to be a rapidly growing interest among students of the history of religion. So much new information has been recently published about the early centuries of our era, that we are obliged to revise our idea of them, and give more serious attention to the "Christ myth" claim. Your contributors, however, while advancing strong arguments against various theories, do not appear to give consideration to two very important phases in the question, the combination of politics and religion in the early Roman Empire, and the strong hold that the dramatic elements of the ancient Greek mysteries had upon the people. Other writers ignore the same points, especially the first. Both points strengthen the Christ myth theory.

At the beginning of the Christian era the Roman emperors were deified and an acceptance of this deification was forced upon the empire. Apparently a unified religion was sought, corresponding to the unified political world that had been achieved. There was not such entire tolerance as Gibbon represents. To those who would not accept the deification of the emperors there was intolerance. The Jews resisted. We know that Philo of Alexandria went to Rome in 40 A. D. to persuade the emperor Gaius to abstain from claiming divine honor of the Jews. A Jewish religious revolt arose that ultimately led to the destruction of the Temple in 70 A. D. As is usual with religious wars the offense was not so much a difference in belief as resistance to the estab-

lished government, either Church or State. It is evident that it was considered desirable to have a uniform religion in the empire, and this idea is found outside as well as inside governmental circles. Philosophy and religion were deeply discussed, especially at Alexandria. We are told that "in the first centuries of Christianity, the religion of Persia was more studied and less understood than it had ever been before. The real object aimed at, in studying the old religion, was to form a new one." Christianity ultimately became a fusion of many elements, without any really new ethics, without any wholly new dogmas, but with one supreme feature, entirely new to the Roman world, a unified, established, intolerant, ruling Church, reproducing on a large scale what had existed in earlier times among the Egyptians, Jews, and other Orientals. The fusion is well described in Dr. Carus's *Pleroma* and Gilbert Sadler's *Origin and Meaning of Christianity*. The dogmas were principally Greek. Ethics, as of old (especially as in China), came from the "Mount." The Church establishment as a form of government was essentially Roman. Monotheism, or at least a modified monotheism, was of course adopted, as consistent with the aims and ideals of the movement. It should be noted that where other governing religions have been forcibly imposed on peoples, they have been monotheisms, as in the case of the Egyptian Aten, fourteen centuries before Christ, Judaism, and Mohammedanism. The fact that the new growth was largely outside of government circles might explain the persecutions. But Christianity was not alone in the race for supremacy. Mithraism made a mighty effort for control and nearly succeeded, but was overthrown and absorbed by Christianity which adopted its observance of Sunday and Christmas.

The second phase of the question, that of the influence of the Greek religious drama, presents an entirely different side of the subject. Most writers agree that Christianity is a Greek religion. The resurrection myth, appearing as the Osiris myth in Egypt, that of Attis, Adonis, and Mithra in various parts of western Asia, and as that of Dionysos and others in Greece, seems to be as old as mankind, and to represent one of the foundation stones of religion. Moreover its appeal was to the community rather than the individual, was intuitional rather than intellectual in character, and was essentially dramatic. Jane Harrison, in her *Ancient Art and Ritual*, shows that art, especially drama, was derived from ritual. She also points out that it was a democrat, Peisistratos, who revived and favored the ancient ritual in the sixth century B. C. Both Miss Harrison and Gilbert Murray trace the development of Greek religion from the ancient Cyprian and Greek myths to the anthropomorphic Olympian gods, after which came the academic philosophies of Plato and Aristotle, which doubtless did not appeal to the people. Meanwhile in the centuries just before the Christian era the cult of Osiris was revived in Egypt, and we know that Egyptian influence, especially in art, spread through the Greek world after Alexander's conquests. Gerald Massey in *Ancient Egypt the Light of the World* provides an Egyptian origin for nearly every Christian dogma. Now the essence of the Osiris and similar myths,—the resurrection or rebirth,—reflected the spirit of the times. The Roman Empire itself represented a birth of a new western world. There was a great drama taking place before the eyes of the people in the unfolding of a new era. It is also true that civilization was breaking down as well as starting on a new road, and a reversion of thought to primitive type would be natural. The masses

could easily welcome a new cult imposed on terms which gave them back the old myth that they instinctively loved. Meanwhile in the centuries since the old religion was most revered in Greece, there had come a change in man's attitude toward mankind. Man was now the measure of all things. The gods had already been made man-like, now man was to be god-like. The new mystery drama was to be in terms of men, not bulls and rams. However, the individual was still to be reborn by rites of initiation,—not of the mysteries, but of baptism, the ceremony that counted so much in earliest Christianity. It was no salvation on easy terms or any terms that the Greek world was seeking, but the old rebirth in new terms. In the Eucharist is found the same dramatic idea derived from other sources. In the ceremony of the mass the ancient mystery drama was re-enacted in a new guise.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE BOOK OF THE KINDRED SAYINGS (Sanyutta-Nikaya): Part I (Sagatha-Vagga). Translated by Mrs. Rhys Davids, assisted by Suriyagoda Sumanigala Thera. London: The Oxford University Press [1917]. Pp. xvi, 321. Price, cloth, 10s. net.

This translation, published for the Pali Text Society, contains the first eleven books of the "Classified Collection" (*Sanyutta Nikaya*) of the "Dialogues" (*Sutta Pitaka*), the second group of the canonical texts of early Buddhism. The text followed is of course that of the Pali edition published by Léon Feer, 1884ff, of which we now have the first volume in English. There seems to be hope that the rest of these suttas will appear shortly. As we learn from the Preface, the volume before us was finished as early as July, 1916, but war prices of paper and printing threatened to delay the publication quite indefinitely. Then it was decided to proceed with the work regardless of financial considerations, a course for which the Society certainly deserves much credit. The second volume is announced as following closely behind.

Of these eleven books, the *Sagatha Vagga*, or section "with verses" as they are called, up to now only two were available to Western students in complete translations, the "Mara Suttas" and the "Suttas of Sisters," of which Professor Windisch gave a German version in his *Mara und Buddha*, Leipsic, 1895. Besides, the "Suttas of Sisters" were rendered into English by Mrs. Rhys Davids before, in her *Psalms of the Early Buddhists*, Part I (1909), Appendix. Of quotations of course there are many in books dealing with early Buddhism, having on the whole the effect of making the darkness covering other parts only more visible. So we are glad to see at last the *Sagatha Vagga* made accessible in its entirety also to others than Pali scholars.

The impression the book creates as a whole is well summarized by the translator in the following (p. vii):

"Mythical and folk-lore drapery are wrapped about many of the sayings here ascribed to the Buddha. And in nearly all of them, if any represent genuine prose utterances, they have become deflected in the prism of memorializing verse, and to that extent artificial. Nevertheless, the matter of them is of the stamp of the oldest doctrine known to us, and from them a fairly com-

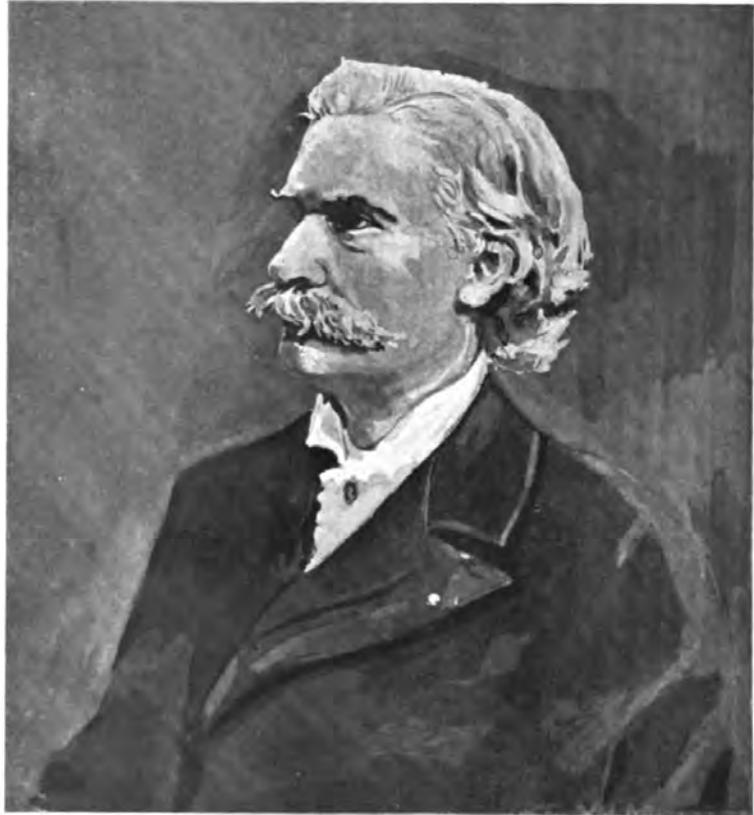
plete synopsis of the ancient Dhamma might be compiled. And short and terse as are the presentations of both saying and episode, they contribute not a little to body out our somewhat vague outline of India's greatest son, so that we receive successive impressions of his great good sense, his willingness to adapt his sayings to the individual inquirer, his keen intuition, his humor and smiling irony, his courage and dignity, his catholic and tender compassion for all creatures."

Mrs. Rhys Davids has preserved the metrical form wherever she found it used in the original—disdaining "to scrape the gilt off the gold." However, she has added literal translations in foot-notes in instances where the standards of scholarship seemed to demand it. Of her spirited verse renderings we offer the following as a specimen (p. 110):

"A man may spoil another, just so far
As it may serve his ends, but when he's spoiled
By others he, despoiled, spoils yet again.
So long as evil's fruit is not matured,
The fool doth fancy 'now's the hour, the chance!'
But when the deed bears fruit, he fareth ill.
The slayer gets a slayer in his turn;
The conqueror gets one who conquers him;
Th' abuser wins abuse, th' annoyer, fret.
Thus by the evolution of the deed,
A man who spoils is spoilèd in his turn."

The Index contains, besides a list of names and subjects, a list of Pali words paraphrased from Buddhaghosa's commentary on the *Sanyutta Nikaya*, the *Sarattappakasini*, which will be welcome to the student of the original, especially since the commentary itself exists in printed form only in Singhalese characters. This commentary also goes to make up a large part of explanations and elucidations of the text offered in the foot-notes.

In 1914 Dr. Carus published a volume of verse entitled *Truth, and Other Poems* in which appeared his poem "Death." Our readers will understand and appreciate the spirit in which we reprint it in this issue.



GUSTAF MITTAG-LEFFLER.
By C. W. Maud.

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. XXXIII (No. 4)

APRIL, 1919

NO. 755

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SUGGESTIONS OF THE PEACE TREATY OF WESTPHALIA FOR THE PEACE CONFERENCE IN PARIS.

BY ARTHUR MACDONALD,¹

THE Conference of Nations that is now taking place around the peace table at Paris is doubtless the most important of any in history. One reason is the fact that whatever plan the conference may decide to carry out will necessarily concern most all countries of the world. For railroads, steamships, aeroplanes, telegraphs, telephones, and wireless telegraphy, as never before, have made communication between nations so easy, quick, and direct that distance is almost eliminated, enabling the whole world to think, reason, and act at the same time, and to be influenced as one human solidarity.

There seems to be a strong desire in all lands that the Peace Conference will make future wars not only improbable but practically impossible. But how can this be done? For years countless peace plans and theories have been proposed filling volumes of books, but they are mainly of a speculative nature. Since theoretical grounds have proved inadequate, is there then any experience in the history of the world which can be made a basis for permanent peace? Is there, for instance, any kind of war that has resulted in doing away with itself permanently? The answer would point to the Thirty Years' War, closing with the Peace of Westphalia (1648), which seems to have put an end to all religious wars.

How, then, does it happen that the Peace Treaty of Westphalia, of all the treaties in the world, is the only one that has succeeded in stopping all religious wars? We are certainly dealing here with

¹ Dr. MacDonald of Washington, D. C., is the Honorary President of the International Congress of Criminal Anthropology of Europe.

a phenomenal fact in history.² It would therefore seem of interest and importance, especially at the present time, to make a brief anthropological study of the Thirty Years' War which led to such an exceptional and successful treaty.

NEW FIELD FOR ANTHROPOLOGY.

From the anthropological point of view, history can be looked upon as a vast laboratory for the purpose of studying humanity and assisting in its progress. In the past, anthropology has concerned itself mainly with savage and prehistoric man, but it is due time that it take up the more important and much more difficult subject of civilized man, not only as an individual but as an organization,³ or nation, or group of nations. It is true that other departments of knowledge, such as history and political science, have pursued these fields, but unfortunately not always in the scientific sense. Anthropology in this new field should seek to establish only those truths which can be based upon facts. There are doubtless many very important truths which cannot be established by scientific methods, but perhaps they can be better treated in political science, psychology, ethics, philosophy, and theology.

In the present inquiry, the anthropological problem is this: As religious wars are admitted to be the most intense, most idealistic, and most sacrificial of all wars, and therefore most difficult to stop: can it be ascertained just how the Thirty Years' War, culminating in the Peace of Westphalia, brought about the end of all religious wars? This might suggest how all political wars may be made to cease. If the seventeenth century accomplished the more difficult task, the Peace Conference at Paris ought to succeed in the less difficult one. If the twentieth century prides itself on being superior in diplomacy, practical statesmanship, and general mental caliber, it will now have an opportunity to show such superiority by formulating a treaty which will make all future political wars not only improbable but impossible.

PRINCIPLES OF A PEACE CONFERENCE.

In following the present Peace Conference and comparing it with the Peace Congress of Westphalia, it may be well to mention a few of the principles of such congresses in general. In a treaty

² The writer has been unable to find any discussion of this phase of the matter.

³ See a study of the United States Senate by the writer (published in Spanish) under the title: "Estudio del Senado de los Estados Unidos de America," in *Revista Argentina de Ciencias Politicas*, 12 de Enero de 1918 (Buenos Ayres, 1918).

of peace, there are first of all the usual articles, as, e. g., a declaration that peace is restored and amnesty clauses, including restitution of such conquests as are not intended to be retained and of rights suspended by the war. Also there are provisions to remove the causes out of which the war arose, redress grievances, and prevent their recurrence. This is the most essential thing for the congress to do. Then there is the indemnity article to make satisfactory reparation for injury sustained and cost of war. But great prudence should be exercised here, otherwise the conquered power may feel deep resentment which is liable to sow seeds for a future war.

As to personal attendance at the congress one great advantage is that difficulties thought insurmountable in correspondence, often disappear in an interview. Half the work is done when members have come to know what each really wants. But in long discussions there is danger of becoming fatigued and making ill-advised concessions. There is also temptation for some members to interfere where they have no substantial interests nor rights, and to contract engagements in which they have no special concern. When strong enough, every nation will insist on the right to manage its own internal affairs. Sometimes there are a few particularly able men, speaking several languages fluently (a very practical advantage), but representing only small countries, who may exercise undue influence and cause the congress to authorize things which may not prove of equal justice to all. Members of congresses have been known to vote for things that they did not understand, to the great disadvantage of their own country, due mainly to inexperience and lack of familiarity with the language spoken in the congress.

THE PEACE OF WESTPHALIA.

As early as 1636, Pope Urban VIII extorted from the powers engaged in the Thirty Years' War their unwilling consent to treat. In 1637 a discussion of safe conducts was begun which lasted nearly five years, and it was not until 1641 that preliminaries as to time and place of the Congress were signed, and these were not ratified, nor safe conducts exchanged, until 1643, making six years for controversies as to mere formalities. One of the causes of this dilatoriness was that neither side really desired peace. Captiousness and punctiliousness were doubtless emphasized in order to obtain delay. The labor of concluding peace was colossal; there were endless obstacles to surmount, contending interests to reconcile, a labyrinth of circumstances to cope with, difficulties to overcome

besetting the Congress from the very outset of the negotiations, not only of arranging the conditions of peace but still more of carrying them through the proceedings.

It is therefore fair to assume that the difficulties in establishing the Peace of Westphalia were as great as, and probably greater than, those now confronting the Peace Conference at Paris. For in the Westphalian Congress nobody desired peace, and it was not possible to agree to an armistice, so that war continued while the Congress was in session, materially affecting the deliberations; this may be one reason why the Congress lasted as long as four years.

To avoid questions of precedence and to lessen further opportunities for disagreement, two cities in Westphalia, Münster for the Catholics and Osnabrück for the Protestants, were selected. These places were a short day's ride apart. The treaty was signed at Münster October 24, 1648, and was called "The Peace of Westphalia." In addition to the disposition for delay, there was a tendency to criticize things generally. Thus certain plenipotentiaries complained of their accommodations, saying that the houses assigned to them, though high and handsome externally, were in fact rat-holes.

First, questions of etiquette were taken up. For instance, did the precedence belong to Spain, and what marks of honor were due to the representatives of the neutral powers? Then came contests for the ecclesiastical seats. The Nuncio, the representative of the Pope, wished to sit not only at the head of the table but wanted a canopy over him, to distinguish him. The way in which the minor powers should be received was in doubt. It was finally decided to go half-way down the stairs with guests when departing. Also the question of titles arose. The word "Excellency" was chosen for addressing the envoys of the great powers, but it had to be extended to the lesser powers. The Venetian envoy obtained the honor (to his joy) of being conducted, when he visited the French plenipotentiary, to the door of his coach, instead of to the staircase. These few of the many incidents during the Congress will illustrate the human side of official matters. Such disputes as to precedence and etiquette were to be expected in a proud and ceremonious age among representatives of numerous states, especially when many of them were of doubtful rank. There was also much display. A train of eighteen coaches conveyed the French envoys in their visits of ceremony. It appeared that France desired to show that she had not been impoverished by the war, like Germany.

The Papal Nuncio and the Venetian envoy were mediators as well as members of the Congress. France and Sweden were opposed to each other in religion, but in accord on political matters. The treaty was drawn up with such fulness and precision of language as is rarely found in documents of this nature, due to a large body of trained lawyers among the members. As indicating a desire for fairness in little things as well as in larger questions, the treaty contained these words: "No one of any party shall look askance at any one on account of his creed." As an example of wise provisions, the following may be noted: The Protestants demanded the year 1618 as *annus normalis* for the restitution of ecclesiastical estates, the Catholics insisted on the year 1630, which was much more favorable to them. The Congress split the difference and made it 1624. The *medius terminus* is often the wisest course in acute controversies. As to temporal affairs, all hostilities of whatever kind were to be forgotten, neither party being allowed to molest or injure the other for any purpose. In regard to spiritual affairs, complete equality was to exist (*aequalitas exacta mutuaque*), and every kind of violence was forever forbidden between the parties.

The Peace of Westphalia was the first effort to reconstruct the European states' system, and it became the common law of Europe. Few treaties have had such influence, and Europe is said for the first time to have formed a kind of commonwealth watching with anxiety over the preservation of the general peace.

THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

To have called to mind some of the principal points in the Peace of Westphalia, is not sufficient for understanding the real significance of the treaty without some consideration of the war which it closed. As already suggested, this war, looked at from a scientific point of view, is an unconscious experiment of nations, an attempt to solve a problem in abnormal international psychology. In order to comprehend this experiment and its resultant treaty, just how it brought about permanent religious peace, some of the main events of the war must be recalled as a basis upon which to work.

The Protestant Reformation had great influence upon almost everything political in Europe, until the Peace of Westphalia. The Religious Peace of Augsburg (1555) furnished no settlement to questions stirred up by the Reformation. It was inevitable that such fundamental disagreements should lead to a general war. The

Thirty Years' War marked the end of the Reformation which changed the idea of Christian unity and altered the theory of a Holy Roman Empire, replacing it by the idea of autonomy for individual states.

On May 23, 1618, a body of Protestants entered the royal palace at Prague and threw two detested representatives of the Crown from the window. This act started a struggle that for thirty years involved Europe in a war which spread gradually from Bohemia over Southern Germany, then slowly to Northern Germany and Denmark, until country after country began to take part and the fighting became general. The war might have ended in 1623, making it a five years' war, had it not been for the outrageous treatment of the Protestant states of Northern Germany, resulting in a political disintegration in which Germany lost half of her population and two thirds of her wealth. Her religion and morality sank low, and the intellectual damage required generations to restore.

The Roman Catholic Church, having guided Christianity for centuries without a rival, naturally felt greatly wronged by Protestant secession. This explains the uncompromising enmities of the Thirty Years' War. Various parties claimed the control of the religious doctrines to be taught the people, as well as control of worship; they were fighting each other for this power, ready to sacrifice their lives for it. The Lutherans were as intolerant toward the Calvinists as they were toward the Catholics. The Catholic Church, convinced of the absolute truth of its doctrines based upon thirteen centuries of growth, naturally could not tolerate some young reformers to arise and challenge its divine right, especially not since these reformers seized old monastic and ecclesiastic foundations with domains and edifices and administered them in their own interest. The resistance of the Catholic hierarchy, to the last drop of blood, was a normal reaction. As so often happens, the conditions were abnormal, not the human beings.

Had the war stopped in 1623, the Catholics would have been left with decided advantages. Their own ambitions, however, prevented it. Gustavus Adolphus appeared, and by his efforts Protestantism is said to have been saved from extinction. During thirteen of the thirty years, the lands of the Protestants had been devastated; during the next seventeen years an equalization of the exhaustion of the parties developed before a lasting religious peace was made. It became clear in the end that neither Catholics nor Protestants could crush their opponents without perishing likewise.

TERRIBLE RESULTS OF THE WAR.

The terrible results of the Thirty Year's War may be summed up by saying that Germany was the carcass, and the hosts which invaded the German soil were the vultures. The Protestant invaders were Swedes, Finns, Hollanders, Frenchmen, Englishmen, and Scotchmen; on the Catholic side there came in Spaniards, Italians, Walloons, Poles, Cossacks, Croats and representatives of nearly all other Slavonic tribes. There was an army never larger than 40,000 men, but the camp-followers were 140,000, consisting of gangs of Gipsies, Jewish camp-traders, marauders and plunderers. The soldiers robbed and tortured all alike, both friend and foe. The inhabitants would flee to the woods, taking with them or hiding everything they could. But the invaders were experts in discovering secret treasures; they would pour water on the ground, and where it sank quickly there they knew something had been recently buried.

To retaliate, the peasants would watch for stragglers, for the sick and wounded who had dropped behind, putting them to death with every device of insult and cruelty known. Much of the cruelty is too hideous to mention. In many districts the desolation was so great that persons were found dead with grass in their mouths. Men climbed up the scaffolds and tore down the bodies of those hanged and devoured them. The supply was large. Newly buried corpses were dug up for food. Children were enticed away that they might be slain and eaten. The population, when plundered, would become plunderers in turn, forming into bands, and inflict on others the horrors that they themselves had suffered. Men became wholly indifferent to the sufferings of others. Whole countries were destroyed, towns and villages reduced to ashes, and civilization was pushed back into barbarism for half a century. The Thirty Years' War is said to have been so unspeakably cruel and calamitous that the like has never been known in Europe.

CAUSES OF THE LENGTH OF THE WAR.

Gustavus Adolphus writes in a letter that the war would be long drawn out and stop from exhaustion. The original purpose of the war was the suppression of the Protestant faith, but the victories of Gustavus Adolphus made the Catholics hopeless. Also other interests, of a political nature, rose up: the war passed from a German to a European question. Though there were times when peace might have been made, the side who had the best of it for

the moment deemed it folly to stop when victory was in reach. The other side thought it base and cowardly not to continue, as some turn of fortune might repair the losses. Many a war has dragged on after the purpose for which it began had become unattainable, because those who began it were too vain to admit that the objects of the war were impossible from its outset.

In a long war also individuals rise up to whom fighting becomes a second nature, who know nothing else but violence and murder. Thus many soldiers were indignant when the Westphalian Peace was signed, for they felt they had a vested right to plunder and murder, looking upon a wretched, helpless population as their just prey.

A further reason for the long continuation of the war was the very exhaustion of both sides; there was not enough strength on either side to strike a decisive blow, nor sufficient energy left to make a vigorous effort for peace, making it seem useless to try. In the earlier and middle period of the war there were many cries for peace, but in the last eight years there was a terrible silence of death and such utter desperation that no one dared to speak of peace, so great was the exhaustion. The soldiers decreased as it became more and more difficult to recruit and feed them; the military operations grew feebler and more desultory, the fighting more inconclusive, though the misery did not diminish. But while the people and soldiers had become tired of the interminable struggle and wanted peace, many of the diplomats did not appear to desire it.

CAUSES OF THE WAR.

The great length of the war gradually revealed its very hopelessness and uselessness, creating a general desire for rest and peace, transforming and weakening the religious movements out of which the war had arisen. The principle of private judgment, coming from the Reformation, had had time to develop and undermine the ideas of temporal rights and duties common to both parties, while many ideas first conceived by the Reformation but suppressed at the time, had at last commenced to grow through the long-continued turbulations.

Another cause of the war was the inherent incompatibility of religious views among the people. Religious discord exists to-day, but it is not decided by bloody contests, because of breadth of religious insight, general indifference, and increasing skepticism. The convictions of the people of the seventeenth century, as to the

truth of their own opinions and the errors of their opponents, were of such an absolute character as cannot be found nowadays even among people with the most rigid beliefs. They did not know then that it was possible to live together and yet have the most varied and contradictory religious convictions. To suppose that these people were stupid is an error. The chances are that they were less stupid than the people are to-day. How many, at the present time, can look at their country, its ideals, ideas, and customs justly and without prejudice? Naturally very few. But to place ourselves outside of not only our country but our generation is much more difficult. How could we then expect the people of the seventeenth century to do this?

IGNORANCE THE FUNDAMENTAL CAUSE OF THE WAR.

The fundamental cause that brought the Thirty Years' War to a close was *mental insight* into the uselessness and hopelessness of further struggle, caused by the feeling of exhaustion due to the long continuance of the war. The reason why this war put an end to all religious wars was, that this intellectual insight became general in Europe, inculcating more liberal religious views. This psychological attitude, with increasing indifference to religion and resultant skepticism, caused religious questions to be regarded less seriously, making further wars for such purposes impossible. The basal reason, therefore, was the intellectual realization of the foolishness of blood shed on account of difference of religious convictions: that is, lack of knowledge of this fact in the past—in short, *ignorance*—was at the bottom of it all, as of most evils in the world.

SUGGESTIONS FROM THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR.

In order to learn what suggestions from the Thirty Years' War may be of use around the peace table at Paris, it will be well to mention the general similarities and differences between this war and the recent European War.

The similarities are as follows:

1. The Thirty Years' War began with the throwing out of a window (defenestration) of detested persons; the European War started from an assassination.
2. The Thirty Years' War had been expected for some time; a general European war had been predicted for many years.
3. The Thirty Years' War, beginning with a local incident, spread from country to country, just like the European War did.

4. The Thirty Years' War was exceedingly brutal for its generation, just as the European War has been for our time.
5. The Thirty Years' War was a very long one for its generation; the European War has been a relatively long one for recent times.

As to the differences between the two wars, it may be said that,

1. In the Thirty Years' War, both belligerents finally proved to be nearly equal in strength. In the European War, one of the belligerents, though at first meeting with reverses, in the end completely overcame the other.
2. The Thirty Years' War ended in the exhaustion of both belligerents; the European War closed with the exhaustion of only one belligerent.
3. The Thirty Years' War was waged for religious convictions rather than for gain; the European War was not so ideal in its purposes.

Taking a general view of the similarities and differences between the two wars, the one great question arises: Is the experience of the present European War strong enough for victors and vanquished alike to be willing to yield sufficient of their natural rights and sovereignty to submit all questions of war to some superior international court from which there is no appeal?

In the Thirty Years' War, nothing further was necessary: the exhaustion of both belligerents was sufficient to end religious wars.

As the victorious party in war is much less inclined (if inclined at all) than the conquered foe to yield anything, will the Allies, without the experience of defeat and exhaustion, be willing to yield enough of their sovereignty to make the future peace of the world permanent? Will they be magnanimous and give up some national advantages of the present for future international benefits to all mankind? In short, are they unselfish enough to so temper their justice with mercy as to establish a world peace, the greatest boon to humanity ever known?

Here is a supreme opportunity. Will the victorious Allies arise to the occasion and make future wars improbable, if not impossible? We say "impossible," because if a nation is recalcitrant, it can be punished by a general boycott, leading toward its economic ruin. As the instinct of self-preservation is the most powerful influence in nations as well as in individuals, it is a moral certainty that no nation could or would submit very long to such punishment. Just after a war is ended, when the belligerents feel more keenly

its effect than later on, they are much more disposed to make mutual concessions. Will the victors of the European War strike *at once* while the iron is hot, and insist at the outset on the one paramount issue, the absolute prohibition of all wars? Such a decision would radiate through all further proceedings of the Peace Conference and greatly facilitate its work. By thus making a certainty of the most important question of all history, no matter how difficult and delicate matters of greater or less importance may be, the Conference of Paris will have assured its success in advance as the greatest and most beneficent influence that the world has ever experienced, just as the Peace of Westphalia was in its generation.

In the Peace Treaty of Westphalia were these words: "The hostilities that have taken place from the beginning of the late disturbances, in any place of whatsoever kind, by one side or the other, shall be forgotten and forgiven, so that neither party shall cherish enmity or hatred against, nor molest nor injure the other for any cause whatsoever." Will the peace treaty of Paris contain as generous and noble words, and stop all political wars forever, just as the Peace of Westphalia put an end to all religious wars?

Will the twentieth-century Christianity, with its supposed greater liberality and enlightenment, be as far-seeing, unselfish, and effective as the Christianity of the seventeenth century?

Let the Conference at Paris answer: Yes.

Just as the spread of education and knowledge has gradually liberated the intellect so as to undermine the ideas upon which religious wars were based, so a similar process of enlightenment may be necessary to cause political wars to cease.

THE ONLY DEMOCRAT.

BY FRANKLIN KENT GIFFORD.

AS my friends are forever wondering why I have spoiled a good metaphysician to make a bad political economist, and why my promised volume on "The Mystery of Matter" is not forthcoming, I shall give a brief account of the singular experience that worked this miracle, leaving the public to judge whether my friend Professor Spiegelmann is right or wrong in pronouncing me crazy. I shall merely note in passing that any one is crazy, in Professor Spiegelmann's opinion, who devotes his time to anything but meta-

physics, or ignores the obvious fact that the mystery of matter is the only practical question before the public.

I was sitting in my fine old colonial house in Belle View on the morning of the incident about to be narrated. And I may here take occasion to testify that nothing is so favorable to metaphysical research as a fine old colonial house with a magnificent sweep of lawn visible from the library windows, and the shadows of ancient elms athwart the summer sunshine. Let the house be presided over, as mine is, by a perfect wife with a comfortable fortune derived from a model grandfather (to whom be peace), and two as fine children as the world contains; and crown all with a coachman-chauffeur who does not drink, a cook who does not waste, blunder, or give notice, and two other servants to match, and any reasonable man is prepared to grapple with the mystery of matter.

The only drawback I knew of to my situation was the lunatic asylum about one mile distant; and this institution was so well-kept and beautiful for situation that on the whole it seldom occurred to me as a disadvantage.

Under these circumstances, with a good breakfast recently Fletcherized, I indited the following familiar sentence. I say "familiar" because, in one form or another, it has been indited now, I forget how many thousand times, and each time with the pride of discovery:

"The mystery of matter was never so near its solution as at the present time. The hypothesis of Monism is the latest skeleton key to be applied to the door which has thus far resisted all attempts. If mind and matter shall be demonstrated to be one in ultimate essence, the door of this mystery swings open at last, and we realize once and for all that Mind is simply the inner shrine of the Phenomenal Temple whose outer integument is Matter."

I was contemplating this paragraph with the customary pride and happy oblivion to the fact that it says nothing at all, when I heard a step on the veranda, and turned to behold a remarkable presence standing in the library door.

The presence was that of a magnificent old man with a patriarchal white beard, the front of Jove himself, or more accurately, of Walt Whitman, and an eye like Mars to threaten or command; and yet, I could hardly say why, I was instantly reminded of the neighboring asylum and its celebrated lunatic who called himself "the Almighty."

"You are quite right," said the Presence, graciously. "I commend your penetration. You see, I have looked into that last book

of yours, and so I just stepped out awhile to give myself a little intellectual diversion. Those asylum people over there are no crazier than most people, but of course there *is* such a thing as variety." He smiled jovially.

"Then you *are* . . .," I began, and paused, unable to pronounce that awful Name.

"The Almighty? Well, that's what they *call* me. As for myself, I don't like the expression. It bores me."

I stared in amazement at this imperturbable, Olympian calm, and forgot all courtesy for the moment.

"I hope I don't disturb you?" suggested the Presence, glancing at a chair.

"By no means!" I hastened to assure him. "Please do me the honor to accept this chair. I am very glad of your call. I have always wanted to meet you and ask a few questions about this curious world of ours."

The Almighty seated himself in the vast armchair which seemed to have been shaped expressly for his Olympian form, and directed his gaze to the open wood-fire which cheered the shadows of the great library, and dispelled the unseasonable chill of a sharp summer morning.

He created an impression of the most absolute simplicity. There was no nonsense about him, and no pretension, such as we somehow infer in deities. He merely sat with a pleased expression before the fire, and spread out his hands gratefully. "A fire is a nice thing, isn't it?" he said. "A little one," he added thoughtfully.

I was somehow reminded of a certain *big* fire that I had heard of in my youth, and experienced an uncanny thrill. The more surprised was I, therefore, at the Almighty's next words:

"How ungrateful of them to turn such a good friend into a symbol of—ah—discomfort!"

"Why—why—I thought you approved of the symbol?" I stammered.

"Yes, but you see, it has been overworked. Besides, it was intended for use in a hot climate; whereas, here, so near the North Pole, you know, I should think people would be more afraid of—well, the coal trust?"

As I owned a few good shares in coal, I was hardly prepared to accept the amendment. However, one is instinctively respectful to a lunatic. Besides, he might think it was his divine prerogative to destroy me.

"Not at all," said the Almighty, placidly, as if I had spoken aloud, "they will all tell you I am perfectly harmless."

"You are a mind-reader!" I ejaculated.

"Hm! If there is any mind to read. But candidly, you merely looked like all of them when I announce myself. They seem to think the next step ought to be their destruction. Possibly they know why?"

I was getting interested in this novel conception of a somewhat hackneyed character; and the Actor's next move set me gasping.

"You have some good cigars, I notice," he observed, nodding toward the mantelpiece.

"You don't *smoke*?" I exclaimed.

"Try me," said the Almighty.

I placed a jar of good Manilas at the left hand of the Presence, extended a lighted match, and experienced the awesome sensation of watching the Almighty light a cigar.

"You are going to join me, of course?" he remarked; and I hastened to take the hint, though not without a positive sense of taking an unwarranted liberty.

"Thank you," said the Presence. "After all, you men have some advantages."

"But I thought you were opposed to smoking?" I stammered.

"Who says so?"

"Why—why—certain friends of mine."

The Almighty smiled. "Your friends are excellent people; but because they are virtuous, shall there be no more cakes and—ah—cigars? Besides, it helps a fellow, I find. One small vice will make you more friends than twelve full-sized virtues."

I breathed a sigh of relief. Really, it was very handsome of the Almighty to come down to the human level like this. "And you are really the—the—" I paused, still unable to pronounce that awful Name.

"Oh, say it, if you want to," encouraged the Olympian One. "As for me, I'm not partial to the expression. It bores me. Besides, who knows that there is any Almighty? Who says he is almighty?"

"But surely, the Bible. . . ." I remonstrated.

The Almighty looked askance. "You should quote authorities that you respect," said he, with a touch of severity. "Of course those primitive Hebrews would naturally use that title. Which proves what? Nothing, except that they were power-worshippers, like the moderns."

I smiled at the dismay of certain clerical friends of mine, could they but hear this lunacy. "That makes rather short work of theology, doesn't it?" I ventured.

"Theology! Hum! Theology may not tell you much about God, but it tells a lot about theologians. Some day, the enlightened peoples will dig in the old Bibles like gold-mines half worked; but meanwhile—you see!"

And reaching out an ironical finger, he wrote on the dusty cover of the Sacred Volume, under which, for safe-keeping, reposed certain manuscripts of mine. Why hadn't Mary Ann dusted that Bible in time?

"It makes a good paper-weight, doesn't it?" observed the assumed Author of the Work.

"The Bible is not the authority it used to be," I confessed, with decent regret.

"Oh well," said the Almighty, easily, "I've seen Bibles come and go. Yours will go too, before long."

"Mine?" said I, in blank bewilderment.

"Certainly. Your Spencer-Kant-Nietzsche-commercial Bible. It looks pretty infallible, just now; but I can see the rag-bag waiting for it."

Such blasphemy—and from the Almighty! "I should hope," said I with dignity, "that the results of great modern thinkers——"

"Oh, they were all great modern thinkers once; but you see what becomes of them,"—indicating his dusty autograph.

"But, your Majesty,"

His Majesty looked annoyed, and objected mildly, "I really wish you wouldn't. I am a democrat. The only one there is," he added, with a gleam of irony such as Zeus might have cast at democratic Greece.

I suppose I looked astonished, for the Only Democrat went on:

"It really surprises me, sometimes, this belated talk about the King of Kings in a democratic age like this. I've nearly quit going to church, myself."

"What, you too?" I exclaimed.

"Certainly. Haven't you noticed it? How would you like to go and hear yourself worshiped?"

"Why, for my part, I could endure a little of it," I modestly confessed.

"A little! Yes, but this incessant deluge, when Isaiah told them better, centuries ago! I have no vanity that man can gratify.

Besides, if worship is what I'm after, I'd better swap places with John Smith."

"With *John Smith*?"

"Certainly; or John Anybody-with-the-money."

"But what are churches for?" I wondered in bewilderment.

"That's just what I've been wondering for some time. John doesn't need them. His worship goes right on, seven days in the week, church or no church."

"Why, as to that, John merely claims to be your Vicegerent, I believe."

"Vicegerent! Well, I admire his modesty," said the Only Democate. "What do they take me for? I'd look pretty, wouldn't I, picking out that kind of vicegerent? Can't the fools see he is their choice, not mine?"

This sounded a trifle personal. Of course, any man may be allowed to feel like a fool in the presence of the Almighty; still, he hates to have it rubbed in; and I responded somewhat pointedly, "But surely, if this is your world. . . ."

"Mine, did you say? This world *mine*?"

"Why yes, isn't it?"

The Only Democrat stroked his beard and smoked thoughtfully. "Guess again," said he. "I always supposed it was John Smith's."

"John's world!" I ejaculated, appalled at the thought. "Well, but where did John get it?"

"Why, you boys handed it over to him, didn't you?"

I gasped in amazement. It all seemed so ridiculously simple! But I had him, yet! "And why," said I, sternly, "why were we such fools as to do such a thing?"

"Why shouldn't you, if you were such fools?"

Somehow, I resented this answer, and retorted with a sarcasm that I hoped would cut, "Oh, then, of course there is no help for it. Exactly what I have always believed!"

"Now just listen to that!" soliloquized the Almighty. "And yet this man is the creative principle incarnate, just as I am!"

"Oh, then you don't claim to have come down from heaven?"

"Down?—from heaven? What on earth do you mean by that?"

I felt childish and nonplussed, and suddenly realized that I didn't mean anything in particular.

"Very well, then, let us talk sense—before the keepers get here," resumed the Almighty. "True, there are higher stages of existence

than this one, difficult as it seems for this conceited age to realize it. You are really a very low type of animal, since you practise cannibalism and other things on that plane."

"What *we*—cannibalism?"

"Certainly. Didn't you know that? Well, the sooner you know it, the better."

"But the proof?" I insisted.

"Proof? Look at your moral maxims! Eat or be eaten! Struggle for existence! Law of survival! Ugh! Cannibals, cannibals!"

"But these are mere maxims," I retorted, flying to the defense of my race.

"Mere maxims! Didn't you know there is no such thing? A maxim is simply a concise statement of the way some one is behaving."

"It is possible that these maxims are—somewhat popular," I admitted. "But is that the whole story? What about our higher maxims; and what about all our prayers for light and leading?" I climaxed, marveling at my own orthodoxy.

"Prayers!—for things you don't want! Would you pay any attention to such twaddle?"

"But the real prayers? The natural longings of the human heart?"

"Well, who denies them? I? Not at all. What do people want that isn't right under their noses, if they had sense enough to grab it?"

"Then why not give them the sense?" I retorted, with some little shrewdness, I flattered myself.

"Give it to them? Did you ever try it? If there's one thing that human beings won't take as a gift, it's a grain of sense. Oh yes, I know what you *say*. You want more power and more knowledge; and at this minute, you have more than you know what to do with! If you'd make the first decent use of what you have, you couldn't help getting more. But no, you must whine and beg and bewail and call it prayer, or worse still, philosophy! It reminds me of the ass that died of starvation between two bundles of hay."

This sounded unjust and personal. "And why?" said I, accusingly. "Why are we—ah—in that animal's situation? After all, may not the pot reply to the potter, 'Why hast thou made me thus? What, did the hand then of the Potter shake?'" (I had always longed to get at the Almighty with that argument.)

"Ah yes, Omar's old-fashioned pot-theism!" said the Almighty easily. "And Paul's too, as you suggest. 'The Ball no question makes of Ayes and Noes, but Right or Left as strikes the Player goes.' Despotism! Despotism! What a game of solitaire! I should think Omar would have guessed it *might* get tedious. Still, he made some good points on the Despot."

"Then you admit the justice of his insult: 'O Thou who Man of baser Earth didst make'?"

"Certainly. What do I care for these crockery gods? Let Omar smash them. More power to his arm, *I* say."

I stirred uneasily, feeling as if my prey were escaping me. "Still, you can hardly deny that having made us of the baser earth—"

The Almighty blushed and looked annoyed. "Made you? Baser earth? Nonsense! I thought you were an evolutionist? According to your own theory, you are only half-baked, if you'll excuse the vernacular."

It was my turn to blush, but my defense was ready. "In that case, you can hardly blame us, can you?"

"Blame you? Who's blaming you? Queer how you people set such a lot of store by blame! The only idea thus far seems to be, to smite somebody! As if *that* would do any good! What can you *do* about it: that is the question."

"God knows!" I ejaculated, "and he won't tell."

"Won't he! Man won't listen, you mean. Come, come, you've read history, and you know very well, the principal business of man thus far is chasing ideas off the earth with pitchforks. Now isn't that so?"

I was obliged to confess that something of the kind had happened.

"Something of the *kind*! Can you name a solitary idea that hasn't had to fight like a demon for centuries to get into the human head? No, Sir, not one. And that proves what an eager, inquiring, hospitable set you are."

"And how," I inquired, as civilly as possible, for rising ire, "how, with this ingrained hostility to ideas, has mankind progressed at all?"

"*Now*," said the Almighty, "you have touched on a wonder that *is* a wonder. Creation, you may guess, was something of a job; but let me assure you, if ever the entire host of heaven feels like going to bed, it's when they have finally succeeded in getting an idea into the human skull."

As a human being, I resented the insult. "And what of inventors—finders of good ways—better ways?" I demanded with indignation. "Are these the imbeciles you refer to?"

"Ha!" cried the Almighty, eyes alight. "You are prepared to do them justice, at last! And how long since? Even now, what do you permit them to invent? Trumpery! Catch-penny toys for your immediate comfort! But let one of them come forward with a new and improved brand of democracy or honesty or mere decency, and you know very well what will happen. You will stick at nothing to gratify your spite. The primeval hatred of ideas is not out of you—remember that! The ideas are your only hope."

"Oh, give us up as a bad job," I advised. I was not sulky, but I was tired of this tongue-lashing.

"Now, now," checked the Almighty. "Don't be a theologian. Remember evolution. You know the saying: 'Man is the tadpole of an angel.' Well, what is the proper business of a tadpole: Metaphysics, or to get rid of his tail?"

"His tail?"

"Certainly, his tail. A sensible tadpole becomes a frog; but a fool tadpole dies with his tail on."

"I fail to perceive what that has to do with it" was my dignified rejoinder.

"To do with it? Why, nine tenths of human beings are fool tadpoles!"

"But an omnipotent Power...."

"There you go again! Omnipotent, omniscient, omnipresent, and all that kind of human hifalutinism! I tell you, it's these big words that make fool tadpoles of everybody."

"Then you would intimate that...."

"Certainly. I have learned a few things myself."

"You?" I exclaimed.

"Of course! Why not? Do you take me for an everlasting dunce?"

"But I thought you were om- —that is, we have always been told...."

The Almighty frowned. "The last enemy that shall be overcome is the theologian," said he. "And scientists are even worse, if possible. They know too much."

"Then, if you will allow me, what *have* you learned, for instance?" I inquired, with no little curiosity.

"To follow my nose," said the Almighty. And with that, he looked at me!

I suppose I merely stared, and the Almighty kindly explained: "Certainly, haven't you noticed it? Look at this thing they call evolution! Growth! Creation! Call it anything you like: it's all one to me."

"Well, but what of it?"

"What of it?" The Almighty surveyed me curiously. "And there are all those books!" he meditated, glancing at the well-lined walls. "Burn them," he added, "and guess again. Meanwhile, here is just a hint, if you are to take it. Evolution follows its nose; but you evolutionists do nothing of the kind, nine tenths of you. You merely sit down in the mud and start out to scrute the inscrutable. 'Why mud?' you ask, and such tom-fool questions; and then you give some tom-fool answer, or else you throw up your hands and bemoan your fate, like Faust. What business have you with such folderol, when the only thing that concerns you at present is how to get out of the mud?"

"The mud again!"

"Certainly, the mud. If your ancestors hadn't crawled out of their mud, where would you be now? Suppose they had all sat down in the primeval wallow and tried to scrute the inscrutable? A pretty mess they'd made of it!"

"True," said I; "but we moderns. . . ."

"Tut, tut, you're not out of it, either—not one of you; and therefore all your philosophies are mud-philosophies, and your gods are mud-gods, as Carlyle said. First get out of the mud; then things will look different."

For the life of me, I could not forbear a bland, superior smile. "And so," said I, "you would have us defer all transcendental matters till after the millennium!"

"Not at all," said the Almighty promptly. "There is no harm in your little guesses; only, they are not the life-and-death matter you imagine them. But meanwhile, what about the mud? Are you going to stay there forever, worshiping your mud-gods?"

"Your opinion of civilization appears to be not very exalted," I suggested.

"Civilization!" mused the Almighty. "The philosophers of the Eocene period talked about civilization. Fortunately, there were some of them that got out of the mud. Are you one of that kind: that is the question?"

Doubtless I stared again and wished the keepers would hurry up.

"No," said the Almighty, "I'm afraid not, your kind of mud is so comfortable! Excuse my frankness, but our time is short; and

courtesy, you know, is the ruin of conversation. And don't worry about the keepers, because they'll be here right away. As I was saying, you are one of those who are always trying to see over the horizon, instead of what's under your nose. You want to scrute the inscrutable, and jump over to the end and see how the book turns out. That's possible with your books, but not with mine. Why, for all you know, I can't tell myself how it's going to turn out!"

"Professor Jones!" I exclaimed. "That is his idea, precisely! His last book throws out the daring speculation that the increasing free will in the universe invalidates the hypothesis of a foregone conclusion."

"Ah, there's a man, now!" said the Almighty, rubbing his hands. "If Jones would only devote himself to something worth while!"

I plunged into a warm defense of my friend, Professor Jones, his work, and its *raison d'être*, till the Almighty lifted his hand for quarter.

"You show friendship, at least," he conceded; "and that's something, in a world like this. If I were Jones, I should be pleased. I admit, there are worse men than Jones; and anyhow, he follows his nose."

"Still, if the All-ruling Principle is conscious of itself...."

"Oh these question-begging epithets! All-ruling, in a world ruled by John Smith! Still on the inscrutable, you see! In other words, if we could only do next week's work, or next eon's, instead of to-day's, how nice it would be!"

"If you refer to metaphysics," said I warmly.

"I refer to a fact. A whole lot of you want to understand all mysteries and all knowledge before you have mastered the A B C."

"Such as?"

"Such as how to get rid of cannibalism. As if a philosopher who has just dined on his brother could ever be anything but a fool!"

I mused on this clear evidence of lunacy. What in the world could he mean by *cannibalism*?

"What do I mean by it? Well, what do you do for the poor, in return for what they do for you?" said the Almighty, sternly.

"What they do for *us*?"

"Certainly. They support you, don't they?"

"Why, I always supposed—that is to say, there are four of them whom I provide with work in this family."

"You mean, you let them take care of you."

"Why, I suppose—well, of course,—that is to say—"

The Almighty lifted his hand for silence. "The first thing to do, in getting on with a conversation, is to admit a self-evident truth," he gently explained. "Now, it is self-evident that we do not support ourselves by doing nothing; therefore, if we are supported, it must be by somebody else. You admit that?"

I pondered whether I could safely admit it, or not.

"You, for example, do nothing," said the Almighty.

"Nothing but write," I amended, with an author's self-respect.

"Tut, tut! What do you write? Literary frozen pudding for other idlers and triflers. What do they do? Nothing that needs to be done. If all of you should get the measles and die to-morrow, what would happen? Nothing but your funerals. Stuff! The poor don't need *you*. It's just *vice versa*!"

"But under the circumstances, is it not true that my servants need me?"

"Ah, but man's place is not *under* the circumstances, but on top of them. All this, you observe, to bring you around to the question, what are you doing for the poor? Nothing, you would say, if you could afford to be honest."

"Nothing!" I ejaculated. "Why I have just given five hundred dollars to the Associated Charities!"

"Charities! And I have just demonstrated that you are an object of charity, not a dispenser of it! How long are you going to remain an object of charity; that is the question?"

"Of whose charity?" I stiffly insisted.

"Whose? The poor's, of course."

"The charity of the poor—to *us*?"

The Almighty began to look bored. "I suppose," he mused, "that this what they call an intellectual conversation. Excuse my frankness, but I was just wondering how long before the human race would learn to go straight to the point without dodging."

"If you refer to this unpleasant situation of the rich and the poor, I should say that in the course of a few centuries...."

"That's it, that's it! They all want to be dead and buried first! All afraid they'll do something decent before they die!"

"But is not this life a sort of antenatal condition out of which we are born at death into the real sphere of activity?" was my desperate suggestion.

"That may do for those who are fond of putting things off till the morrow; but what's the matter with to-day?"

I was unable to say. Really, what *was* the matter with to-day?

"I mean as a birthday, of course," explained the Almighty. "History, you know, is full of births. Why is every one of them belated and born after a hard struggle and waited for by a lot of Herods, thirsting for their blood? I will tell you. The explanation is—you!"

I was naturally staggered by such a load of responsibility, incurred. I wondered how?

"How?" said the Almighty, "...thank you, perhaps another cigar *would* help us out. Well, now, to resume. Personally, of course, you couldn't hold up the coach of progress and rob the passengers (to use the vernacular); but with the help of your fellow road-agents, you do pretty well."

"I confess, I was utterly unaware...."

"Of course! So are they all—utterly unaware. That's just why I'm here this morning—to make you aware, if possible. You have read history, and applauded all its births (reverting to our original figure). Stranger still, you have declared for the birth-process, under the name of evolution; and yet, no man more surprised and offended than you, to see the process going on under his nose! Thus you make yourself one with the forces that keep the world long in labor."

I was far from flattered, I confess, by this description of my function, even from a lunatic who, had he been in his right mind, would have known that I was in the foremost files of time. "You refer, I presume, to these modern fads and innovations?" I observed, with irrepressible satire. "This recrudescence of liberty, equality, and fraternity! Yes, I confess, I am not anxious to be reduced to that level."

"Reduced!" said the Almighty, without surprise. "Elevated, you mean. Yes, that is just the trouble. You are below the level of the age, and you don't know it; and therefore you have to be dragged up by the hair of the head. Now, the object of my little call was to drop you a hint that you could be about better business. I often do that much for the dead ones. Of course, if you are determined to stay dead, that's your affair. We'll simply have to get rid of you."

I felt my hair rising, as I stammered, "Why—what do you mean?"

"Don't you know? And you an educated man! Why, what becomes of the poison and excretions of the human system? Well, it's precisely so with society. The dead things are got rid of. What

did you think death was made for? Or did you expect to live forever?"

I was silent and staring with a dread fascination, while the Almighty continued:

"Oh, don't be alarmed. This is not a threat. I'm simply reminding you of the inexorable law which is no respecter of persons. The danger *you* have to apprehend is that fatty degeneration, or something that flesh is heir to, will catch you some fine day with nothing done. And what does that mean? Simply disgrace."

"But my book on metaphysics?" I protested, forced into self-defense.

The Almighty smiled. "Metaphysics! Oh yes, I think thy thoughts after thee, O Kant! Well, Kant was sufficiently dark; but that book of yours darkened Kant, if possible. I should think you fellows would get tired of explaining one mystery in terms of another. What's that but big words?"

"Big words!"

"Certainly, don't you remember how Mephisto fooled that poor callow student with big words? The Devil himself didn't know the answer, of course; because—well, the Devil is an ass; but then, he wasn't *quite* such an ass as to believe he knew, or ever could know, the key to those mysteries. And yet, you educated, intelligent superior beings go on playing with big words and calling it philosophy, when the right name for it is logomachy! Pleasant little game, of course; but no game for men, if the Devil *did* invent it."

"What game would you have us play?" I demanded, resolved to call this Almighty bluff.

"Now *that's* another question. If you found yourself up a blind alley, what would you do?"

"Go back," said I reluctantly.

"To the main alley! Precisely! Now, the question is, what is the main alley in these days?"

I made a wry face and replied, "The main alley seems to be this everlasting bread-and-butter problem."

The Almighty surveyed me Homerically. "You are not altogether devoid of sense," he reflected, "but you are fastidious as Faust. You are up a blind alley, but you hate to get out. You remember, Faust never got out till Part Two, and Goethe never got out at all."

"But Goethe's life! His survey!"

"True, nothing is quite in vain, not even blind alleys; but what a place for a man like that!"

"Is this justice to Goethe?" I protested.

The Almighty suppressed a yawn. "To tell the truth," said he, candidly, "I'm not much interested in justice to Goethe. I guess he's got his share. Is this justice to mankind—that's what you mean, isn't it?"

I felt that this was descending to lower ground; however, I swallowed my repugnance and said wearily, "Oh, by all means, let us stick to the everlasting bread-and-butter problem."

"Tut, tut! No problem is everlasting, not even the mystery of matter—when the time comes. As for bread and butter, the only mystery is, how came you with such a problem, in a world composed, so to speak, of bread and butter? A race of maggots living in a cheese would have as much right to a cheese problem as you have to a bread-and-butter problem. Why, then, are you worse off than maggots?"

"Selfishness?" I suggested. "Of course, there is the question of the origin of selfishness; however, let us waive that point."

The Almighty eyed me Socratically. "Thank you," said he, "for waiving that point. It will save us a thousand years or so. But since you are curious, I will tell you. It is not selfishness: maggots are as selfish as men. It is the forbidden fruit."

He smiled blandly and smoked a moment while I digested the point. Heavens, was he harking back to that old story?

"A little knowledge—is a dangerous thing," mused the Almighty. "And that was what Eve plucked. The thing for you people is to rob the tree."

"Beginning, I presume, with the bread-and-butter bough?" I sarcasmed.

"Well, hardly, in your case! You've robbed that, already. That's why you are not interested. No, the limb for you to rob is the limb called Democracy."

I contemplated the program with disgust. "Oh, of course, if Walt Whitman is the true prophet," I insinuated.

"Come, come, don't be personal. Leave that to me. There isn't any true prophet, in that sense. There's nobody to lead you by the nose and relieve you of the trouble of thinking. Of course, you could learn a thing or two from Walt, and five hundred others: but the safest guide is the outcry."

"The outcry!"

"Certainly. The cry of the people—that is, if you want to do something besides coddle yourself. You are a father, aren't you?"

Again I felt the creepy-creepy feeling. "How could you know that?" I demanded.

The Almighty gazed at me incredulously. "Why, look at that little cap under the chair! Besides, there's one of them now in the doorway!"

I looked and saw my little daughter Elsa, round-eyed and awe-stricken, staring at the majestic visitor.

"Papa, is it God?" she whispered.

The Almighty smiled. "What if it is? He wouldn't hurt you," he coaxed; and thus reassured, Elsa came confidently forward and climbed on the august knees; and I had the sensation of beholding my daughter in the arms of the Almighty!

Then followed the usual catechism—by Elsa, of course—and I noticed with satisfaction that even the Almighty may be hard put to answer the questions of children.

"How was the weather when you left heaven?" said Elsa.

"Blowing up a storm," said the Almighty.

"Oh, I thought it was always clear?"

"Did you? Well, that's a mistake."

"Oh!" said Elsa. "Well, *I* don't care; I've got an umbrella. Where are the angels?"

"Everywhere," was the prompt reply.

Elsa looked suspiciously around. "What do they do?" she demanded.

"Take care of children."

Elsa pondered half an instant. "Is Mamma an angel?"

"Of course. Ask your father."

"Is Papa an angel too?" said Elsa, aghast.

"Hm!" said the Almighty. "He's way above that. He's a metaphysician."

"What's that?"

"It's a kind of archangel."

"What's an archangel?"

"An archangel," said the Almighty, "is a metaphysician."

With that, he shot me an ironical glance, and I somehow inferred that archangels alone were fit to be metaphysicians!

"Oh!" said Elsa, abundantly satisfied with two big words; and again I blushed, to think that she had it from her father. "When do we have to go to heaven?" was Elsa's next.

"You're there now."

"Well, that suits *me*. 'Cause, you see, God, I never wanted to *go*; but if I'm there now, I'm satisfied—all but one thing."

"Well, what's that?"

"Will I *ever* get that doll I'm praying for?"

"You will. One of the archangels will attend to that."

I took the hint and made a mental note to get that doll this very day.

At this moment, a voice on the stairs called, "Elsa?" and the shorter catechism slipped down and ran out, calling back, "Good-bye, God. I got to go take a baf."

The Almighty heaved a sigh of mingled pleasure and relief as he remarked, "In another minute, I should have been stuck. Well, you're going to get the doll, I see?"

"Of course!" said I.

"Of course! Why of course?"

I had no reason for so obvious a proceeding as getting a doll for Elsa.

"You see!" observed the Almighty. "When *your* children cry, what do you do: spank them?"

"By no means! That is to say, of course there are *times* . . ."

"True, there are *times*," said the Almighty grimly, with his eye on *me*; whereat I hastily rejoined:

"But first, I should try to interpret their wants and give them some reasonable answer."

I thought this was tit for tat; but the Almighty never noticed it. "Good! I have hopes of you!" said he. "Now apply the same method to the cry of the people. What are they crying for?"

"Pretty near everything," was my ironical reply.

"Of course! Why not? Therefore, your duty is clear."

I stared in cold amazement. This was indeed lunacy! "You would say that it is my duty to aid and abet this childish popular clamor for. . . ."

"Everything? Certainly, why not?" said the Only Democrat. "What was everything made for? You?"

I could not conceal a smile at this *reductio ad absurdum*. "Everything for everybody! Rather a large program!" I suggested.

"True: and large programs require large men."

Another personality! But I restrained myself and retorted, with the civility that makes satire a virtue, "Doubtless, you would have college educations for coal-heavers?"

"Of course!" said the Almighty. "And brains for metaphysicians."

Well, I had locked horns with the Almighty, and had come off about as well as Job, save that, unlike my prototype, I finally lost

my head and remarked with some asperity, "Really, this is *certainly* democracy run mad!"

"Mad!" said the Almighty. "That word is *certainly* the last ditch of a cornered conservatism! Well, well, it is several centuries too soon to say much to the human race. They won't stand for it."

I felt that this was uncalled for, so say the least, after a patience on my part such as Job himself might have envied. "And yet," I suggested, "you have said considerable to *me*!"

"What have I said? Next to nothing! And you tell me it is too much! What would you do if I should say. . . ."

He eyed me thoughtfully, shook his head, and went into a brown study; and to this day, I experience a sense of loss as I wonder what words he withheld. But at the moment I was sore with defeat and contemptuous with "sanity"; moreover, I could not deny that my impression of the Almighty's views was of something rather wild and iridescent—in short, unpracticable. Or, if such views were ever to be practicable, we should need a long course of training, and. . . .

"If only we had a few wise men!" I concluded, aloud.

"The old cry!" mused the Almighty. "And what is the fact of the matter? There are more wise men on earth to-day than ever before. I could mention ten or a dozen at this minute. And where are they? Some are in jail, some are in the lunatic asylum, some are starving, and every mother's son of them is wearing the dunce-cap."

I was silent and suffering for the first time under a feeling of deprivation. Never had the world's hardness and obstinacy loomed so large and regrettable. Then a crucial question darted into my mind:

"Would it be too much to ask how you came to be in your present position?"

"The asylum? Not at all. I am there because they put me there. Why did they put me there? Because they pronounced me mad. Why did they pronounce me mad? Well, why do you?"

I had nothing to say in the extremity of my embarrassment.

"You never supposed that if God were to come on earth, they'd clap him into a lunatic asylum, did you?" said the Almighty, grimly. "But that's what they've always done, invariably; and why not? It's perfectly logical. If man is sane, then God is insane."

"Why, *how*. . . ." I began.

"How? You know the saying: 'The wisdom of man is foolishness with God?' Well, it isn't half as true as the obverse: the wis-

dom of God is foolishness with man. Don't take my word for it. Look out of the window there, and see the sun, shining on every one alike. If man could have his way, there'd be no more of that. You'd have it shining on John Smith and a few others; but fortunately for you, you can't do it; because *God* is a *Lunatic*."

He rose with a large, tranquil, Olympian leisure, and stroked his magnificent white beard, his eyes resting on a fine portrait of Richard Wagner.

"That man too was pronounced mad—by madmen," he soliloquized. "Well, here come the keepers."

I had seen or heard nothing of any keepers; but at this moment the front door-bell rang; I answered it in person, and sure enough there they were!

"Is there a lunatic here—an old fellow who calls himself the Almighty?" inquired a pleasant-faced young man.

"Well," said I regretfully, "there is a person of that description in here, and all I can say is, if he is not the Almighty, he ought to be."

"That's so," admitted the keeper. "He's got more sense than all of us put together. If I had my way, I'd let him loose, and shut up the board of directors."

"Then why is he not let loose?" said I severely. "Because he is God Almighty?"

The young fellow smiled. "Well, that's the ostensible reason; but I guess the real one is, his relatives needed the money, so they could be God Almighty themselves."

Strange as it may seem, I was fairly shocked when the keepers came. It seemed a profanation to lay hands on this august lunatic. In fact, the keepers laid no visible hands on him, but merely stood waiting his royal convenience.

"Coming right along, boys," called the Almighty, cheerfully. "Sorry to bother you, but I needed a little outing. Much obliged for our talk," he added to me. "Don't mind anything I said. People never do." And he smiled humorously.

"So much the worse for them!" said I; and the Almighty responded gratefully, "Thank you. Oh, after a while, they sometimes take a hint—after two or three centuries," he added, with another smile. "Well, come and see *me* some time." And so saying, he departed.

A sense of tragedy—of vast and nameless irony was on me, as I saw the Almighty led away to Bedlam; and with a sudden revul-

sion of feeling I muttered, "After all, he may be more than half right. God *is* a lunatic in the eyes of men."

It was a mere coincidence, of course, but there was something uncanny in the way the Almighty, who was well out of ear-shot, turned and called back to me, with his Olympian smile:

"Better look out, or they'll have you in there next.—And say!" he added, "don't forget Elsa's doll."

Returning to my lonely and Presence-haunted library, I looked at the dust on the family Bible and found the Almighty's autograph. It read:

"THE LUNATIC."

I got the doll that afternoon and presented it to Elsa, with the compliments of her friend, the Almighty; and ever since, I have been planning a sort of doll-fest for the kindergarten in general (I refer, of course, to the world), because I am convinced by the "Lunatic" that it is the only rational thing to do. Perhaps life is a toy, and perhaps it is an awful necessity; but in either case, every one seems to want it.

And that is why I have spoiled a good metaphysician to make a bad political economist (or so Professor Spiegelmann will have it), and why my promised volume on "The Mystery of Matter" is not forthcoming.

SAVAGE LIFE AND CUSTOM.

BY EDWARD LAWRENCE.

X. THE RITUAL OF DEATH AND BURIAL.

ALL savages, without exception, believe that death does not end all. To them there is no real death, the passing hence to "death-land" being but the continuation in another sphere of life which appears to have been interrupted on earth by some base means. If the ceremonial initiation of the adolescent *savage* into the mysteries of manhood is the great event of life, then death or the permanent separation of the ghost from the body is the next important. Out of those customs and ceremonies which form such a feature of their funeral rites, a whole system of ritual has grown, and out of that system have evolved the great and complex religions of civilization.

As soon as the breath is out of the body, and frequently before, preparations are made to get on good terms with the ghost, and

many burial customs are shaped to that end. The desire is to cultivate the good humor of the dead man's spirit, to keep it near its late body, and to prevent it prowling about and getting up to all



Fig. 32. TREE BURIAL OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.
(After Dr. H. C. Yarrow. From *First Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*, 1879-80.)

manner of pranks to the annoyance of peace-loving friends and relatives.

To prevent this, all kinds of deception are practised by the relations of the dead. A very common one is to take the corpse out

of the hut through an opening made for the purpose, which is afterward closed up. If the body was taken out by the usual entrance, mister ghost would know his way and promptly march back again. The old custom in civilized countries, of burying the dead at night, was probably due to the fear of the ghost's return.

One Australian tribe has such a great fear of the dead man's spirit that it takes special precautions to prevent the body rising from its grave. The toes of the corpse are tied together, the thumbs behind the back. Every evening a clear space is swept round the grave, and in the morning a close inspection is made to discover



Fig. 33. CREMATION OF THE DEAD IN AUSTRALIA.

(After Dr. H. C. Yarrow. From *First Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*.)

possible tracks that may have been made by the touring ghost. Should tracks be found, the body is taken up and reburied.

Bodies are disposed of in various ways. Some are buried either in or just outside the hut, others are placed in jars, or on a platform, or in the boughs of trees. In some cases the bodies are cremated, in others the dead are eaten. (Compare Figs. 32, 33, 36, and 37.)

It is remarkable that many races so widely separate as the North American Indians and those of India, the Malay Peninsula, and Australia, should practise burial customs almost identical. The bodies are wrapped in matting or in the dead man's blanket, and then placed in the boughs of trees (Fig. 32).

Sometimes the body was burnt; the bones, collected together and wrapped in pieces of bark, were fastened to a tree. In other instances the corpse was placed between two canoes which were suspended in the boughs of a tree.

In Australia, when the flesh has disappeared, the bones are taken down and buried in the ground. When a very old woman dies, the Kaitish tribes say they do not feel sorry enough to go to the trouble of placing her body in a tree and afterward in the ground; they simply bury her. But, if a child or a woman in the prime of life dies, their sorrow is very much greater. Like other savages, the Australians regard the life of old people as of little worth. When crossing a river which may be infested with crocodiles, they always go single file and "philosophically" put an old woman in the rear, because crocodiles always seize the last person, and they say the loss of an old woman does not matter very much!

When the body is buried, all articles used by the deceased must be broken and rendered unfit for earthly use. Any person obtaining them in their original condition would be able to work black magic, and the deceased himself would be unable to live his new life. Pots and pans, bows and arrows are destroyed and placed in or on the graves. Even little children are not forgotten. The Eskimos put in a child's grave its tiny toy lamp, its cooking-pot and toy harpoon, so that the little one's spirit shall enjoy elsewhere that life which was cut short here.

In Africa the dead man's ivory and beads are ground to powder; a hole is punched in his drinking-pot and his calabash is likewise broken. The house he lived in is always pulled down, for no one would dare live in it again. All remains of his food, the very ashes of his fire are carried away and destroyed at a place where the roads cross.

In Australia persons killed were accorded a special funeral (Fig. 33). They were seated on a platform with their faces turned toward the rising sun; their legs were crossed and the arms extended by means of sticks; the fat was removed from their bodies and mixed with red ocher. This mixture was then rubbed over the dead men, from whose bodies all hair had been removed. The legs and arms were painted in red, white, and yellow stripes; their weapons were placed in their laps and fires lighted underneath the platform, which were kept burning for ten days. When the bodies were dry, they were allowed to remain for two months, after which they were buried, with the exception of the skulls. These were kept and used as drinking-cups by their relatives.

Many Indians of America cremate the dead. The body is kept in a lodge for a few days. At the end of that period it is laid upon logs which are then ignited. Beside this pyre the widow must sleep for nine days, from sunset to sunrise. While the corpse is being consumed the widow collects some of the juice from the body and rubs it on her own body and face. The bones are afterward collected and carried about for a period of years corresponding to the depth of her affection (see Fig. 38). At the end of this period, a certain ceremony, lasting some months, is performed in order to remove her mourning. The bones are taken off her back and fastened to a post. She is praised for being a good and faithful wife; bird's down and oil (see Fig. 39) are put on her head, and she is then at liberty to marry again.



Fig. 34. "FISH-COFFIN" OF THE SOLOMON ISLANDERS.
British Museum. (Photo, reproduced by permission of the Trustees.)

A similar custom exists in the Pacific Islands where the mourners carry the hair of the dead, suspended from their necks, in knitted bags.

One of the most curious forms of burial is that shown in Fig. 34. It represents a "fish-burial" in the Solomon Islands.

On the death of a chief, the body is suspended in the house of his son, enclosed either in a canoe or in the wooden figure of a fish; this fish is then sealed up to prevent any odor escaping. It is kept in this condition for a considerable time, often for years, till a great feast is held. Then the son will say, "Now we will take out father." Father is accordingly taken down from his resting-place and his body removed from the fish-coffin; the skull and jaw-bones are then put in another but smaller fish-shaped coffin, which is set up in the house. The remaining portions of the body are buried in the ground and that is the end of father.

As the dead man's ghost is always a source of persistent annoyance to those left behind, endeavors are made to please and

pacify it by singing and chanting. At the funeral ceremony in East Africa, the men form a circle round the pyre, moving and chanting together, while the women form an outer ring and move in a contrary direction.

On the death of an adult, the natives of the Upper Congo, male and female, dress themselves up in all their finery and walk in single file round and round the grave, singing and shouting the praises of the dead as they go, the whole village looking on. When passing the hut of the dead person, they plunge their spears into the roof, apparently to frighten away the ghost. This dance lasts from eight



Fig. 35. FUNERAL DANCE AT UPOTO, UPPER CONGO.

(Photo by Rev. W. Forfeitt. By permission of the Baptist Missionary Society.)

to ten days, according to the importance of the deceased, and is continued during part of each night (Fig. 35).

Mr. Herbert Ward, one of Stanley's officers, has given a graphic description of the funeral of a chief which he witnessed at Bolobo. The men, who were in a state of intense excitement, had blackened their faces with palm oil and charcoal, and were armed with murderous-looking knives and spears. Near-by were seated the slaves and wives of the deceased, with their arms and legs manacled and their necks fastened in the forked branches of wooden poles, while women's voices bewailed the dead. On the palaver-ground some

three hundred naked women, with faces daubed in red and white, were kneeling, swaying their bodies to and fro. In the center lay the body of the dead chief, his face painted white, while a broad black band of paint traversed his face from forehead to chin. His body was dotted with large yellow spots, the arms being painted red. Arranged in front were a large number of fetishes, images, and amulets. A deep hole had been dug and around it the natives danced. Presently a procession of other dancing figures made their way forward, and out of it bounded forth the great charm-doctor, decked with leopard skins and rattling charms (compare frontispiece to *The Open Court*, November, 1918). With whitened eyelids and body smeared with the brains and blood of a fowl, he commenced the "dance of death." Presently he seated himself in front of the grave; then hideous shouts rent the air, and in front of him were placed—bound hand and foot—the ten wives of the deceased whose corpse was brought forward to the graveside. The ten bodies, alive and shrieking, were pitched into the grave, the dead man was then placed in the hole which was rapidly filled in with earth by the assembled people, who shouted and danced upon the spot. The slaves were now brought forth and speedily decapitated over the filled-in grave.

The custom of cutting the flesh and mutilating the body, referred to in the Old Testament (Leviticus xix. 28), on behalf of the departed soul is very common in savage obsequies. These mutilations, while apparently due to excessive grief, are really of religious significance and follow certain rules which custom has laid down. The blood shed is supposed to be a kind of spiritual food on which the soul will feed and thus vivify itself at the expense of friends left on earth.

On the death of a relative, the Fijians cut off their little fingers, and cases have been recorded where some of the older men had gone into mourning so many times that they had few fingers left! The poor people often sent their own mutilated fingers to wealthier folk who were in mourning.

Thomas Williams, the missionary, relates of these people that, ten days after a man's death, all the women of the village provided themselves with long whips, knotted with shells, with which they belabored the bodies of their men-folk.

In New Guinea, female relatives cut their breasts, faces, and in fact all parts of their bodies, with sharp shells until they fall down exhausted in a stream of blood.

A father in Australia who has lost a son, beats and cuts himself

with a tomahawk, while the mother burns her breast and abdomen for hours and hours at a time, frequently with such severity that fatal results ensue. In other cases, women dig their sharply-pointed yam sticks into the top of their heads until blood falls in streams



Fig. 36. SIOUX WOMEN, CUTTING THEIR HAIR AND MUTI-LATING THEIR BODIES AT THE GRAVE.

(After Dr. H. C. Yarrow. From *First Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology*.)

over their faces. One man was seen to lash his thigh with a stone knife, cutting the muscles so deeply that he was unable to stand.

In America the practice of lacerating the flesh and cutting off the hair is very widely spread (Fig. 36). The Salish cut the hair of relatives, which is burnt to prevent it falling into the hands of sorcerers; or they bury it in dense vegetation which is supposed

to bring them wealth and strength. They consider the closer the hair is cut, the greater is the sign of mourning. The Loucheux cut the hair close to the head, and sometimes, in their frenzy, kill some poor friendless stranger who may be sojourning with them.



Fig. 37. NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS OFFERING FOOD TO THE DEAD MAN'S SPIRIT.

(After Dr. H. C. Yarrow. From *First Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology.*)

The life in ghost-land being but a counterpart of life on earth, food as well as utensils are placed near the corpse. The "spiritual" part of the food is supposed to feed the ghost and satisfy its desires so that it will not wish to return.

The Kiwai Islanders of New Guinea believe that the spirit

remains in the ground near the body, occasionally coming up, taking a look round, and then returning again to earth. The appearance of the spirit is eagerly looked for in order to ascertain how the deceased met his death. Nothing is buried with the body, but in the case of a man his bows and arrows are stuck at the head of the grave; if the deceased be a woman her petticoat is fastened there on a stick. Over the grave a small platform is erected and on this is placed sago, yams, bananas, and fish for the spirit to eat. A fire is lighted at the side of the grave and kept burning for nine days, so that the spirit may warm itself.



Fig. 38. PAINTED SKULL OF AN ANDAMAN ISLANDER, WORN AROUND THE NECK BY A MOURNER.

British Museum. (Photo, reproduced by permission of the Trustees.)

Among the Kacharis of India the corpse is washed immediately after death, the arms and legs straightened out, the head anointed with oil, and the hair carefully combed. A fowl is then killed from which a curry is made with vegetables and condiments. A portion of this food is placed near the head of the corpse and a pretense made of feeding him, but no food is actually placed on the lips. After repeating this act ten or twelve times, the remaining food is thrown away, no person being allowed to eat it.

Sometimes a hole is made in the ground to allow the ghost to pass in and out; with the North American Indians, a hole is

made in the side of the coffin to enable the spirit to partake of the food offered (Fig. 37).

Captain Speke, who discovered one of the sources of the Nile, gave an account of a Myoro woman who, having lost her twins, kept two small pots in her house as effigies of her children into which she allowed some of her milk to flow every evening for five months. This she did lest the spirits of the dead should persecute her. The twins were not buried according to the usual custom, but were placed in pots which were taken to the jungle and placed by a tree with the mouths turned downward.

For a considerable time after the death of a relative the members of many races carry about with them either articles which belonged to the deceased or his skull and other bones, fixed round their necks. Thus in New Guinea, a widower will wear the petticoat of his dead wife, fastened by means of a cord. His hair is cropped short and his body blackened from head to foot. New Guinea ladies dangle from their necks the lower jaws of their husbands.

In the Andaman Islands, the dead body of a child is pressed into the smallest compass and buried, and some of its mother's milk placed in a shell which is put by the graveside. After a time the remains are exhumed, cleansed of all matter by the father, who takes the skull and bones to his hut. He breaks up the bones into small pieces, and these are made into a necklace for the mother to wear. The mother paints the skull and wears it round her neck (Fig. 38).

When a person dies in civilized countries, why do the relatives go in black? The usual answer is, of course, that it is done out of respect for the dead.

Savages provide us with a very different answer. As Sir J. G. Frazer pointed out many years ago, their mourning customs are the very reverse of those practised in ordinary life, and are in all probability nothing less than a disguise to prevent recognition by the ghost. Some blacken their faces; others lather themselves with mud or rub ashes on their faces; those who in ordinary life paint themselves now refrain from doing so. Among the Mpongwes of West Africa, a race particularly fond of clothes, the woman wears as few as possible, the man none at all. The Bororo Indians of Brazil paint the face and cover the body with feathers (Fig. 39).

Our examination of the different methods of disposing of the dead, cursory though it may have been, is sufficient to show us what a very important place those rites occupy in the life of savage

man. The fear of the dead man's ghost, and the desire to propitiate it by all means; the devices and deceptions practised to mislead it; all these and the customs arising therefrom, form the very basis upon which savage ethics have been built. For if a man be offended in any way during life, he will threaten the offender that he will



Fig. 39. BORORO INDIAN WOMAN WITH BODY COVERED WITH FEATHERS.

(From the Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, 1907.)

return from dead-land and inflict him with all manner of pain. It is this fear which prevents would-be tyrants from exercising the baneful influence they otherwise would use, for a bad man in this life is bound to be a scoundrel in the next.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

NICODEMUS AND THE NICOLAITANS.

BY PRESERVED SMITH.

ANY commentary on the Apocalypse, any book of reference with an article on the Nicolaitans, will tell us that these people were a Christian sect professing Gnosticism; most of the authorities will add that the Nicolaitans were Greek philosophizers of Christianity, who perhaps advocated syncretism and who were certainly guilty of fornication and eating meats sacrificed to idols.¹ Confusion is introduced into the matter by the circumstance that later sects which originally had nothing to do with the primitive Nicolaitans, were given their name. (Even the Familists, founded by Henry Niclaes in the sixteenth century, were thus branded.) The Nicolaitans to whom Epiphanius belonged, and who, he says, worshiped Barbelo, could hardly have been the same as those known to the author of the Apocalypse.² Other traditions about them are that they were Ophites and that they were founded by Nicholas of Antioch.³ This last statement has been accepted by some writers and is not impossible.⁴ All we know of this Nicholas is that he was a proselyte of Antioch (Acts. vi. 5). If true, this fact tells us nothing about the sect. Other statements in the early writers (e. g., Irenæus; *Adversus Haereses*, I, 23) tell us little of value about the Nicolaitans of the Apocalypse.

It is therefore to that work itself, chapter ii, that we must turn for all that we really know about them. Let us begin by quoting verses 14 and 15, addressed to the angel of the church in Pergamos:

"But I have against thee a few things, that thou hast there those that hold the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to cast a stumblingblock before the children of Israel, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication.

¹ Of the many authorities I have consulted I cite only: *Realenzyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche; Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, s. v. "Häretiker"; Ramsay: *Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 201; F. Legge: *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, 1915, Vol. II, p. 1.

² Epiphanius: *Haer.*, capp. XXV, XXVI, Oehler, Vol. II, Part I, pp. 160, 184.

³ Augustine: *De Haeresibus*, cap. XVII, Oehler, Vol. I, p. 200; Pseudo-Tertullian: *Adversus omnes Haereses*, capp. V, VI, Oehler, p. 273; Pseudo-Jerome: *Indiculus de Haeresibus*, cap. III, Oehler, p. 285. See Legge, *op. cit.*, p. 25; De Faye: *Gnosticisme*, Index.

⁴ E. g., Zahn: *Introduction to the New Testament* (English translation), Vol. II, p. 110.

"So thou hast likewise those that hold the doctrine of the Nicolaitans."

It is on the basis of these two verses that the commentators have assumed that the Nicolaitans were the same as the Balaamites, and that they were guilty of idolatry of some sort. But in my judgment the verses show plainly exactly the opposite, namely that the writer was dealing with two separate sects. Would it not have been absurd to refer under different names and headings to one and the same body? One might as well infer from a Democratic campaign speech, directed against both Republicans and Progressives, that both of the latter were the same party. One might as well say that because Luther wrote with equal force against Catholics and Anabaptists that *they* were the same people. Our conclusion that the Nicolaitans were not the Balaamites is confirmed by a careful examination of what is said of the heresies in the other churches. Let us take them in turn.

The early history of the church of Ephesus is as well known as is that of any of the primitive communities. First came Apollos (Acts xviii. 24), preaching not Christianity but the baptism of John, a Messianic sect that later partly merged in the Christian but, as we know from allusions in the Gospel of John, still flourished at Ephesus as a separate body in the second century. These Ephesian Baptists have left us a precious document in the Odes of Solomon.⁵ It is quite probable that the *Fragments of a Zadokite Work* recently discovered, are by the same sect, though from a different community.⁶ In the year 52 Paul came to Ephesus (Acts xvii. 19; xix. 1) and converted some of the Disciples of John. Now the writer of the Letters to the Seven Churches (which may date from the reign of Nero though the Apocalypse as a whole took form in the last decade of the first century), writes from the Jewish-Christian standpoint. He abominates Paul as the bringer-in of heathen mysteries.⁷ The allusion in this letter to Ephesus to "those which say they are apostles and are not" can only refer to Paul, as he was the only one outside of the Twelve and Matthias who, as far as we know, ever took this designation. There may have been others,

⁵ "The Disciples of John and the Odes of Solomon," *The Monist*, April, 1915.

⁶ G. Margoliouth in *The Expositor*, Dec., 1911; *ibid.*, March, 1912. R. H. Charles dissents but has not convinced me.

⁷ That the Apocalypse has an anti-Pauline polemic is maintained by Köstlin, Baur, Schwegler, Holtzmann, Renan, Hilgenfeld, Hausrath, and denied by Neander, Ritschl, B. Weiss, Gebhard, Weizsäcker, J. Weiss, and Ramsay. I regard it as probable.

but, as Paul had been at Ephesus, the allusion best fits him. This is what the writer means also in saying that Ephesus "left her first love." From Jewish-Christians they had become "symmystæ of Paul," as Ignatius later called them. That there really was a reaction against Paul at Ephesus at this time is clearly indicated in Acts xx. 17 and 1 Timothy i. It is not really contradictory for the writer of the letter to say that Ephesus had left her first love and yet hated the Paulinists. She had done so for a time, but had returned and now wins the writer's approval. Now, when he has completely finished with the section dealing with Paul, the writer adds: "Thou hatest the works of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate." As the Apocalypse arose in an Ephesian atmosphere, it is quite natural that the hatred of the church of Ephesus for the sect should be shared by the author. From this we cannot learn what the Nicolaitans' works were; but I maintain that it is distinctly indicated that they were not identical with the Gentile heresy of Paul.

The only spiritual evil from which Smyrna suffered was "the blasphemy of those that say they are Jews and are not, but are the synagogue of Satan." This might be applied to either the followers of Paul, who had completely deserted Judaism, or to the Jewish-Christians, who recognized a certain excellence in Christ and followed His teachings to some extent, but insisted on still calling themselves Jews. That there actually were such Jews is plain from various references in the New Testament, to be canvassed later, and perhaps also from the Zadokite work, in which John the Baptist is regarded as the Messiah and Christ as merely a teacher of righteousness. That the allusion in the Apocalypse, ii. 9, is really to the latter type of heresy is made probable by some words in Ignatius's Epistle to the Magnesians (X, 3), "It is monstrous to talk of Jesus Christ and to practise Judaism." Now in the other Letters to the Churches there are two types of heresy mentioned, which may be conveniently designated as the Gentile and the Jewish. If this refers to the latter, it is evidently similar to, if not identical with, that of the Nicolaitans. Here we get the first positive evidence of what they were like. They were Jews who would not come out decisively for Christ.

Pergamos, in the verses already quoted, is charged with harboring Balaamites and Nicolaitans. Balaam was the type of false prophet, used in the late Jewish Talmud to conceal references to Jesus. The name is also used in Jude 11, and 2 Peter ii. 14, as designating a false prophet, though there is no good reason for assert-

ing, as Knopf⁸ and others have done, that these letters therefore combat the Nicolaitan heresy. This is to fall into the error, exposed above, of supposing that the Nicolaitans were the Balaamites. The Balaamites were Paulinists, for Paul taught that things sacrificed to idols were nothing (1 Cor. viii). The "fornication" here was probably spiritual fornication, i. e., idolatry, as often in the Old Testament. Paul (1 Cor. x. 8), however, and Josephus (*Antiquities*, IV, 6, 5) apparently took it literally.

Thyatira was afflicted with only one of the two types of heresy mentioned, that of the Gentiles. The sect was led by a woman called "Jezebel," who in all probability was Lydia the convert of Paul (Acts xvi. 14, 40). Jezebel was also a typical name (applied later, e. g., to Catharine de' Medici), but here it seems to have a special *à propos*. Jezebel was the opponent of Elijah; this woman was the opponent of the Disciples of John the Baptist, thought of as Elijah redivivus. It is probable that the Baptists had a community here, which, like that at Ephesus, was partly or wholly turned aside to the Pauline Christianity, just at the time that Lydia disappeared from Philippi. The author of the Apocalypse does not write as a Disciple of John, but he has considerable respect for their point of view, as is shown, for example, by the numerous thoughts and phrases common to the Odes of Solomon and the Book of Revelation.

Nothing notable in this connection is said to Sardis. Philadelphia is troubled by the "synagogue of Satan which say they are Jews and are not."

Laodicea is cursed for being lukewarm. What the writer hates above all things is the tepidity that is neither hot nor cold. It was probably the same quality in the Nicolaitans that disgusted him; they wanted to be both Jews *and* Christians. Laodicea plumed herself on her riches, probably spiritual riches. Paul apparently makes an allusion to the same state of mind in the letter to the Colossians (ii. 1, 2), sent by him with an epistle to Laodicea (Col. iv. 16).

We have now exhausted the references to the Nicolaitans, and have shown that probably they were Jews who would not come out strongly for Christ, but were rather lukewarm. Their name shows that they were founded by a Nicholas, and it is not impossible that he was the deacon mentioned in Acts vi. 5, though nothing further can be inferred from this.

⁸ Rud. Knopf: *Die Briefe Petri und Judä völlig neu bearbeitet*, 1912.

Can we discover this Nicholas anywhere else in the Bible? I believe we find him again in the Nicodemus of the Fourth Gospel. I regard the following points as established: The Fourth Gospel was written at Ephesus early in the second century. It does not rest on independent tradition of the life of Jesus, but entirely on the Synoptics. The author, however, worked over their material to suit his own philosophy, and also to meet the special needs of his age. It is therefore probable that his book contains allusions to contemporary conditions at Ephesus, and this has actually been recognized in certain cases. Baldensperger, Debelius, Bacon, and others have agreed that the Gospel contains plain allusions to the Disciples of John, who, as we have seen, were a strong sect at Ephesus. In my article on "The Disciples of John and the Odes of Solomon" (*The Monist*, April, 1915) I have shown that other questions of local importance are discussed in the Fourth Gospel. E. g., the discourse in the fourth chapter as to the proper place to worship God, is also found in the Odes (No. IV)—an Ephesian product—and was therefore probably a burning question at this time and place. Even the Logos is an Ephesian production, appearing first in the philosophy of Heraclitus. Other local references can be found, I am sure, by studying the works of Ignatius and Irenæus.

That the author of the Fourth Gospel moved in the same circle of ideas as the author of the Apocalypse has often been noticed, and is proved by the common emphasis on the Logos, the Lamb of God, the prophecy "They shall look on him they have pierced," and other resemblances. That the author of the Gospel should have found Nicholas and his Nicolaitans attacked in the Apocalypse and should have given his own estimate to correct it, is thoroughly characteristic. Thus he corrected Matthew xi. 14, by denying that John the Baptist was Elias (John i. 21). Thus, throughout his Gospel, he rescued the disciple John from the subordinate place he had taken in the Synoptics. Thus he omitted the eucharistic account of the Last Supper, which he disliked as a Pauline, heathen mystery, and substituted for it his sermon on the spiritual bread (John vi) and the washing of the Disciples' feet. Thus, in brief, he went over all his material, freely altering to bring it into agreement with his own standpoint.

Now where did he get Nicodemus? There is no such name, and no character precisely like him in the Synoptics. Loisy (*Quatrième Evangile*, pp. 303ff) finds John's source in Mark x. 17. Bacon says he is a combination of the rich ruler (Luke xviii. 18),

Joseph of Arimathea (Matt. xxv. 30ff), and Gamaliel (Acts v. 34ff). To a certain extent I agree with these scholars, but I do not think that these sources are sufficient for the whole of the Johannine account of Nicodemus. I certainly agree with the many scholars who see in Nicodemus the type of a cultivated, distinguished Jew, who has an impression of Jesus's significance, but cannot bring himself quite to a whole-hearted adoption of the new teaching, "to be born again" in fact.

My thesis is that the original of this type was the Nicholas who founded the Nicolaitans. Nicodemus is the Naq Dimon of Talmudic tradition, celebrated for his wealth and for having provided baths for purifying pilgrims to the Temple. But this story is entirely based on the New Testament, partly on the passages in John, partly on Mark x. 17, 22; xii. 28-34; xv. 42-46. Now as *ἄνθρωπος* and *λαός* both mean "people," Nicodemus is the exact equivalent of Nicolaos in meaning and in quantity (a matter to which, in the substitution of names, the ancients paid heed). It is true that the name Nicodemus occurs elsewhere and is not therefore necessarily fictitious. But it is possibly fictitious and derived from Nicolaos, just as "Lesbia" in Catullus's songs stood for "Clodia," even though the name "Lesbia" occurs elsewhere. The object of the author of the Fourth Gospel both in changing the name and in keeping the substitute close enough to be recognizable is plain. Consistently with dramatic verisimilitude he could hardly introduce the name of a recent heretic as that of a companion of Jesus, and yet he wanted those who could read between the lines to be able to guess to what special type he was alluding. This introduction of later persons and events into the fabric of the Gospels was no new thing. The story of the storm on the lake and of Peter's walking on the water, is probably an allegory of the early trials of the Roman church.⁹ A great many examples of similar slight changes of the name might be cited as parallels. Thus the poet Greene referred to Shakespeare in 1592 as "one who thought himself the only Shakescene in the country." Thus the writer of 2 Samuel changed the name of Saul's son Ish-baal (man of Baal; cf. 1 Chronicles viii. 33) to Ish-bosheth (man of shame; 2 Samuel ii. 8).

The character of Nicodemus is plainly indicated in John iii. 1-21. He came to Jesus by night, just as the timid Jews who dared not avow their faith undoubtedly came to the Christian conventicles by night. Jesus tells him that he must whole-heartedly enter on a new life (be born again) if he is to be saved. Again (vii. 50ff)

⁹ Mark vi. 45ff; Matt. xiv. 22ff; Loisy: *L'Évangile selon Marc*, 1912, p. 201.

Nicodemus advised his countrymen not to reject Jesus before hearing Him, and they answered by accusing him of being a Galilean. Finally, Nicodemus is brought into the narrative once again as contributing an enormous quantity of myrrh and aloes to Christ's burial (xix. 39). This may indicate that the rich Jews who were only semi-Christians contributed largely in a financial way to the poor Christians.

If there is anything in the theses here presented the historical reconstruction would be as follows. There actually lived, in Ephesus or Pergamos, or at any rate in that region, a certain Nicolaos, who may or may not have been the Nicholas the deacon and proselyte of Antioch mentioned in Acts. He taught that a man might be a Christian while still remaining a Jew, no startling doctrine in those days when we know that many men thought the same. By the reign of Nero, however, when persecution had broken out, and the distinction between Jew and Christian had been emphasized by Paul, his followers became odious to those who felt themselves primarily Christians, even though they may, like the John of the Apocalypse, have detested the new-fangled Gentile Christianity of Paul. The author of Revelation denounced them with the unqualified hatred that he had for all but his own stripe, but when the more tolerant and loving Ephesian Evangelist came to write, he regarded them with more forbearance and tried to show in his book how such an attitude as that of Nicolaos and his disciples was at least psychologically comprehensible. For obvious reasons he concealed his defense of him under the exactly equivalent name of Nicodemus.

A NEW DISCOVERY REGARDING NAZARETH.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

AS is well known, doubts have been expressed for some time regarding the existence of Nazareth in the first century. The writer's belief in its existence has never been overthrown thus far, not because of sentimental or traditional, but for quite sound and valid reasons, which I will not repeat here as I have expressed them to a large extent in my article "Nazareth, Nazorean and Jesus" (*The Open Court*, XXIV, pp. 375 ff).

The doubts concerning the existence of Nazareth, shown by some scholars, have been made use of especially by Dr. William Benjamin Smith, in his theory denying the historical character of

Jesus and claiming that the name *Jesus*, in conjunction with *Nazoraios*, is only an attribute of God. The matter has become more complicated by the attention that author has bestowed upon the pre-Christian *Nasareans* of Epiphanius who, he claims, were identical with the Jewish-Christian *Nazoreans*.

The writer of this note, in going over the matter again, has recently made the discovery that there is an *En Našāra* (pronounced *našāra*) on the map of Palestine besides the *En Nāšira* (pr. *nāšira*) accepted traditionally as the old Nazareth. And what is interesting, if not significant, this *En Našāra* is in the district of Gilead east of the Jordan, where, according to Epiphanius, the pre-Christian *Nasareans* had their origin. This *En Našāra* is southeast from *En Nāšira* and is given on the very accurate map of modern Palestine in Benzinger's *Hebräische Archäologie* (J. C. B. Mohr, Freiburg and Leipsic, 1894). Whether this *En Našāra* existed at the time of the pre-Christian *Nasareans* of Epiphanius of course cannot be proved. But in the Orient, we know, things change but little, and sites remain inhabited for thousands of years. *En* is Arabic for "spring," beside which a town would spring up naturally in Palestine. The *en* at *Našāra* may have existed for thousands of years, as probably also the *en* at *Nāšira*. The possibility is that the pre-Christian *Nasareans* of Epiphanius, rejectors of meat as food, of sacrifices, and of the Mosaic law as laid down in the Pentateuch, took their name from that locality, just as the Jewish Christians are considered to have been named from Nazareth, the home of their founder. The possibility also exists that the expression "Nazareth of Galilee," used in the New Testament, was used to distinguish it from the town in Gilead bearing a similar name, just as there was a Bethlehem both in Galilee and Judea. The distinction, further, which Epiphanius makes between the *Nasaraioi*, the pre-Christian Jewish sect, and the *Nazoraioi*, the Christian Jewish sect, may after all not have been his invention, but one delivered to him as a fact.

The Greek rendering *Nazoraios*, the one occurring most often in the New Testament, need not trouble us much, even if the Aramaic (the language spoken in Palestine at the beginning of our era) *Našorath* (pronounced *našōrath*) for Nazareth, as given in Winer (*Bibl. Realwörterbuch*, 1820), should not be correct. We should find difficulty neither in connection with the *ō* in the second syllable, for the Greek rendering often differs very much from the Hebrew in regard to vowels in the Septuagint (e. g., Gr. *Thamni*, Hebr. *Thimni*, Gr. *Galaad*, Hebr. *Gilead*); nor in regard to the *šade*, rendered by zeta in *Nazoraiois*, as we have seen (cf. my article men-

tioned above) that there are exceptions to the rule that *şade* is generally rendered by sigma, and as even in Hebrew *şade* and *zayin* are interchangeable, words being written either with *şade* or *zayin* with no difference in meaning.

As to whether my discovery has any value in the question under consideration, I will leave this to the judgment of readers interested in the matter.

THE ZEN ORDINATION CEREMONY.

BY BEATRICE SUZUKI.

ON Sunday, July 11, 1915, the ordination ceremony took place of an English gentleman who was admitted to the Buddhist brotherhood, the first Occidental to become a Mahayanist monk. There have been monks admitted into the brotherhood in Ceylon of the Hinayana, but never before had the Mahayana opened its doors to a Westerner.

The novice was an English gentleman who had lived many years in America. In 1913 he came to Japan for the purpose of studying Buddhism and went to Kyoto where for a time he was a teacher of English in a Buddhist college of the Shin sect. He had, however, become interested in the tenets and practice of the contemplative Zen sect, and in May, 1914, became a disciple of the Right Rev. Soyen Shaku, former Abbot of Engaku-ji and Kencho-ji, one of the most popular and brilliant priests of the Zen sect, who came to Chicago in 1893 as a delegate to the World's Parliament of Religions, and in 1905 paid a further visit to the United States and Europe.

In April, 1915, the novice came to Rev. Shaku's temple, Toke-ji, at Kamakura, and received instruction from him. He was then formally received into the brotherhood, and is now a Buddhist monk. The ceremony was interesting, a few guests only were invited. The formalities took place in the Kwannondo of Toke-ji, Rev. Shaku officiating. The novice, clad in a simple white dress, came before his master who applied the razor to his head and with solemn words and with the prayers of those present received the priestly robes and bowls. A little later he returned, now the monk Sokaku, clad in his flowing black *koromo* and *kesa*, to receive the benediction of his teacher and pay his respects to Shakyamuni

whose follower he now is, to Kwannon, the goddess of mercy, and to his teacher, Rev. Shaku.

It may be of interest to read the very words of the formal ceremony. So it is given here as translated from the Zen prayer-book by Mr. Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki:

When all the necessary preparations are made, Roshi, the teacher, takes up the censer, and, burning incense, softly pronounces the following words:

"To all the Buddhas in the ten quarters filling infinite space, to the golden Scriptures which contain the ocean of the Law, to all the holy beings of the Triratna who have gone beyond the ten stages and attained the five fruits and four promises, this incense I dedicate and request their presence to be the witnesses of this ceremony."

Then the following holy names are invoked.

"ADORATION to the All-illuminating Buddha of pure and immaculate Dharmakaya; to the All-illuminating Buddha of perfect and faultless Dharmakaya; to Shakyamuni-Buddha whose manifestations are infinite; to Maitreya-Buddha who is yet to appear on earth; to all the Buddhas, past, present, and future, filling all the ten quarters; to Manjusri-Bodhisattva, incomparable in wisdom; to Samantabhadra-Bodhisattva, incomparable in virtue; to Aryavalokitesvara-Bodhisattva, incomparable in compassion; to all the great and venerable Bodhisattvas; and finally, to Supreme Reason (*prajnaparamita*) which is perfect beyond knowledge."

The gong is struck, and the following is addressed to the novice:

"O thou, son of a good family! How eternally calm the source of the mind! How unfathomably deep the ocean of being! Those who are ignorant are forever sunk in the deeps. But those who are enlightened are free wherever they find themselves. To enjoy oneself in the path of freedom it is necessary to lead the life of a homeless one. For this is the model set forth uniformly by all the Buddhas, and the standard established for the attainment of freedom. This is a truth not to be doubted by any one. No other lives surpass the life of a homeless one if a man wishes to make his mind and body work in accordance with the Way. Why? Because to cut off the hair means the destruction of the root of pas-

sion, and no sooner is this accomplished than the original form becomes manifest; while the changing of the dress means an escape from this earthly life, and no sooner is this done than freedom is realized. For this reason no Buddhas ever attained to the Path by continuing their family lives; nor have there been patriarchs in any time who did not assume the form of homeless ones. Therefore, of all merits nothing exceeds the merit of the life of a homeless one. To build a tower of the seven jewels, whose height may scale the thirty-third Heaven, is meritorious enough; but compared to the merit of a homeless one it does not come up even within one hundredth part of it; in fact, no such numerical comparison is possible between these two kinds of merit. When the jewel tower is destroyed it turns into dust and will cease forever to regain its former splendor. But the merit of a homeless one is ever growing until he attains Buddhahood, when his merit will continue for ages to come. It must then be said that a homeless one, even still retaining his earthly form, is able to go beyond the condition of an ordinary mortal. Though he may not yet have realized the fruit of the holy life he is truly a follower of the Buddha and the most honorable of all beings in the triple world, and his is the most excellent state of existence in the transmigration through the six modes of life. Think of your mind and body destined to migrate throughout eons, but now about to enjoy a birth in the land of Buddhas where there is eternal progress and a state of immortality. The false attachment from the beginningless past has now been put aside and the solid virtue of original being is going to be perfected. For these reasons, when one becomes a homeless mendicant even heaven and earth dare not treat him like other mortals; he is not to be mixed among them. His shaven head signifies that he has now nothing to oppress him. The square sleeve of his robe is the banner of freedom. Whatever he sees or hears is turned into things of vast merit. All his kinsmen are sure to attain excellent fruit. He ranks above the triple world, and his virtues stand high over the ten quarters. Even kings dare not overshadow him; even his parents are willing to honor him above themselves; even gods and spirits rank below him. The only personages he will respect are his masters, seniors, Buddhas, and Fathers. Therefore it is said that as long as one transmigrates in the triple world one cannot cut oneself loose from the bond of love; but that he alone really repays love who, abandoning a life of attachment, enters the Absolute. Thinking of all the love bestowed by your parents to whom you owe your existence and manhood, pay them now most sincerely your last respect.

Thinking of all the benefits you have gained from your king and country, properly show them now your feeling of gratitude. This is the practical proof whereby the fact of your new detached life is demonstrated, and it is the unique sign of your dignity. Let your guardian god be informed of this event and be offered thanks for the protection so far given you through his power. Let the guardian god of your locality be also notified of your awakening in the faith and taking of vows for a new life. When they are duly informed your guardian god will be your protector in the pursuit of the Path, and your heaven and earth gods will be the benefactors of the Law."

The novice bows three times before the Buddha and then another three times before Roshi. Roshi, taking up the razor, recites the following gatha together with the witnesses.

"Behold this great man
Whose insight has grasped the impermanency of things,
Who, abandoning a worldly life, endeavors to realize Nirvana!
How wonderful! how beyond the ken of thought!"

The shaving over, the novice bows three times before Roshi, who thereupon speaks as follows:

"This last tuft of hair is called *chuda*. The master alone is able to cut it off, and I am now going to shave it for you. Do you give your consent?"

The novice answers, "Yes, I do". When this is three times repeated, Roshi recites the gatha of tonsure:

"Changed is thy form. Be faithful to thy vows.
Freed art thou now from desire; have no worldly attachments!
Having abandoned thy home life, walk thou ever on the Path
of Holy Truth.
And exert thyself in order to lead all beings to deliverance!"

This is repeated three times. The last tuft, chuda, is gone. The novice bows three times. Roshi lifts the "nishadanam" which is on the table, and hands it over to the novice who, receiving it, pronounces the following words:

"All the Bodhisattvas and Mahasattvas be gracious enough to hold me in their thought! O my venerable master, this is a *nishadanam* made in accordance with the measures, and I now receive it from the master for it is my garment of protection."

Next the novice is handed the "antarvasa" and he utters the following:

"All the Bodhisattvas and Mahasattvas be gracious enough to hold me in their thought! O my venerable master, this is an *antarvasa* cut according to the measure, and I now receive it from you, for it is the garment of detachment."

Next he is handed the "uttarasanga" and he speaks:

"All the Bodhisattvas and Mahasattvas be gracious enough to hold me in their thought! O my venerable master, this is an *uttarasanga* cut according to the measures, and I now receive it from you for it is the garment of detachment.

"Excellent is this garment of deliverance!

Like the spiritual garden of bliss is this robe!

I now receive it with all reverence;

May I be protected forever in it!"

Lastly, the "patram" is given him, and he speaks as follows:

"All the Bodhisattvas and Mahasattvas be gracious enough to hold me in their thought! O my venerable master, this is a *patram* made according to the regulation, and I now receive it from you and will keep it for my daily use."

The novice retires to put on his new robes, etc., and on his return kneels before the master, who gives him the confession formula.

"O son of a good family, if you seek refuge in the Triratna you ought first to confess and repent: for it is like washing a garment first when it is to be dyed. Confess and repent, therefore, in all sincerity, and you will be thoroughly cleansed of your evils. You may follow me as I recite it:

"All the evil karma created by me in the past

Is the product of the avarice, anger, and infatuation I have had from the beginningless past;

And it has issued from my body, tongue, and mind:

Of all this I now make a full confession."

This confession is recited by all present.

"Thus ridding yourself of the karma produced by the body, tongue, and mind, great purification has come to you, and you are ready now for taking refuge in the Triple Treasure of Buddha,

Dharma, and Sangha. There are three aspects in this Triple Treasure, each of which is full of meritorious signification: They are the Triple Treasure (1) in its absolute aspect, (2) as manifested in the Trikaya (Triple Body of Buddha), and (3) in its concrete expression. When you take refuge in any one of them, all the merit accruing from all three will be fully realized.

"I take refuge in the Buddha,
I take refuge in the Dharma,
I take refuge in the Sangha.

"I take refuge in the Buddha honored as the Incomparable One,
I take refuge in the Dharma honored as being free from suffering,
I take refuge in the Sangha honored as symbol of perfect harmony.

"I have finished taking refuge in the Buddha,
I have finished taking refuge in the Dharma,
I have finished taking refuge in the Sangha.

"The Tathagata, the true, peerless, and most fully enlightened one, he is my great teacher, and in him I take refuge. From this time henceforward the Buddha alone will be my guide; no evil spirits, no false doctrines will lead me astray. Through the mercy of the Buddha, let this be so!"

The above is recited three times, all joining. Roshi then proceeds to give the five precepts.

"The five precepts are the beginning of the discipline in the Law and the standard of morals for the homeless one. Do thou observe them until the end of thy life.

"Do not destroy life.

"Do not steal.

"Do not commit sexual offenses.

"Do not tell falsehood.

"Do not take any intoxicant.

"From now on till the attainment of the Buddha-body, wilt thou observe these five precepts?"

The novice answers, "Yes, I will."

This is repeated three times and the ceremony is concluded by Roshi's speech which runs as follows:

"The merit of this shaving ceremony and of the receiving of the precepts is wonderful indeed; all the fourfold favor received is herewith requited; the triple existence is universally benefitted, and all the sentient beings throughout the infinite universe will fully mature their original wisdom.

"Live in this world as if in the emptiness of space;
 Be like unto the lotus-flower blooming unstained in the mud!
 The original purity of the soul far surpasses this:
 Bow most reverently before the Honored One who knows no
 peers.

"Adoration to all the Buddhas, Bodhisattvas, and all the venerable ones in the past, present, and future, in all the ten quarters. Adoration to Supreme Reason which is perfect beyond all knowledge."

Sokaku will study at Toke-ji for some years, spending his time in meditation, study, and practical training, leading the simple life of a Buddhist monk with his fellow monks.

The training of a Zen monk is chiefly along the lines of meditation where he is taught not to believe but to experience the truth, and the training which a Zen master gives to his pupil is to make him experience for himself the deepest truths and to learn how to put these truths into his every-day living. In a Zen monastery a Zendo or training quarters for monks is attached, and here from ten to sixty monks are congregated. All the practical work is done by the monks themselves, cooking, sweeping, etc., as no women are admitted. At stated periods they go about begging for rice or other necessities, and in return they are always ready to recite prayers for those wishing them. The rest of their time is given to study and meditation.

We often read in Japanese books about Bushido: it was in the Zen monastery that Bushido was first taught and the greatest samurais of the feudal period were Zen followers. We also read of the "tea ceremony" and the "flower arrangement." These, too, originated with the Zen monks. In these modern days there are many methods of meditation, of training in the silence; but they are all offshoots of the Zen. Zen has been the source of many other teachings, yet it itself remains unique. Its system of contemplation and meditation is quite different in its aim; for it is neither for physical nor mental benefit, although these too come. It is also quite different in its result; for what is attained is the spirit of the Buddha's teaching itself, insight into life.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE MITTAG-LEFFLER TESTAMENT AND INSTITUTE.

Three years ago, Dr. Gustaf Mittag-Leffler, the eminent Swedish mathematician who was Weierstrass's most brilliant pupil at Berlin, celebrated his seventieth birthday at Stockholm on March 16, 1916. On this occasion the testament of Dr. Mittag-Leffler and his wife was published; and an extract from it is translated in the *Bulletin of the American Mathematical Society* for October, 1916, by Dr. Caroline E. Seely. Dr. Mittag-Leffler and his wife bequeath after their deaths all their possessions to a foundation bearing the name "Mittag-Leffler Institute," which is to help to maintain and develop the study of pure mathematics in the four Scandinavian countries of Sweden, Denmark, Finland, and Norway. Professor Mittag-Leffler's library is to be preserved and enriched in the large villa now belonging to him at Djursholm near Stockholm, which has been built and arranged with the purpose in view: fellowships for study of pure mathematics at home or abroad are to be granted to young people of both sexes; and medals are to be granted for important work in pure mathematics. All this is of direct benefit to Scandinavians alone; but at least once every six years a further prize for a really important discovery in pure mathematics is to be awarded without regard to the nationality of the author. This prize is to consist of a large gold medal, a diploma, and as complete a set as possible of the *Acta Mathematica*; and the person to whom the prize is awarded is to be invited to appear himself at Djursholm to receive it, a suitable appropriation for his traveling expenses being made.

The portrait of Professor Mittag-Leffler which forms the frontispiece of this number of *The Open Court* is from a drawing by C. W. Maud after a photograph which appeared some years ago in the *American Journal of Mathematics*.

This is the first institute in which the claims of pure mathematics in particular as an important part of the work of civilization has been recognized. Thus all pure mathematicians—and, we may add, all cultivators of the science of form—will be encouraged by the noble example of Professor Mittag-Leffler, who himself has already done so much to increase the power of pure mathematics.

Φ

BOOK REVIEWS.

GOETHE. By *Calvin Thomas*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1917. Pp. xii, 368. Price, \$2.00 net.

Calvin Thomas, professor of German in Columbia University, has written an attractive book of over 368 pages on Goethe. It consists of sixteen chapters, eight of which are devoted to a critical study of the poet's life, while

seven others discuss Goethe as a philosopher, evolutionist, believer, poet, dramatist, novelist, and critic; the last chapter deals with *Faust* exclusively.

In order to characterize the book, we may single out some passages as specimens of Professor Thomas's thought. Regarding his attitude toward Goethe, the man and the lover, it may be sufficient to see what he thinks of the Sesenheim affair. He says (pp. 38f):

"A peculiar charm invests that portion of 'Poetry and Truth' in which Goethe tells of his brief summer romance with Friederike Brion. There, where the tale is told with exquisite art by one who knew it as no one else can possibly know it, is the place to read it; the modern biographer should stay his hand. Suffice it to say that Goethe found the village maid very bewitching in her country home, loved her, won her love, and spent much time with her in the early summer of 1771. With quite too little thought of the inevitable parting he gave himself up to the delicious idyl, and then, when the time came for him to go home, bade farewell to the sorrowing maid and took himself out of her life.

"For this act of unromantic perfidy his conscience tormented him. What he did at last, after drifting too long with the current of passion, was the right thing to do; for a marriage would have been an act of sentimental folly, for her as well as for him. They were not well mated for the prose of life. But while the common sense of mankind makes little of such a fault, and nothing at all when it is the woman who retreats, Goethe himself felt that he had played a shabby part. He says as much in his autobiography, and letters written at the time betray a remorseful state of mind, which, however, did not last very long. He expiated artistically. For several years to come his scheme of a tragic situation regularly included a girl deserted by her lover. Thus the village maid became the muse of the new-born poet."

It is important to remember that Goethe visited the family of Friederike. In a foot-note to the same chapter Professor Thomas says (p. 39):

"Certain writers appear to make a virtue of believing that the relation of Goethe and Friederike was much less idyllic than the famous tenth book of 'Poetry and Truth' would lead one to suppose; in short, that it was very like the relation of Faust and Gretchen. But the evidence adduced is too vague and untrustworthy to compel such a conclusion. It is largely a question of what one *wishes* to believe. An outstanding fact of great moment is that in 1779 Goethe revisited Sesenheim and was received with delight by the entire Brion family."

An important phase in Goethe's thought was his conception of immortality. Certain it is that Goethe believed in immortality, and Professor Thomas's treatment of this subject is characterized in the following quotation (pp. 233ff):

"With respect to his belief in immortality Goethe often expressed himself in his old age. It is certain that he clung to the belief tenaciously and regarded it as indispensable; but whether he believed in a real survival of personality after death, or only in the reabsorption of the particular drop into the divine ocean of life from which it sprang, is not so easy to decide. His utterances can be taken either way. Certain it is, however, that he was not content to rest his belief solely on a faith that transcends reason. He thought

he could justify it by proofs; but, as is nearly always the case when men attempt to argue this question, his proofs have little weight for a mind in need of argument. He once said to Chancellor Müller:

"In all his earthly life man feels deeply and clearly in himself that he is a citizen of that spiritual kingdom the belief in which we can neither reject nor give up. In this belief, which we can not get rid of, lies the mystery of an eternal pushing on toward an unknown goal."

"And again to Countess Egloffstein:

"The power to ennoble all things sensuous and to animate the deadest material by wedding it to a spiritual idea is the surest guaranty of our supermundane origin. However we may be attracted and held fast by a thousand and one phenomena of this earth, we are forced by an inward longing ever and again to lift up our eyes to heaven, because a deep inexplicable feeling gives us the conviction that we are citizens of those worlds that shine above us so mysteriously and to which we shall one day return."

"This conception of man as a citizen of two worlds, that is, as partaking by his thought in a kind of mind-stuff which is indestructible and cannot be imagined away, underlies many a saying, for example:

"It is absolutely impossible for a thinking man to imagine non-existence, a cessation of thinking and living. To that extent every one carries in himself the proof of immortality.

"The thought of death leaves me perfectly calm, for I have the firm conviction that our mind is an absolutely indestructible form of being, something that works on from eternity to eternity. It is like the sun, which merely seems to our earthly eyes to set, while it really never sets but shines continually.

"I should not at all like to do without the happiness of believing in an eternal existence; yes, I could say with Lorenzo dei Medici that all those who hope for no other life are dead for this life. . . . He who believes in a continued life should be happy in a quiet way, but he has no reason to plume himself on the belief."

"Sometimes, in his efforts to conceive the inconceivable, he thought of the endless life as an impersonal, undifferentiated mode of existence, again as a hierarchy of souls graded somehow according to merit previously acquired. Thus he makes one of the characters in the 'Elective Affinities' say that the 'pure feeling of a final, universal equality, at least after death, seems to me more soothing than the obstinate, stolid projection of our personalities, attachments, and relations.' On the other hand, Eckermann records him as saying in 1829: 'I do not doubt of our continued existence, for nature cannot do without the entelechy. [See below.] But we are not all immortal in the same way; and in order to manifest oneself as a great entelechy hereafter it is necessary to be one here.'

"But enough of these citations. I have only wished to make clear from the authentic testimony of his own words—so far as we can trust the records—how the aging Goethe spoke inconsistently, according to the mood of the hour, on questions of religion, and how he was wont to argue the case for his own belief in immortality. It is clear that he believed the human mind to

be a part of the indestructible energy that pervades and actuates the All. He accordingly believed that the spiritual *elements* of personality, or at least some of them, were by their very nature imperishable. But whether he believed that the *form* of personality, that is, the particular grouping of the imperishable elements in connection with a perishable body—whether he believed that this too would survive and resist dispersion after the cataclysm of physical death, remains uncertain."

Entelechy is an Aristotelian term which in contrast to mere potentiality means the actualization of a purpose and is applied to the center of the soul. For the common reader the translation "soul" would be enough. (For further details see Dr. Paul Carus's book on *Goethe*, p. 230.)

Goethe's significance as an ethical force is summed up by Professor Thomas in the following (pp. 194f):

"The Goethean virtue of poise or equilibrium is the eighteenth-century phase of the old Greek doctrine of 'nothing in excess.' It is the ideal constantly preached by Wieland, whose thinking was much influenced by Shaftesbury's conception of the perfectly balanced 'virtuoso.' Sometimes Goethe used the term 'gracioso' for his ideal exemplar of equilibrium through self-control and the avoidance of excess. This is what he meant by 'beautiful humanity,' of which he had so much to say. This is what he meant by the famous lines of the poem 'General Confession,' where men are bidden to 'wean themselves from the half and live resolutely in the whole, the beautiful, the good.'

"Beyond a doubt this idea of the perfection of the individual through the symmetrical culture of all his higher human aptitudes and the maintenance of a due equipoise between centripetal or selfish impulse on the one hand and centrifugal or altruistic tendencies on the other,—beyond a doubt this is Goethe's last and highest word in ethics. The doctrine lends itself readily to misconstruction and indeed has often been misconstrued as meaning simply, in the last analysis, a sort of sublimated selfishness. But the sage of Weimar knew very well, and in his later years was much given to urging, that the perfection of the individual was something realizable only in the give-and-take of social effort. After all, self-surrender, in the sense of devotion to large ideas that make for the good of humankind, was the overruling law of self-realization.

"His doctrine of duty does not differ from that of Kant or Fichte by its less strenuous demand or its more hedonistic tinge, but by its underlying assumption that the categorical imperative itself was made for man and is to be viewed relatively to human perfection. A man does not do his duty because God commands it, but because he chooses to do it in the interest of his own highest welfare. Bondage to duty, he would have said, is no better than any other bondage, and the only duty consists in 'loving that which one enjoins on oneself.' Naturally, therefore, he would have rejected the transcendental state with its imperious claim to blind service and blind self-sacrifice. According to his way of thinking the state exists for man, not man for the state. Nowhere does he admit any higher criterion than the perfection of man, who must seek his highest good in the sweat of his brow, by toil and toil, amid a never-ending conflict of antagonistic forces."

In conclusion it may be mentioned that all quotations are given in English,

including those in verse, so that the book is available also for people who no longer study the original.

An Appendix, containing chiefly bibliographical references and notes, will be welcomed by the university student. The Index, and especially the Table of Contents, enable the reader to find his way easily to any subject discussed.

THE VANDAL OF EUROPE. By *Wilhelm Mühlton*. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1918. Pp. xvi, 335. Price, cloth, \$1.50 net.

It is still worth while to read Dr. Mühlton's diary, or rather, to reread it, looking at it from a new point of view. The interest originally attaching to it of course is vanishing. That interest is sufficiently characterized by the title under which these notes were published last year in book form. At that time the war was still in progress and "fixing the blame" a tremendous asset in the direction of winning it. The conclusion of the armistice leads us to an appreciation of some features of the book which seem to endorse the peace policies of the United States as strongly as others endorsed our war policies.

An enormous amount of critical pronouncements on the Germans and German institutions is found between these two covers, and this has been assimilated by every newspaper reader. In addition, however, there is contained in these pages a wealth of constructive thought whose independence, considering the time when the entries were made, appears almost morbid. Take, for instance, the author's indictment of the modern idea of the state, of August 31, 1914, not *quite* antiquated as yet (pp. 182ff):

"As long as the aims and ends of politics are not at one with the plain fundamentals of general human morals, so long will statesmanship remain a criminal trade. . . . The state idea in its present-day form separates men artificially from one another and creates all sorts of hateful distinctions between them. The modern state wishes its subjects to be, in relation to other men, brutal, covetous, envious, obtuse, and bigoted. Moreover, the morals of the state naturally color the morals of all those who count themselves among its supporters. Thus all industrial magnates believe that in the interest of the work which they are carrying on, they may employ any means to reap the fullest fruits of their labors. They say, even as the state does, that they do not act thus out of selfishness, but from a sense of responsibility for their great enterprises, from solicitude for the welfare of the part of humanity for which they are trustees. Their dependents must have a good and pious conception of life. They must be soft as wax as servants, hard as iron as workers, even as the state wants its subjects to be. . . . If we want to restore to mankind its most essential basis—which is mutual confidence—we must, above all things, combat the idea that there may be a different morality for different individuals or for different human institutions. Equality in this respect must be the rule. If states lose thereby in sharpness and individuality of outline, it will be all the better for the world."

The theme of reconciliation is developed in the following, *à propos* atrocities, dated November 10 (pp. 316ff):

"I have read a poem by Verhaeren even, which seems to me scandalous. It is true that terrible excesses have been committed. It is true that the moral status of one people is lower than that of another. But no thinking man ought

on that account to conduct himself as though he could no longer make any distinctions among enemies, as though he could no longer discover any ray of reconciliation, rapprochement, or hope. Whoever sees in an entire people only wild beasts which must be exterminated; whoever collects only a one-sided record of the crimes of the enemy, but excludes everything which excuses the enemy or is at all in his favor, himself commits a crime which is greater than those excesses, because he poisons for years to come millions of human beings with his own rabid hate. . . . It is also no excuse for either of the parties to say that the enemy does not do differently or better—that he is guilty of the same exaggerations and false generalizations. To preserve reason, judgment, and moderation in these things is at present the first and almost sole indication of higher intellect and of that genuine superiority, which must conquer, and which the conquered will not deny but rather try to imitate."

Regarding a final settlement the following entry is found under as early a date as August 29, 1914 (pp. 158ff):

"But what qualities must such a victor and ruler have to be able to unite Europe! He must have absolute power. . . . At the same time he must be of such a character as to want nothing for himself, to apportion everything according to the best judgment of his enlightened intellect, to create perfect justice through kindness, to diminish injustice by abolishing all privileges and class distinctions, in so far as our time is ripe for it.

"If France were conquered by such a ruler she would be lifted up again through generous love, and would regain her independence and her lost brethren besides. She would retain all her greatness and spiritual importance; she would breathe freer and more proudly, depressed by no threat of danger, weighted down by no political mortgages.

"It would be the same with other countries. The tariff barriers would be removed and compulsory military service abolished, as well as everything else which separates and estranges peoples. The peoples of Europe would gladly place themselves under an autocrat who, with might, goodness, and wisdom, denied himself in order to give justice to others. They would know that he would yield his prerogatives as soon as they became unessential and would not persist in fighting with his own limited strength for the salvation of the state, instead of accepting that salvation from the superior strength of the people."

The author himself calls this a Utopian picture, and in a way of course it is. Yet it is in visions like these that future generations may find the lasting value of the humble volume before us—unless the Peace Conference fails.

SKETCHES OF SOME HISTORIC CHURCHES OF GREATER BOSTON. [By *Katharine Gibbs Allen* and others.] Boston: The Beacon Press, 1918. Pp. 307. Price, cloth, \$1.50 net.

This is a volume which will interest Bostonians in the first line, but every student of America's early church history may read it with profit. It presents, besides an introduction on "The Beginnings of Unitarianism in New England," a history of twelve churches of the Boston country which have played, or are playing, a more or less important part in the development of Unitarianism in the United States.

Most of the papers compiled in this volume were read in the churches about which they were written, and some of them at other gatherings besides. More than a dozen writers, prominent in New England Unitarianism, have collaborated on this work, and it is gratifying to see what an harmonious whole has come out of their efforts. With few exceptions the authors have limited themselves strictly to a presentation of the facts in which the external history of the various churches is reflected—the history of the meeting-house, decrease and increase in the number of members, secessions, influence of war (especially the Revolutionary War) upon the congregations, and, of course, a portrait gallery of the successive ministers in each parish. We mention only the sympathetic sketches of John Eliot, the "Apostle to the Indians," of the three Mathers, Cotton Mather in particular, of Thomas Starr King, of Edward Everett Hale, of Theodore Parker, etc., etc.

No attempt is made to give a systematic list of the sources from which the authors have drawn their material. It would have been welcome. Only from occasional references in the text we learn, e. g., to what extent the records of the various churches and similar papers have been utilized. The sole regret we have in this respect is that not more has been quoted from them. Wherever this is done the *mentality* of an age long past is revealed as though by a flashlight—something which is not accomplished by supplying the reader with the mere data of a parson's life and the growth of his flock. Thus we find the following reflections written by John Eliot himself, a timely reminder, they may seem, to all recent victims of the "Spanish influenza" (p. 141):

"This year the Lord did lay upon us a great sickness epidemical so that the great part of the town were sick at once, whole families, young and old. The manner of sickness is a deep cold with some tincture of fever and much malignity, and very dangerous if not well regarded by keeping a low diet and the body warm and sweating. God's rods are teaching us. Our epidemical sickness of colds doth rightly by divine hand, tell us what our epidemical spiritual disease is. Lord help us to see it. This visitation of God was exceedingly strange, as if He sent an angel forth, not with sword to kill, but with rod to chastise." But he sorrowfully adds: "Yet for all this, it is the frequent complaint of many wise and godly among us that little reformation is to be seen of our chief wrath provoking sins, such as pride, covetousness, animosities, personal neglect of gospelizing the young, etc. Drinking-houses are multiplied, not lessened, and Quakers, openly tolerated!"

This takes us back to the middle of the seventeenth century. But how does it strike us when we find some prayers quoted by which the orthodox party tried to silence Theodore Parker hardly less than sixty years ago (pp. 190ff):

"Lord, we know that we cannot argue him down, and the more we say against him the more the people flock after him and the more they will love and revere him. O Lord what shall be done for Boston if thou dost not take this and some other matters in hand."

"Oh Lord, send confusion and distraction into his study this afternoon and prevent his finishing his preparations for his labors to-morrow."

Of such illustrations of the change of times we wish more had been given, even if they have been made accessible elsewhere before.

Unfortunately, this book, containing ample references to a score or two of the best-known men and women in American history, is not provided with an index. This is the more to be regretted since most of the chapters naturally cover identical ground so that collateral reading would be very profitable. The Table of Contents does not even give page numbers.

STUDIES IN THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION. By *Albert J. Edmunds*. Philadelphia: Innes and Sons, 1915-1918, large quarto, pp. 31.

These somewhat irregular essays are arranged in order of subject, regardless of dates of publication. No. 1 is: "The One-Name Form of the Final Commission in Matthew: the references of Conybeare verified and translated." Readers of *Buddhist and Christian Gospels* will remember that in that work, as printed at Tokyo in 1905, the author quoted Rendel Harris's endorsement of Conybeare's recovery of the lost text of Matthew as used by Eusebius, in which the Final Commission appears without the Baptismal Charge or the Trinitarian formula:

Go ye and make disciples of all the nations in my name, teaching them etc.

The date is sufficient indication that neither Edmunds nor Harris is dealing with Conybeare's political opinions. Edmunds has translated, for the first time, the quotations of Matthew xxviii. 19 by Eusebius, and has thus made accessible to the American reader a recondite study of 1901 from Greek and Latin.

Study No. 2 in the series is a concise statement, with English text, of the Resurrection in Mark. The author has printed the red colophon at Mark xvi. 8, exactly as found in the oldest Greek, Syriac, and Armenian manuscripts: *They said nothing to any one, for they were afraid of.....*

Here endeth the Gospel of Mark.

Accompanying No. 2 there is inserted a single leaf, dated June, 1918, being Study No. 6: "The End of Mark in the Old Armenian Version." The same red colophon appears herein, taken straight from Armenian Gospel manuscripts in Philadelphia, and it is pointed out for the first time that the Bible Society is systematically corrupting the text of that noble old version by inserting Aristion's Appendix ("Mark" xvi. 9-20) which the Armenians were the very last Christians to adopt. A study of their manuscripts reveals the interesting fact that they were still hesitating over copying these spurious verses a full thousand years after the other churches, Greek, Roman, and the rest, had given them canonicity.

The remainder of these Studies deals with modern psychic phenomena: "Hoag's Vision of 1803," and "The Return of Myers," as well as a summary of an article which is about to appear in *The Open Court*: "The Book of Tobit and the Hindu-Christian Marriage Ideal."

At the end is appended the author's Literary Will, which has been drawn up at the age of sixty out of despair of accomplishing his scholastic plans, owing to the war.



MATERIALIZATION OF A DIAKKA.
(From Photograph.)

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL XXXIII (No. 5)

MAY, 1919

NO. 756

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SPIRITUALISTIC MATERIALIZATION AND OTHER MEDIUMISTIC PHENOMENA.

BY DAVID P. ABBOTT.

MATERIALIZATION! Can it be that in this advanced age intelligent people believe in such things? you ask. There are those who most certainly do; and they are by no means the ignorant class. A few years ago there were over eighteen million spiritualists in the world. There are to-day, especially in Europe, many of the greatest scientists who are leaders in the investigation of the phenomena of spiritualism. I will not attempt to name more than a few of them.

The published report of Sir William Crookes, on the materialization of the spirit of "Katie King" at his home, is to-day widely circulated and believed. The story is very pretty; and the account of the visits of "Katie" to the Crookes home on many occasions, until her final leave-taking, when she bade them all good-bye and left this world for the last time, makes interesting reading. The scene at her last visit was dramatic and pathetic, for during her many visits they had all learned to love her. She sat in the middle of the room on the floor, with her beautiful hair falling about her, and tearfully bade her friends a last good-bye. All knew it was their last meeting this side of eternity. The reader will remember that this is not a report of some ignorant person, but that of Sir William Crookes, the great scientist, and inventor of the Crookes tube, which invention later led to the discovery of the X-rays. Thus investigations were opened that led to the discovery of radium, the disintegration of matter, and all of the late knowledge of its constitution.

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Then there were the materializations at the "Villa Carmen" in Algiers, where Professor Richet of Paris journeyed and spent considerable time in investigating and photographing the spirit "Bien Boa." His book, giving an account of these investigations together with photographs, is quite interesting. But such cases are too numerous for me to attempt to name them all.

People who believe in mediumistic phenomena also believe in Diakka, or evil spirits, not necessarily of human origin, who make all the trouble at seances and who impersonate the spirits of mortals and bring them into disrepute by their conduct. There also is a belief that when a spirit is "grabbed," the spirit substitutes the medium in its place, in order to save the medium's life, etc., etc.

Probably the greatest case of materialization in the world at the present time is in Europe. Just before the war, the Baron von Schrenck-Notzing, of the University of Munich, Bavaria, a hitherto pronounced skeptic, held some experiments with a lady medium and published an account of the same. Many photographs were taken also.

Mme. Juliette Alexandre-Bisson published an account in French which received the endorsement of the above-named gentleman and also of Dr. J. Maxwell, a judge in the higher courts of France. A few extremely brief extracts from a translation of this will be given here.

First we shall state that the medium, Mlle. Eva C., was always undressed before each seance and then dressed in dancers' tights. These were sewed around the wrists, making it impossible for her to introduce her hands under her clothing. At each seance she sat in a cabinet formed by curtains stretched across the corner of a room. Then, most of the time during the seances, her hands and feet were controlled or held by the investigating scientists. I may also state that she underwent a medical examination before each seance to prove that she had not concealed upon her person appliances of any kind with which to produce phenomena. A subdued light was used, and sometimes a net was stretched about her, separating her from the apparitions. She was generally entranced by hypnotism before each seance. I now quote mere fragments from the translation, selected at intervals without regard to the dates, merely to illustrate the type of phenomena.

Phenomena of Mlle. Eva C.

"After waiting perhaps a dozen minutes, a white form appeared and manifested itself several times. It was photographed.

It was a human form with bright eyes and a tall turban-like hat, and a rather clear black spot covering the nose. The form appeared beyond the netting which separated the medium from it."

Again, "After waiting an hour, some white substance appeared over the medium at her right side. Immediately a figure covered by the same substance appeared and disappeared. Some seconds after, the medium appeared to be entirely covered by this matter. This formed into something like a turban on her head and fell down on each side. Baron P. went into the cabinet. When he resumed his place there followed him an apparition which came from the left side of the medium and was immediately reabsorbed in her.

"Baron von Schrenck-Notzing went into the cabinet and sat beside the medium and took one of her hands. The other hand of the medium held the curtain. A mass of substance came from the mouth of the medium and enlarged. It was gray in color and seemed to be living matter. It moved slowly and disappeared behind the curtains. Baron von Schrenck-Notzing resumed his seat without letting go the hand of the medium and Dr. Vi took the other hand. Thus controlled, the medium appeared to be entirely covered by a white substance which fell down to her knees.

"Some substance appeared extending from the medium's chin to her stomach, seeming to flow from the mouth. It detached itself and fell on her knees, leaving the impression of folding itself up. Some seconds later the same phenomenon was repeated and then vanished. Some matter coming from about the cabinet fell on the medium. This matter seemed to be animated by motion. The medium held the curtains, took hold of the hands of Baron von Schrenck-Notzing, let them go a few seconds, and immediately a figure of a woman appeared enveloped in white substance. It disappeared at once.

"Luminous appearances occurred, especially on the stomach and knees of the medium. One of these manifestations consisted of a long ribbon which seemed to issue from the middle of the face and extend to the medium's feet, which supported it. The doctor said in a whisper to Mme. B. that the ribbon, which was undulating, had the appearance of issuing from the mouth of the medium. Immediately the medium took the doctor's hand between her teeth, and he reported that there was nothing in her mouth. Two little white balls appeared and moved about each foot of the medium. One round figure appeared above her. This was an apparition of a man's head.

"We asked for a hand, earnestly. A hand formed on the right and close to the arm of the medium, which was held by Dr. B.

"The apparition advanced toward Mme. B., who called it. As far as it came forward you could see the forearm. The hand and forearm were about five to ten centimeters distant from the body of the medium. The fingers were large and knotted, and moved. It was the right hand whose thumb was on the right side of the medium's body. The color was white like mother-of-pearl and resembled that of other manifestations, and that which was not white took on the yellow color of the chair. The hand reached to touch that of Mme. B., lingered a few moments and then disappeared.

"We took hold of her hands. After some minutes a large mass of white substance appeared which covered the whole of the medium's stomach. Gradually it took the form of a foot and the end of the leg. The toes were slow in forming. The medium drew her hand from the doctor who was holding it. He felt the substance, and it was cold and moist. The apparition then vanished.

"The medium raised herself, and a long train of white substance hung from her head to the floor. Mme. B. (without letting go the hand of the medium) seized this substance and drew it gently outside the curtains. She had the sensation of holding something living. The medium was groaning, and the doctor asserted that the phenomenon so produced was formed from the same stuff as the cloak which covered the arm of the medium. This substance was humid, viscous, heavy, and cold.

"A head immediately appeared by the side of the medium's head, united with it by a rigid cord of substance. Both heads came forward to Mme. B. The face of the apparition was veiled. You could distinguish the features only imperfectly.

"There was then a respite. The medium opened the curtains wider. We could see a head develop some distance from the medium's head. This figure, heavy and solid, fell on Mme. B.'s head. The shock was brutal. The phenomenon disappeared, no one knows how, into the body of the medium.

"Some minutes later, a hand with the forearm appeared moving forward. It was small, thick, and moved the fingers. The fingers were bound together as if webbed. The hands of the medium were on her knees in full light during the whole of the phenomena. A fourth time a hand presented itself, and at the request of Dr. B. it beat his head hard. The medium then gave her hands. Almost immediately a third hand with the forearm appeared on her belly.

The forearm was placed across the arm of the medium. The hand moved, but it seemed soft and imperfectly formed."

Again, "Almost immediately on being entranced, some matter appeared over the medium. The hands which appeared were ill formed, and then the medium appeared to be covered with the substance. On her brow was a bandage which appeared brilliant, and hanging from her mouth was a mass of matter which fell over her. It was photographed.

"Immediately on her knees and then on her head came a form. Near her head there was the profile of a woman which was photographed. Above the light of magnesium there came a face rather flat and imperfectly formed between the curtains near Mme. B.

"On the 5th of August the figure of a man appeared immediately, but it remained but a short time. A woman appeared and was photographed. After the flash of the light for taking the picture the same woman reappeared and was photographed a second time. The face showed itself in a new form, and a third photograph was taken of it. We could then see the mass of material roll over on the medium and then disappear."

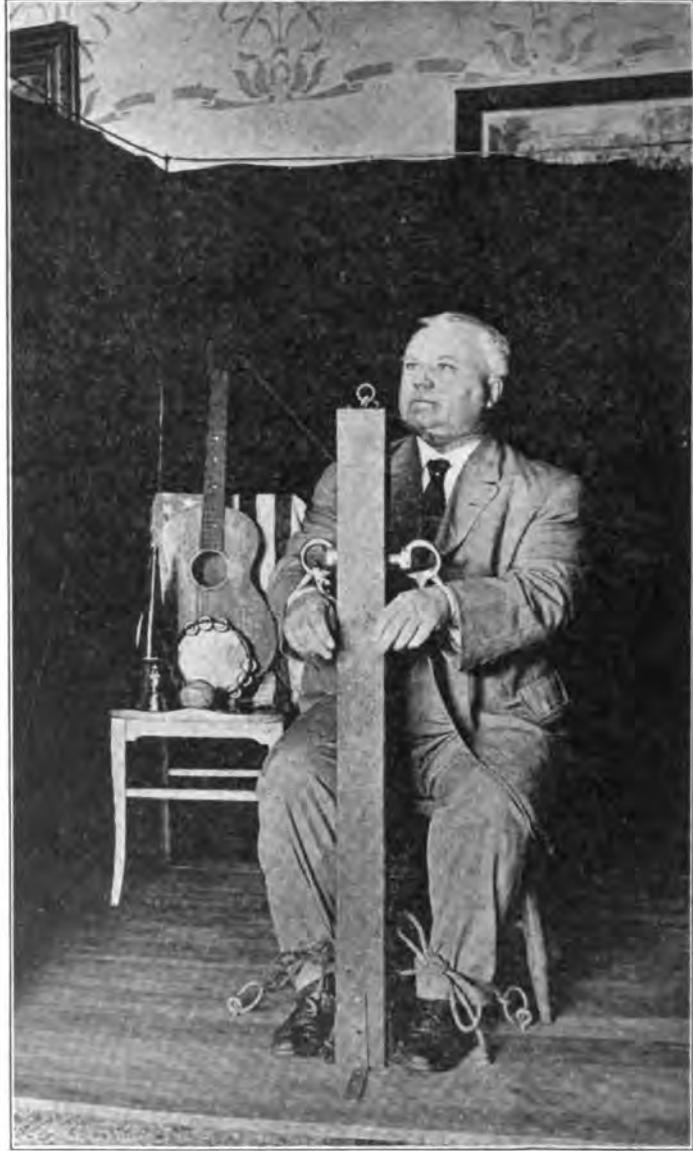
I could give many more of the same sort of occurrences, but space forbids. Necessarily I have had greatly to curtail these reports and omit much more than I have given; but the reader can gain a fair idea of the best materializing of the day, and of a case that so far as I know has not yet been rationally explained. Not having witnessed it, I make no attempt to explain it but shall explain some other materializing.

Other Experiments.

I have never been a medium; but I am a performer of occult mysteries, and for years I have been personally acquainted with many of the best mediums in the land. In most cases they have been willing to trade their secrets for mine. This has enabled me to produce nearly all of their effects, but afterward I always explain to my guests that my performance is simply art. I shall now describe some of the materializing that I have seen, and some that I myself produce, together with other phenomena. I shall further on explain the methods used.

Cabinets are nearly always used for materializing. Subdued light or darkness is always required. Sometimes the medium is searched and given perfect freedom. Sometimes her hands and feet are held or controlled. Sometimes the medium is tied and sometimes other means are employed.

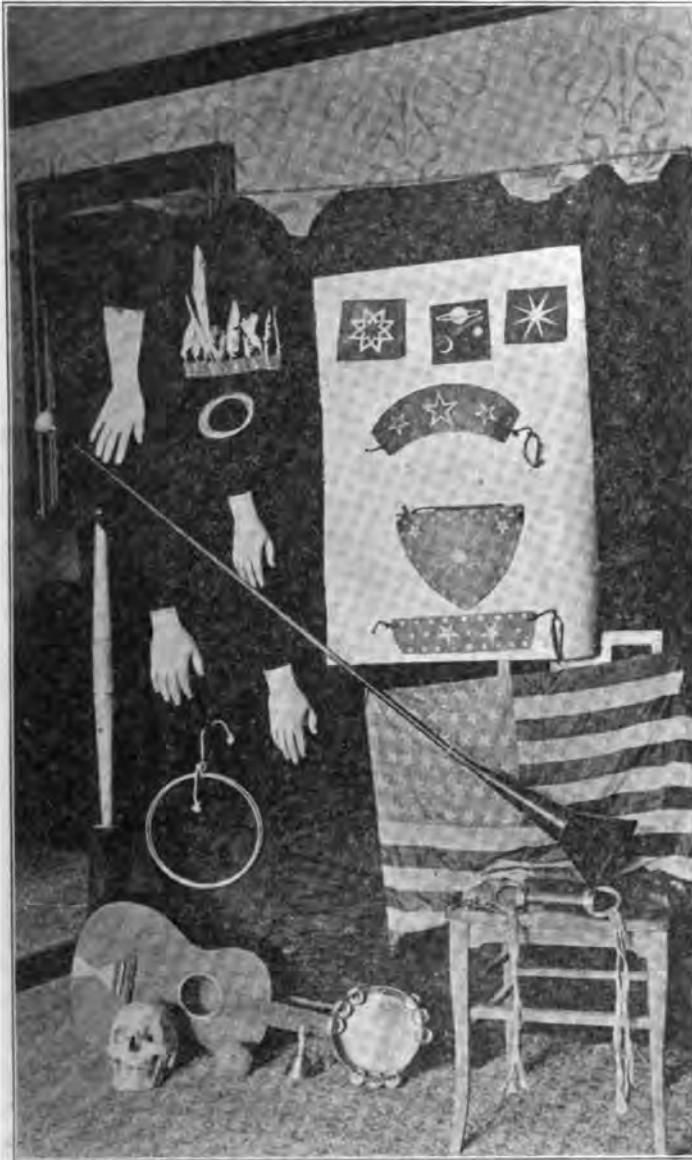
In my case I use a cabinet, and the effect is always in proportion to the thoroughness with which the guests or a committee examine everything. So I let them erect the cabinet for me.



CABINET, PERFORMER, AND APPLIANCES.

A glance at the photograph will show the solid floor, with the solid upright attached by braces, and with curtains on a frame. The reader may also see the hands tied and sewed to the big solid

steel bolt, and the knots are both sewed and sealed with sealing-wax. The end ring of the big bolt is first removed with a wrench



MEDIUMISTIC PARAPHERNALIA.

by the committee, and it is passed through the solid upright; and then the ring is solidly fastened on with the wrench. In the next photograph, the big bolt may be seen on the chair before it is in-

serted. The feet are sewed, tied, and sealed to the big floor rings, and the neck is tied to the screw-eye in the top of the post.

A chair may be seen on the above photograph, on which the committee have placed a guitar, tambourine, bell, ball, small trumpet, glass of water, hoop, and a flag without a staff. That is all.

The committee, after fastening all thoroughly, examine everything and satisfy themselves that for the performer to manipulate or to reach any of the articles is a physical impossibility. Then they take their seats in front, and the assistant draws the curtain. The curtain scarcely reaches the side, when pandemonium breaks loose in the cabinet. The guitar is twanged, the bell rung, the tambourine played, the flag waved above the cabinet, the ball thrown out, and in the midst of this racket I cry "Curtain!" The assistant, who has been standing at some distance, fairly leaps for the curtain and throws it open in a flash. As this is done, the bell goes up over the cabinet, the tambourine falls to the floor; but I am sitting as in the first place, all tied and sealed, and apparently I have not moved. The committee or guests now examine me thoroughly and find everything, including the seals, intact; but upon my arm is the hoop, thus proving that matter has penetrated matter. Also the water is found to be gone from the glass. The articles are replaced, the guests reseated, and the curtain drawn. As before, instantly bedlam begins to reign, and the whole performance is repeated, the bell and tambourine falling over the cabinet curtain as it opens; but I am sitting as before.

Again I am examined very thoroughly; the sewing and seals are all found intact, and the things are replaced. This time I announce that I shall attempt materialization, and that I do not want the curtain closed; but that I must have absolute darkness, and that each guest must continuously hold his neighbor's hand in order to develop magnetism and to give me psychic strength; that no guest must permit his neighbor to withdraw his hand. All of this is deeply impressed on my guests. The room is now examined, the door locked, and the guests seated. *My assistant is seated among them, and his hands held, so that no living being in the room is at liberty*, and there is no chance to produce phenomena by ordinary physical means.

The Phenomena.

Soon a faintly luminous spot is seen on the floor. It moves about slowly and then vanishes. Again it is seen in the air in front of the guests but entirely out of the cabinet. Now it floats about, first here, then there, like a firefly. It looks like something white;

but as it comes nearer the eyes it is seen to be a beautiful star. It floats up to the ceiling and then vanishes.

What is that white thing over there in the corner on the floor? All look. It seems to move up the wall, then it comes floating toward the guests. It is seen to be the hand of a lady, a very beautiful hand and forearm, with bright, shining jewels on the bracelet which it wears. It passes the guests and it seems that it will touch them. Then it floats up to the ceiling and vanishes.

Next, a ribbon of white substance creeps along the floor, up the wall, and then moves out through the air, undulating. Then it falls to the floor, folding itself into a ball of something white. Again it elongates, and moving toward me, is absorbed by my organism.

Now a ball, faintly seen, is perceptible. It floats from me toward the guests. Soon a face may be seen. It is the head and face of a beautiful girl, with faintly shining hair. It moves in front of the guests and gazes at them sadly, and a faint sigh comes from it. I may be heard at the same time, in the cabinet, moving restlessly and moaning faintly. Then it floats back to me and is reabsorbed into my body. Then there is a wait, and the trumpet may be dimly seen floating in the air over the guests' heads. It seems to be visible by spiritual light, and lo, from out of it a whispering voice issues and talks softly to the guests! There is no mistake. The trumpet is over their heads and goes up to the ceiling with the voice still in it. While this takes place I may again be heard in the cabinet, as I move restlessly. The guests each assert that no one is loose, and my assistant is still tightly held by them.

After the trumpet-talking, the trumpet floats back into the cabinet. Soon on the floor may be seen a luminous patch of light which moves about and advances in front of the cabinet, when lo, what is it doing? Surely it is slowly growing upward and assuming human form. It may now be seen that it is a beautiful girl. Her dress is beautifully embroidered and her garments are somewhat shining, as is also her face; but she moves in front of the guests and seems to breathe and be alive, as her face comes near them. They actually feel her breath on their faces and hear her sigh; then she floats upward to the ceiling and then down to the floor, and then settles down, into a formless thing, and disappears.

My assistant now asks for some one to come fresh from the grave. The guests usually insist. Then there is a repetition of the gradual appearance of the luminous thing on the floor, and its growing upward until it is seen to be a hideous skeleton. It floats

about and up and down, settles into a shapeless mass of white substance, and vanishes into my body.

The philosophy of the Diakka being understood by the guests, I am asked to summon one of these beings from the unseen realm. Soon again a shapeless thing appears which rises into a very giant; but oh, such a hideous face and mouth and such awful eyes! It approaches each face as closely as the guests will permit, and seems to breathe and be alive; but as they usually scream, it rises up, and its awful, shining beard and terrible visage may be seen; then it, too, vanishes like the rest.

Then there is some twanging of the guitar in the cabinet and some restless moving about; and as I am very weak, I ask for lights. The lights are turned on. I am sitting as in the beginning, all tied and sealed, and there is nothing in the cabinet but what was left on the chair in the beginning. The guests break the seals, untie me, rip the stitches, and I am free. Everything is examined, but nothing suspicious can be found.

I am going to explain the secret of how I accomplish all of this in every detail; but before going into the explanation I shall first describe some materializing done by a professional medium which is passed for reality.

Professional Materialization.

In this seance, subdued light is used and soft strains of music are furnished by a phonograph or music-box. First the committee stretch a curtain across the corner of the room, enclosing the corner in a kind of closet or cabinet. The room is perfectly bare except for plain chairs for the guests and the medium, and its one door is locked and guarded by the guests. The curtain extends from the ceiling of the room entirely to the floor; and the space enclosed, which is about ten feet wide and five deep, is perfectly empty and is bounded by solid walls of the building, which may be of brick, with no window or opening.

Sometimes the medium sits in the cabinet while the guests hold each other's hands securely. Spirits come out of the cabinet in the very dim light, and approach and even whisper to the guests. Frequently they are recognized by some tearful guest as a dead relative.

It is at such times that spirits of little ones, completely formed and beautiful, come out on the floor in front of the guests; sometimes fragments of bodies appear. Even the Diakka are materialized, which are usually small sprites or demons. I reproduce some

photographs I made of these. The one forming the frontispiece of this number of *The Open Court* is from the same collection.



PHOTOGRAPH OF A DIAKKA.

They look very weird and grotesque when moving and whining and talking. They are no larger than a big doll, and with one is shown a human hand to give an idea of its size.

Sometimes ancient personages are materialized. One of these was the materialization of the Witch of Endor. I here reproduce



PHOTOGRAPH OF A DIAKKA.

some of her poses; but the pictures give only the faintest idea of the awful feeling that comes over all when this hideous specter is seen to be alive, to move, to moan, and to whine, as it talks.

The awful death-like pallor in the subdued light produces an effect on the weak-nerved that is not for their good. I have seen women



MATERIALIZATION OF AN ANCIENT WITCH.

and children almost thrown into hysteria and even men badly frightened when this hideous living thing was right against them.

Necessarily, using light strong enough to photograph this crea-

ture, brings it into light of day, showing every detail distinctly which, in subdued light, is left largely to the imagination. This,



THE SAME WITCH.

Other Pose.

with the dim light and surroundings, produces an effect that can hardly be imagined when viewing the photographs in full light.

In this seance, before it finishes, the medium comes among the

guests and they hold his hands. At the same time a number of living spirits emerge from the cabinet and move about the room.



THE SAME WITCH, OTHER POSE.

*"Where is my golden hair?
It's all moldering away."*

Upon retiring to the cabinet the lights are raised and the room is searched. Not a thing suspicious is found. Nothing living but the

guests and the medium are in the room. The door has never been disturbed.



THE BOLT EXPLAINED.

The Explanation of the Mysteries.

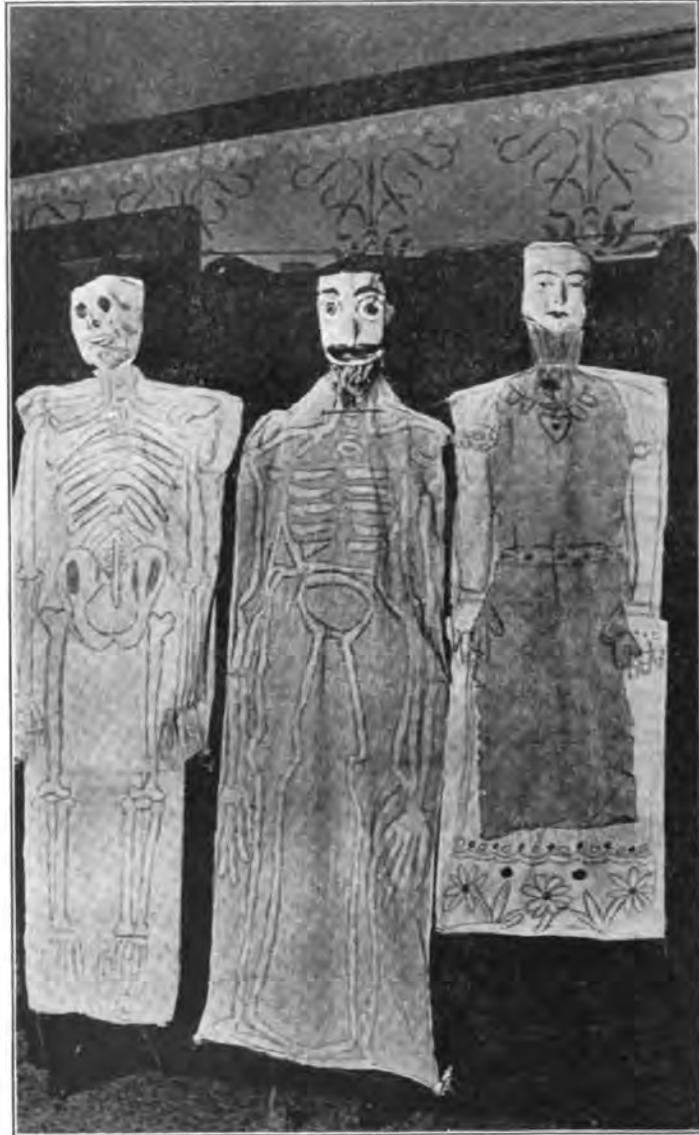
First, as to my own performances, I must have free use of my hands to do these things, and the bolt is a trick affair of very fine

workmanship. It seems solid, even under a jeweler's eye-glass; but upon twisting it very hard, the reverse from the way you unscrew a nut from a bolt, it separates in the center and is seen to be held by reverse threads on the projecting portion. The lathe work is extremely accurate, and the joint is further obscured by twisting the bolt when joined, in the hands, one holding and encircling it with a piece of emery-cloth. This entirely obliterates the faintest sign of the joint. I also have rubber bands in my cuffs, under which to tuck the dangling ends of tapes while I work.

In the first part of the act, after producing the noisy manifestations, and when nearly through, I keep up the noises and get the bell in one hand and the tambourine in the other. Keeping up the sounds, I insert the bolt and give it a reverse twist, relocking it in position. I now rattle the tambourine and ring the bell and at the same time cry "curtain." As my assistant leaps, I drop the tambourine and throw the bell over the cabinet. Of course I drink the water and place the hoop on my arm before doing this. I can untie my neck, as it is not sealed, and stand up to wave the flag above the cabinet. I can upset the rear chair and do all kinds of things which pass for manifestations.

But now you will ask about the materializations. Where do I get the spirits? Simply from within the guitar. It is specially made, and by twisting the button on the end, and pressing at the same time, the end piece separates and comes off. A cavity is disclosed in which the luminous things are packed, also a piece of black cloth with which to cover them when out and not in use, and a reaching-tube which is nothing but the leg of a kodak tripod with the plug removed from the big end and the solid rod from the small end. This tube, as most know, is telescoping. I insert a mouthpiece in the small end and then place the trumpet, which has a small amount of luminous paint on it, on the big end. In the darkness I can now reach it out over the heads of the guests and talk softly into the mouthpiece and produce all the effects as described. This trumpet and tube, partly extended, may be seen in the photograph "Mediumistic Paraphernalia." The first head and also the hand and forearm are painted on flat, tough, tan-colored press-board, with luminous paint made by mixing luminous calcium sulphide in dammar varnish. They are blackened on the reverse side. They have a small tube attached, into which I push the small end of the reaching-tube. I can then float them out in the darkness; and by giving the tube a half turn, the black side faces the guests, and the apparition becomes invisible and seems to vanish. It can

again appear elsewhere by giving another half turn to the tube. The luminous star and other figures are floated and vanished the



FIGURES OF SKELETON, GIANT DIAKKA, AND LADY.

same way, and this tube is used for a staff when waving the flag. It collapses and is packed secretly in the guitar when not in use.

When spirit forms are being floated in front of the guests, I simply have slipped the end of the tube into a short tube in the

back of the figure's head and can then move it about as desired. It shines faintly from the luminous paint on it, and is visible in a kind of spectral light. By blowing my breath into the tube, it passes out upon the guests, and is felt as the breath of the spirit. I can sigh faintly, also, with success. The hair on the cardboard head and the other figures of a lady consist of a long piece of very fine silk gauze which is saturated with a weak solution of the luminous preparation. I pin it on the head before floating it out. It thus looks like a vapor, it is so thin, gauzy, and ghostly. When the luminous figures approach near one, and he can hear sighs, feel the warm breath, and even hear faint words, the effect is pronounced.

All of the more prominent parts that are most distinct, such as the jewels, embroidery, flowers, etc., are painted with pure paint applied thickly; while the body of dresses, skirts, etc., have only a weak solution on them. They are thus quite dim and vapory.

I use luminous calcium sulphide, which comes in ounce bottles, for the chief ingredient of my luminous paints or mixtures. For a powerful luminosity, I mix the powder in ordinary banana oil, or in Lowe Brothers' preparation of dammar varnish. It does not smell. This dries so that the cloth is flexible. The amount of sulphide determines the degree of luminosity. For the fine silk gauze I prefer to mix the sulphide in some starch or sizing, such as is used on new silk, and thus fasten the powder into the goods. Enough will be retained to make it faintly luminous, but it will not stand washing. The sulphide is made in Germany but can be supplied by most any big drug supply house.

A short time before the performance I burn a piece of magnesium wire (seen in a bundle on the curtain in the photograph of "Mediumistic Paraphernalia") in front of the luminous objects. After this they will retain the light and emit it slowly for a half hour or so. They must be exposed to an intense light if kept for any time before using.

Only the faintest idea of how the figures look in darkness, by the spectral light of the sulphide, can be gained from the pictures, which show parts which in darkness are entirely invisible. In darkness only the painted figures can be seen, surrounded by the faint spectral glow which dimly illuminates the beard or other details. If the object is beautiful, such as a child or lady with flowers, the effect in darkness is just as beautiful as that of the grotesque figures is hideous. In the last picture is seen a giant Diakka.

These can be vanished at any time by covering with a piece of

black cloth. Then all is packed back into the guitar and the end locked on. Nothing can be seen from the sound-hole but darkness.

The secret of the professional materializing described, I mentioned in *The Open Court* once before; it lies in a secret trap-door over the cabinet in the ceiling of the seance room. The ceiling is papered in designs, and certain lines hide the cuts of this secret door, which is on hinges and hooked up from the room above. When the music starts, the assistants above, all "made up" for the occasion, descend on a padded ladder which they slip down into the cabinet. It cannot be seen in the room for the curtains. They retire up this ladder, drawing it up and locking the trap from above, at the end of the seance. Nothing can be learned or found by an examination of the ceiling from below, as the work on the trap is extra well done.

The witch "make-up" is done by spreading over the face a layer of ordinary flour dough, freshly rolled out, and soft. Holes are torn for eyes, mouth, and nostrils. As it dries it forms the hideous cracks. I have known a lady to use this "dough-face" at parties with disastrous results. It is not safe without first warning the guests that they must control their nerves.

The Diakka pictures were not taken during a seance, neither were those of the witch; but I had them specially posed at a different time. The former are made by the human hand draped with fur. Two burnt matches are used for eyes, and the thumb makes the tongue, which protrudes and moves about as the mouth widely opens. This with ventriloquial talking effects, certainly produces a sensation in a dim and uncertain light. I am indebted to Mrs. May Wheeler for posing these figures specially for me.

POEMS OF FINITUDE AND INFINITUDE.

BY CALE YOUNG RICE.

NAQUITA.

"NAQUITA," he said, "Naquita,
 But one thing do I ask:
 Bear my dust to the wide plains
 And scatter it to the four winds,
 That it may ride the mesas,

The buttes and the red arroyas,
 And not be shut in a small tomb,
 An inn for all comers—
 Whose host, the harrowing worm,
 Sets no fare forth at all,
 Save for himself, but silence.”

And so I took his body
 Of death-made alabaster
 And bore it, in obedience,
 To the place of cruel burning,
 I gave his lips to a flame
 Stronger than any passion,
 And his eyes, that held wide heaven
 And all eternity for me.
 And I went back to the mesas—
 Bearing the world and God
 In a little urn of dust.

And then—oh hunger of love!—
 I was stricken and could not do it.
 “If I scatter his dust,” I said,
 “I scatter my soul to madness.
 For if his heart were blowing
 On the windy buttes and mesas
 My heart would follow after.
 But here in a grief-gray urn
 I still can hear it beating,
 I still can clasp it to me,
 He still must wait to ride!

“For a little while must wait,
 Till the flame shall take me too,
 And our twin dusts commingled
 On the swift mount of the wind
 Shall follow all trails that flesh
 Can never, never follow.
 Yes, over the Plains shall hurtle
 Afar, flame-wedded atoms:
 Till the last wind shall cease,
 And dust no more be dust,
 And life and death be one.”

FLUTTERERS.

In the moist limpid midnight of our garden,
 Does the firefly, who lights there its sundial,
 Of time's silent mystic numbers know?
 As little as do we of heaven's dial,
 Which God's eternal star-flies enkindle
 With constellated wandering and glow.

At our mute open window does the grey moth,
 Who beats toward a warm sense of brightness,
 Conceive the vastity of Life's desire?
 As little as do we—whom the strange urgency
 Of love ever lures to flit and flutter
 Toward Life's unappeasing blossom-fire.

CHANT TERRESTRIAL.

How old on the spheral earth is man?
 How long was it ere a sudden thought
 Severed him from his brother-beasts,
 Taught him to walk,
 Taught him to talk?
 How old is he on the spheral earth?
 How old shall he be when earth is cold
 And gives to the dead moon ray for ray
 Of blue chill phosphorescent mould?

How old on the spheral earth is man?
 Does he a thousand earths in space
 Inhabit, and uncertain why
 Face to the sky,
 Face, and die?
 How old is he on the spheral earth?
 How old shall he be when time has rolled
 Across Creation's birth-expanse
 The last star life and death enfold?

A GAMBLER'S GUESS AT IT.

What are the stars but dice of God
Flung on the night's uncertain sod?

What is the stake He lays with Fate
But whether Life's for love or hate?

What if He loses to the Foe?
Forfeit to Fate we too must go.

What if He wins? Security
For all through all eternity.

SAVAGE LIFE AND CUSTOM.

BY EDWARD LAWRENCE.

XI. SAVAGE CHARACTER, AS SHOWN BY THEIR MANNERS,
MORALS AND PROVERBS.

NO account of savage life and custom would be complete without some notice of their moral characteristics. Savage ways are not our ways, neither are savage ethics our ethics. We have seen them practising cannibalism; offering up human sacrifices and putting to death their relations, and we are repeatedly assured that this is the natural condition of barbaric man. We have been told, over and over again, that races like the South Sea Islanders, live in a state of "revolting depravity"; that they are thieves and liars, and that their normal condition is one of "brutal licentiousness." The very expression "savage" is a synonym for all that is vile in human nature. Yet we have seen how very careful these wild people are in training their little children to ways which all of us deem to be right; are we then to draw the conclusion that all this education is thrown away when riper years are attained? Such an argument would be absurd, because it is obvious that for the training of the young by the ethical standards we have seen, there must be a body of public opinion which enforces that teaching and looks for good results to come therefrom for the benefit of the community.

To judge savages by the ethical code of an alien race is manifestly unfair and unjust; they, at least, have no two thousand years of Christian teaching behind them, and if it really be true that their social condition is one of utter depravity we must make allowances accordingly.

As an example of the moral status of savage peoples let us take the charges that have been made against the Society Islanders, referred to above, and let us remember at the same time, that we wish to know them as they were before the white man came.

Captain Charles Wilkes, of the United States Exploring Expedition, who visited Tahiti some seventy years ago, declares that notwithstanding innumerable opportunities they did not steal; that they were well-behaved and there was neither drunkenness nor rioting of any kind.

Take another example. In a work published not many years since the Fijians were declared to possess "all the vices of a barbarous people." The possession of *all* the vices of barbarism is an indictment serious enough to be laid to the credit of any race; we will therefore take our verdict from those who lived with them, in some instances for many years. "Kind and hospitable," one author calls them, "and exceedingly honest." Their chiefs are true gentlemen, in courtesy and politeness; the men are faithful, honest and kind, and would compare favorably "with the white savages of England." Parents are deeply attached to their children. One writer gives an instance where a native of these islands, on being told that Europeans accused them of being without natural affection denied it and said: "When leaving home all my thoughts are with my family, and I am never so happy as when I am under my own roof and have my wife and children around me. When a few days ago my youngest boy was ill, I sat up with him three nights. It would have broken my heart had he died." Yet this man had not heard of the name of Christ! Another authority assures us that they have a far greater show of courage, manliness, and even humanity than Europeans.

Captain Erskine, who visited the Fiji Islands in the middle of the nineteenth century, said that their love of personal cleanliness is not inferior to that of the more refined Polynesians, and that their delicacy in some other respects would certainly put most Europeans to the blush. Yet these people were cannibals!

We have been told that the Samoans live in a shocking state of moral degradation, but careful observers tell us that they are remarkable for their cleanliness, and that their habits of decency

are carried to a higher point than those of the most fastidious of civilized nations; they are kind and hospitable to a degree. One authority pronounces them the most polite people in the world, in their language and in their manners and customs. A man must not brag or boast. In addressing any one, he must always consider him as being entitled to the utmost respect. They never break their word, nor go from a promise. Nor is this the full measure of their "shocking moral degradation"—criminal assaults on little children are entirely unknown. Yet, according to official figures, during a period of ten years, there were twelve hundred known cases in England alone.

I have selected these three races because certain missionaries had laid to their charge accusations which careful observers declare to be false; but I could go on and give instance after instance where like charges have been made against other races, which are equally unfounded.

No man who knows anything about savages will consider them to be angels of light, but those serious indictments which have been repeatedly made against them in general cannot be sustained by the evidence now at our command—that is, at least, against the wild races unaffected by modern civilization. There are hundreds of tribes who neither steal nor quarrel, where no such thing as wilful murder is known, where the girls are chaste, where men and women remain faithful to each other for the term of their life, and where drunkenness and other vices are never heard of. Not so very long ago, the following incident occurred in a civilized country. A schoolboy, aged thirteen, shot another lad of the same age. They had quarreled over a game of cards and both were drunk. I have studied savages for over thirty years and am unable to recall any like case as happening with them.

But it may be said, this is all very well, but these very savages kill off their aged and their sick by cracking them on the head. Many tribes do kill off their old people—parents and others—but this is not done for those reasons which we place to their credit; the true reason being a religious one.

All savages believe in a future existence. If any person dies possessing any infirmity, that infirmity will be reproduced in the spiritual life, hence they wish to die before old age approaches. Captain Wilkes found in one large town in Fiji that there was not a single person over forty years of age: all had been killed off before their faculties began to wane. This may be "murder," but

it shows a real and a logical faith in a future life, which Christians themselves may *profess* but do not really *possess*.

In order to show that this high tone of morals and good manners is by no means an exception, I will quote the reports of scientific investigators who in recent years have made very careful inquiries as to the moral condition of some of the most "degraded" tribes on earth. Let us take the natives of the Andaman Islands first of all, who have been studied so minutely by Mr. E. H. Man, formerly assistant superintendent of the Andaman and Nicobar Islands. In his report issued in 1883, he declares that they show the greatest care to the sick, aged, and helpless. There is no such thing as bigamy, polygamy, polyandry, or divorce. Conjugal fidelity is the rule, not the exception. If the treatment of women be a sure test of character, then "these savages are qualified to teach a valuable lesson to many of the fellow-countrymen of those who have hastily set them down as 'an anomalous race of the most degraded description.'"

Let us pass to the neighboring islands—the Nicobars.¹ These natives were visited by Dampier in 1688, who reported them to be a very honest, civil, harmless people, not addicted to quarreling, theft or murder. Two hundred years after Dampier's visit, Mr. W. L. Distant was informed by traders that they were very honest, faithfully fulfilling all their obligations, and looked upon unchastity as a very deadly sin.

Messrs. W. W. Skeat, M.A., and Charles O. Blagden, M.A., both formerly of the Federated Malay States Civil Service, in their monumental work on *The Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula*, pronounce the Semangs and Sakois to be practically free from crime of any description—the greatest crime of all, "murder," being a *quantité négligeable*.

Another authority, Mr. F. W. Knocker, in a report on the hill-tribes of Sungei Ujong, Perak, says that during his long experience and close acquaintance with them they lived a strictly moral life, adultery and divorce are unknown. Apparently they have no inclination toward crime or immorality in any form; they possess no idea of warfare or racial strife and have a preference for a life of peace and seclusion.

Russel Wallace writing of the Dyaks of Borneo tells us that they possess a high moral character; they are truthful and honest to a remarkable degree; will not take the smallest thing belonging to a neighbor or to a European. Crimes of violence—except head-

¹ Compare Fig. 4 in *The Open Court*, Oct., 1918, p. 593.

hunting—are almost unknown; in twelve years there was only one case of murder, and that was committed by a stranger. Speaking of their sexual relations, Mr. Ling Roth, one of the greatest authorities, considers that morality half as good as theirs could not be found in England among an equal number of persons.

No natives have been more maligned than the aborigines of Australia. One writer declares that there is not a redeeming point in their whole character; Mr. W. D. Pitcairn, F.R.G.S., assures us that the natives of Queensland "are as dangerous as snakes in the grass and *like them, should be trodden underfoot.*"² On the other hand, Mr. Robert Christison, who probably had more to do with these people in their wild state than any other white man, found that conjugal and paternal affection were strongly developed in both sexes, and he emphatically declared that the bad character given to them by many settlers was the very reverse of the actual facts.

Sir William MacGregor, K.C.M.G., M.D., who was appointed administrator of British New Guinea in 1888, says that during his term of office in that country he never heard of a case of a criminal assault upon women, and that the natives in their domestic and family relations are about the most affectionate people on earth. Another authority declares they are a merry, jolly, happy folk, such as no Christian people are.

James Chalmers, the lamented veteran missionary, tells us that the children in New Guinea³ are far happier than most children in Great Britain, and that he has seen the fifth commandment more honored in that savage land than he has on many occasions in England; not even a man of middle life will undertake anything without his parents' consent.

I could quote, almost unceasingly, other testimonials as to the moral condition of these "degraded savages" of the South Sea Islands, but I think that the foregoing evidence taken from various sources, is in itself sufficient to prove that the beastish state in which these Papuans and Polynesians are supposed to live is but one of those silly superstitions which the white man loves to believe with pharisaical self-satisfaction.

Turning from Polynesia to the North American continent, let us now examine the character of that "wild beast," the red Indian. It is hardly necessary to remind American readers of the colors in which the red man has usually been painted. Brutality, cruelty, and inhumanity of all descriptions have been laid to his charge, but

² Italics are mine.

³ Compare Fig. 8 in *The Open Court*, Oct., 1918, p. 599.

can any man who has attempted to get at the truth of these accusations, disagree with America's historian (George Bancroft) when he pertinently says: "We call them cruel, yet they never invented the thumb-screw, or the boot, or the rack, or broke on the wheel, or exiled bands of their nations for opinion's sake; and never protected the monopoly of a medicine-man by the gallows or the block or by fire."⁴

Who ever knew one of these "wild beasts" to tell a lie or break his plighted word? Mr. James McLaughlin, formerly agent to the Sioux, after thirty-eight years of personal experience with the "red devils," assures us that there were Indians whose loyalty to their pledged word was so strong and dependable that they were ready, not only to dare the opprobrium of their own people, but to defy the powers of the unseen and the unknown world.⁵

Cadwallader Colden, in his *History of the Five Indian Nations*, published in 1747, wrote that the British in 1664 entered into a friendship with these Indians which had continued without the least breach to his own day, and adds significantly that history "cannot give an instance of the most Christian or most Catholic kings observing a treaty so strictly, and for so long a time as these barbarians, as they are called, have done."⁶

Old warriors always exhorted the lads to speak the truth, and never to betray their friends, and to hold falsehood to be more mean and contemptible than stealing.

Lieut. Col. Dodge, U.S.A., has testified that, with all his extensive experience of the Indian, he has never seen a drunken woman among them; Captain J. G. Bourke, another U. S. army officer, speaking of their kindness to strangers says: "Hospitality, open-handed, uncalculating hospitality, is a characteristic of all the American Indians."

The high repute of American Indian girls for modesty and chastity is well known to most of us. Perhaps no story could prove better what they are willing to suffer, including death, in defense of their virtue than the following account of a Yucatan girl which Herbert Howe Bancroft unearthed from old Spanish records. Alonzo Lopez de Avila, during the war against a native chief, took prisoner a very beautiful girl. "Struck by her beauty, the captor endeavored

⁴ *History of the Colonization of the United States*, Boston, 1841, Vol. III, pp. 301f.

⁵ *My Friend the Indian*, 1910.

⁶ Reprint (Vol. I, p. 19) published by the New Amsterdam Book Co., New York, 1902.

by all means to gratify his desires, but in vain. She had promised her warrior-husband, who during those perilous times was constantly face to face with death, that none but he should call her wife; how then, while perhaps he yet lived, could she become another's mistress? But such arguments could not quench the Spaniard's lust, and as she remained steadfast he ordered her to be cast among the bloodhounds who devoured her—a martyr at the hands of the men who pretended to preach Jesus Christ and Him crucified."⁷

If we pursue our investigations into the Dark Continent, we meet like results. There we find immodesty and indelicacy of manner to be unknown; dignity, simplicity, honor, chastity, obedience, respect and veneration for old age to be the virtues esteemed by these backward races. The unaffected black is a gentleman, who expects you to be a gentleman too.

It may be accepted as indisputable that the savage in general is a law-abiding member of the community, who neither steals nor murders, nor commits many of those crimes which so frequently happen in civilized societies. There are many tribes where faithless wives are almost unknown, and where chastity and sobriety hold high place.

In studying these moral characteristics, it cannot be pointed out too often that nowhere do we meet with any set code or standard which is capable of being applied to savage tribes in general. What is right conduct with one tribe may be criminal in another. Thus, as I have shown, the Fijians kill off their relatives before senility approaches, and they themselves expect to be likewise killed when the time comes; whereas tribes like the Andamanese take every care of their old people. It is not the act itself by which we must judge, but the motive which occasions that act. It is a commonplace for us to meet with such anomalies everywhere in the social life of uncultured races.

I have already quoted Dr. A. C. Haddon's description of the natives of the Torres Straits.⁸ Dealing with the rules imparted to the youths by the "old men" he gives us the following:

"You no steal.

"If you see food belong another man, you no take it.

"If any one asks for food, or water, or anything, you give something; if you have a little, you give a little; if you have plenty, give half.

⁷ *Native Races of the Pacific States*, Vol. II, p. 186.

⁸ Compare *The Open Court*, Nov., 1918, p. 667.

"Look after your mother and father; never mind if you and your wife go without.

"Don't speak bad word to mother.

"If your brother is going out to fight, you help him; don't let him go first, go together."

It is often extremely difficult to get at the real inwardness of the savage mind. Savages often do, and often think, just the opposite to what we ourselves do under similar circumstances; but, for my part, I consider that nothing reveals better how really human they are, than their wise sayings and proverbs. I select a few of these out of a great number, and think all will agree that they illustrate better than anything else the real philosophy of savage peoples.

POLYNESIA.

"Who is the strongest of servants?"—Fire.

"What fire is the hardest to put out?"—Thought.

"What beats a drum at one end and dances at the other?"—A dog barking and wagging his tail for joy.

Samoan: "Stones decay, but words never decay."

Fijian: "Oh, what a valiant man you are who beat your wife, but dare not go to war!"

"If you have a great canoe, great will be your labor too,"—
i. e., wealth brings care.

CENTRAL AFRICA.

"The Big Eye"—i. e., avarice.

"Wisdom is not in the eye, but in the head."

"If a woman speaks two words, take one and leave the other"—
i. e., believe one half she says.

SOUTH AFRICA.

Kaffir: "Who is it that stands and never sits?"—A tree.

"One does not become great by claiming greatness."

EAST AFRICA.

Nyamwezi: "A liar's road is a short one."

WEST AFRICA.

Ashanti: "A poor man has no friend."

Wolof: "Liars, however numerous, will be caught by Truth when it rises up."

Yoruba: "Wherever a man goes to dwell his character goes with him."

"A mourner mourns and goes on her way, but one who ponders over sad memories mourns without ceasing."

"The wisdom of this year will be as folly in another."

"Full-belly child says to hungry-belly child, keep good heart."

Here we have examples from Polynesia and all parts of Africa; the meanings are so very obvious that no explanation is required. They are characteristically human and might be adopted and acted upon by other races which think themselves far in advance of savagery.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

THE ORIGIN OF JUDEO-CHRISTIAN WORSHIP.¹

BY MAXIMILIAN J. RUDWIN.

THE liturgy of the church is, as a matter of fact, an outgrowth of the liturgy of the synagogue. The earliest church service naturally was a synagogue service Christianized. The first Christian congregations, composed, chiefly, of Jews, retained the synagogue service in its main features. The Temple ritual, on the other hand, had very little direct influence on the church ritual. Prayer wholly divorced from the sacerdotal and sacrificial elements, as we find it in the church, is once and for all a heritage of the synagogue and not of the Temple. When the Exilic pseudo-Isaiah, who was of universalistic tendencies, says in the name of God: "For mine house shall be an house of prayer for all nations,"² he refers to the synagogue and not to the Temple. For the house of prayer in the Exilic and post-Exilic periods was the synagogue and not the Temple. But how did prayer come to take the place of sacrifice in Judea? The origin of Jewish prayer still lies in utter darkness. Between the sacrifices of the Temple and the prayers of the synagogue there yawns a chasm which all investigation has not yet

¹ This paper is a summary of a prize essay written ten years ago when the present writer was pursuing his studies in Biblical literature and comparative religion.

² Is. lvi. 7.

succeeded in bridging over. Prayer as distinct from sacrifice, as we find it in the synagogue and the church, is unquestionably not a result of Mosaic legislation. It cannot be found in the Priestly Code. Where shall we look, then, for its origin?

Prayer, of course, has always been an integral part of the sacrificial cult. The offering or oblation with which man approached his god was, as Chambers³ aptly states, an extension of the gift with which, as supplicant, he approached his fellow men. Even the "alimentary" sacrifice of food made to the dead, which rested on the belief in the continuance of the mortal life with its needs and desires after death, also included the element of oblation.⁴ When the departed ancestors were offered food and drink, they were prayerfully besought to accept these gifts and not to be angry with the living. Propitiation is the earliest phase of worship, and all oblations and sacrifices, cereal, animal, or human, were accompanied by some form or other of supplication and intercession. There can be no doubt, therefore, that the sacrifices in Tabernacle and Temple were followed up by prayers and petitions on behalf of those who brought them. When the men of Israel brought the first-fruits or tithes to the Temple, they offered the following prayer: "Look down from Thy holy habitation, from heaven, and bless Thy people Israel, and the land which Thou hast given us, as Thou swearest unto our fathers, a land that floweth with milk and honey."⁵ We may, indeed, rightly infer that if tithes required a prayer, sin-offerings were all the more to be accompanied, on the part of those who brought them, by a confession of sin and prayer for forgiveness and mercy.

But even if this our inference is correct we find no provision in the Mosaic legislation for prayers not connected with sacrifices. Of course, we read in the Bible that men like Jacob and Moses, Samson and Samuel prayed to their God in many a critical period in their lives. But there is no Biblical record of public prayer wholly dissociated from sacrifice. As a matter of fact, prayer as an institution did not exist in Judea prior to the Babylonian Exile. It was as exiles that the Judeans first learned how to pray. In a strange land they had neither Temple nor sacrifice. There remained for them only prayer in common. Warned by the oblivion which had overtaken the tribes of the Northern Kingdom, they set about to save themselves from a similar fate and instituted a new sanctuary. Thus arose the synagogue as a place for common prayer

³ E. K. Chambers, *The Mediæval Stage*, Oxford, 1903, Vol. I, p. 130.

⁴ For a discussion of the different phases of sacrifice see Chambers, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Deut. xxvi. 15.

and study. Jewish tradition traces the synagogue back to the time of Moses. But the synagogue is not expressly mentioned as a place of common worship until the early Maccabean period.⁶ We may, however, safely assume that the synagogue arose during the Exilic period as a successor to the Temple. It did not become an institution, though, until after the work of Ezra; and there is no doubt that in the post-Exilic period synagogues for public worship were organized, in addition to the national altar at Jerusalem, in all the provinces of Judea as well as in the Jewish settlements elsewhere. In the last century of the Temple public prayer received a great impetus from the efforts to establish the Pharisaic synagogue services in opposition to, or at least in correspondence with, the Sadducean Temple sacrifices.

Synagogue services were at first held twice on the Sabbath, on all feast and fast days, and on two weekly market-days, Monday and Thursday. But the synagogue did not at first wholly replace the Temple. Judea was divided into twenty-four districts, and each district sent every other week a delegation to Jerusalem to represent it at the sacrifices and prayers offered in the national sanctuary on behalf of all Israel. During the week that their representatives attended the sacrificial services in the Temple, the senders gathered day after day in their local synagogues to pray to the Lord that He might accept their offerings from the hands of their delegates in the national Temple. This custom doubtless was the origin of the daily synagogue prayers. Tradition, of course, names the men of the Great Synagogue as the founders of the daily synagogical prayers. But no contemporary evidence of such an ecclesiastical council is to be found anywhere, and only the first member—Ezra—and the last member—Simeon the Just, a contemporary of Alexander the Great—are known to us by name.⁷ Tradition may be right, however, if the term *Anshe Keneset Ha-Gedolah* is to include all who contributed to the preservation of the Jewish religion and the establishment of Jewish law and ritual, from the time of Ezra down to the Maccabean period. As a matter of fact, the synagogical liturgy could not have been instituted in one day, nor by one school. It was a movement which had sprung from the people, who, deprived of their Temple service, sought other ways and means to satisfy that longing for communion with God which is innate in every man.

⁶ Ps. lxxiv. 8. This psalm is now generally assigned to the Maccabean period.

⁷ Kuenen in his essay *Over de Mannen der Grootte Synagoge* (1876) has argued that this tradition about a supreme religious authority in Judea is fiction.

This desire on the part of the Jewish people for a personal communion with the Deity received a great impetus from their contact with the Persians. It was during the Persian period that the Jewish people for the first time gave expression to their primitive and instinctive desire for prayer. Penitent and priest, from the Euphrates to the Ganges, greeted the appearance of the sun every morning with sacred prayers and songs. Should Israel, God's first-born, fall behind in this respect? Should not the nation of priests and the holy people also greet the sun, the first servant of the Lord in heaven? But the Judeans found great difficulty in adopting the cult of the Parsees. Their worship of the sun consisted in a representation of its appearance and motion. Upon the rise of the sun, the source of heat, they built in its semblance a great fire. By a similar symbolism they also mimicked the shape and motion of the sun with circular rotating bodies.⁸ This ceremony started as a heat-charm, as a magic in its "mimetic" form, as Dr. Frazer would call it, and was based in the pre-animistic stage of thought upon the principle of similarity, which holds that a thing can be influenced through what is similar to it. It has endured, however, into the animistic phase of religion; and in its readaptation to the new modes of thought it gave expression to the belief that impersonation was the most effective means of propitiation and conciliation. But how could the Jews with their transcendental beliefs impersonate their God? Of course, they imitated Him in pursuing righteousness. They were told to be holy, for so was their God. But how could they turn this imitation into a ritual act? Now if the Jews could not impersonate their God, as the Persians did, they at least could impersonate His servants. They had lately acquired from the Babylonians and Persians the theory of angels.⁹ They had been told that the angels, the Cherubim and Seraphim, formed the heavenly host, that they were God's community in heaven—the "Kedoshim," as the Psalmist calls them,¹⁰ the messengers of God, the powers of nature. They praised the Lord in the heavenly Temple. They greeted Him at the approach of daylight as the Lord of glory. Thus the Jews found an opportunity for emulating, if not God, at least His immediate servants. In this way the Kedoshim, the holy,

⁸ Our contention as to the origin of the Jewish prayers is fully borne out by the fact that to the present day the Jews keep their bodies in an incessant rotary motion when they recite their prayers.

⁹ In the Priestly Code there is no reference to angels apart from the possible suggestion in the ambiguous plural in Gen. i. 26. The pre-Exilic prophets barely mention them; see the article "Angel" in the *Enc. Brit.*, Vol. II, pp. 4ff.

¹⁰ Ps. lxxxix. 6, 8; cf. also Zech. xiv. 5.

pious men on earth, joined hands with the angels, the Kedoshim in heaven, in sanctifying the Lord and proclaiming Him thrice holy thrice a day. Following the Persian custom of invoking the sun three times each day—at dawn, at noon, and at dark—the Jewish exiles also praised the Lord at these periods of the day.¹¹ The Kedoshim, who in the “Kedushah,” the recital of the glorification of the holiness of the Lord by His angels,¹² are said to praise the Lord every day, are not the Jews, as most commentators maintain. Neither are the angels meant by this term, as Abudarham¹³ asserted, but the “Hassidim” or “Anabim,” the Jewish mystics, the holy and humble men in Israel, to whom life on earth was nothing but a continual praise and glorification of the Lord. The other Jewish tradition, which ascribes synagogical worship to these Hassidim, who are believed to have founded it at the destruction of the Temple, is therefore more correct than that tradition which credits the doctors of the law with it.¹⁴

It follows that the earliest form of prayer, the nucleus of the synagogical worship, was the Kedushah, the joint praise of God by His terrestrial community with His celestial community. The “Shema”¹⁵ as a part of the liturgy antedates the Kedushah, but this Biblical verse was originally no prayer at all, nor even a confession of faith, as is commonly assumed. It was a war-cry, and in its original form probably ran as follows: “Hear, O Israel, the battle-cry of our one God.” It must be further maintained that the minor Kedushah, which is a part of the Shema prayer, is older, although its form seems newer, than the major Kedushah, the third of the Eighteen Benedictions. But for reasons unknown to us now, the latter very soon eclipsed the former in importance.¹⁶

¹¹ The sun, moon, and stars were in the Jewish religion closely identified with angels.

¹² It forms the third benediction in the Jewish prayer called the Eighteen Benedictions. There are three responses in this “Glorificat”: (1) “Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts; the whole earth is full of his glory” (Is. vi. 3); (2) “Blessed be the glory of the Lord from his place” (Ezek. iii. 12); (3) “The Lord shall reign for ever, even thy God, O Zion, unto all generations. Praise ye the Lord” (Ps. cxlvi. 10).

¹³ A commentator of the synagogical liturgy, who lived at Seville, Spain, about 1340 A. D.

¹⁴ See above.

¹⁵ The prayer is named “Shema” from its initial Hebrew word *shema*, which means “hear.” It reads: “Hear, O Israel, the Lord is our God, the Lord alone” (Deut. vi. 4).

¹⁶ At the beginning of the second century the Eighteen Benedictions formed the chief prayer of the synagogue. Of these eighteen, the third, the Kedushah, was the most important. How great its importance in the synagogical worship was can be learned from the following saying: “Since the

From the preceding conclusions it is very evident that the institution of prayer had its beginning with a small sect in Israel. The prayers which the Pharisees later legislated for all Israel, did not originate with them at all. It was the Kedoshim, the Hassidim, the Anabim, who were the first to learn from the Parsees how to pray. It now remains to be seen who these mystics were.

It may be a surprise to many a Jew to learn that these holy men of Judah, to whom he owes his prayer-book, were none other than the Essenes, from whose ranks the first Christians were recruited. Our knowledge of this sect, we must admit, is very limited. Reference is made to the Essenes only by Philo, Josephus, Pliny the Elder, and Eusebius of Cæsarea, while the Rabbinical literature wholly ignores them. The following quotation from Josephus, however, will support our contention that the Essenes were the first among the Judean exiles to learn from the Parsees the daily morning prayers. In his account of this interesting sect the Jewish historian tells us that "before the sun rises they (the Essenes) speak not a word about profane matters, but address to the sun certain prayers, which they have received from their forefathers, as if they supplicated it to rise."¹⁷ Somewhere else in the writings of Josephus we find the erroneous statement that "the Essenes had hereditary prayers to the sun, as well as the usual Jewish ritual books." This remark was made, of course, in full misunderstanding of the nature of their prayers. The Essenes were by no means sun-worshippers. The sun was to them not a god, but the greatest among the messengers of God; and its rise they conceived as its praise and sanctification—*kedushah* in Hebrew—in which they wished to join.

A further proof that the Kedushah, the prayer which expresses the joint praise of God by man and angel, originated with the Essenes is the following. We know that the Essenes had a great share in the production of the apocalyptic literature. We read that "Judas the Essene once sat in the Temple surrounded by his disciples, whom he initiated into the [apocalyptic] art of foretelling the future, when Antigonus passed by."¹⁸ It is indeed more than probable that the greater part of the apocalyptic literature emanated from their ranks. In this literature, moreover, do we find the

destruction of the Temple, the world is sustained by the Kedushah" (*Sotah* 49a). It is the only part of the synagogical service which must not be recited by an individual except in joint worship of a congregation of at least ten men (*Berachot* 21b).

¹⁷ *B. J.*, II, viii, 6.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, I, iii, 5; *Ant.*, XIII, xi, 2.

earliest forms of the Kedushah. The theophanies in the Book of Enoch already contain the prototype of this prayer.

"For a time my eyes regarded that place and I blessed Him and extolled Him, saying: 'Blessed be and may He be blessed from the beginning for evermore'....Those that sleep not bless Thee: They stand before Thy glory and bless, laud and extol, saying: 'Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of Spirits: He filleth the earth with Spirits.'"¹⁹

"And He will call on all the host of the heavens and all the holy ones above, and the host of God, the Cherubim, Seraphim, Ophanim, and all the angels of power, and all the angels of principalities, and the Elect One, and the other powers on the earth, on the water, on that day: and they will raise one voice and bless and glorify in the spirit of faith, and in the spirit of wisdom, and of patience, and in the spirit of mercy, and in the spirit of judgment, and of peace, and in the spirit of goodness, and will say with one voice: 'Blessed is He, and may the name of the Lord of Spirits be blessed for ever and ever.'"²⁰

The first of these two passages is very similar to the Kedushah, as we now have it in the Jewish prayer-book, except that the order of the two responses is here reversed. It undoubtedly is the older form of this prayer. Its first part is more correct than the corresponding response in the final form of the Kedushah, which is a corrupt version of the Biblical text. "Blessed be the glory of the Lord from His place" as the passage now reads,²¹ is a corrupt form of: "When the glory of the Lord rose from its place." It was Samuel David Luzzato who first suggested that the first word of the passage in the Hebrew Bible originally must have been *berum* and not *baruch*. It follows that the Kedushah was already well established in usage in the second century B. C., for the Book of Enoch, which is already quoted in the Book of Jubilees, dates at least back to that period. The third response in the present form of the Kedushah is of late origin. It was added after the destruction of the Second Temple. "The Lord shall reign for ever, even thy God, O Zion, unto all generations. Praise ye the Lord,"²² was preferred because of its mention of Zion to the more authoritative and more sacred Pentateuchal verse: "The Lord will reign for ever and ever."²³ According

¹⁹ Book of Enoch, xxxix. 10-12.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, lxi. 10-11.

²¹ Ezek. iii. 12.

²² Ps. cxlvi. 10. See also above, note 10.

²³ Ex. xv. 8.

to Abudarham it was a principle with the Jews to mention Zion or Jerusalem in every one of their prayers.

Another form of the Kedushah is to be found in the book which bears the long title *Constitution of the Holy Apostles* [composed by] *Clemens, Bishop and Citizen of Rome,—Catholic Didascalia*. Though claimed to have been written by the Apostles, this work proves on closer examination to be based upon an original Jewish book "transformed," as a Jewish theologian expressed it, "by extensive interpolations and slight alterations into a Christian document of great authority." The prayer of sanctification as found in this book runs as follows:

"And the bright host of angels, and the intellectual spirits say to Palmoni: 'There is but one holy being,'²⁴ and the holy Seraphim, together with the six-winged Cherubim, who sing to Thee their triumphal song, cry out with never-ceasing voices: 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord of hosts! heaven and earth are full of Thy glory';²⁵ and the other multitudes of the orders, angels, archangels, thrones, dominions, principalities, authorities, and powers cry aloud and say: 'Blessed be the glory of the Lord out of His place.'²⁶ But Israel, Thy congregation on earth. . . . emulating the heavenly powers night and day, with a full heart and a willing soul, sings: 'The chariot of God is ten thousandfold thousands of them that rejoice; the Lord is among them in Sinai, in the holy place'²⁷. . . . The choir of stars strikes us with admiration, declaring Him that numbers them, and showing Him that names them; the animals declare Him that puts life into them; the trees show Him that makes them grow; all which creatures, being made by Thy word, show forth the greatness of Thy powers."²⁸

A eulogy preceding this "Trisagion" and beginning with the words: "Great art Thou, O Lord Almighty, and great is Thy power," undoubtedly corresponds to the second benediction of the Eighteen Benedictions, which also begins: "Thou art great for ever, O Lord." We may safely assume, then, that this prayer of sanctification is the prototype of the Kedushah, as we now find it in the Jewish prayer-book.

The Kedushah in the prayer-book of the Falashahs,²⁹ shows great similarity to the prayer of sanctification in the Catholic

²⁴ Dan. viii. 13. The present English versions show variations from this rendering of the Masoretic text.

²⁵ Is. vi. 3.

²⁶ Exek. iii. 12.

²⁷ Ps. lxxvii. 17.

²⁸ Catholic Didascalia, VII, ii, 35.

²⁹ Edited by Joseph Halévy (Paris, 1877).

Didascalía. This is a proof of the early date of this prayer, as the separation of the Falashahs from the main body of Israel falls into pre-Talmudic times. It follows further that the church must have borrowed the Kedushah or Trisagion from the synagogue at a very early date. This prayer has, however, never occupied the important place in the Christian liturgy that it holds in Jewish public worship.

Now, who were the first to "emulate the heavenly powers night and day," and who were those that formed the link between the synagogical ritual and the ante-Nicene church liturgy as collected in the Apostolic Constitutions? They could be none other but the Essenes. Life on earth was to them, indeed, nothing but praise and song to the Lord. They were the Kedoshim, the terrestrial worshipers of God, who emulated His celestial worshipers, their models in heaven. They heard the music of the spheres, the harmony of the universe; and they wished to join in this chorus of praise and glory to the Lord on high.³⁰ Jesus of Nazareth, who was a member of this sect of Essenes, would also rise before daylight and go to a desert spot to pray and praise.³¹ From this Essene the world has learned to pray.

³⁰ The Kedushah owes the all-important place which it occupies in synagogical worship to the spiritual heirs of the Essenes, to the enthusiastic mystics of the early Gaonic period, the "Yorde Mercabah." The Kedushah as the expression of the glorification of the holiness of the Lord by the Mercabah angels had a deep interest for these pietists, as can be seen from the following prayer which is a part of the Kedushah in the prayer-book of Rab Amrom Gaon (died about 875 A. D.), head of the Surah academy and a prominent member of this pietistic sect.

"Come and see how pleasing it is to God when Israel says *Kadosh* (holy) before Him. For He exhorted the Yorde Mercabah that they should teach us in what way to pronounce *Kadosh* before Him. But we have to pay attention to please our Creator, and to offer it (*Kadosh*) to Him as sweet savor. And thus He spoke to them: 'Blessed be ye, O Yorde Mercabah, to heaven and to earth, if you will tell and announce to My sons what I am doing at morning and afternoon services, at the time when ye say *Kadosh* before me. Teach them and tell them: "Lift up your eyes to heaven, toward your celestial prayer-house, at the time when you speak *Kadosh* before Me." For I have no greater delight in My world than at the time when your eyes are raised to Mine, and My eyes look into yours, at the time when you say *Kadosh* before Me: for the voice which comes out of your throat at that time is well ordered, and rises before Me like sweet savor. Give also testimony to them of what I do, as you see, to the figure of your father Jacob, which is engraven in the throne of My glory; for at that time when you speak *Kadosh* before Me, I bend over it, caress, kiss, and embrace it, put My hands on his arms, three times, as often as you say *Kadosh* before Me, as it is written: "Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts, the whole earth is full of His glory."'" (Is. vi. 3.)

³¹ Mk. i. 35.

THE PRE-CHRISTIAN JEWISH CHRIST.

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

WHILE the idea of the suffering, dying, and resurrected god, as it appears in pagan religions around the Mediterranean, must be readily acknowledged as having influenced Christianity in its origin, we can have no truly historical view of the formation of Christianity unless we also make clear to ourselves the character of the Christ figure as it existed in Judaism previous to Christianity. This has been somewhat neglected thus far, it seems to me, the search for parallel ideas in pagan religions which have entered into Christianity, being almost the only line investigation has taken.

Christianity was cradled and nourished by Judaism; it always retained very strong Jewish characteristics even after it assimilated many pagan elements; its earliest protagonists always drew mainly from Jewish ideas and Jewish literature, not alone that of the Old Testament but Apocryphal and other sources as well; even Paul, through whom, mainly, Christianity widened into a more universal religion, was strongly Jewish in education, thought, and sentiment; Paul de Lagarde even said that he was the most Jewish of all. This does not mean that Judaism was anything entirely original, uninfluenced by other sources, but it means that we must take into full consideration the peculiar Jewish character by which many religious ideas were so transformed that it became possible for them to enter into a more universal religion, Christianity, though without depriving it of its original traits and marks of descent.

The very name "Christianity" betrays its Jewish origin. It is connected with the Christ or Messiah idea prevalent among the Jews before Christianity. In order to see why that idea was embodied in Christianity, what it really meant, and why it became attached to a human personality instead of a mythical one, such as Osiris, Attis, Mithras, or others, we ought to make a thorough historical examination of its development in pre-Christian Judaism.

As is well known, the Greek *christos* for the Hebrew *mashiach* in the Old Testament means "the anointed." It is used many times of Hebrew kings in the form *meshiach Yahveh*, "the anointed of Yahveh," meaning one who takes the place of Yahveh in earthly affairs as a sacrosanct person, just as other Oriental kings were assumed to take the place of their national gods.

But we see this term, originally connected with the ceremony of anointing a Hebrew king, also used in a transferred sense. In Ps. cv. 15 the Hebrew patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, besides being represented as prophets (a thing we will do well to bear in mind), are also Yahveh's anointed (Hebr. *meshichim* pl., Greek *christoi* pl.). Moreover, a foreign king like Cyrus, who stands in no connection with Yahveh, the national deity of the Hebrews, is also called the anointed of Yahveh (Is. xlv. 1) because he is to fulfil God's will in the government of the world, and especially in the release of the Jews from captivity, just as Alexander the Great seems to have been looked upon in a similar way by the Jews later, according to the view of some scholars.¹ Finally, the whole people of Israel is called the anointed of Yahveh in Habak. iii. 13; Ps. xxviii. 8; lxxxiv. 9.

In all these instances the term Messiah or Christ is applied to human beings. They are either individuals or a whole people, with whom Yahveh stands in a close connection and whom He has chosen either to execute or proclaim His will. Messiah or Christ here means nothing but the especial "servant of Yahveh," a term often applied to the prophets in the Old Testament, to the whole of the Jewish people (or the most faithful part of it) in Deutero-Isaiah, and also to the national Messiah himself in Zech. iii. 8. Similarly the same term, "servant of Yahveh," is often applied to Nebuchadnezzar in Jeremiah, just as the term Christ or Messiah of Yahveh is applied in a similar sense to Cyrus in Deutero-Isaiah. Likewise just as the whole Jewish people is called the Christ or Messiah of Yahveh, so Israel is also called the son of Yahveh (Hos. xi), all this so far without any supernatural meaning.

The term Christ or Messiah of Yahveh is not used in the specifically Messianic prophecies, to which of course Is. vii. 14 does not belong though traditionally accepted as such on the basis of Matt. i. 23, following the wrong translation of the Septuagint. In these passages the Messiah *par excellence* is described as the Branch of Jesse, or simply the Branch, or by his properties, as in Is. xi and ix. 6-7. He is also considered as a human being, though of course especially chosen by Yahveh and extraordinarily endowed with His spirit. Is. ix. 6, etc., taken traditionally as signifying the supernatural origin of the future Messiah on account of the terms "Wonderful," "Counsellor," "Mighty God," "Everlasting Father," "Prince of Peace," need not be taken in this way. The future

¹ Kampers, *Alexander der Grosse und die Idee des Weltimperiums in Prophetie und Sage*.

Messiah is described in that passage as a king sitting on the throne of David, and the names given to him are simply a representation, denoting that God is in an especial and extraordinary way with him, and that he will represent God's government on earth.

The future Messiah is to sit on David's throne, the old royal house is to blossom forth again. This is the view of the specifically Messianic passages, and became the orthodox belief among the Jews in accord with those passages. However, we must remember that in Jewish history there was a departure from this belief, in that the Messiah was represented as coming from the tribe of Levi instead of Judah. This is found in the Apocryphal Jewish Testament of Levi. According to Bousset this idea dates from the times of the Maccabees, when a priestly family became the occupant of the royal throne among the Jews.

We must also remember that the Samaritans believed the future Messiah to be a reincarnation of Joshua of the tribe of Ephraim, an idea plainly continuing the old rivalry between the two former Israelitic kingdoms, of which the one was led by Ephraim, the other by Judah. Perhaps this Samaritan idea was based on older Israelitic traditions, and these may have influenced the later Jewish view (of which we shall speak further on) of a double Messiah, the Messiah *ben* Joseph (son of Joseph) preceding the Messiah *ben* David. Still, in spite of these departures, the idea that the future Messiah was to be of the royal house of David remained a prevalent one; it asserts itself strongly even as late as in the so-called Psalms of Solomon, a Jewish book of the second half of the last pre-Christian century. In fact, this belief even persisted into the Middle Ages.

Alongside this idea we see a new stage of the Messianic hope developing during the Maccabean wars. This appears in the Book of Daniel then coming into existence, the first and only book of the many Jewish apocalypses written from now on which found entrance into the Old Testament. With this book the gate was thrown open to further speculations on the future Messiah, a topic of especial interest to the Jew both from a political and religious view-point. The Jewish literature on this subject, though not canonical, must be considered—as well as the canonical literature—in detail in order to obtain a right view of the pre-Christian Jewish Christ idea and its influence on Christianity.

The Book of Daniel, as is well known, speaks in the seventh chapter of "one coming with the clouds of heaven like unto a son of man," i. e., in human form, to whom "dominion and glory is

given by the Ancient of days." As the Book of Daniel is thoroughly pervaded by Zoroastrian ideas translated into Jewish form, "the son of man" may probably be connected with the Persian *Vohumanah*, i. e., the Good Mind, one of the highest attendants and counselors of Ahura Mazda, of whose distinct spheres one was the maintenance of goodness in man. "He comes like Vohumanah" repeatedly occurs in Yasht XLVIII of the Zend-Avesta.

The author of Daniel probably understood by the expression "the son of man" the fulfilment of a truly human empire, with which the kingdom of God was to come, in contrast to the preceding world empires represented by the symbols of wild devouring beasts. In this kingdom "the saints of the Most High," i. e., the Jewish people, or at least the faithful part of them, was to "receive the kingdom," according to verse 18 of that chapter. The Son of Man was to be the culmination of the Christ idea as it had been prefigured in the patriarchs, the prophets, and the Hebrew people as a whole, or its better part, as "the anointed of Yahveh."

The Book of Enoch, a writing of somewhat later date, develops further the figure of the Son of Man, first introduced by Daniel. It very frequently represents this figure, calling him also "the Elect One," as dwelling with God, and having been chosen and hidden (i. e., kept latent) by Him before the world was created. He is to be "the staff of the just," "the hope of the dejected," "the light of the peoples," and all dwelling on earth shall fall down before him; he shall throw down the kings and the mighty and prostrate the wicked (chaps. xlvi and xlviiii, ed. Hinrichs, Leipsic, 1901). We are reminded, of course, in such descriptions of the representation of the Messiah in Is. xi, where similar language is used. On the other hand, we have also in the same Enoch symbolic representations, which remind us of those passages of the Old Testament that represent the patriarchs and the whole Jewish people as Christs or Messiahs. Adam, Seth, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, and the new congregation of Israel which has remained faithful to God's law during the persecutions by their enemies, are symbolized by white bulls, and the Messiah *par excellence* is represented by the same symbol (chaps. lxxxv-xc) in contrast to black bulls and other animals, symbols of Israel's enemies.

The idea of the Messiah is thus represented under the figure of reincarnations culminating in the specific Messiah of the future, who naturally would be the revelation on earth of the Son of Man or the Elect One hidden and dwelling with God, as Enoch pictures him. The book does not state explicitly that the future Messiah

is a revelation on earth of the personality dwelling with God, but that is the logical inference. Whether the writer considered the Son of Man, or Elect One, a mysterious divine personality I will not discuss, but the meaning of the book, given in the language of realistic visions seen by the antediluvian patriarch throughout the different heavens, is surely this: the idea of the specific future Christ, the culmination of all previous Christ forms as they appeared in the patriarchs, prophets, and great men of Israel, and in the people of Israel itself, is not yet realized on earth, but hidden and dwelling with God—but it will yet be actually realized on earth.

We have thus far only spoken of the Jewish expectation of a specific future Messiah, the culmination of all the previously anointed and servants of Yahveh, through whom God's will is to be fully realized on earth. But we have not spoken of the part which was expected to fall to the Messiah when appearing on earth. Of this part the Messianic passages of the Old Testament said nothing. Now it was natural to assume that when a terrestrial Messiah would appear he would not live eternally. The Samaritans believed that their Messiah would die at the age of one hundred and ten years, the age at which Joshua died, of whom their Messiah was expected to be a reincarnation. The Messiah *ben Joseph*, in whom the Jews, too, believed and who was said to precede the Messiah *ben David*, the triumphant Messiah, was believed to fall in battle with Gog and Magog, the enemy coming against the land of Israel from the north, anciently believed to be the region of darkness and later understood in a transferred sense as being the region of evil. The Fourth Book of Ezra² (chap. vii) and likewise the Talmud in tract "Sanhedrin" (*Talmud*, Vol. VIII, p. 311, Rodkinson) speaks of the Messiah's death after four hundred years. It was further natural that the terrestrial Messiah, the culmination of Israel's greatest virtues, who was to be a king of justice and peace, a proclaimer, prophet and teacher of God's will, would find obstinate resistance from the wicked, and that he would have to suffer much, as did the patriarchs, the prophets, and the people of Israel in former times, who had acted in the same capacity as the anointed of Yahveh. The mystical interpretation of the Old Testament, which had its beginning after the close of the canon and which sought under the literal sense a deeper meaning, just as the Alexandrians and Plato did in regard to Homer, found passages in the Old Testament which they could turn to account in this way.

It is a wide-spread error that the Jews, before the origin of

² Known as 2 Esdras in English editions of the Apocrypha.

Christianity, knew nothing of a suffering Messiah. Even the Talmud, of which we should least expect it because it was compiled after Christianity had already existed for some time, being in many instances a polemic against it, knows of a suffering Messiah. It interprets Is. liii in tract "Sanhedrin" (*loc. cit.*, Vol. VIII, p. 310) as referring to the suffering Messiah, whether rightly or wrongly does not affect our discussion. The fact stands out that that passage and other passages of the Old Testament were explained as referring to the Messiah by many Jewish rabbis before Christianity. Even the dark passage Zech. xii. 10, speaking probably, according to Cornill, of some judicial murder in Jerusalem at the time of the writing and interpreted in the Fourth Gospel as referring to the thrust of the lance into the side of Jesus, was referred to the death of the Messiah—though to that of the Messiah *ben Joseph*—by the Talmud in tract "Succah" (*loc. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 79).

The Targums,³ interpretations of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament in the vernacular Aramaic, as they were used in the Palestinian synagogues at the beginning of our era, likewise interpret Is. liii as referring to the suffering and atoning Messiah. They further teach that in the beginning he will labor unknown among the poor and miserable, that he will suffer because of the sins of the people which delay his revelation (*Targum Jonathan ad Is. liii*). The passage, "Behold my servant, whom I uphold; mine elect, in whom my soul delighteth; I have put my spirit upon him; he shall bring forth judgment to the Gentiles. He shall not cry, nor lift up, nor cause his voice to be heard in the street. A bruised reed shall he not break, and the smoking flax shall he not quench; he shall bring forth judgment unto truth," etc., Is. xlii. 1ff, is interpreted of the Messiah by the same Targum "in a manner which sometimes comes very near to that in the Gospels," compare Matt. xii. 17 (Nestle). We further read the following Targumic interpretation of Is. liii: "He (the Messiah) will build the sanctuary, which has been profaned on account of our guilt and has been delivered over on account of our misdeeds. Through his teaching peace will be multiplied for us, and if we listen to his words our sins will be forgiven." Zech. ix. 9 was also interpreted of the Messiah even in the Talmud ("Bab. Sanhedrin," f. 98) in the following way: "If they have gained merit he comes with the clouds of heaven; if not, poor and riding upon an ass."

³ Though put into writing in post-Christian times the Targums are based upon pre-Christian sources, since they are totally lacking in any polemic against Christianity. See Cornill, *Alltestamentl. Einl.*

The aspect of a Messiah thus interpreted was naturally very human; there was nothing especially divine and supernatural about him. Such a Messiah was in fact nothing but a prophet, a servant and anointed of Yahveh, of course on a higher level, who suffers as all true prophets and servants of Yahveh did, but whose work, like that of all true prophets, was not entirely without avail. Here in the suffering, teaching, atoning, and dying Messiah of pre-Christian Judaism we have the connecting link with the first Jewish-Christian community. If we take into consideration the great value attributed to the blood of the righteous shed as an atoning instrument for the whole people, as we find it expressed in several passages of the Fourth Book of Maccabees (vi. 28; xvi. 25; xvii. 20) in connection with the death of Jewish martyrs, it does not seem such an unwarrantable assumption that the death of the Prophet of Nazareth was already considered as a ransom for many by his first followers in Palestine. And if in the beginning the Messiah was to labor unknown among the poor and miserable, as the Targums taught, another pre-Christian Jewish conception was offered to the followers of Jesus which they could apply to their master.

Of course there were other elements in the pre-Christian Jewish speculations about the Messiah which the followers of Jesus could not very well apply to him. Such were the ideas expressed in the Targums that the Messiah would break the foreign yoke (*Targ. Jon. ad Is. x. 27*) and unite all Israel again (*Targ. Jon. ad Zech. x. 6*). The Gospels, already written with the idea that Jesus was only a spiritual saviour and the Saviour of *all* mankind, say very little about the degree to which his first followers connected nationalistic expectations with their master. Nevertheless a few traces appear. The Gospels tell us that in the beginning of the career of Jesus the Galileans once intended to make him king, and of the Disciples on the way to Emmaus the saying is recorded that they hoped he would redeem Israel. Luke even carries this thought into the ascension story, for the Disciples ask: "Wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom of Israel?" That the first followers of Jesus connected nationalistic hopes, the idea of some miraculous intervention of God in behalf of His people, with the person of their master is entirely probable and was even to be expected. The execution of Jesus by the Roman authorities was a terrible blow to them. But the Targums also taught the doctrine of the double Messiah, the Messiah *ben Joseph* or Ephraim and the Messiah *ben David* (*Targ. ad Cant. iv. 5; vii. 3*). The speculations about the Messiah *ben David*, the triumphant Messiah who was to follow

the slain Messiah, may have raised their hopes again. Of course the many different views concerning the Messiah current at the time of Jesus, may have brought about curious combinations and conjectures among his first followers. Not one of the many speculations concerning the Messiah had the weight of absolute authority, and the imagination of the Disciples was fully at liberty to give itself up to all kinds of conjectures regarding the way in which their nationalistic hopes would be realized. Even Paul still held to the doctrine of the final redemption of all Israel. Mistaken or not, the hope of the final triumph of the Messiah's cause buoyed up the spirit of the first Jewish-Christian community again after the death of their master.

Of a bodily resurrection of the suffering and dying Messiah the pre-Christian Jewish speculations concerning the Christ knew nothing, but the Disciples were fully persuaded that their master was living, according to the belief of the Jews "that those who died for God were living before God just as Abraham and Isaac and Jacob and all the patriarchs" (4 Macc. xvi. 25). The report that Jesus remained on earth forty days after his death (the Valentinians and other early Christian sects even said eighteen months) and then ascended bodily to heaven is, as must be remembered, one of the latest reports; according to the earlier belief Jesus left the Disciples on the day of his resurrection; even the late Epistle of Barnabas says so (chap. xv). Further, the resurrection of the third day is very probably connected with the ancient belief current among Jews and pagans, that the soul of the dead remains near the grave for three days and then departs. The hope of the final triumph of the Messiah's cause was likewise strengthened in the hearts of the Disciples by the glorious results promised as the outcome of the suffering and dying of the servant of Yahveh in Is. liii. 10-12, and by the consolation of such words as Hos. vi. 1, 2: "He hath torn, and He will heal us; He hath smitten, and He will bind us up. After two days He will revive us: on the third day He will raise us up, and we shall live in His sight." According to the mystical interpretation of the Old Testament current in the times of Jesus which referred everything to the Messiah, the soul of all Jewish belief, all such consolations were very probable.

* * *

After all that we have thus far heard about the pre-Christian Jewish Christ or Messiah, I think the assumption is warranted that the Jewish speculations concerning the Christ could materially con-

tribute to the idea spreading in the first Jewish-Christian circles, that Jesus was the Christ, or at least a stage in the fulfilment of the Christ idea, even if not the fulfilment of the final triumph of the Messiah's cause.

But how about the Christ of Paul? Did the pre-Christian Jewish Christ conception contribute anything to his picture of Christ? In order to prove to the reader the possibility of this, let us see how thoroughly Jewish Paul was in thought, sentiment, and argumentation.

In regard to his method how to carry his points little need be said, for its thorough rabbinical nature, due to his training, is well known. Paul makes the most arbitrary, twisting, indefensible, and often puerile use of the Old Testament. Well known and flagrant examples are those in which he says of the law forbidding the muzzling of oxen while treading out the grain, that God did not care for the oxen and did not give that law for their sake; or when he says of the promise of Canaan to Abraham and his seed, that it does not say "seeds" but "seed, as of one."⁴ In his mode of argumentation Paul is not second to any rabbi in the Talmud. Nor is he behind his contemporary Philo or any rabbi of his day or any of the Talmud as regards his allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament. He is thoroughly acquainted with the Apocryphal literature of his people, not only the Apocrypha of the Old Testament known to us, for he cites words of an apocalypse now lost, that of Elias. He is also acquainted with Targumic paraphrastic readings of Old Testament passages and turns them to good account in argumentation (compare on both points Meyer's commentary on 1 Cor. ii. 9 and Eph. iv. 8). Over and over again we meet with stereotyped Jewish and rabbinical phrases in his writings, as when he speaks of a believer in Christ as "a new creature," corresponding to the same rabbinical term used of a convert to Judaism;⁵ or when he speaks of doctrines which cannot stand the test as "hay and stubble," corresponding to a similar rabbinical expression when speaking of false teachers;⁶ or when he uses the same terminology

⁴ Similar interpretations of the word "seed" are given, as pointing to the Messiah, by the Rabbis. The words of Eve at the birth of Seth: "God has given me another seed," are interpreted as expressing her hope of the Messiah (*Bereshith Rabba*, Chap. 23, *Mekor*). Likewise *Bereshith Rabba*, f. 51, the words to Abraham: "In thy seed all peoples shall be blessed," is interpreted as promising the best and noblest seed.

⁵ בריאה חדשה

⁶ *Midr. Tillin* 119, 51: "As hay does not last, so their words will not stand forever."

as Jewish rabbis did in regard to matters of oral tradition;⁷ or when he speaks of "the great tribulation" preceding the end, and "the day of wrath" ushered in by "the sound of the last trumpet."⁸

This brings us also to many peculiar conceptions which Paul had in common with Jewish and rabbinical ideas. He speaks of a "Jerusalem now" and a "Jerusalem above," corresponding to the rabbinical "Jerusalem below" and "Jerusalem on high."⁹ When speaking of the father "from whom every family in heaven and earth is named," he reminds us of the rabbinical "family on high";¹⁰ when speaking of "the prince of the power of the air," he is in accord with the rabbinical doctrine that the demons dwell in the air (compare Meyer's commentary on Ephes. ii. 2). "The outer form of his ecstatic experiences," i. e., of being snatched up into the third heaven and paradise, "is entirely the property of the rabbinical school" (Bousset), in which he was brought up. If Paul further demands that women should be veiled in the assemblies of the Christians in order not to invite the glances of the angels thought to be present at such gatherings, he is also in accord with Jewish notions. Also the idea that the angels were instrumental in the giving of the law on Sinai, that the believers will not only judge the world but also angels, that the gods of paganism are demons, that the stars are the bodies of angels, that the Devil has brought death into the world, are all Jewish ideas found in their Apocryphal literature. Altogether Paul's demonology and angelology, one of the main substructures of his Christology, are Jewish. That these doctrines had originally been derived from Zoroastrian and Babylonian sources does not alter the matter much. At Paul's time they had long been thoroughly assimilated with Judaism. Also another substructure of Paul's Christology, justification by faith, for which he adduces Abraham as an example, is Jewish. "Abraham had long been glorified as a hero of faith" (Wrede). Paul's whole doctrine of sin and the disastrous effects of the fall of Adam, the continuous infirmity of all, i. e., his ethical pessimism (another substructure of his Christology), are rooted in Judaism. The Fourth Book of Ezra in this respect furnishes a very striking parallel. One can understand how Paul de Lagarde, a man who has

⁷ 1 Cor. xv. 3, *παρέλαβον*, comp. rabbinical קבל; *παρέδωκα*, comp. rabbinical מסרה. J. Weiss in "Das Problem der Entstehung des Christentums," *Arch. f. Rel.-Wissenschaft*, Vol. XVI (1913).

⁸ The Rabbis believed that the Day of Judgment was to be ushered in by seven calls of the trumpet.

⁹ ירושלים של מעלה: ירושלים של מטה.

¹⁰ פמליה של מעלה.

entered deeply into Oriental and Semitic studies, into Targumic and rabbinical literature, and who once was accused of having committed the sin against the Holy Ghost for calling Jesus a "*langweiliger jüdischer Rabbi*," also called Paul, the opponent of Judaism, the most Jewish of all the Apostles.

Even Paul's violent polemics against the ceremonial law of Judaism in order to break down the barrier between paganism and Judaism was rooted in certain Jewish ideas. In a few remarks in a former article I have dwelt on the fact that, according to Jewish belief, even the ceremonial law would be put away at the coming of the Messiah, and that even swine-flesh would be allowed (*Nidda*, f. 61; *Mekor Chajim*, f. 66). "The idea of the Messiah—that lofty ideal—made its appearance not only as a saviour of Israel from physical and political subjection, but also to free them from spiritual bondage, from the burden of useless laws. That is the reason why every pretending Messiah sought first of all to lighten the yoke of the laws, just as the prophets had done in their time. A proof of the fact that the people in general, in their inmost heart, had a hostile feeling toward all these superfluous laws is this, that they were ever ready to give up those laws, to which they had become accustomed for centuries, as soon as a Messiah would appear who could gain their confidence and inspire their trust. It is evident that from the start the laws appeared to the people as an imposed burden to which they only submitted from compulsion" (S. A. Horodezky, "Zwei Richtungen im Judentum," in *Arch. für Rel.-Wisschft*, Vol. XV, 1912).

* * *

In what way now is the Christ figure of Paul connected with the pre-Christian Jewish Christ? As is generally known, Paul dwells more on the metaphysical, heavenly Christ than on the life and personality of Jesus. He of course connects the heavenly Christ with the earthly Jesus in whom the heavenly Christ becomes incarnate, but it is not the work and life and death of the human Jesus that brings about the redemption of mankind, but wholly the work of the heavenly Christ. The human Jesus almost entirely disappears in this figure.

We have already seen that the Book of Enoch speaks of the Son of Man or the Elect One as dwelling with God, and having been chosen and hidden by Him before the world was created. "The Messiah was before *Tohu*" (the chaos of Gen. i), said the Rabbis (*Nezach Jisrael*, f. 481). "The name of the Messiah was

already called before creation" (*Bereshith Rabba*, k. i). Similarly the *Targum Yerushalaim ad. Is. ix. 5*. "This is the king Messiah, he will be higher than Abraham and exalted above Moses and above the ministering angels," says *Midrash Tanchuma*, f. 53, c. 3, 1. Here we have Paul's doctrine of the preexistence of the Christ with God, and his high station. "The spirit of God, who was above the waters in the beginning, was the Messiah," said the Rabbis. This is the same as when Paul identifies the Christ with the Holy Spirit in the words, "the Lord is the Spirit."

We have no support in Paul's writings, but he may also have been acquainted with those speculations about the Messiah which identified him with the Metatron or Metatyranus, the highest ministering spirit who stands next to God and represents His rulership, or with Michael who vanquishes the Devil, just as the Sraosha of Parsism vanquishes Angro-mainyush, or with the angel of the Apocalypse of Moses (chap. xiv) "who stands in the highest place" and will begin the judgment of the Devil and all the enemies of God. So Paul may also have known of those mystical interpretations which identified the Messiah with the *Maleach Yahveh* (the angel of Yahveh) mentioned so often in the Old Testament, although there is no support for this in his writings. But that he was acquainted with the mystical doctrine of previous appearances of the heavenly Christ in accord with rabbinical notions, of this we have proof. When he says in 1 Cor. x. 1-4, that the Israelites had been baptized in the cloud and the sea, that they had eaten the same spiritual food and drunk the same spiritual drink [as the Christians], that they drank from a spiritual Rock that followed them, "the Rock however was Christ"—he is in accord with such notions as those expressed in the *Targum ad Is. xvi. 1*, and with Philo's view that the Rock was the *sophia*. The phrase, "the Rock that followed them," even reminds us of the monstrous rabbinical notions that the rock rolled along after the marching host (comp. Meyer's commentary on the passage). The idea of the Christ as "a life-giving spirit-being," accompanied by rabbinical phraseology, occurs also in 1 Cor. xv. 45-47, where he compares "the first" and "last Adam." Of the first Adam he says that he was created "unto a living soul-nature" (Hebr. *le nephesh chajah*); of the last Adam, that he was created "unto a life-giving spirit-being (Gr. *eis pneuma zōopoion*)." The Rabbis said: "The last Adam (Hebr. *ha acharon Adam*) is the Messiah" (*Neve Shalom*, IX, 9).

When speaking of the final triumph of the Christ, Paul is entirely in accord with the phraseology of the Old Testament and

the apocalyptic conceptions of Judaism on that matter. This final triumph of the Messiah is preceded by a great tribulation, a general apostasy, all kinds of lying signs and miracles of the Evil One, and the revelation of the Antichrist,¹¹ "who will exalt himself over everything called God," as the Jews described him in the language of Daniel applying originally to their whilom arch-enemy, Antiochus Epiphanes (compare especially 2 Thess. ii). But, continues Paul, the Messiah will destroy him through "the breath of his mouth," a phrase used for the first time of the Messiah in Is. xi, and a figure further elaborated in apocalyptic writings such as 4 Ezra (chap. xiii). Also "all powers," "principalities," and "rulers of darkness," i. e., the demons which play such a great role in Paul's letters, will be destroyed, and as we know, their final and lasting destruction is also treated in the Book of Enoch, which deals so much with the fall of the angels and their dominion over mankind. The last enemy to be destroyed, says Paul, is death, and in Is. xxv. 8 we read: "He will swallow up death in victory," just as the Rabbis said on the basis of the same passage: "In the days of the Messiah, God, be He blessed, will swallow up death." The ultimate reign of God, the Eternal, that will follow as the apocalypses teach it, is also expressed by Paul when he says (1 Cor. xv. 28): "And when all things shall be subject unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subject unto Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all."

The figure of the pre-Christian Jewish Christ is an established fact, and this heavenly Christ has strongly influenced the Christ representation of Paul. He brought that Christ figure with him when he joined the Jewish-Christian community, and then centered upon it all his speculative thought. "The combination of the rabbinical Messiah who dwelt through eternity in heaven among the angels of God, with the historical figure of Jesus has produced the belief in the miraculous birth of Jesus," says Hausrath. Paul did not touch the question of a miraculous birth, nor did even the later speculative Fourth Gospel following close in the footsteps of Paul do this, for although Paul saw in Jesus an incarnation of his Christ such an incarnation did not necessarily imply a miraculous birth, according to mystical Jewish notions of previous incarnations of the Christ in Hebrew history of which we have seen examples

¹¹ The term "the Lawless One" used of the Antichrist, 2. Thess. ii. 8. reminds of the rabbinical designation of him מְנִי עוֹלָה = "without yoke," as also the term "that which restraineth," viz., the coming of him (verse 6), of the rabbinical מַעֲכָבִין אֶת הַגְּאֻלָּה = "things impeding the redemption." See *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, art. "Saul.")

above. Nor does Paul dwell much upon the life and teachings of Jesus. The main thing with him is the descent of the heavenly Christ upon earth to assume human form and to suffer death at the instigation of "the princes of this world," i. e., the demons (1 Cor. ii. 8), who have brought about all evil, and who were ignorant that in the death of Jesus they had crucified "the Lord of glory" to their own ruin; for, Paul argues, the powers of Hades could not hold him; he arose to life again, returned to his heavenly abode, and God exalted his name above every name, so that every knee in heaven, earth, and Hades must bow down to him and every tongue confess that he is the Lord.

Here are the points where the Jewish and rabbinical speculations on the heavenly Christ forsake us. They of course know, as we have seen, of a Messiah form appearing in humility who, like the prophets of old, will be a proclaimer of God's will; they know of a suffering and dying Messiah; they speak of a triumphant Messiah, at whose coming the final destruction of the Devil and demons and death, and a "regeneration of all things" will take place; but they know nothing, as far as we can tell, of the way—as Paul describes it—in which the work of the heavenly Messiah and its results will be brought about.

Here Paul's speculations surely show a connection with the ancient ideas existing around the Mediterranean, of the suffering, dying, and resurrected god, originally reflecting processes of nature but widened into the ethical and human sphere, and connected with the ancient longings for immortality and for release from guilt, from moral and physical evil and bondage. Paul speaks of his representation of the heavenly Christ and his work and its results as being a mystery revealed to him, and we may confidently believe that he was fully persuaded of the truth of that fact, for his Christology has throughout the stamp of genuine conviction, and the blissful state of mind into which this conviction has brought him often breaks out in strains of the highest enthusiasm and feelings of the deepest gratitude for the work of the heavenly Christ, so that we even now cannot escape the powerful impression of his hymnic outpourings. But Paul was probably unconscious of the influence which the wide-spread idea of antiquity of the suffering, dying, and rising god had had long ago on the minds of the people generally and consequently on his own mind, so that when he joined the Jewish-Christian community the result of his speculations on the heavenly Christ in connection with Jesus appeared as a mystery revealed to him directly by God, especially as he evidently

was peculiarly prepared for such a persuasion by his rabbinical-gnostic training, his ethical pessimism, and a nature prone to ecstatic visions.

What strengthened Paul in his persuasion was this, that the heavenly Christ seemed to him to have *really* taken upon himself human form, not in a mythical personality said to have lived long ago, but in a historical personality living in Paul's own day and among his own people, the very soul of whose religion was the Messianic belief and to whom the Messiah's advent had long been promised. This historical personality, whom he had not seen himself, he found had been able to gather about him a circle of followers persuaded that they had seen him again after his death and ready to take upon themselves persecution and death for his sake. Their conviction was so strong that not even their persecutor Paul could escape its contagious influence, but was driven to connect his rabbinical-gnostic ideas about the heavenly Christ and the idea of the suffering, dying, and risen god unconsciously influencing him, with that historical personality of his own people and his own time. The Christology of Paul, then, rooted partly in mythical and mystical, and partly in historical experiences—and we may say the Christology of Christianity generally—is a blending of Jewish and pagan elements, by which it became possible that a new religion, Christianity, arose in the broad daylight of history.

SHINRAN, FOUNDER OF THE PURE LAND SECT.

BY YEJITSU OKUSA.

[The Pure Land sect is perhaps the most extensive Buddhist organization in Japan. It grew from small beginnings and brings Buddhism nearer to the common people. It has been compared to the Reformation in Christianity because it bears several obvious similarities to the creed as well as the religious practices of Protestantism. First of all there is no priesthood in the literal sense of the word. The priests live like laymen. They marry and do not observe any of the stricter rules of monkish life. But, above all, their main reliance in religious practices is upon faith. Shinran insisted as vigorously as Luther on the formula that by faith alone (or, as Luther expressed himself in Latin, *sola fide*) can man be saved. The Buddhist expression is: "To hope for faith by one's own power or by other power." The rule of the stricter or older Buddhists is to walk the Path with self-reliance. Every one must become his own savior. In order to be truly saved he must retire from the world, practise all the austere rules of monkhood, and renounce everything except his desire for entering Nirvana. Shinran insisted that the better and superior method was to save oneself by a leap relying on the saving power of Amida.

of the Buddha of eternal bliss, and that only by clinging to him one gained the right attitude to be saved, and to enter at the end of life into the paradise of the Pure Land, or as Christians would say, heaven.

These notes have been extracted from a booklet entitled *Principal Teachings of the True Sect of Pure Land*, Tokyo, 1910, which was sent to us by a younger brother of the Lord Abbot Count Otani, the head of the eastern branch of the Hongwanji. The author of the present article, Mr. Yejitsu Okusa, is the priest who serves as business manager of the sect. The passages in brackets are editorial insertions.—Ed.]

SHINRAN SHONIN was born on April 1 in the third year of Joan, 1173 A. D., in the village of Hino near Kyoto. His family was of the Fujiwara clan that occupied at the time the most important position in the empire, and his noble father, Arinori Hino, held an honorable office at the imperial court. [*Shonin* is a title denoting "priest," and Shinran is the name by which the reformer is best known to posterity; this name, however, was not assumed by him until late in life. In his childhood the boy was called by his father Matsu-waka-maru, which means literally "pine-youngson."] He was the eldest son, and from this fact we can easily see what auspicious prospects he had before him; for could not he, as heir to a noble family, occupy a high official rank, wield his influence as he willed, and indulge in the enjoyment of a worldly life? But the death of his parents, while he was yet a child, made him dependent on his uncle, Lord Noritsuna, and this unfortunate circumstance left a very deep impression on his young mind, which, naturally sensitive, now began to brood over the uncertainty of human life.

At the age of nine, the lad left home to lead a monkish life at a Buddhist monastery called Shoren-in at Awada-Guchi, where Jiven Sojo, the high priest, took him as a disciple, shaved his head, and gave him the Buddhist name Han-yen [or Han-ne, which he bore until he was thirty. The first part of this name, *han*, was taken from his father's name Ari-nori of which *nori* in another pronunciation reads *han*.]

After this, the Shonin went to Mount Hiye, and staying at the Daijo-in which was in the Mudo-ji,¹ he pursued his studies under various masters in the deep philosophy of the Tendai sect, and disciplined himself according to its religious practices.² He also sought to enlarge his knowledge by delving into the doctrines of all the other Buddhist sects; but he was unable to reach the true way

¹ The word *ji* denotes a Buddhist temple.

² Compare on this and the following W. M. McGovern, "The Development of Japanese Buddhism," *The Open Court*, No. 753, pp. 97ff (February, 1919).

leading to a release from this world of pain. He went even so far as to invoke the aid of the gods as well as the Buddhas to make him realize an immovable state of tranquillity—but all to no purpose.

While thus vainly seeking his way of release, many years passed and he came to be looked up to, and to be paid high respect, by all his teachers and friends as one whose deep learning and unimpeachable morality were incomparable. His priestly rank advanced, and when he was twenty-five years old, he was made Monzeki (chief priest) of the Shoko-in. All these successes, however, were far from satisfying his noble spirit, which was ever longing for the truth. His spiritual vexations increased the more. When will the light come to this poor yet earnest truth-seeker?

His twenty-ninth year, which he attained in the first year of Kennin (1201 A. D.), still found him in a state of mental uncertainty. Determined to arrive at the settlement of all his doubts, he shut himself up in the Rokkaku-do, Kyoto, for one hundred days beginning with January 10 of that year, and offered his final prayers to Avalokitesvara Bodhisattva (Kwannon Bosatsu) to suffer him to see the light. At last he had a vision of the Bosatsu, and through his instruction he went to Yoshimidzu in order to be taught by Honen Shonin. Now according to this priest's doctrine, all sentient beings were sure to be saved and embraced in the light of Amida,³ and to be reborn in the land of happiness, eternal and imperishable, if they, however sinful, only believed in the name of the Buddha, and, forsaking all their petty cares of the world present and to come, abandoned themselves to the Buddha's saving hands so mercifully extended toward all beings, and recited his name with singleness of heart. It was through listening to this doctrine that our Shonin came to remove from his mind every shadow of his spiritual doubt. Then for the first time he came to perceive that Amida was the name of his true Father, and could not help realizing that, during these twenty-nine years of his existence, his life had ever been actuated by this Father's will to save, and that this true Father, from the very beginning of all things, had been unceasingly at work to save his sinful children through his eternal mercy.

The Shonin was filled with joy and gratitude unspeakable. To commemorate this occasion of his spiritual regeneration, he was given by his master a new Buddhist name, Shakku. [This was chosen as a combination of the names of a Chinese and a Japanese priest, Doo-shaku and Gen-ku, and means "bountiful heaven."]

³ "Amita" in Sanskrit, and "Omitho" in Chinese.

Abandoning his former adherence to the faith of the Tendai sect, he now embraced the Pure Land sect; that is to say, forsaking the uncertainty of self-salvation (*jiriki*, meaning "self-power"), he became a believer in the efficacy and surety of salvation through a power other than his own (*tariki*, meaning "other power").

After this, he resigned his priestly position as Monzeki, and became a Buddhist monk in black. He built a humble hut at Okazaki, where he continued to receive further instruction from Honen Shonin. His faith grew ever deeper until he thoroughly understood the signification of his master's doctrine.

In October, 1203 A. D., our Shonin decided to follow the advice of Honen Shonin and enter upon a conjugal life so as to give the world an example concretely illustrating their faith that the householder could be saved as much as the celibate monk. He was therefore married to Princess Tamahi, daughter of Prince Kanazane Kujo, formerly prime minister to the emperor. He was thirty-one years of age while the princess was eighteen. This marriage, in fact, was undertaken to settle the religious doubt then prevailing as regards the final redemption of those secular householders who, living with their family, have not completely destroyed the root of passion. Prince Kujo was one of those who were in doubt about this point, and our Shonin made the practical demonstration of his belief by marrying one of the prince's daughters and living the life of a man of the world. In the year following, a son was born to him, who was named Han-i.

In 1205 A. D. our Shonin was given by his revered master a copy of his work entitled *Sen-Jyaku Hon-Gwan Nen-Butsu Shu* (a collection of those passages from the sutras and other works with their explanations which relate to the thinking of the Buddha (*nembutsu*) or the reciting of his name—this reciting being Amida's original prayer (*hongwan*), most thoughtfully selected by himself). This event we have reason to consider a turning-point in the life of Shinran Shonin; for it was to a very select few only that the master was pleased to give his own writing—to those of his disciples who distinguished themselves in learning and virtue.

Our Shonin assumed yet another name this year in accordance with his master's wish. The name was Jenshin, meaning "good faith." In this wise, the relation between the Shonin and his master grew closer and closer, and every one recognized in him a spirit that harbored a most powerful faith equal to that of his master himself. [The name Jenshin is a combination of the names of two religious teachers whose dogmas he embraced with great fervor.

The former was Jen-do, a Chinese priest; the latter Gen-shin, a Japanese. During his exile to Echigo Shinran was commonly called Yoshi-nobu, which is the Japanese pronunciation of the Chinese name Jenshin.]

Fortunately or unfortunately, all this led, in 1207, to a series of sad events in the life of the founder of the True Sect. The beginning of it was the conversion of two court ladies to the faith of Pure Land who finally entered a nunnery. This greatly offended the feeling of the court and set it against Honen Shonin and his followers. Taking advantage of the court's displeasure, the Buddhist monks belonging to the Kofuku-ji monastery at Nara, who had been observing the spread of the Pure Land sect for years with unmitigated jealousy, now maliciously denounced its chief propagators to the court and asked for an imperial order to forbid the preaching of the doctrine of the Pure Land sect. The court at last lent its ear to this vicious counsel and ordered Honen Shonin to leave the capital for Tosa province. Shinran Shonin, as the foremost disciple of the venerable Honen, could not escape the misfortune either and was banished to Kokubu in Echigo province.

Our Shonin had now to part from his revered master, as well as from his beloved family. We can well understand what sorrowful feelings were then astir in his heart which, however, was not so darkened as to be altogether insensible to the other aspect of this sad event. Perceiving the gracious design of the Buddha even in the midst of calamity, he thought in this wise: "Echigo, which is so remotely situated, would perhaps never have a chance to listen to the Good Law of the Buddha if there were not such an opportunity as this. My banishment serves an excellent purpose of proselytism. If I happen to find even one soul embracing the same faith as mine in that remote province, I shall regard it as owing to the wisdom of my venerable master." Thus thinking, he departed for his destination in cheerful spirits.

Therefore all the way along his long journey, our Shonin made use of every occasion to give utterance to his faith and interest the people in the Good Law. When finally he reached his place of banishment in Echigo, he was ever active in his missionary work, going about in the neighboring villages and exercising his personal influence over the rural population. In the meantime Princess Tamahi, who, being left behind in the capital, had spent days and nights in sorrow and without consolation, made up her mind to share with her husband the provincial loneliness in the far-away snowy region of Echigo, and to suffer the misery of banishment too.

Five years passed, and in November, 1211, the court issued an order to terminate the banishment of our Shonin. The message, carried by Lord Norimitsu Okazaki, did not arrive at its destination until December of the same year.

To his receipt of this message, our Shonin signed himself Gutoku (which means "simple-hearted bald man"). He inwardly wished, by thus designating himself, to determine his own status among the followers of the Buddha, which was neither that of a monk nor that of a layman. What other signification he wanted to give to this unique title was that he was one of those simple-hearted Buddhists who were not wise, nor intelligent, nor learned. He used to believe himself an ignorant and sinful soul, as is implied in the literal sense of the title Gutoku. This critical self-valuation was an aspect of his religious belief. Afterward he assumed the name Shinran, by which he is best known to posterity. [He took the first part, *shin*, from the name of the ancient Indian priest Tenshin and *ran* from Don-ran, a Chinese priest whose doctrines he developed and preached.]

When he received the message of release, he wished at once to proceed to the capital and see his venerable master; but being prevented by various circumstances, it was not until January of the following year that he could start from Kokubu. When he reached Kodzuke on his way to Kyoto toward the middle of February, unexpected news plunged him into the deepest sorrow and despair; for it was the news of the death, on January 25, of his revered master, Honen Shonin, whom he had been so anxious to see once more before his final passing. His grief was so great that he threw himself down on the ground and cried most piteously.

Shinran Shonin now abandoned his plan to proceed to the capital, and making his way to Hidachi province, he visited several towns along his route and preached his faith to the people.

In January, 1217, he settled at Inada, of Hidachi province, and began writing his *Kyo-Gyo-Shin-Sho*⁴ ("Teaching, Practice, Faith, and Attainment"), in which are laid down the fundamental principles of the True Sect of Pure Land. This was his first literary work, and his greatest, for on this is built the entire structure of the True Sect. After the passing of Honen, there were many of his disciples who failed to grasp the spirit of their master and grossly misrepresented its vital significance. To save the latter

⁴ An exposition of the essential principles of the True Sect as to what it teaches (*kyo*), practises (*gyo*), believes (*shin*), and attains (*sho*), in six fasciculi.

therefore from a wreckage and to make known the true purport of the Pure Land sect free from all possible misinterpretations. Shinran wrote his most important book. It was completed in the year 1224, when our Shonin was fifty-two years of age.

In the following year (1225 A. D.) the Shonin built a temple at Takata, of Shimodzuke province. In 1226 the temple received the name Senju Amida Ji by an imperial order. After this, the True Sect of Pure Land began to draw its circles of propagation wider and wider around these two centers, Inada and Takata; and many men and women of good family gathered about him who led them to the truth of the Buddhist faith. For twenty years in these localities he had thus been indefatigably engaged for the cause of the True Sect of Pure Land, when he conceived an idea to visit the capital in 1232. He was then sixty years old.

He left his monastery at Takata to the care of his disciple, Shimbutzu, and accompanied only by two of his disciples (while his wife remained alone at Inada), he started for Kyoto from where he had been long absent. In Kyoto he had no fixed residence and moved from one place to another, among which we may mention Gojo-Nishinotoin, Okazaki, Nijo-To-minokoji, etc. He was never tired of preaching the Good Law of the compassionate Buddha, no matter who came to him for spiritual guidance and helpful instructions; and to those who could not pay him a personal visit he sent letters dwelling upon the joyful life of a devout Buddhist. Toward the end of his life the Shonin wrote various messages for the sake of uneducated followers of his faith, in which he expounded the essentials of the True Sect in the plainest possible terms.

In 1262 he reached the advanced age of ninety and began to show symptoms of an illness on November 23. He complained of nothing particularly, but spoke of the deep love of Amida and recited his name with profound devotion. On the twenty-seventh he bade farewell to his disciples, saying that he would be waiting for them in Pure Land when the time would come for them to join him there. After this he kept on reciting the name of Amida. On the following day, according to the example shown by the Great Muni of the Shakyas at the time of his Nirvana, he had his head turned toward the north, facing the west, and lying on his right side, in a room at the Jembo-in; at noon his reciting came quietly to an end, showing that he had finally returned to the Land of Light, and it is said that an odor of indescribably sweet fragrance filled the room and a flash of white light was seen across the western sky, as if unfolding a long piece of immaculate linen.

His remains were cremated on the twenty-ninth at the Yennin-ji, south of Toribeno, and his ashes were buried at two places, Otani at Higashiyama and Takata in Shimodzuke province, over which now stand tombstones.

The Shonin was apparently a manifestation of Amida Butsu; he was indeed a saving light who came among us some seven hundred years ago to dispel the darkness of this world. His life of ninety years on earth was an imprint eternally engraved on the hearts of sinners not yet freed from impurities. He lived among us to typify the life of a sinful soul that could yet be saved through his faith in the boundless love of Amida, and left a unique example for us who are intoxicated with the wine of passion. So our Shonin did not follow the steps of an ancient sage who, leaving his home and severing all family ties, would fly away from this world in order to cleanse the heart, to sanctify the conduct, and to be thoroughly imbued with the purest religious sentiment, and who by virtue of these unworldly merits was permitted to be born in the country of the Buddha. The Shonin, on the contrary, married Princess Tamahi and lived a family life, even after his confirmation in the Buddhist faith.

Four sons and three daughters were born to this union. The first, third, fourth, and fifth children were sons who were named respectively, Han-i, Zenran, Myoshin, and Dosho; while the second, sixth, and seventh were daughters, whose names were: Masahime, Sagahime, and Iyahime. The Shonin could not help but deeply love these children, so dear to the heart of the father that he once confessed with a truly human weakness: "I am the one who, not knowing how to be blessed by the saving love of Amida, is drowned in the tempest of passion and has lost his way in the mountains of worldliness." The founder of the True Sect, thus unlike most religious leaders, was a husband and father, who loved his family with all his heart and found his salvation in the eternal love of Amida.

It is due to this fact that in the True Sect of Pure Land there is no distinction made between the monk and the layman as regards their outward religious practice; while in all the other Buddhist sects the monk leads a life of celibacy and refrains from eating meat, the followers of the True Sect have no such special order among them, for their monks marry and do eat meat. Their religious life, therefore, consists in continuing to live an ordinary, every-day human life, not necessarily struggling to free themselves from the so-called "defilements" of the flesh, and in leaving the grave matter

of salvation entirely to the saving hands of Amida; for theirs it is only to be grateful for the Buddha's saving love and to express this gratitude by the observance of all the moral laws and the efficient execution of their respective duties. This faith and this way of living were exemplified by our venerable Shinran Shonin, the founder of the True Sect of Pure Land.

[The Pure Land of Amida is an ideal constructed out of the same religious needs of mankind that has created the idea of heaven in Christianity. In speaking of this ideal Mr. Okusa says:]

We can imagine the existence of three paths leading to the Pure Land of Amida, one of which is broad and safe, while the other two are rough and narrow. This broad and safe one is the true way that assures our rebirth in Pure Land. The Pure Land of Amida is a land of perfect beauty founded upon the truth of goodness, and not a particle of impurity could be brought in there. . .

This world of ours is a defiled world filled with sin and suffering; neither the wise nor the ignorant are free from sin, the noble as well as the poor are suffering from pain. He that declares himself to be sinless must be either an insane man or an idiot. . . . Where can we then find a region which harbors no pain? There stands Amida pointing to this Land of Purity and Happiness (*Sukhavati*), where our worldly sufferings and tribulations are no more. In this land there always smiles the spring of peace. No pain, no sin, but all beauty, goodness, and joy. Those born there enjoy a happiness that knows no ending; they are endowed not only with infinite wisdom and liberty, but with pure love and compassion which has the power to save all beings from the world of pain. All this happiness enjoyed by those who are in Pure Land is the outcome of Amida's love and will to save.

The will of the Buddha is manifest everywhere and in everything: it is present in the persons of our teachers, parents, brothers, wife, children, friends, and also in the State or community to which we may belong; the Buddha is protecting, nourishing, consoling, and instructing us in every possible way. What we owe to the Buddha is shown not only when we are carried into his Pure Land, but even when we are living our daily life on earth, for which we must also be deeply grateful. . . .

The Buddhist never loses an inward feeling of joy, as he most deeply believes in his rebirth in Pure Land through the grace of the Buddha; but as far as his outward appearances go, let him have nothing particularly to distinguish himself as such from other people. A Buddhist officer, or Buddhist soldier, or Buddhist man of busi-

ness has nothing remarkable about him so as to single him out as a Buddhist from among his fellow-workers; he obeys the moral laws, moves according to the regulations of the State, does nothing against habits or customs of his times and country, so long as they are not morally offensive; the only thing that distinguishes him most conspicuously from his non-Buddhist fellow-beings, is his inward life filled with joy and happiness, because of his faith in Amida's love to save all beings. For what constitutes the true Buddhist is his inner life, and not his outward features.

MISCELLANEOUS.

POLAND IN THE WORLD OF DEMOCRACY.

America, before the War, was hardly much interested in the Polish cause. The repeated efforts of the Poles to throw off the foreign yoke, directed especially against Russia, certainly have always found a generous echo in the hearts of individuals in this country, who also may take most of the credit for an occasional Kocziuszko statue and similar monuments which we find in our cities. The War at last reopened the question, for it was one of the avowed war aims of the Central Powers to push the Russian Empire farther east, to where it had come from, claiming that Poland belonged to the western half of Europe on the basis of its Roman Catholic civilization. This theory might have appealed to public opinion in the Allied countries if the necessity of keeping czaristic Russia in line had not prevented it from being fully appreciated. So it is after all the memorable statement of President Wilson, made in his "peace without victory" speech, which recognized Poland's cause as the cause of America and of democracy: "Statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland." The collapse of the Russian autocracy following soon after facilitated the world-wide acceptance of this program.

The recognition of the Paderewski government by the Allied Powers and the United States is, of course, by no means the last step in the reestablishment of Poland. The new republic will need the assistance and cooperation of her older sister states if a truly democratic state is to be erected in that part of Europe. The claim she has to this aid, especially from the hands of America, is the basic subject-matter in a volume of over 250 pages before us, entitled *Poland in the World of Democracy*, by A. J. Zielinski (St. Louis, 1918). The book comes to us highly recommended by Archbishop Glennon of St. Louis, Senator Weeks from Massachusetts, and Mme. Turezynowicz, the author of the war-book *When the Prussians Came to Poland*. It discusses, in seventeen chapters, Poland's historical right, external and internal; her ancient and modern intellectual right; her political right; her ethical right; and a number of

similar topics, such as "Causes of Poland's Downfall," "The So-Called Polish Anarchy," "Results of the Partitions," etc.

Much is brought to light with which the ordinary reader is not even now familiar although it ought to be common knowledge at least among the "educated." If we cannot always agree with the author in his historical claims, we are at least obliged to him for presenting to us, for once, the other side of the whole problem, for as he truly remarks, the view-point of the oppressors of Poland has on the whole been too easily accepted as correct the world over. When we consider that these historians largely belonged to nations that were absolutely determined to hold what they had of Poland, a certain bias is almost a psychological postulate, one might say. On the other hand, we shall understand and excuse the patriotic prejudice with which Mr. Zielinski's book may be tinged, since it tends to restore the balance.

To give a specimen of style and treatment we offer the following from the last chapter, entitled "The Twin Nations" (pp. 249f):

"While the allied nations are agreed that freedom and independence be given to all peoples, and while democracy is getting a stronger foothold, Ireland and Poland are approaching the court of justice and fair play.

"Ireland's cause is the cause of Poland, and Poland's cause is the cause of Ireland. Their joint cause is the cause of freedom and independence and—democracy. If we claim that Ireland has a right to self-existence and self-development, that this right is in keeping with her national dignity, we assert the same of Poland. We cannot enumerate Poland's trials and triumphs, her ambitions and ideals and hopes, without enumerating those of Ireland. The struggle of Ireland, her sufferings and aspirations are one with those of Poland. Hand in hand, grown weary under the weight of centuries-old sufferings and trials, but alive to their inalienable rights, Ireland and Poland believe in the power of their most sacred and strongest of all right—the right of living and self-development.

"Their joint voice may not remain unheeded now, when democracy, like a huge wave, is rolling over the world. The voice of Ireland and Poland is the voice of two nations, which possess the strongest feeling of their historical right, and present all the essentials of youthful and energetic races, alike able and willing to labor for the betterment of humanity and the advancement of civilization."

The author is a young Polish writer who is at present working in the interests of reconciling the Jew and the Christian in social and economic relations. He says that a bloody civil and religious war will result unless Christians and Jews break down differences and build up common interests in a free Poland.



THE EGYPTIAN GOD BES.

(From Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, Vol. II, p. 286.)

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. XXXIII (No. 6)

JUNE, 1919

NO. 757

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TRUE DEMOCRACY AND PROGRESS.

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE RUSSIAN SOVIET SYSTEM.

BY VICTOR S. YARROS.¹

IN a recent issue of *The Open Court* the present writer challenged the claim of the Russian Bolshevik leaders that their "Soviet system" embodies a higher form of democracy than the American or any European form. He attacked the dictatorship of the small quasi-proletarian clique that has ruled central Russia in the name of the working classes and the poorer peasants, and he objected to the disfranchisement of the so-called bourgeois elements of the population.

Several correspondents have taken issue with him, on the ground, as they contend, that these undemocratic and illiberal measures are temporary and begotten of emergency and the danger of counter-revolution. What of the Soviet system itself in its substantial and permanent features? he has been asked. Is not the Soviet system a notable and valuable contribution to the art of democratic government? Has it not, as a matter of fact, impressed and fascinated the liberal thinkers of Europe and America? Have not even the severe critics of Bolshevism admitted, with astonishment or reluctance, that the Soviet system "works" in Russia and contains elements worthy of study and emulation?

Yes, the Soviet system has taken many Western minds captive. There is undoubtedly something in it that appeals to radicals and liberals in the West. What is that something, and how much of it, if anything, can Europe or America adopt with advantage? These are legitimate questions that can be discussed calmly and without prejudice.

¹ Chicago School of Civics and Philanthropy.

What is the essence of the Soviet system—or, rather, what would be its essence under normal conditions?

The answer is that the principle of the Soviet is representation on a new basis. Under it men vote together because *they work together* and belong to the same social and economic group. In the words of an apologist and supporter of Bolshevik Russia:

"A soviet delegate comes from a group—a shop or a union—meeting regularly. A soviet representative is continuously in touch with the people he represents. The soviets are elected largely by occupations. They are full of miners who know mines; of machinists who know machines; of peasants who know the land; of teachers who know children and education. The soviet is a center for the transaction of business by men who know their business."

The same writer, by way of contrast, thus characterizes our American Congress—and, of course, the characterization would apply to the British Commons, the French parliament, the various diets or assemblies, or the Russian Duma as it existed under the Czar:

"A congressman represents all sorts of people, irrespective of their work, who meet at the polls every two or four or six years; there is no other bond of union among them. Congress is full of lawyers and politicians and office-grabbers. Congress is too often a talking machine, an arena for playing party politics."

This is not scientific or philosophical language, but the points made are tolerably clear. Are they valid? Are the people of a state or nation likely to be better represented, and more faithfully and intelligently served, under the soviet plan than under the familiar and conventional plan? Let us see.

When voters elect an alderman, a state legislator or a member of Congress, they elect him, as a rule, because he belongs to a certain party and stands on a certain platform. We may and should eliminate national party issues from local elections, but we cannot make local elections nonpartisan or nonpolitical. Local issues simply—and properly—take the place of national issues, more or less irrelevant. We vote as partisans, and we join parties because on the whole they severally reflect and represent our political and economic opinions. It must be admitted that parties have an irritating way of outliving their usefulness and their representative character, but if thousands cling to parties that are morally dead and practically futile, whom but ourselves can we blame for this fact? Tradition, habit, inertia, prejudice, thoughtlessness keep such parties alive, rather than the intrigues and stratagems of pro-

fessional politicians. Besides, when a really vital issue emerges, a realignment is quickly and spontaneously effected. Passions, convictions, interests outweigh tradition and habit when there is a conflict between these sets of influences.

In short, roughly and generally speaking, the familiar plan or system is a system of government by parties, big or small, and therefore by opinions. The question how our opinions are formed—what part class or group interest plays in the process—need not be raised here. Perhaps opinion is inspired or prompted by economic interests, but only the shallow and half-baked radicals maintain that opinions are of no consequence and may be completely ignored. The fact is that men fight for opinions, make sacrifices for opinions, and are often unconscious of any personal or class interest back of the opinion, not to mention the by no means exceptional individuals whose opinions manifestly conflict with their pecuniary interests.

We must, therefore, consider and criticize the familiar plan of nominating and electing representatives as a plan designed to give us government by discussion, government by compromise and adjustment, government by opinion. From this point of view, our system is undoubtedly full of faults and imperfections. Sometimes what we call representative government is not in fact representative. Men elected to represent mixed and heterogeneous constituencies are found to represent narrow special interests, spoils cliques, etc. Again, too often the representatives are not competent to voice the opinions of their constituencies and not industrious or capable enough to acquire such competency. Then, too, party platforms may be so ambiguous, indefinite, and empty that the men who stand on them can hardly be said to have opinions on the actual issues of the period. Finally, even if we suppose that the elected representative of a ward or district is faithful, intelligent, and fit to represent those who voted for him, what of the minority in the same district, which is deprived of a voice in the legislative body? Who represents that minority? Some one from another district, where those who believe as this minority does constitute a majority? This is scarcely satisfactory, for localities have special needs and special conditions, and may have special opinions even while accepting the general platform of the party that commands a majority of the district.

For example, a Democrat from a Chicago district is not an ideal representative of an Alabama Democratic constituency, nor a Vermont Republican a fit and desirable representative of an

Oregon or Kansas Republican constituency. When a minority in a district is deprived of a voice, it practically is governed and taxed without its consent.

These evils have long since been recognized by students and rational reformers, hence the movement for minority representation and for proportional representation. That proportional representation is steadily gaining ground, everybody knows. Even some of our new city charters provide for such representation, and on small commissions in charge of municipal affairs we now find not only members of the major parties, but labor men, Socialists, and other radicals.

The logical position of the upholder of democratic and representative government is thus sufficiently indicated. He must advocate the creation of large election districts and the election from them of representatives on the basis of proportional representation. We must demand that every legislative body contain members of each of the important parties, schools, and social groups. A system that insures this gives us government of and by opinion. If, in addition, the term of office is made short, the method of nomination simple and fair, and the election pure and honest—that is, free from fraud—then the system is as democratic, as genuine, as popular as we can expect any system to be under present intellectual and moral conditions. Indifferent, ignorant, careless men cannot expect to be loyally and properly served by representatives. Eternal vigilance still is, and always will be, the price of good, or truly democratic, government. "Educate your masters," said an English Tory statesman after a notable extension of the suffrage system that enfranchised millions of workmen, agricultural laborers, and others. If the "masters" remain ignorant or apathetic, they are masters only in name. Those rule who take the trouble to rule, who work, watch, improve every opportunity, and assert themselves on all lawful occasions.

Sound and true democracy cannot be created by fiat or miracle. Education and slow political and moral evolution are forces for which there are no substitutes. Given education, however, with adequate machinery and organization, and government by discussion and the free play of opinion can be made a reality.

One admission must here be noted in all candor. It is possible, and perhaps probable, that if Second Chambers are retained, they will in an ever-increasing measure be converted into modified soviets—that is, they will be composed of representatives of great industries, occupations, professions, interests. There is no reason

why England, France, Italy, or some American State should not make the experiment of a second chamber so formed and constituted. That is, farmers, manufacturers, merchants and bankers, carriers, workmen, professional men, artists, and others might form guilds or other organizations and send men from their own respective ranks to represent them in a chamber smaller than the popular and democratic chamber elected, as now, on the basis of opinion, party affiliation and the like.

Now compare the Soviet system *at its best* with a thoroughly reformed and modernized system of government by opinion.

At the base of the Soviet pyramid, we are told, are the voters of the villages, hamlets, towns, and cities. These voters meet in factories, in village halls, railroad depots, and the like, and elect the local soviet. The methods and procedure are, and are to remain, elastic. The local soviets elect the delegates to, or members of, the District soviets, and these in turn send delegates to the Provincial soviets. At the top of the pyramid is the All-Russian Congress of Soviets, a body composed of delegates of the lower soviets. The soviets delegate authority to executive committees, local, provincial, and national.

The admirers of this system prefer not to discuss the two main criticisms that are made by its opponents. But they must and will be discussed by candid persons who really wish to study the relative advantages or merits of the rival plans.

In the first place, the voters of the hamlets, villages, towns, and cities do not elect either the Provincial or the National soviet. Is this democratic? Is it free from danger? The All-Russian Congress of Soviets is very remote indeed from the governed, whose consent is supposed to be necessary to make government popular and democratic. There is no guaranty whatever that the general and higher soviets will always represent all the elements, sorts, and conditions of the people. As a matter of fact, the higher soviets may have as many politicians, lawyers, and non-workers as the American Congress. The superiority claimed for the local soviet may be real, for the latter is composed of representatives of all "legitimate" occupations, interests, and professions. But when delegates elect other delegates, and the latter elect delegates to still another body, the character of the supreme body plainly depends on all manner of accidental and adventitious influences. This is not democracy.

The second criticism of the Soviet system is even more fundamental. It is all very well to talk in general terms about the wonder-

ful results of representation of occupations, vocations, interests, actual social groups having common needs and experiences, but is it a fact that the members of a given group or profession think alike? Will it ever be a fact? Do workmen in a steel mill agree on political and economic questions? Are all the employes of a big store of one mind respecting such questions? Is there unanimity among all railroad workers? Do teachers see eye-to-eye in the realm of government and social science?

These questions answer themselves. In any factory we are likely to find conservatives, moderates, liberals and radicals, Socialists, Syndicalists, anarchists, and what not. Men and women who work together not only do not think alike, but often violently differ among themselves and attack each other's gatherings. The bitterness among Socialists and anarchists is proverbial, as is the antagonism between ardent trade unionists and anti-union workmen of strongly individualist proclivities. Illustrations need hardly be multiplied on this point.

Now, when in any soviet, workmen see themselves, as they inevitably will, opposed by workmen, teachers by teachers, physicians by physicians, clerks by clerks, what balm will they find in the thought that they respectively "work together"? A foe is a foe, and an opponent an opponent, whether he works at the next machine, in the next shop, or in a totally different vocation.

Convictions and opinions are ultimately the determining factors in legislation and political action. The voter, the individual, wants his opinion to prevail, or at least to have a fair chance. He wants his "side" to have its day in court. A brother worker who does not agree with him cannot represent him.

It cannot be seriously doubted, therefore, that eventually the Russian voters will insist on fair and proper representation of opinions in the soviets, local and general. This cannot be secured except by proportional representation, and proportional representation involves profound modifications in the Soviet system. Opportunity must be afforded to those who think alike to act and vote together. If workmen, artists, teachers, and professional voters wish to be represented by the same set of delegates, they cannot justly be deprived of that right. Farmers cannot justly be prohibited from voting for teachers to represent them, nor teachers from voting for labor leaders. So far as the mechanical Soviet system precludes such inter-group voting it is more undemocratic and objectionable than any feature in the rival system.

Which system will insure adequate and just representation of

all social groups, all opinions, all schools of thought? This is the paramount question. Which system will give us orderly and progressive government? Which is designed to make democracy safe, workable, rational, and sober-minded?

No reason has been furnished by the admirers of the Soviet system for scrapping our own imperfect system and blindly adopting their ill-considered, ill-devised substitute. We can and should improve our system and certain useful hints toward improvement may possibly be discerned in the Soviet system. But—nothing more than hints. The notion that we can change things, elements, qualities by changing *names* is puerile. The notion that a reshuffling of human units will somehow rid us of religious, economic, social, and other differences, the differences that divide us into parties, factions, and schools of thought, is fantastic and grotesque.

To repeat, evolution, not revolution or miracle, will solve our problems and remove the obstacles to human solidarity and human justice, national and international, that face us on every side.

SAVAGE LIFE AND CUSTOM.

BY EDWARD LAWRENCE.

XII. EMANCIPATION AND FUTURE OF SAVAGE RACES.

WE have now completed our imaginary tour of the world, and should be able to give an answer to the question, What is a savage?

We have seen that the life led by the wild races of man, under their own natural unfettered conditions, is by no means a hard or a miserable one. Savages are usually happy and contented with their lot; among themselves they are well-behaved and extremely polite; the men make good husbands and the women good wives. It is very seldom indeed that serious crime is committed; they are extremely temperate, and have great respect for the aged.

The early years of childhood are altogether delightful. Children are carefully schooled and taught to do that which is right, according to the moral standard of their tribe; and as we have noted, such teaching is not lost when adult life is reached.

Yet, on the other hand, we find them indulging in many superstitious rites, some of which appear reprehensible to a degree; many others appear to us ridiculous and absurd; while their cannibalism and human sacrifices fill us with deepest horror. Nevertheless, we

have discovered that these customs by no means spring from any ferocity of character, but in reality are part and parcel of the savage's religious system, forming, in fact, the very foundation upon which all religious systems are based. Therefore the savage is not necessarily that ferocious, bloodthirsty vampire so frequently depicted, but a natural, wild animal, the spontaneous product of his environment. His character has been misrepresented because the first white travelers misunderstood his customs. Thus, when the Tasmanians were discovered, the women were seen to be covered with "gashes," which were promptly placed to the credit of their "brutal husbands," who had inflicted them from time to time because the ladies misbehaved themselves! The true explanation is that these marks formed part of the women's toilet and personal adornments. In the case of the Fiji Islanders we saw the practice of putting old people to death was not one of cruelty, but was done out of regard for their supposed spiritual well-being; not because they hated them, but because they loved them.

If I were asked to pronounce an opinion respecting the comparative moral condition of savage and of civilized peoples, I should have to give my verdict in favor of the savage. Uncivilized man lives closer to nature than does his civilized brother. Consequently and unconsciously, he lives a healthy and unadulterated life, like that of the wild animals surrounding him. While he may lack a high ethical standard such as obtains in certain spheres of civilized life, he at the same time does not possess those great vices which seem to grow in the vortex of a complex culture. The general level is higher among savages. It is not the savage that wages ruthless wars to obtain possession of his neighbor's vineyard, nor who covers the field of battle with millions of mutilated men. He does not fill his fatherland with gin-palaces, nor plant his villages with dens of infamy. It is not he who needs societies for the "Prevention of Cruelty to Children," nor prisons in which to preserve and nurture a criminal population.

As regards their manners, there can be no question but that they put many civilized people in the shade. They are far more polite and well-behaved among themselves than the average citizens of Western Europe. Savages do not expectorate almost in another person's face, nor do they puff the smoke from cigarettes for their neighbors to inhale. Their general bearing toward each other is infinitely more courteous than that which generally obtains in civilized society.

Religion itself occupies a far more important place in the life

of the savage than it does with us. Every act of the savage is more or less a religious act or is sanctioned in some way or other by his religious faith. Unquestionably many of his superstitions are to us puerile, but so are many beliefs of civilized men. The "educated" white man who triumphantly dangles a piece of camphor from his neck to prevent infection is not a whit less superstitious than the black man who wears an amulet for a similar purpose. So far as potential results are concerned, the savage is certainly the better off, because his spirits and courage are thereby sustained in times of danger by a faith which never wavers. The quack remedies to cure all ills, so extensively advertised throughout Christendom, are but the civilized counterpart of the black and white magic of the savage "medicine-man."

As the result of various external influences, the savage is rapidly disappearing; he is either dying out or his customs are undergoing changes of far-reaching significance; in fact his whole social system is being completely revolutionized and changed for the worse.

Many causes have contributed to bring about this result, the responsibility for which must be shared by the missionaries and travelers, traders and settlers, who have, in times of danger, been backed up by their respective European governments, against native rights.

No man who knows anything regarding the labors of Christian missionaries among the "heathen," will call in question their zeal and devotion to that cause which they, rightly or wrongly, hold to be the highest on earth—the desire to make the barbarian a better man in this world and to save him from eternal damnation in the next. The student of man has particular reason to be grateful to the missionary for his careful studies of native languages and sociology.

Again, the missionary has frequently been the sole defender of native rights against the aggressions and encroachments of a "superior" but intruding race. It may truly be said, that devout Christian men like Selwyn in New Zealand, Colenso in South Africa, and Whipple in the United States, will be long remembered by the anthropologist when their names have been forgotten by their fellow Christians. They at least have not hesitated to defend the natural rights of the aborigines, against the greed and avarice of their own countrymen. But all missionaries are not Colensos or Whipples, and it will ever be a matter for the deepest regret that in many instances they have too readily forsaken the Gospel of Peace for

the sword, even going to the extent of advocating the utter extermination of the race whose souls they had previously declared to be in danger of everlasting damnation.

Is it not recorded in a British Blue Book that a missionary clergyman in 1878 wrote to Sir Bartle Frere—who at that time was Governor of Cape Colony—advocating “the utter extermination of the Zulus” which alone “would secure future peace in South Africa,” and said that this merciful advice had not only the approbation “of Queen Victoria and our own conscience,” but of Almighty God Himself? Verily, a truly hideous parody on the injunction “Love your enemies,” especially this particular enemy who was endeavoring to protect his native soil from the grasp of the white man.

Lord Carnarvon on one occasion promised the missionaries in Zululand, that if they were unable to carry on their work without armed support, they were to have it.

Cetewayo, the Zulu king, complained that not only did missionaries spread false reports about his country, but they encouraged his subjects who had committed breaches of native law, to fly to them for protection, under the pretense of becoming Christians but in reality to escape punishment, and that the missionaries desired to set up another power in the land, which he himself, as king, could not allow.

Cases have been recorded by missionaries where they themselves have attacked the natives in order to avenge what in their opinion was an outrage, but which in fact was an act of self-defense on the part of the savage.

Native usage and custom are continually set at defiance and susceptibilities outraged by actions which are in the highest degree contemptible. On the Slave Coast for example, the people believe the rain-god to be a man who rides a horse, hence in the town where the god resides, no person is permitted by native law to ride horse-back. Missionaries have attempted to deride local prejudice and have been pelted with sticks and mud by the people whose feelings they thus wantonly disregarded. In other directions they have carried matters with a high hand and have not hesitated to flog natives into submission—women *not* excepted.

In East Africa a thief was given nine dozen lashes by the missionaries, and was told that if he was afterward found on certain territory, the people were at liberty to kill him! In another instance the directors of a certain mission not only sanctioned flogging, but issued a letter for the guidance of their missionaries in which cor-

poral punishment was strongly advised, although this was in direct defiance of British law.

Missionary prudery has been responsible for the introduction of pulmonary and other complaints. They have decked their heathen converts in European clothing with the result that disease has quickly followed the change of native practice. The Rev. Archibald E. Hunt, of the London Missionary Society, speaking some years ago before a learned society in London, said that experience gained after ten years residence in Polynesia and New Guinea proved that the introduction of foreign goods, foreign clothing, intoxicating liquor, and foreign diseases were destroying the native population; but that the introduction of foreign clothing *was one of the most fatal elements* in the natives' extinction. He declared that in this matter the missionaries have to bear a share of the responsibility. Invariably adopted from a love of display, rather than for any other reason, the native generally wears his foreign clothing during the daytime. Then at night when it can be no longer seen, he throws it off, sits in the cool night air, wet or fine, without anything on. The natural result is the introduction of pleurisy, pneumonia, and other chest and lung diseases which cause terrible havoc. Native girls complain that whereas, in the heathen days, although naked they could go about unmolested, as soon as European clothing is adopted they become the victims of rude attention on the part of the young men, who had previously shown no disposition to interfere with them.

The mission field has also been a field of contention between numerous Christian sects, each holding itself up as the sole way of salvation. Natives ask, and rightly ask, how *can* they know which is right. The consequence of this unfortunate rivalry has been to set Catholic proselytes against Protestant converts, resulting, as in the case of Fiji, in civil war between the two sects. Nor can such a state of affairs be wondered at when we have mission "scholars" ask the question: "In what year was the Christian youth in Scotland put to death by the Papists?" In one instance a Protestant missionary circulated a picture representing all Roman Catholics being tormented in hell-fire, surrounded by a crowd of Wesleyans, with an accurate portrait of their head missionary in the center, all evidently enjoying the frizzling of their Catholic competitors.

A native in Rotumah, asked to explain the nature of the sermons he had heard said: "Suppose men do good, give plenty copra¹

¹ The dry kernel of the coconut which still retains its oil, very valuable as an article of trade, and exported at a profit by the missionaries themselves.

mission, he go heaven too quick. Suppose do bad, Devil catch him take him Helly."

That many missionaries forget the lesson of Christ and the money-changers, and have their eyes set on the loaves and fishes, as well as the souls of the "perishing heathen," is proved by the fact that they are often great traders in the countries of their ministrations. In the New Hebrides, it has been stated by the Deputy Commissioner for the Western Pacific that "the missionaries nearly all trade" and will cheat and drive hard bargains. In Tonga they actually passed a law forbidding the manufacture of native cloth in order that foreign goods might be imported and sold at a profit.

If this be the spirit which animates many of those who preach Christ crucified, what may one expect from the pioneer and settler with whom the native comes in contact and who are often the first representatives of that civilization which may eventually prove the bane of the savage? Missionaries are, in the great majority of instances, moral men, but one cannot say the same of many other representatives of the white race. The missionary may, with the highest motives, attempt to rob the savage of his religion, but the settler robs him of his land and is animated by greed. Everywhere that the white race spreads, disease and alcohol follow in the train. All over the savage world, native industry is being ruined by the introduction of European goods. In Africa enamel ware and Manchester goods are fast displacing the beautiful products of native handicraft. Writing of the Melanesians, Bishop Codrington tells us that the older natives complain that iron, tobacco, calico, and a wider knowledge of the world have not compensated them for the new diseases and breaking-down of old social bonds. The sole little town in Thursday Island is chiefly composed of stores and grog shanties; it is impossible to pass along the only street without meeting natives helplessly, if not violently, drunk.

Some years since, a Christian negro from the West Coast of Africa, while on a visit to England produced a bag which contained an idol and said: "This repulsive object is what we worshiped in times past. Now I will show you what England has sent to be our God to-day"—and he produced a gin bottle.

The imposition of the Hut Tax in Africa by the British Administration has been largely responsible for far-reaching social change. Natives now desert their kraals and crowd two or three families into one hut in order to escape payment of the tax. Many youths refuse to marry because of this tax, and loose living has in consequence greatly increased. Black suffragettes have appeared

on the scene who refuse to prepare the family meals unless their husbands supply them with European clothing. Unmarried men who work for European masters purchase their own food, which of course was formerly supplied by the women.

In North America, the Indians are discarding fur garments and now rig themselves out in the cast-off rags of the white trader (Fig. 40).

The introduction of European schools and methods of education has resulted in the production of a special brand of cultured



Fig. 40. GROUP OF DENE INDIANS—DOG-RIBS OF GREAT SLAVE LAKE—IN EUROPEAN CLOTHING.

(From *Anthropos, Revue internationale d'ethnologie*, 1907.)

savages—an idle, conceited, discontented class who deliberately refuse manual work because of this education and who desire employment in clerical and other light work. This clerical education has filled the native with a sense of his own importance and superiority over his uncontaminated and illiterate brother. The emancipated gentleman becomes dissatisfied with his personal appearance. He dislikes his black face, so he bleaches the skin to make it white; he objects to his short, kinky hair, so he uses "Magic Hair Straight-

ener" to make is grow straight like the white man's. Refusing manual labor, he desires to become a scholar, to make himself a gentleman and obtain a nice soft job. Let us read a letter from a colored Kaffir gentleman to his "dear brother" in which such a desire is expressed with irrepressible insistence:

BURGHERSDORP 7. 1st '07.

DEAR BROTHER

I have the honor to let you know that we are all still well through the mercy of our Lord God, hoping the same from you dear Brother: will you be so kind and send for me 15/- shillings if you have got it. I want to come up to Johannesburg to you. I want to work in the office writing pass so my Brother be so kind and good and send for me 15/- please soon my dear Brother, if there is any allowings to send it down for me, so my Brother, I thing you will do so and send the 15/- shilling by next week if you have got it, further we are all still well, dont you think very bad of me my dear Brother I am just asking you if you have got it to send me. I want to go up to you one thing you must get me a work, a nice job an easiy one please my swaar if you got the money please my swaar, I am just asking 15/- shillg for coming up to you there at Joeburg.

I conculsion my letter so far

yours swaar

Box 42, Location.

F. B. L.

It may indeed be too early to foretell the ultimate result of the revolutionary change which is now taking place in all phases of savage culture. Sufficient data, however, have been placed before the reader to indicate its far-reaching character, and the opinion which forces itself on one's mind fills us with strange foreboding as to the final destiny of the uncultured races of man.

To minimize the significance of this change seems to us impossible. Many races hitherto healthy have become the prey of diseases previously unknown, and introduced from without. Native home life is being undermined in every direction; venerated customs handed down for ages are held up to scorn by the white intruder and declared to be the work of the Devil and all his angels. Every single belief or custom is being transformed, with the inevitable result that the social fabric is falling to the ground, with nothing of permanent value to take its place.

Superstition to the savage is a moral force; it compels him to

adopt certain lines of conduct which are ethical in their results. The Europeanized emancipated colored gentleman now laughs at former fears, and discarding his own stern law which forbade him spitting, now cheerfully cleans your pots and pans with his own saliva. Black magic, in that direction at least, has no terrors for the civilized savage.

Burgess to the
4/1st 04

Dear Brother

I have the honour to let
you know that we are all well well
through the mercy of our Lord God, be heing
the same from you dear Brother will you
be so kind and send for me 15/ shillings
if you have got it I want to come up to
you and stay to you I want to work
in the office writing papers for my Brother
be so kind and good and send for me 15/
please soon my dear Brother if there
is any allowance to send it down
for me to my Brother I think you will
do so and send the 15/ shilling by next
week if you have got it further we are
all still well don't you think very bad
of me my dear Brother I am just
asking you if you have got it to send
me I want to go up to you one thing you
must get me a work a nice job
and easy one please my dear
brother if you got the money please my
dear I am just asking 15/ shilling
for coming up to you dear at Elburg
Box 42 your dear brother A. B. Brown

Fig. 41. COPY OF A LETTER FROM AN EDUCATED KAFFIR

To his "dear brother," asking him for 15/ and a nice easy job.
(Photo from original in author's possession.)

It would be difficult to point to any savage race which has really benefitted—morally and physically—by contact with a higher civilization. One of two results have followed. Either the aboriginal has disappeared altogether, or moral and physical degenera-

tion has set in. Hence it is in the highest degree probable that the savage is doomed to disappear from the earth, and in his place a hybrid race will spring up, only in its turn to go the way of the mammoth and the cave-bear.

THE BOOK OF TOBIT AND THE HINDU-CHRISTIAN MARRIAGE IDEAL.

BY ALBERT J. EDMUNDS.

ALL Christians have heard that marriages are made in heaven: the Quakers believe that God will choose you a wife if you will listen to Him (see story at the end); while down to our own times the Armenians have kept up the platonic marriages of the early Church. The researches of Conybeare have made it possible at last to translate a long-misunderstood passage in Corinthians:

"If any man considers he is not behaving properly to the maid who is his spiritual bride, if his passions are strong and if it must be so, then let him do what he wants—let them be married." (1 Cor. vii. 36, translated by Moffatt: London, 1913.)

An Armenian folk-tale (told me orally) relates that a traveler asked for a night's rest, and the only bed was that of the host and his platonic wife. The former vacated in honor of the traveler. Suspended above the bed was a sieve, which began to leak. It was explained that this sieve supernaturally held water, but leaked if an impure thought occurred. The husband assured the guest that the sieve had successfully retained the water during the years of his spiritual marriage.

Conybeare has shown that the medieval chivalry about love goes back to this early Christian practice. But is the New Testament its only literary source? We have used the word *platonic*, and many people imagine that Plato has some transcendental marriage ideas. Unfortunately the student knows better: the exalted passion of Plato refers to men, not women.

For centuries there stood these words in the marriage ritual of the English Church:

"Look down, O Lord! from the heavens and bless this meeting, And as Thou didst send Thy holy angel Raphael to Tobias and Sarah, the daughter of Raguel, so wilt Thou deign, O Lord, to send Thy blessing upon these young people."

Of course, the pair heard this in Latin unless they were Lollards; and after the Reformation, the Tobias and Sarah were changed into Isaac and Rebekah, and again into Abraham and Sarah. But the deuterocanonical characters were perpetuated even in English, in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI.

The allusion to Tobias is especially appropriate in view of the English law which forbids a marriage to take place after the hour of noon. The reason behind this will appear in the sequel. That Shakespeare appears unconscious of any delay in the finalities of marriage would be an argument against the supposed fact that he was a Roman Catholic.

I doubt if any one but a Catholic or a Lutheran understands the implication which was present in the Middle Ages to the minds of well-read people who heard the name Tobias, or who saw his pictured story on the stained glass of church windows, like those at Banwell in Somersetshire.¹ This is because our modern London and New York Bible Societies have long refused to print the middle books between the Old Testament and the New—those valuable historical documents and not less valuable romances called by Protestants "The Apocrypha." Not only so, but even if the English reader goes to the Book of Tobit in his Protestant versions, he will miss the central feature of the love-story, which is only found in the Catholic Vulgate and in one Hebrew manuscript, known only to scholars. The story may be found in Rabbi Gaster's translation of this manuscript in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology* for 1896, as well as in all translations made from Jerome's Vulgate. It is therefore accessible to readers of the Douai Version or of Luther's noble old German, because both are made from the Vulgate (the Douai throughout, of course, and Luther's for this particular book). I love to fancy that some Pennsylvania mystic beside the Wissahickon in 1743 might have shown the story, in his newly printed German Bible, published by Christopher Sauer, to the astonished Anglo-American, who had never seen it before. It is piquantly curious that the two great Puritan nations should be strangers thereto. Here it is, in the Catholic version of 1609:

"Then the angel Raphael said to him (Tobias): Hear me, and I will show thee who they are over whom the Devil can prevail. For they who in such manner receive matrimony as to shut out God from themselves and from their mind, and to give themselves

¹ Brought from Belgium about 1855. but dating from the sixteenth century.

to their lust, as the horse and mule, which have not understanding, over them the Devil hath power. But thou, when thou shalt take her, go into the chamber, and for three days keep thyself continent from her, and give thyself to nothing else but to prayers with her. And on that night lay the liver of the fish on the fire, and the Devil shall be driven away. But the second night thou shalt be admitted into the society (*copulatione*) of the holy patriarchs. And the third night thou shalt obtain a blessing that sound children may be born of you. And when the third night is past, thou shalt take the virgin with the fear of the Lord, moved rather for love of children than for lust, that in the seed of Abraham thou mayest obtain a blessing in children. . . .

"Then the angel Raphael took the Devil and bound him in the desert of Upper Egypt. Then Tobias exhorted the virgin and said to her: Sarah, arise, and let us pray to God to-day and to-morrow and the next day: because for these three nights we are joined to God; and when the third night is over, we shall be in our own wedlock. For we are the children of saints, and we must not be joined together like heathens that know not God."² (Tobit or Tobias vi. 16-22; viii. 3-5, Vulgate-Douai version.)

This story is not in the common English versions, which are translated from the Greek of the Septuagint. That the story was once in the Greek may be suspected from the words in chapter viii: "I take this my sister, not for lust, but in truth." And the spirituality of marriage is further enforced by the words in chapter vi (omitted by the Vulgate): "Fear not, for she is appointed unto thee from the beginning" (*from the con*).

It is a curious fact that during Jerome's literary activity at Bethlehem, the Fourth Council of Carthage, held in 398, decreed as follows:

"Canon 13. The bridegroom and the bride must be presented to the priest by their relatives or the bridesmaids, when they are going to receive from him the nuptial blessing; and when they have received it, they must observe continence, out of respect for the same, for the night after this blessing."

The Church afterward extended this period of abstinence to

² There is a direct allusion to this in 1 Thess. iv. 4, 5: "Each of you should learn to take a wife for himself chastely and honorably, not to gratify sensual passion, like the Gentiles in their ignorance of God" (Moffatt's version, 1913). Cuthbert Lacey, the Catholic translator, also 1913, follows Westcott and Hort in deducing the italics from Jer. x. 25 and Ps. lxxix. 6, but neither of these texts has *God*, being in the second person. That Paul was thinking of Tobit is manifest from the subject in hand. The Lutheran version rightly refers to Tobit.

three nights, evidently in imitation of Tobias, as indicated by the English rubric.

For a long time it was fancied by Protestants that, as the three nights were not in the Septuagint, the Old Latin, or the late Aramaic, they were a little joke of Jerome's, a pious invention of his, to encourage chastity. But in 1896, Moses Gaster of London found a Hebrew manuscript in the British Museum which contains the story, and he believed that this version was affiliated to the lost Aramaic which Jerome had used for his Vulgate. Other scholars do not agree with Gaster, and as this manuscript dates only from the thirteenth century, there is just a chance that it may have been influenced by the Vulgate.

All misgivings about Jerome may be dismissed, however, for, as Franklin Edgerton, the learned Sanskrit scholar of the University of Pennsylvania, has told me, the three nights are Hindu. They are in the Brahmin manual of domestic religion (*Grihiya Sūtras*). Sure enough, I have found them in *Sacred Books of the East*, Vols. XXIX and XXX, where they recur in every recension of this famous manual. The form known as Pāraskara says this:

"Through a period of three nights they shall eat no saline food; they shall sleep on the ground; through one year they shall refrain from conjugal intercourse, or through a period of twelve nights, or of six nights, or at least of three nights." (*S. B. E.*, XXIX, p. 286.)

Most recensions have three nights only, but that of Açvalāyana adds that, if they abstain for a year, their son will be a prophet (Rishi). Here we have a possible germ of the Virgin Birth. Moreover, *the first three nights are spent in religious exercises*: the bridegroom (or both bridegroom and bride) sacrifice at sunset and sunrise with invocations to the gods. At dawn on the fourth day the ceremony for consummation begins, and they say almost in the words of Tobias: "May we live a hundred autumns!"

The Iranian background of Tobit is already familiar, with the Aryan dog-companionship and demonology (Asmodeus = *Aeshma daeva*). But here we have a Hindu background and an Iranian too. In the Hindu theory there is a demon present at marriage, the *gandharva*, who is anxious to participate in the pleasures. By means of abstinence or moderation this demon is warded off, and a higher power is invoked, which insures better offspring. This is the real meaning of Asmodeus being exorcised by the sacrifice. Asmodeus is merely a Hellenized form of an Iranian name; and

this name in turn is only another case of the familiar phenomenon of Hindu ideas being transformed in Persia.

The lost Aramaic used by Jerome was nearer to the Hindu-Persian original than the Greek or any other extant version, and the Roman Church deserves great credit for adhering to this Oriental text.

That the three nights are Iranian is rendered pretty certain by their observance to date in the Armenian Church. My learned friend Frank Normart assures me of this. At the wedding the priest ties a silken thread around the pair. The bride wears this thread until the third day after the ceremony, when the priest removes it. After this the marriage is consummated. Armenians regard as sacrilege our rough and ready nuptials. As observed above, the English Church attempted to mitigate the custom by prohibiting marriage after noon. It is just these vital things that are always dealt with by a whole-souled religion.

A Russian Jew in Philadelphia has assured me that when he was in Russia, late in the last century, a period of abstinence was regularly observed by Jewish brides and grooms.

The influence of Tobit in the Christian Church has been immense, and in Catholic countries Tobias is a common name. Indeed many a dog is called Toby to-day in remembrance of Tobias's, and a famous religious joke relates to this exemplary dog. Said a Protestant disputant to a Catholic (because in the Vulgate the dog wags his tail): "I can prove to you, according to the Council of Trent, that if you don't believe that Tobias's dog wagged his tail, you'll be damned!"

Little did we dream that our spiritualization of marriage was not merely derived from the love of Christ for the Church, but from the daily life of Hindus for immemorial ages.

Euripides, on the last page of the *Alcestis*, makes Hercules say to Admetus, after the return of Alcestis from the other world:

"Not yet is it right for thee to hear her speech until by the gods who reign below *she shall be deconsecrated, and the third morn shall come.*"

I owe this literal translation to Walter Woodburn Hyde, of the University of Pennsylvania. Henry Leffmann, who pointed out the passage, seemed to think that the third morn referred to our present subject; but may it not more probably be a reversal of the three days after death? In the Avesta and the original text of Mark, the soul rises up in the other world *after three days*. Paul, with Euripides, makes it the third day. However, it is quite

likely that, in the ancient mind, there was a direct connection between the three days after marriage and the three days after death.

In modern times, the despised Seer of Poughkeepsie, Andrew Jackson Davis (1826-1910), wrote the philosophy of the universe in five volumes. The fourth of these was called *The Reformer* (Boston, 1855). The style is inflated, and the book has never ranked as literature. Nevertheless, it has an element of originality, for the only reform insisted upon is sex hygiene and control. When this is carried out, a finer type of children will be born, and all the problems will settle themselves!

In 1886 a physician told me that he had advised his son to observe continence in the early days of marriage, and was proud when the boy reported two weeks thereof. The physician was a Protestant and was almost certainly ignorant of the Vulgate story. A freethinking friend, when recently told of the Tobias nights, replied in substance: "I never heard of that, but I did it myself." Many an orthodox Christian would have been happier if he had done so too.

In conclusion I will transcribe from a Quaker autobiography of the eighteenth century an actual example of Divine guidance in marriage. It is taken from the Autobiography of David Ferris (Philadelphia, 1825), written shortly before his death, which occurred in 1779. The incident belongs to the year 1734.

"After I had been about six months in Philadelphia, I requested to be taken into membership with Friends; and was accordingly, received. Some time after I had joined the Society, I began to think of settling myself, and to marry, when the way should appear without obstruction; which was not then the case. I considered *marriage* to be the most important concern in this life. 'Marriage,' said the apostle, 'is honourable in all.' I concluded he meant that it was *honourable* to all who married from pure motives, to the right person, and in the proper way and time, as divine Providence should direct. I believed it best for most men to marry; and that THERE WAS, FOR EACH MAN, ONE WOMAN THAT WOULD SUIT HIM BETTER THAN ANY OTHER. It appears to me essential that all men should *seek for wisdom and wait for it*, to guide them in this important undertaking; because, NO MAN, WITHOUT DIVINE ASSISTANCE, IS ABLE TO DISCOVER WHO IS THE RIGHT PERSON FOR HIM TO MARRY; but the Creator of both can and will direct him. And why, in such an important concern, should we not seek for counsel, as well as in matters of minor consequence? There is, moreover, greater danger of

erring in this than in some other concerns, from our being too impatient to wait for the pointings of divine Wisdom: lest by so doing, we might lose some supposed benefit. It is common for young people to think and say, 'I would not marry such a person; for certain reasons: such as the want of beauty, wit, education,' etc.: and to affirm that they could not love such a one: but we may err by an over-hasty conclusion, as well as by any other neglect of our true Guide.

"I now propose to give some hints of my own proceedings in this concern. Near the place of my residence there lived a comely young woman, of a good, reputable family: educated in plainness; favoured with good natural talents; and in good circumstances. Every view of the case was favourable to my wishes.

"By some hints I had received, it appeared probable that my addresses would be agreeable to her; and some of my best friends urged the attempt. From inattention to my heavenly Guide, I took the hint from man: and following my own inclination, I moved without asking my divine Master's advice. I went to spend an evening with the young woman, if I should find it agreeable when there. She and her mother were sitting together; and no other person present. They received me in a friendly manner; but I think I had not chatted with them more than half an hour, before I heard something, like a still small voice, saying to me, 'Seekest thou great things for thyself?—seek them not.' This language pierced me like a sword to the heart. It so filled me with confusion, that I was unfit for any further conversation. I endeavoured to conceal my disorder: and soon took my leave, without opening, to either the mother or her daughter, the subject which had led me to visit them. And I, afterwards, had substantial reason to think it was well for me that I had failed in this enterprize.

"I was so confused and benumbed by this adventure that I did not recover my usual state for several months; though I could not suddenly see that my error was acting without permission; but began to suppose that I should never be suffered to marry; and should have to pass my life without a companion, or a home. I endeavoured to be resigned to this view: supposing it was the Lord's will; but, for several months, it was a severe trial. At length I was brought to submit, and say, 'Amen.' This simple account of my visit to that young woman, is designed as a warning to others; that they may shun the snare into which I was so near falling.

"I shall now relate another of my movements, with respect to marriage, which I believe was a right one: as it terminated to lasting

satisfaction. It may appear strange to some; as if I married in the cross; and, I suppose, few will be inclined to follow my example. Yet, if the divine Teacher of truth and righteousness be attended to, it may be the lot of some. After I had been much mortified and humbled, under a sense of my former mis-step, I went, one day, to a Friend's house to dine. As I sat at the table, I observed a young woman sitting opposite to me, whom I did not remember ever to have seen before. My attention, at that time, being otherwise engaged, I took very little notice of her; but a language very quietly, and very pleasantly, passed through my mind, on this wise, 'If thou wilt marry that young woman, thou shalt be happy with her.' There was such a degree of divine virtue attending the intimation, that it removed all doubt concerning its origin and Author. I took a view of her, and thought she was a goodly person; but, as we moved from the table, I perceived she was lame. The cause of her lameness I knew not; but was displeased that I should have a cripple allotted to me. It was clear to me, beyond all doubt, that the language I had heard was from heaven; but I presumptuously thought I would rather choose for myself. The next day the subject was calmly presented to my mind, like a query, 'Why shouldst thou despise her for her lameness? it may be no fault of hers. Thou art favoured with sound limbs, and a capacity for active exertion; and would it not be kind and benevolent in thee, to bear a part of her infirmity, and to sympathize with her? She may be affectionate and kind to thee; and thou shalt be happy in a compliance with thy duty.' Notwithstanding all this, I continued to reason against these convictions; alleging that it was more than I could bear. The enemy of my happiness was busily engaged, in raising arguments against a compliance with my duty, suggesting that it was an unreasonable thing that I should be united to a lame wife; and that every one who knew me, would admire at my folly.³ Thus, from day to day, and week to week, I reasoned against it; until at length, my kind Benefactor, in a loving and benevolent manner, opened to my view, that, if I were left to choose for myself, and to take a wife to please my fancy, she might be an affliction to me all the days of my life; and lead me astray, so as to endanger my future happiness. Or she might fall into vicious practices; notwithstanding that, at the time of her marriage, she might be apparently virtuous; it was, therefore, unsafe to trust to my natural understanding. On

³ The author's person was rather uncommonly good, and it is probable he might have thought too highly of personal excellence. [Note by the Quaker editor of 1825.]

the other hand, here was a companion provided for me by unerring Wisdom; so that I might rely with safety on the choice. Still I was unwilling to submit. But heavenly kindness followed me, in order to convince me that it would be best to comply, and no longer resist the truth. At length it pleased the Lord, once more, clearly to show me that if I would submit, it should not only tend to my own happiness, but that a blessing should rest on my posterity. This was so great a favour, and manifested so much divine regard, that I no longer resisted; but concluded to pay the young woman a visit, and open the subject for her consideration; but after I had laid my proposition before her, I still had hopes that I might be excused; and only visited her occasionally. During this time, for several months, I endured great trials and afflictions, before I was fully resigned. But, after divine Goodness had prevailed over my rebellious nature, all things relating to my marriage wore a pleasant aspect. The young woman appeared beautiful; and I was prepared to receive her as a gift from heaven; fully as good as I deserved. We waited about six months for my parent's consent, from New-England, (a conveyance by letter being at that time difficult to obtain,) and accomplished our marriage on the thirteenth of the Ninth month, 1735, in the city of Philadelphia.

"It is now forty years since we married; and I can truly say, that I never repented it; but have always regarded our union as a proof of divine kindness. I am fully sensible there was no woman on earth so suitable for me as she was. And all those things which were shown me, as the consequence of my submission, are punctually fulfilled. A blessing has rested on me and my posterity. I have lived to see my children, arrived to years of understanding, favoured with a knowledge of the Truth; (which is the greatest of all blessings;) and some of them, beyond all doubt, are landed in eternal felicity."

We cannot end better than with the immortal words of Swedenborg:

"THE DELIGHTS OF ADULTEROUS LOVE BEGIN FROM THE FLESH AND ARE CARNAL EVEN IN THE SPIRIT; BUT THE DELIGHTS OF MARRIAGE LOVE BEGIN IN THE SPIRIT, AND ARE SPIRITUAL EVEN IN THE FLESH."—(*De Amore Conjugiali*: Amsterdam, 1768, par. 440.)

THE COSMIC FEET.

BY LAWRENCE PARMLY BROWN.

IN mythology the sky is sometimes taken for a solid surface, sometimes for an upper sea: while the solar, lunar, and other celestial deities are conceived as traveling on their own feet, or on horses, in chariots, in boats, etc.

Solar, lunar, and stellar boats have prominent places in the mythology of the Egyptians; but in another view their celestial deities cross the heaven on foot. Thus the sun-god Ra is "the great walker who goes (daily) over the same course"—"his form is that of the walker"—he is "the walking god" ("Litany of Ra," I, 62, 72; II, 17, in *Records of the Past*, VIII, pp. 111 et seq.). In the Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, Ra is a "Runner," to whom it is said: "Thou stridest over the heaven, being glad of heart" (XV). His "strides are long as he lifteth up his legs"; and he steps over the supports with which Shu upholds the heaven, passing through "the gate of the lord of the east" (*ibid.*, XCII, CVII). Even when the Egyptians symbolized the sun by a winged human eye, the latter was sometimes figured with the legs and feet of a man (*Book of the Dead*, Saïte Recension, Turin papyrus, vignette to CLXIII). Among the literary hieroglyphics, a pair of human legs (with feet) have the primary significance of *moving forward, advancing*; and according to Horapollon, "The feet conjoined and advancing symbolize the course of the sun in the winter solstice" (*Hieroglyph.*, II, 13), as probably suggested by the fact that the sun's annual advance northward begins at that solstice. In the Mexican pictograph codices we find a pair of feet with three rods (for light) radiating from the ankle of each foot (Churchward, *Signs and Symbols*, p. 220, figure).

In one Hindu view the sun-god crosses the heaven in three steps—"Vishnu traversed this world: three times he planted his foot"—"he stepped three steps"—which are explained as belonging to the eastern mountain, the meridian sky, and the western mountain (*Rigveda*, I, 17, 18, 22). In Psalm xix. 5, the rising sun "rejoiceth as a strong man (or giant) to run a race" (cf. Eccles. i. 15), just as Ra the Runner strides over the heaven, "glad in heart." In Job xx. 14, Jehovah in his solar character "walks in the circuit of heaven" (the zodiac path), and *ibid.* ix. 8, "he treadeth

upon the heights of the sea (Heb., *bamothe yam*; A. V., 'waves of the sea')"—i. e., upon the waters above, which were divided from those below at the time of the creation (Gen. i. 6, 7). In Psalm xxix. 3, "the God of glory thundereth: the Lord is upon many waters"; and *ibid.* civ. 3, God "makes the clouds his chariot" and "walks upon the wings of the wind." In Habakkuk iii. 15, it is said to Jehovah: "Thou didst walk through the sea with thy horses"—the celestial sea here being intended, while the horses are apparently wind symbols. But Jehovah is obviously conceived as walking on dry land in Nahum i. 3, where "the clouds are the dust of his feet."



THE SOLAR DIONYSUS WALKING ON THE WAVES OF THE CELESTIAL SEA.

(From *Gazette archéologique*, Vol. I, Plate 2).

On a gold plate found in Syria, the solar Dionysus, the great traveler of Greek mythology, is figured walking on the waves of the celestial sea, with an upright torch in his right hand (for the morning light), while in his left hand he holds an inverted torch (for the evening light.—*Gazette archéolog.*, I, p. 5 and Plate 2). The Norse solar god Vidar, who will finally slay the wolf Fenrir (the night and underworld), walks noiselessly on both air and water (*Elder Edda*, "Skaldskap," 35); the boar that killed Frey runs on sea and air (*Younger Edda*, I, 43); and a famous Danish sea commander, Odde, could traverse the ocean without a ship, raise storms, etc. (Saxo Grammaticus, p. 249; Thorpe, *North. Mythol.*, I, p. 215). The Scandinavian Ullr, probably a solar figure of

winter, crosses the sea on a bone (Saxo Gram., p. 130), which Finn Magnusen explains as skates (*Lex. Mythol.*, p. 765); and the Scandinavian "golden shoes of Paradise" enable the wearer to walk on water and air (Brewer, *Dict. Phrase and Fable*, s. v. "Golden Slipper"). In the Persian *Shah Nameh*, both Feridun and Kai-Khosrau walk across a river without wetting their feet (De Gubernatis, *Zoo. Myth.*, I, p. 117). Proclus says that "the aquatic in divine natures indicates a providential inspection and government inseparable from water; hence also the oracle calls these gods water-walkers" (*Tim.*, IV). Among Masonic symbols we find a pair of feet walking on water (Oliver, *Initiation*, p. 156).

Job refers to the moon as "walking in brightness" (xxxix, 26). The Greek Circe, a lunar figure, walks on the waves—"on these, as though on the firm shore, she impresses her footsteps, and with dry feet skims along the surface of the water," as Ovid has it (*Met.*, XIV, 1). The reflection of the moon on the sea appears to be represented by Cymopolia (= wave-walker), a daughter of Poseidon (Neptune, the terrestrial sea) according to Hesiod (*Theog.*, 819). But the walker or runner on water sometimes has the character of the wind, as in the case of Iphicles, the swift runner of Homer, who runs on the growing grain without bending it, as well as on the surface of the sea (*Il.*, XXIII, 636, etc.). Both marvels were attributed to Camilla, queen of the Volsci, according to Virgil, who says that she ran over the water without wetting her feet (*Aen.*, VIII, 803; XI, 433).

The Greek Poseidon traveled over the terrestrial sea on horses or sea-monsters (*Il.*, XIII, 17, etc.), as did his son Triton (Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.*, I, 28). Poseidon gave his giant son Orion the power of walking over the sea without wetting his feet (Apollod., I, 4, 3), and Orion was originally of solar character although finally constellated in the house of Taurus—anciently with his feet on the celestial Eridanus. The starry Orion was sacred to Horus (Plutarch, *De Iside*, 22), who is figured in a boat for the constellation in the oblong zodiac of Dendera; and in all probability this Horus-Orion is he "whose strides are long, who comes forth from Annu (the heaven)" as the first of the forty-two Assessors of the Egyptian Judgment Hall (*Book of the Dead*, CXXVb, Theban), for these figures doubtless represent the forty-two constellations recognized by some of the ancient astronomers. Another of these Assessors, placed midway in the group, is called "Leg of fire, who comest forth from Akhekhu" (Theban), or "Glowing feet gone out of the night" (Saïte), and probably represents the

Ophiucus of the Babylonio-Greek sphere, directly opposite Orion. The two Egyptian constellations therefore appear to be ancient representatives of the solar god as the youth and the aged, belonging respectively to spring and autumn, as to east and west.

A cosmic man of normal structure of course requires feet (and legs), which are naturally conceived as invisible. In one view his invisible feet appear to be placed on the earth, which includes the sea; across either or both of which he would be conceived to walk from east to west. In the *Vishnu Purana* the whole universe is from Vishnu, who assumes its form; the heaven coming from his head, the sun from his eyes, the earth from his feet, etc.—while the earth-goddess is said to have been produced from the sole of his foot (I, 12, 13; cf. II, 7; V, 2). In Macrobius, the late Egyptian Serapis describes himself with the heaven for his head, the sun for his eyes, the sea for his body, the earth for his feet, etc. (*Sat.*, I, 23). In an Orphic fragment preserved by Clement of Alexandria, the pantheistic Zeus is seated on his golden throne in heaven, with the earth beneath his feet (*Strom.*, V, 14); and Jehovah says the heaven is his throne and the earth his footstool (Is. lxvi. 1; Matt. v. 33, etc.). Such a cosmic figure is naturally fabled to have left impressions of his feet on the earth. Thus a cavity, some five feet long, on the summit of Adam's Peak in Ceylon, is a footprint of Siva according to the Hindus; of Buddha, according to the Buddhists; of Adam, according to the Mohammedans; of St. Thomas, according to the Christians (Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, p. 511). The Mohammedans also have a footprint of Abraham at Mecca (Sale's *Koran*, Pref. Dis., IV, 9, 84), and the ancient Irish attributed one to their "first chieftain" on the sacred stone upon which their kings or chiefs were inaugurated (Moore, *History of Ireland*, I, p. 68). In India, representations of the two feet of Vishnu and of Buddha are common objects of worship (Monier-Williams, pp. 506-514); those of Buddha sometimes being figured on a footstool under his throne (*ibid.*, p. 523). Other pairs of feet are found on ancient stones in Britain, Ireland, Australia, Central America, etc. (Churchward, *Signs and Symbols*, p. 221).

In another view, the feet and legs of the cosmic man are assigned to the underworld. Thus where the Osirified deceased is assimilated to the *pantheos* in the *Litany of Ra*, each member of his body is a subordinate god, his legs being "he who traverses the hidden places" (IV, 2, 8). When Jehovah was seen in a vision, "darkness was under his feet" (2 Sam. xxii. 10; Psalm xviii. 9).

In Daniel's symbolic image of Nebuchadnezzar, the head is of gold, the breast and arms of silver, the belly and thighs of brass, the legs of iron, and the feet "part of iron and part of clay" (Dan. ii. 31-33); which appears to have been suggested primarily by a cosmic man with his legs and feet in the underworld, having the sun for his head, etc. But Daniel's scheme was doubtless derived from the Persian mythology, where the four periods of the Zoroastrian millennium are respectively of gold, silver, steel, and "mixed with iron" (Dinkard, VIII; *Bahman Yast*, I, 1-5; cf. Origen, *Cont. Cels.*, VI, 22).

Again, the cosmic man appears to have his feet on the mythical underworld sea, the Biblical "waters under the earth" (Ex. xx, 4, etc.). In the *Book of the Dead* (XLII, both Recensions) the legs of the deceased are said to be those of Nut (the heaven). Horapollon says that the Egyptians, "to signify an impossibility," represented "a man's feet walking on the water," or "a headless man" (*Hieroglyph.*, I, 58). Both are well-known symbols, found in the Ramesseum at Thebes and elsewhere; but in all probability the headless man originally represented a cosmic god with his head cut off (at night), while the feet on the water belong to the same god walking on the underworld sea. In the *Book of the Dead* the deceased says, referring to the solar Ra: "I walk through his way; I know the surface of the basin Maat"—from which he passes through the gate of Set to reach the horizon (XVII, 18, 20, Saïte). Here "the basin Maat" evidently belongs to the underworld sea, and it appears that the feet of Ra in his soli-cosmic character were sometimes identified with the boat which sailed over that basin. Thus in an ancient text we read: "The soles of the two feet of this Ra-Meri (the deceased assimilated to Ra) are the double Maati boat" (Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 110). "Lord of Maat upon his two feet" is the name of the upper section of the door of the hall of the double Maati (*Book of the Dead*, CXXV, Theban). *Maati* is the plural of *Maat*, and the Hall of the double Maati is the Judgment Hall in the underworld; while the goddess Maat is represented (sometimes in duplicate) in a sitting posture, her eyes sealed with wafers; which indicates that she was a figure of the dark and inactive underworld. In Egyptian, *maat* signifies truth, perhaps in some such primitive sense as that of the basis upon which knowledge stands like a man on his feet; for the "foot" or "sole of the foot" is also *maat* or *mat* in Egyptian, and the region of Maat or Maati is at the foundation of the world. As a double region or

hall it is connected with "the two horizons" of Egyptian mythology, those of the east and the west.

With the northern sky recognized as the top of the celestial sphere, as it has been from a remote antiquity, the lower world was naturally transferred by some to the region of perpetual occultation, that portion of the southern sky which is never visible to an observer in the northern hemisphere. Diodorus Siculus says that the Babylonians assign the visible constellations to the living, "and the others, which do not appear (to us), they conceive are constellations for the dead" (II, 31); while Virgil has it that the celestial north pole "is always elevated; but the other, under our feet (sic), is seen by gloomy Styx and the ghosts below": and there "dead night forever reigns in silence, and, outspread, wraps all things in darkness" (*Georg.*, I, 243, et seq.). The cosmic man is naturally conceived with his feet in this region, and we appear to have a mere variant of such a concept in connection with the identification of the arms and legs of the deceased with the four Egyptian funeral gods and the cardinal points: the two legs being assigned to Amset (the man) in the south and Qebhsennuf (the hawk-headed) in the west, while the two arms are assigned to Hapi (the ape-headed) in the north and Tuametef (the jackal-headed) in the east (Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 492).

Buddha instantaneously transported himself across the Ganges, while his companions searched for boats (*Mahavagga*, VI, 28; *Book of the Great Decease*, I, 23); a great congregation of people being thus transported with him, according to the *Life of Buddha* translated into Chinese by Dharmaraksha (*Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, IV, 22). A brother of Purna, one of Buddha's disciples, was in extreme danger in a ship during a black storm, but the spirits that were favorable to Purna apprised the latter of the situation, and he transported himself through the air to the deck of his brother's ship; whereupon "the tempest ceased as if Sumera (the god of storms) had arrested it" (Burnouf, *Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme*, 2d ed., p. 229). Again, when Buddha was preaching to unbelievers on the bank of a broad and rapid river near Sravasi, a man suddenly appeared "walking on the surface of it." He crossed thus to worship Buddha, and declared he was enabled to do so because he believed (*Chinese Dhammapada*, IV, 1). These three Buddhist miracles are referable primarily to the walking of the sun-god on the celestial sea; but the rivers in two of them may reasonably be recognized as counterparts of the earth-surrounding ocean-river of the ancients, opposite sides of which were crossed by the sun at his

rising and setting respectively. It was believed that the Buddhist Rishis could walk on the water, float on the air, etc. (Hardy, *Legends of Buddhism*, p. 178, etc.).

The Gospel miracle of calming the storm is performed by Jesus when crossing the Sea of Galilee on an easterly course, while he walks on the water during a voyage westward. Both miracles occur at night, which indicates that the Sea of Galilee (=Circle) was in one view a mythic counterpart of the underworld sea. But in another view it appears to represent the earth-surrounding ocean-river; for the outgoing and return voyages of Jesus correspond respectively to those of the sun at the beginning and end of night—the land to which Jesus goes, after the calming of the storm, answering to the *terra firma* of the underworld. Thus it appears that the Gospel ship of the outgoing voyage is mythically the Egyptian Sektet boat in which the sun-god sets, while that of the return voyage is the Matet boat in which the sun-god rises (see *Book of the Dead*, XV, XVb, etc.).

In Mark iv. 35-41, we doubtless have the oldest extant version of the calming of the storm by Jesus, and there we read that he suggested to the Disciples that they cross the sea, "evening being come. . . . And having dismissed the crowd, they take him with them, as he was in the ship; but also other small ships were with him (probably for those of the stars), and comes a violent storm of wind, and the waves beat into the ship, so that it already was filled. And he was on the stern, on the cushion sleeping. And they arouse him, and say to him, Teacher, is it no concern to thee that we perish? And having been aroused, he rebuked the wind, and said to the sea, Silence, be quiet. And the wind fell, and there was a great calm. And he said to them, Why are ye fearful thus? Have ye no faith?" etc. Arriving "on the other side," in "the country of the Gadarenes" (for the underworld *terra firma*), Jesus there found a man "who had his dwelling in the tombs," and dispossessed him of an unclean spirit which was also a legion of two thousand such spirits; no incident of the return voyage being related (*ibid.* v. 1-21). These stories reappear in the same order and substantially in the same form in Luke viii. 22-39, and again in Matt. viii. 16-34, where they are much abbreviated, with two possessed men instead of one. The calming of the storm by the solar god and others is found in a multitude of myths and legends which cannot be considered here.

The voyage during which Jesus calms the storm is in no way connected in the Gospels with the return voyage during which he

walks on the water; in fact, the latter begins at sunset and closes at sunrise. In Mark vi. 45-52, Jesus remains praying on a mountain (for the Egyptian Manu, the mountain of sunset, *Book of the Dead*, XV, XVb, etc.) when his Disciples start across the sea for Bethsaida on the western shore; and he enters the ship only after it has gone a long distance: "And evening being come, the ship was in the midst of the sea, and he alone on the land. And he saw them (the Disciples) laboring in rowing, for the wind was contrary to them; and about the fourth watch (the last quarter) of the night, he comes to them, walking on the sea, and would have passed them. But they, seeing him walking on the sea, thought him to be an apparition and cried out; for all saw him, and were troubled. And immediately he spoke to them, and said to them, Be of good courage; I am he; fear not. And he went to them into the ship, and the wind fell," etc. Luke omits the story altogether. John has it with some variations (vi. 16-21); stating that it was already dark when the voyage began; specifying twenty-five or thirty furlongs as the distance of the ship from its starting-place when Jesus was first seen; and adding that when he had gone aboard, "immediately the ship was at the land to which they were going." Matthew (xiv. 22-34) follows Mark in substantially the same words; saying that Jesus went to the Disciples, walking on the water, "*in* the fourth watch of the night," and adding the following account after the words of Jesus: "And answering him, Peter said, Lord, if it be thou, bid me to come to thee upon the waters. And he (Jesus) said, Come. And having descended from the ship, Peter walked upon the waters to go to Jesus. But seeing the wind strong, he was affrighted; and beginning to sink, he cried out, saying, Lord, save me. And immediately Jesus, having stretched out his hand, took hold of him, and said to him, O thou of little faith, why didst thou doubt? And they, having entered into the ship, the wind ceased," etc.

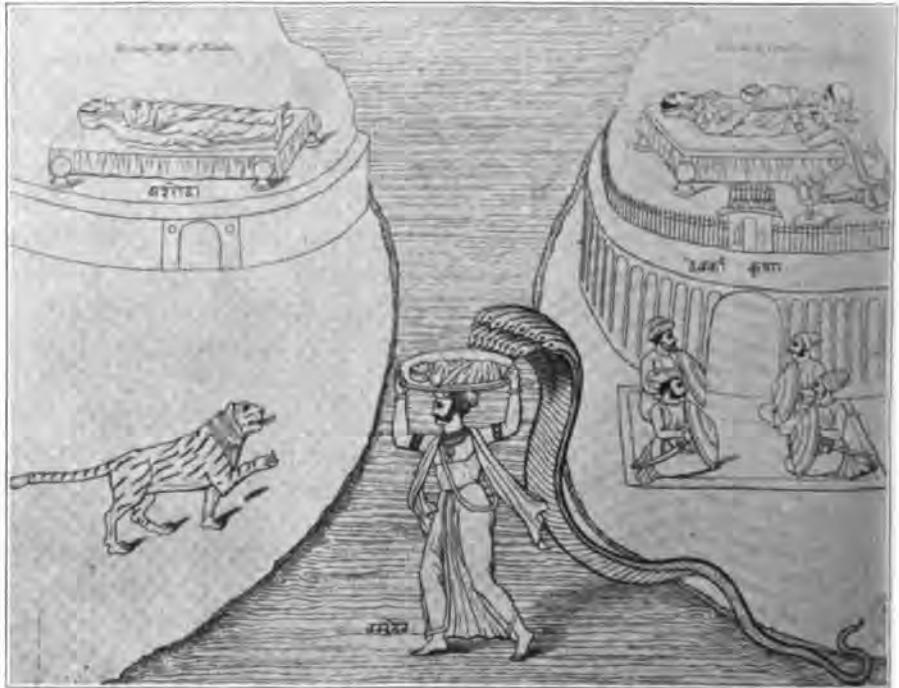
In the *Book of the Dead*, the fourth hour or watch of the night (the last quarter) is that in which "the gods of the pure waters purify themselves. . . . passing from night to day" (CXXVb, 45, 46, Saïte). It is the hour when the solar eye returns to its place on the forehead of Ra (i. e., when the sun rises—*ibid.*, CXL, 4). The close of this watch is coincident with the opening of the day, which in all probability suggested Matthew's introduction of Peter as walking on the water to Jesus shortly or immediately before the ship landed; for Peter (Petros) is the first Apostle in the Synoptic Gospels, and while the Greek name *Petros* signifies a stone (Ara-

maic *Kepha*, Grecized *Kephas*, as always for Peter in 1 Corinthians—cf. John i. 42), it was doubtless referred by the earliest Jewish-Christians to the Hebrew *peter* = opener, first-born (Ex. xiii. 12, etc.—from *patar* = to open). In Hebrew we also find a variant form, *pathah* = to open, which is radically the same as the Egyptian *Ptah* = Opener (as of the day and year); and the Egyptians had a god *Petra* = Seer, Revealer, or Appearer (see Budge, *Book of the Dead*, III, in voc.; *Gods*, I, p. 252). He is an opener in the *Book of the Dead*, where we read: "The doors of heaven are opened to me. . . . and the first temple (in the heaven) hath been unfastened to me by the god Petra" (LXVIII, Theban—cf. Petros as the first Apostle with "the keys of the kingdom of heaven," in Matt. xvi. 19). Moreover, according to Mark, the ship to which Jesus (and Peter) walked goes to Bethsaida (= Fishing-town), which John says was the city of Andrew, Peter, and Philip as the first three of the twelve Apostles (i. 40-44—the two former being fishermen); whence it is probable that some of the early astronomizing Christians recognized Bethsaida as a terrestrial counterpart of the three "watery signs" as anciently taken for the threefold place of winter as the first season of the year. In connection with this view, Andrew (= Manly) would belong to Aquarius, the only man in the Babylonio-Greek zodiac, while Peter belongs to Pisces (= the Fishes), the opening sign of the spring equinox in the precessional period of about 1 to 2000 A. D.—and Peter in his astronomical character could be conceived as walking on the stream from the Water Jar of Aquarius, which flows below the constellation of Pisces. Philip therefore appears to belong to Aries in John's grouping, but he is differently placed in the Synoptic catalogues, where Peter is always the first.

Lucian satirizes the Gospel story of walking on the water in his account of the Corkfoots who skimmed over the waves as if on level ground, and who lived in Phello (= Corkplace), a city built on a large cork (*Ver. Hist.*, II, 4). Again, in his *Philopseudes* (= Lie-lovers, 13), the same author introduces a man walking on the water in broad daylight, as well as other more or less close parallels to Gospel miracles. The Christian saints Raymond and Hyacinth are both fabled to have walked on the water.

The Hindu Vasudeva is figured walking accros the river Yamuna, on the surface of the water, holding on his head a basket in which he carries the infant Krishna; thus escaping from Kansa, who is a counterpart of the Gospel Herod as a figure of the night seeking to slay the new-born solar child (Moor, *Hindu Panth.*,

Plate 58); and in a medieval legend the giant St. Christopher (= Christ-bearer) carries the infant Jesus across the Jordan on his back (Jameson and Eastlake, *Our Lord in Art*, I, pp. 430-450). Here we have the rising sun conceived as an infant unable to walk: both rivers primarily representing the earth-surrounding ocean-river across which the solar infant is carried by a figure like the Egyptian Shu upholding the sky or the sun. And in all probability these rivers were secondarily identified with the celestial Eridanus



VASUDEVA CARRYING KRISHNA ACROSS THE YAMUNA,
WALKING ON THE WATER.

(From Moor's *Hindu Pantheon*, Plate 58.)

on which the constellated Orion walks. The Eridanus is on the horizon in the house of Aries, the spring sign of about 2000-1 B. C., thus being an appropriate stream for the sun-god to cross when born at the spring equinox. The words Eridanus and Jordan are probably mere variants, having the same radical consonants.

The Greek Œdipus was so named from his swollen feet, which had been pierced, with cords passed through them, for the purpose of suspending him from a tree shortly after his birth (Apollod., III, 5, etc.). The infant Horus is "the feeble-footed"; and is

even conceived as without feet (Bonwick, *Eg. Bcl.*, p. 158). Plutarch says that Harpocrates (Har-pa-krat = Horus the child) was born lame in his lower limbs, having been delivered of Isis prematurely at about the time of the winter solstice (*De Iside*, 18 and 43—the spring equinox probably being considered the proper time for his birth). The Egyptian Bes, with short and deformed legs, is sometimes identified with Ptah = the Opener (of the day and year—Budge, *Gods*, II, p. 286, Plate [see frontispiece]; *Book of the Dead*, vignette to CLXIV); and the Osirified in the underworld says, "My feet are the feet of Ptah" (*Book of the Dead*, XLII, Theban). The Greek Hephæstos also had the dwarf form in his most ancient images (Herod., III, 37); and according to Homer he was born weak and lame in both feet, on account of which defect his mother Hera dropped him from Olympos (*Il.*, XVIII, 390). Later in life, his angry father Zeus seized him by the leg and hurled him from heaven, an entire day from dawn till sunset being occupied in the fall (*Il.*, I, 590, etc.); and some classic authors ascribe his lameness to this second or daily fall, which is properly from noon till sunset. Satan, as identified with Lucifer (Is. xiv. 12, Vulg. and A. V.) is often represented lame in one foot as a result of his fall from heaven. Loki, the Evil One of Scandinavian mythology, was cast down and lamed; while the goldsmith Volund (German, Wieland), the Norse counterpart of Hephæstos (= Vulcan the smith), was bound and hamstrung by King Nidud (the underworld figure); but finally "Laughing Volund rose in air, and Nidud sad remained sitting" (*Elder Edda*, "Volundarkvida," II, 11, 16, 35). The Greek solar hero Bellerophon attempted to fly to heaven on Pegasus, but was thrown to earth and lamed (or blinded, according to some) when his horse was stung by a gadfly sent by angry Zeus (Pind., *Isth.*, VII, 44; Schol. ad *Pind. Ol.*, XIII, 130).

In the inscription of Darius at El Khargeh, Ra is "the youth and the old one" (*Records of the Past*, VIII, pp. 141, 143). In the "Litany of Ra," when he arrives in the Amenti, "his form is that of the old man" (*ibid.*, p. 110). In the *Book of Hades*, Horus (of the western horizon) is represented leaning upon a staff (*Records of the Past*, X, pp. 101, 107, 117), and so is Tum (the setting sun—*ibid.*, pp. 92, 96). Horus is the cripple-deity who "was begotten in the dark," the primordial Elder Horus of the later Egyptian theology (Plut., *De Iside*, 54); and in the *Book of the Dead*, CXXXV, "Horus is made strong each day" (Theban) or "Integrity is restored to Horus every day" (Saïte). According to Plutarch,

the Egyptians celebrated the festival of "the sun's walking-stick" on the eighth day from the end of the month Phaophi, "after the autumn equinox"; adding that this walking-stick signified that the sun "requires as it were a support and strengthening as he grows weak both in heat and light, and moves away from us, bending down and crooked" (*De Iside*, 52; cf. 69). In Greek mythology this walking-stick becomes the golden staff of Teiresias, which Athena gave him after she had blinded him, and with which he walked in safety not only in this world but also in the underworld after his death (Apollod. III, 6, 7; Callim., *Lav. Pall.*, 75; Paus., IX, 33. 1, etc.)



THE MITRAIC KRONOS
With His Legs Bound by the
Serpent.*

generally figured with his legs bound together, by a serpent (Lajard, *Culte de Mithra*, Plates 70-73; Cumont, *Mysteries of Mithra*, 2d

* From Lajard, *Recherches sur Mithra*, Plate LXX.

Osiris is figured standing erect, with his body, legs, and feet bound and concealed like those of a mummy, while his head and arms are free. He was identified by the Greeks and Roman with Zeus or Jupiter; and Plutarch quotes Eudoxus to the effect that the Egyptians fabled that the two legs of Zeus (= Osiris) grew into one, so he could not walk, and that through shame he remained in solitude (during the night) till Isis cut his legs apart, thus restoring his powers of locomotion (*De Iside*, 62). In the *Book of the Dead* the deceased says: "I have caused the god (Osiris) to have the mastery over his two feet" in the Amenti (CXXV, Saïte). Khem, Min, or Amsu (like Osiris) has his body, legs, and feet concealed, one of his arms also being bound in the mummy envelope, while the other is raised above his head (for the solar flabellum—see *The Open Court*, Jan., 1919, p. 15); and in the *Book of the Dead* the earth-god Seb causes the deceased to stretch his legs, "which are bound together" (in the mummy envelope) before his restoration (XXVI, Theban). The Mithraic Kronos is generally

ed., 1910, pp. 105-108); and as he often has the zodiac signs on his body, it is quite probable that he originally represented the cosmic god in winter, the old age of the year—in this view being the antithesis of the youthful Mithra as the soli-cosmic god of spring and summer. As the solar or soli-cosmic god of winter (and night), Krishna is figured with his body, legs, and arms in the coils of a serpent that bites his left heel; while in a companion piece, he dances or tramples on the serpent's head, holding its tail over his own head, free and victorious in spring and summer (as in the daytime.—Sonnerat, *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, Plates 46, 47;—see *The Open Court*, *loc. cit.*, p. 17). These two Hindu figures serve to explain Gen. iii. 15, where the serpent is to bruise the heel of the woman's seed or son, while the latter is to bruise the serpent's head.

It appears that the left foot of the soli-cosmic personification was sometimes assigned to the west and the evening, while the right foot was assigned to the east and the morning; the two feet thus corresponding to two of the three steps of Vishnu. We saw above that the two feet of the soli-cosmic Ra were identified by some with the double Maati boat (of "the two horizons"); and the morning boat of the sun was Matet (= Becoming-strong), while Sektet (= Becoming-weak) was the evening boat (Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 323). In the *Book of the Dead*, CXXV, the deceased in the Hall of the double Maati gives the name of his right foot as Traveler (or Guide) of the God Khas (Theban) or Khem (Saïte), and that of his left foot as Staff of the Goddess Hathor (Theban) or Nephthys (Saïte). In the Biblical story of Esau (= Hairy) and his twin brother Jacob (= Follower), the former is born first, "red all over like a hairy garment" (for the rising sun); and when the latter followed, "his hand took hold of Esau's heel" (for the night following close on the heels of the setting sun, as we would say).

One of Buddha's feet (probably the left) was injured when grazed by a fragment of a great rock pushed over by Devadatta (the wicked disciple) in the hope that it would fall on Buddha's head (*Questions of King Milinda*, IV, 28). According to Dharmaraksha's *Life of Buddha* (IV, 21), when this rock rolled down it divided into two on either side of Buddha—which appears to identify it as a symbol of the night rent asunder by the rising sun. In the Biblical story of Balaam, he and his ass with a human voice are duplicate solar figures: he "came out of the mountains of the east" (Num. xxiii. 7), and while riding on his ass along a narrow way between two walls (for the zodiac path), the animal became fright-

ened and crushed one of the rider's feet (probably the left) against one of the walls (*ibid.* xxii. 24 et seq.). Set is primarily a figure of the sun in the west and at night; and 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, p. 44). The keel of the solar boat is named "Leg of Isis, which Ra cut off with the knife to bring blood into the Sektet boat" (that of the evening, in connection with which Isis appears to be a lunar figure—*Book of the Dead*, XCIX, Theban. The Saïte has "Leg of Hathor wounded by Ra when he led the way to the Sektet boat"). The Hindu Vispala also appears to be of lunar character, for she has a leg cut off during a conflict by night; but the Aswins (as the celestial physicians) replace it with one of iron (the black metal as a symbol of darkness), so she walks as before (*Rigveda*, I, 116, 15). The Thracian Lycurgus, who was blinded by Zeus (*Il.*, VI, 130), has the character of the sun at night and in winter; and he is fabled to have cut off one or both of his own legs (the accounts differ) when stricken with madness (as of the storm—Hyginus, *Fab.*, 132, 242; Serv. *ad Aen.*, III, 14). The dwarf-king Laurin cuts off the left foot of every one who enters his rose garden (that of the western twilight—Thorpe, *North. Mythol.*, I, p. 217). The Hindu Paravrig, who is Prandha as the blind and S'rona as the lame, is cured by the Aswins (*Rigveda*, I, 112, 8) or by Indra (*ibid.*, II, 13, 12); while to the Aswins it is said: "You have made whole the lame" (*ibid.*, I, 118, 19). In a Russian tale from Afanassieff (V, 35), the beautiful Anna (for the heaven) deprives Katoma (for the sun-god) of his feet, and sends him into a forest (for the winter), where he meets a man whom Anna has blinded (for the night). Both are finally healed by rubbing the afflicted parts with the water of a fountain that turns dry twigs green—which evidently refers to the spring rains, as probably connected with the celestial Eridanus (De Gubernotis, *Zoo. Myth.*, I, pp. 218, 219).

The death of the solar personification is sometimes conceived as caused by a wound in the foot (properly the left foot, primarily as wounded at sunset). Krishna received his death wound when accidentally shot in the sole of his left foot by an arrow from the bow of the hunter Jara (= Old Age), according to the *Vishnu Purana* (V, 37—the *Bhagavata Purana* explaining that the god sat with his left leg across his right thigh, so the sole of the left foot was exposed). Cheiron died from a wounded foot; in one account having been shot by Herakles with a poisoned arrow; while in an-

other Cheiron himself dropped the arrow on his foot—the latter being in accordance with the concept of the self-slain sun-god (Ovid, *Fasti*, V, 397; Hygin., *Poet. Ast.*, II, 38). Achilles, in the post-Ilomic stories, was invulnerable except in one of his heels, which was finally pierced by an arrow of Paris or Apollo (Schol. ad Lycoph., 269; Hygin., *Fab.*, 110, etc.).

Krishna restored the crippled legs and arms of an old woman by placing his foot upon hers and taking her hand in his, at the same time rejuvenating her (*I'shnu Purana*, V, 20). According to Suetonius the Emperor Vespasian cured a man's foot by treading on it with his own (*I'esp.*, 7); and that emperor was recognized by some as the Messiah expected in his time by the Jews (*ibid.*, 4, etc.). In the Egyptian belief, the legs, feet, and other parts of the body were restored to the deceased in the underworld before his ascent into the celestial regions (*Book of the Dead*, XXVI, etc.). Isis cured the lame among the living, as well as those otherwise afflicted, as Diodorus tells us (I, 2). The Hindus hold that human beings are thus afflicted because of sins in a former life on earth; lameness being specified in the *Laws of Manu* as the punishment for a horse-stealer (XI, 51), while the *Aycen-Akbery* has it for the killing of a Brahman (I, p. 445). At the incarnation of Buddha, the lame walked, the dumb spoke, the deaf heard, the blind received sight, etc. (Rhys-Davids, *Birth Stories*, p. 64). Among the "cures performed by Apollo and Æsculapius," as recorded on a stele found at Epidaurus, we have the two that follow: "Hermodicus, of Lamp-sacus, paralyzed in the body. The god (Æsculapius) cured this man while he slept, and commanded him, when he went out, to carry as large a stone as he could to the sanctuary; and he brought the one in the Abaton (the dormitory of the temple)."—"Nicanor, who was lame. As he was sitting still in the daytime (in the temple), a seeming youth snatched away his staff and fled. Leaping up, he gave chase, and from that day was cured." (Trans. of Merriam, in *American Antiquarian*, VI, p. 304). Justin Martyr argues that when we say that Jesus "made whole the lame, the paralytic, and those born blind, we seem to say what is very similar to the deeds said to have been done by Æsculapius" (I *Apol.*, 22).

Jesus cured many lame persons (as well as many blind, deaf, dumb, and leprous—Matt. xi. 5; xv. 30; Luke vii. 30), in accordance with the Messianic prophecy of Is. xxxv, where the Septuagint has: "Be strong, ye relaxed hands and paralyzed knees"; and there can be little doubt that only the lower limbs were conceived as affected in the original Gospel story of an individual cure of

a paralytic. In fact, the affliction may have been conceived as confined to one lower limb (properly the left), in accordance with the original significance of the Greek *paralysis* = a loosening or disabling of a limb or the limbs on one side of the body; the cure of a paralyzed left leg thus being a sort of companion piece to the cure of a withered right arm.

The oldest extant version of the cure of a paralytic by Jesus is doubtless found in Mark ii. 3-12, reappearing in substantially the same words in Luke v. 18-26, and in Matt. ix. 2-8 in an abbreviated form. In Mark, four men (perhaps as figures of the cardinal points) carry the paralytic on a bed to Jesus, who is in a house surrounded by such a multitude that the afflicted one had to be lowered through the roof, which was broken up for the purpose (apparently as suggested by the concept of the cure of the solis-cosmic feet and legs in the underworld; for the improbability of the scene from the historical standpoint has often been noticed). Jesus first forgives the man's sins, and shortly afterward tells him to take up his bed and walk, which he does (the implication apparently being that his infirmity was the result of his sins, probably those of a former life on earth). In Matthew's abbreviated account the lowering of the paralytic through the roof is omitted, as is the number of his bearers—this number being also omitted in Luke. A variant cure of the paralytic is found in Matt. viii. 5-12, and Luke vii. 1-10; but not in Mark. In this variant cure, a centurion beseeches Jesus to heal his bondman or servant, who lies paralytic in his master's house, grievously tormented; the cure being effected by Jesus from a distance in reward to the centurion's faith. And it is quite probable that this cure is again varied in that of the Capernaum nobleman's son in John iv. 47-54, where nothing is said of his affliction except that his fever left him when Jesus pronounced him cured from a distance. The three paralytics above considered all belonged to Capernaum (Kaper-Nahum = Village of Nahum). *Nahum* signifies Consoler or Comforter (like John's *Parakletos*, for Jesus); and Capernaum became the residence of Jesus after he was driven from Nazareth (Luke iv. 16-31; Matt. iv. 13-16; cf. Mark ii. 1, where Jesus when in Capernaum is said to have been "at home"—*ἐν οἴκῳ*), while the people of the city and vicinity had been "sitting in darkness. . . in the country and shadow of death," before Jesus came among them (Matt. iv. 16). Thus Capernaum was naturally suggested for the cure of the paralytic whose cosmic counterpart has his feet and legs in the underworld.

The first Synoptic cure of the paralytic is widely varied in

John's cure of the infirm man (v. 1-15), which occurred at Jerusalem shortly after Jesus had gone there, evidently for the purpose of keeping the Passover (John's "feast of the Jews") at the time of the full moon of Nisan, the first month of spring and of the sacred year. This man, who had been "thirty-eight years in (his) infirmity," lay by the pool of Bethesda, being one of a great crowd of sick, blind, lame, and withered; but only the first to enter the water after its periodical agitation by an angel was cured, and John's infirm man had no one to put him in first. But Jesus cured him without recourse to the water, saying, "Arise, take up thy bed and walk" — in the words of Mark's first story. There was a similar pool connected with the great temple of Æsculapius at Epidaurus, but it appears that only those who had just been cured washed in that pool, by way of religious purification (see Frazer's *Pausanias*, III, pp. 249, 250). Both pools correspond to "the water in which Ra purifies himself to be in possession of his strength in the eastern part of the heaven," where also "the gods of the pure waters purify themselves. . . . passing from night to day" (*Book of the Dead*, CLXV, 3; CXXVb, 45, 46, Saïte). But the pool of Bethesda (= House-of-flowing or House-of-mercy) was situated at a "(place) of sheep" (προβατικός), the name of a market or gate of Jerusalem. The pool, which was close to the gate, is doubtless to be identified with the "twin fish-pools, having five porches, and called Bethesda" (as if House-of-fishing) in the Bordeaux Pilgrim's *Itinerary* (see Barclay, *City of the Great King*, p. 299). It is therefore entirely probable that John's pool was recognized as a counterpart of Pisces (the twin Fishes), adjoining Aries (the Ram or male sheep); and the former was the sign of the spring equinox and the Passover at the time the Gospel of John was written, while the restoration or cure of the paralyzed sun-god was placed by some at that equinox as marking the close of winter. And this suggests that the thirty-eight years of John's story had originally been thirty-six for the number of Egyptian weeks of five days each in the (winter) half-year of one hundred and eighty days. Krafft and Hengstenberg are followed by Strauss (*New Life of Jesus*, 72) in looking upon the Johannine period as a type of the thirty-eight years which the people of Israel passed in the wilderness before they reached the Promised Land (Deut. ii. 14), which may in fact account for the extant number in John. Strauss suggests further that the five porches typify the five books of Moses; but his whole interpretation here is highly fanciful. The five porches (porticos or entrance-halls) probably represent the five latitudinal

apartments of the house of Pisces as the opening or entrance sign: for each of the twelve zodiac houses is subdivided into five sections by the two polar and two tropical circles (or seven sections when those in the narrow zodiac band are included).

In Acts iii. 1-13, the soli-cosmic figure paralyzed in the feet and legs is represented by the lame man cured by Peter (= Opener) at Jerusalem. Here the afflicted one is a beggar (as belonging to winter, the season of nature's poverty), who was born lame (like Hephæstos and Horus), so he had to be carried every day to the Temple (as a type of the celestial temple of the day), where he was laid at the gate "called Beautiful" (probably the Corinthian gate on the east—Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, V, 5, 3). In the ninth hour of the day (corresponding to the ninth month, that of the spring equinox, in the Egyptian year beginning at the summer solstice). Peter cured the lame man in the name of Jesus Christ, lifting him by the right hand (for the morning flabellum of the sun) and saying, "Arise and walk." Then "his feet and ankle bones were strengthened immediately; and leaping up, he stood, and walked, and entered with them (Peter and John) into the temple, walking and leaping" (like Krishna on the head of the serpent, but also in accordance with Is. xxxv. 6—"then shall the lame man leap as an hart"). Mythically the scene belongs to the dawn at the spring equinox in Pisces, with Peter as the Apostle of that sign lifting the soli-cosmic figure into the heaven by the latter's right hand.

A similar cure is attributed to Paul in Acts xiv. 8-18, where also the afflicted man was born lame and "never had walked," being "impotent in his feet." Finding that he had faith enough to be healed, Paul said to him, "Stand upon thy feet upright," and the man "sprang up and walked," etc. The scene is laid at Lystra (apparently from *λύω* = to loosen, weaken, as of the feet, limbs, etc.); and the people of that place called Paul "Hermes" immediately after the miracle—"because he was the leader in speaking," according to the text; but probably also with reference to the winged sandals and flying feet of that god. In Acts ix. 33, 34, Peter cures a certain Æneas, who had lain paralyzed on a couch for eight years—this cure perhaps originally having been assigned to the ninth year, corresponding to the ninth Egyptian month, that of the spring equinox. "And Peter said to him, Æneas, Jesus the Christ heals thee, rise up, and spread (thy couch) for thyself (i. e., make thy bed). And immediately he rose up." The name Æneas was possibly suggested for this paralytic by Homer's account of the wounding of the Trojan Æneas in the hip, so he fell and

remained upon his knees until carried away by Apollo (the sun-god) to be healed by Leto (darkness) and Artemis (the moon;—*Il.* V, 304, 444). Philip cured many that were paralyzed and lame, according to Acts viii, 7.

In the Apocryphal *Infancy of the Saviour* (3) an old woman whom Joseph brings to the Virgin Mary, "after sunset," to act as midwife, finds that Jesus has already been born and is cured of her paralysis by placing her hands upon the infant. She probably represents the moon conceived as waxing through contact with the sun. In the *Protevangelium* (18) there is a general paralysis of nature at the birth of Jesus; not only living things but also the pole of the heavens standing still for a time. This is attributed to astonishment, but was probably suggested by the inactivity of the vegetable kingdom in winter, taken in connection with the *standing still of the sun* which gave name to the solstice. In the Greek versions of the *Gospel of Thomas* (10) a young man who was splitting wood cut off part of his foot with his ax, and died from loss of blood; but the child Jesus took hold of the foot and healed it, and the young man was immediately restored to life. An ax is the Egyptian hieroglyph for a *god*, while the statement that the young man died and was restored to life (wanting in the Latin versions, 8) was probably suggested by the concept of the death and resurrection of the self-slain solar or soli-cosmic god; the fatal blow being assigned to the (left) foot as in the myths of Krishna, Cheiron, and Achilles. Again, in several of the New Testament Apocrypha there is a story of a boy who with his feet (or with a branch, in some versions) broke down the dams made by the child Jesus to hold little fish ponds (probably belonging to Pisces, like the pool or pools of Bethesda). Jesus punished the boy by causing him to wither away, dry up, and die; but finally restored him to life and health (*Infancy*, 46; *Pseudo-Matt.*, 28, 29; *Thomas*, Gr., 2, 3; Lat., 5). In a Parisian codex of one of the Greek forms of *Thomas*, it is added that Jesus left the boy with one member useless (see Donehoo, *Apocryphal Life*, p. 143, note 1), which was probably suggested by the idea that the virile power of the sun-god was not recovered immediately upon his restoration to life.

IKHNATON, PHARAOH OF EGYPT.¹

BY L. M. KUEFFNER.

HERE on this last brown slope they have left me alone for a space as I bade. . . .

The lithe bronzed youths who bore my litter, and Eye the priest. . . .
That I might look once more on thee Akhetaton my city, Aton's abode.

And on thee O Aton my father, bright in the Western sky.

How beautiful are these sandswept desert-cliffs
As curving about thee Akhetaton, dear city.
They wander down to the great brown Nile couched at thy feet.

Happy each day under flawless blue
Lie thy gardens and homes, my city :
Stately thy temple stands
Bathed in the golden light.
Even now as I dream
Sweet music floats hither ;
And garlanded dancers throng
To the huge, pillared courts
With flowers and fruits
For thee, O Aton, sole God.

Loth was Eye to leave me here,
Eye, my dear old teacher.
Comrade of dreams from my boyhood days,
My faithful helper in the long hard war
Which, year after year, with Amon's priests I have waged
In glory to thee, O Aton my father !

In glory to thee, O Aton my father,
Whom I have come to adore

¹ During a trip in Egypt I became interested in this Pharaoh whose name is variously spelled and explained as Ikhnaton, Khu-en-'eten, Khūniatonū, etc., and who in the fourteenth century B. C. tried to establish an enlightened monotheism in Egypt. His own thoughts as found in hymns preserved in the tombs of Tell-el-Amarna have been used. Here are the conceptions of the fatherhood of God, the equality of his love for all races, black or white or brown, the teaching of peace, etc.—conceptions usually proclaimed as distinctively Christian contributions to religious thought and feeling.

While far away in thy Western sky
 Thou sinkest to sleep amid glorified hills.
 From thy great gold disk a gleaming path
 Leads hither over the river's broad breast,
 And my eyes are drunken with light.

They have said I must die; yet can that be?
 Am I not young? And does thy fire not throb in my heart
 Each day with a larger love?
 Do not thy hands which thou layest on me
 Bring health even now to thy son?

Soon, they have said,
 I must dwell in the low dark house cut in the Eastern rocks
 Where to-day I have been....
 But it cannot be....

How often thus have I seen thee die O Aton,
 Who every morning wast born anew!
 But thou dost not die:
 Thou merely passest from our sight,
 Our mortal, imperfect sight.
 Nor dost thou dwell in thy visible disk alone.
 Thou dwellest in the lucent moon, and in the stars, and in the leap-
 ing flame;
 Thou art the hidden warmth of all wondrous forms,
 The hunger and pulse and breath of the world;
 Thou helpst the leaf in the seed's dark hull
 As it yearns toward light;
 And thou helpst the chick when it breaks from the shell
 Chirping and strutting in glee.
 Myriad-formed and elusive, O Aton,
 Thou changest, but dost not die!

When but a boy, I sought thee, my father,
 Finding thee first in thy golden disk;
 And searching farther, from year to year,
 I found thee at last in the light of my soul,
 In the pulse of my love-warm heart;
 And I knew thee then
 As the infinite inner light in the minds of men;
 As the love that speaks in their hearts.

O Aton, do I not know thee, my father,
 As none of thy sons have known thee before?
 And knowing thee thus, I have wished to be thy revealer to men.

Long I have served thee:
 Cities and fanes I have built where thy truth is proclaimed.
 Not like Pharaohs of old to their gods, have I offered thee spoils
 of men;
 But peace I have kept, for I know that thou lovest peace
 Who sendest thy myriad hands to all parts of the world.
 Binding together in light and in love
 All men in all lands.

I have taught men to live in thy truth,
 To be simple and faithful
 As thou who returnest each morn
 Making all creatures glad.

When thy rays touch the water
 The fishes leap up from their sleep,
 The birds flutter forth from the marsh,
 And the flowers dance, drunken with joy.
 But gladdest of all are the hearts of men when thou comest
 O Aton our father,
 For thou healest our sight,
 And once more we behold
 The wonderful world thou hast made
 In the joy of thy own glad heart.

I have taught that no spirits of darkness
 Lie lurking to capture men's souls:
 That in death, as in life,
 Thy love enfolds them, thy children.

All this I have taught; and yet,
 Though the truth is joyous and clear,
 Weak men are but dull and blind,
 And loth to open their eyes.

So they have muttered and cursed, unwilling to give up their gods,
 Thinking by magic rites and runes to appease or constrain these gods
 whom they fear;

Each year they clamor more loudly,
 Demanding, once more, the savage play of Osiris torn and revived!
 The vendors of idols and charms, their wares forbidden, grow ever
 more wrathful;
 While the priests of Amon, selfish, and insolent still, cease not in
 their war
 Against thee, O Aton, sole God.
 Yet, in spite of this muttering protest, this stubborn, smouldering
 discontent,
 Faithful I have been in thy service, and staunch, hoping from day
 to day that thy truth would prevail.
 And now, can I go ere my work is done?
 Friends I leave, to be sure, who worship thy light and truth,
 But none so earnest, and brave, and strong, as our troublous time
 demands.
 Then why hast thou taken thy health from thy son, my father?
 Why have I failed?
 What will become of thy truth if I die?
 And if I must die ere my work is done,
 Ere thy light is revealed in all men's souls,
 Send me some comfort now as I gaze at thy disk,
 O Aton, my father.

With sails dusky before thee the boats on the river float by
 While the evening breeze steals home to the glamored hills:
 The slumbrous sway of the distant palms
 Wins my soul to its peaceful music.
 As I gaze at thy great bronze disk
 And its glimmering path,
 My outer eye grows dark;
 But thy beams have entered my soul, O Aton,
 And within I am all ablaze.
 I thank thee, for now, at a flash,
 My inner eye is unsealed,
 And I see why I failed.
 I see that I tried to force
 What must come as a long slow growth.
 Men often are dull, it is true,
 And their central spark seems quenched
 By error and fear and gloom.
 But light is its food none the less;
 Slowly it grows and grows,

And disentangled at last
 It will know itself one with thee
 And thy light of the world, O Aton!

And I see that a teacher of men must have
 Patience, and infinite faith.
 These I have lacked.
 And if I die, let them bring back old gods if they will:
 Old gods they will be but in name;
 For I know that the vision of thee
 Which my teaching has brought to the world,
 All gods will transform with the gleams
 Of thy beauty and love and truth.
 Once kindled, I know, the vision can never die.

So now I see that thy truth lies hidden in all these forms.
 Thou art Kheper the beetle, rolling his golden egg from the East;
 And thou guardest the world, O wide-seeing Eye!
 Osiris, lotus-born, thou art,
 And Horus, the yellow hawk;
 Ra in his sky-barque sailing,
 And also the falcon with wide wings outspread
 As he steals one's soul from the earth
 To join in his far-poised flight.
 Symbols are these:
 Images found by the first rude seekers,
 But images pregnant of final truth.

Yet I, O Aton, love thee best
 As the literal light in thy disk,
 As the inner light in men's souls,

But have I gazed too long at thy disk, my father?
 Darkness folds over me; I cannot see thee now.
 My brain reels. . . .
 Can this be the night of death?
 Ah, it is dark indeed, where art thou, my father?
 Leave me not in my need. . . .
 But now I see thee again: in the core of my darkness
 Dwells thy light;
 It grows and spreads
 Till all the world is filled,

And I know thee as never before.
 I have reached home at last,
 Lost in thy ocean of light,
 To change, but not to die.

For this death which is life, I thank thee, my father,
 Thou infinite, undying light of the world,
 Aton, sole God!

THE RELIGIOUS REVOLUTION OF AMENHOTEP IV.¹

BY M. A. MORET.

AMENHOTEP IV., who ruled somewhere about 1370 B. C., had the most peculiar, as well as the most enigmatic, physiognomy of all the Pharaohs—enigmatic although numerous monuments of him have come down to us. In that Egypt where tradition was all-powerful, among those Egyptians, "the most religious of all men," Amenhotep IV conceived and accomplished a religious revolution: he turned away from the great national divinity Amen-Ra, and substituted for him the God, Aton, whose worship he forced upon his court, the priests, the people of Egypt, and his foreign subjects.

The break in relations between the State and the priesthood which has control of the State religion is a difficult task in all countries and at all times, but how difficult was its realization in Egypt! Like all other Pharaohs, his ancestors, Amenhotep IV was considered as the son and heir of the gods, and in particular as the successor of Amen-Ra, patron deity of Thebes, the capital of Egypt at the time of the New Empire. Upon the walls of the temples were to be found the traditional scenes which attested the truth of the procreation of the king by the god.² At Luxor, for example, there was a representation of the union of Amen with Queen Mutemua, mother of Amenhotep III, the actual father of the revolutionary king. There were other representations to the

¹ Translated from the *Annales du Musée Guimet (Bibliothèque de vulgarisation)*, Vol. XXXI, pp. 225ff, by C. E. Eggert.

² The union of the god, Amen-Ra, and the queen is represented at Deir-el-Bahari (Ed. Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, II, Plate 57) and at Luxor (Gayet, *Le temple de Louxor*, Plate 63). See translation and commentary on the texts in A. Moret, *Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique*, pp. 50ff.

effect that on the completion of the months of pregnancy, the queen gave birth to a son with the assistance of goddesses, and that taking the little king in his arms, Amen acknowledged him as his son and consecrated him as his heir. A similar story was passed on and believed in the case of Amenhotep IV, Amen's fatherhood of the king being the surest guaranty of his divine origin and of his right to rule over men.

More than that, in this epoch, at the end of the XVIIIth dynasty, Amen had acquired new claims to the gratitude of the kings. Scarcely two centuries had elapsed since the era when the invaders from Asia, the Shepherd-kings, were in possession of the Delta and Middle Egypt, exerting their authority over the cities, pillaging the fields, and ruining the temples of the native gods for the profit of their own divinities, Asiatic Baal and the great warrior, Sutekh. It was by the might of Amen that the petty kings of Thebes of the XVIIIth dynasty had been able to commence the war of independence, pushing the Shepherd-kings little by little out of Egypt until Aahmes I had definitely expelled them. So if Tahutmes I and Tahutmes III had been able to conquer the seaports of Syria, to cross Lebanon, to pass the Orontes and reach the banks of the Euphrates; if their successors, the Amenhoteps, held Syria and Palestine in the north and Nubia in the south under their protectorate: was it not because Amen fought with Pharaoh and guided the archers and the chariots of Egypt in the thick of battle? At any rate, the official accounts of the campaigns, chiseled on the walls of Karnak and Luxor, attested that these victories were the exploits of Amen, that the captive countries were Amen's prisoners, and that all the tribute raised in Syria and Nubia was to swell the coffers of Amen. Enriched and increased in power by so many victories, the Theban god was now the national god, the god of revenge against the Asiatics.

Finally Amen was the god who, by the mediation of his priests, gave the kings strength and authority in the internal government of Egypt. After the glorious reign of Tahutmes I dynastic quarrels had weakened the royal house; there had been the spectacle of kings driven from their thrones, supplanted by a woman—Queen Hatshepsut—then recalled, banished anew, and at last triumphant. The high priests of Amen had presided over these intrigues, now giving, now withdrawing their support. In this way they had become veritable mayors of the palace, disposing of civil power as they did of religious functions: under Hatshepsut,³ Prince Hapusenb, under

³ Breasted, *History of Egypt*, and *Ancient Records*, II, p. 160.

Amenhotep III, Ptahmes, were "prophets-in-chief of Amen, superintendents of all the prophets of the South and of the North, superintendents of the city of Thebes, viziers of all Egypt."⁴ How many temporal and spiritual functions concentrated in the same hand! Something eminently dangerous for the Pharaoh. It is well known how such equivocal situations end, where the servant takes precedence over his master, pushes him gradually from the throne, and some fine day takes his place. That is what actually happened in



DEATH-MASK OF KHUENATEN
(Petrie.)



STATUE OF KHUENATEN
(Rayet.)

Egypt some centuries later, at the end of the XXth dynasty, when the priests of Amen did become Pharaohs. At the end of the XVIIIth dynasty, this sacerdotal revolution was already in the air, but Amenhotep IV was the man who foresaw and changed the course of affairs. He did not think of permitting the priests of Amen to dethrone the kings: on the contrary, he tried to destroy

⁴ Statuette of Ptahmes, published by Legrain, *Recueil*, XXIX, p. 83; cf. the stele of Lyons, published by Deveria, *Œuvres*, in *Bibliothèque égyptologique*.

the hierarchy of Amen by annihilating the priests and their god at the same time.

Was the man who did not shrink back before god Amen one of those colossuses whose physical strength and advantageous build explain their moral vigor and personal ascendancy? By no means. Amenhotep IV was a man of medium stature, of small frame, with rounded, feminine contours. The sculptors of his time have faithfully reproduced for us this androgynous form whose prominent breasts, too broad hips, and too shapely thighs have an equivocal and morbid aspect. His head is not less singular with its very refined oval face, its eyes set slightly askant, the softened outline of a long thin nose, the prominence of an advanced lower lip, and a skull both rounded and receding. The head leans forward as if the neck were too weak to support it. The total impression is that of an overrefined and effeminate person. Physically it is a Pharaoh who is the last of his race. The question has been asked whether this somewhat degenerate body was the product of two Egyptians of good stock. Tyi, the mother of the king, had been the favorite wife of Amenhotep III, and she is known to have been of vulgar birth. Her father Yuua and her mother Thuua bear names in which it has been suggested a certain Semitic⁵ assonance is recognizable. The idea occurred to many authors that on the side of his mother, Tyi, Amenhotep IV had Semitic blood in his veins, and as the religious reform heralded by him is of a monotheistic tendency, they were pleased to explain the ideas and the singular character of the son by the direct and indirect influence of the mother.⁶

Egypt's soil itself has permitted us to solve this little enigma. In the month of February, 1905, Mr. Theodore Davis had the good fortune to excavate at Thebes intact the tomb of Queen Tyi's parents. Now, "everything that has come from the subterranean chamber is of the most beautiful Egyptian style, and nothing indicates the least trace of foreign influence. . . . the mummies themselves can afford no positive information."⁷ Thuua was of pure Egyptian type. Yuua had a face adorned with a big arched nose,

⁵ Numerous scarabs that Amenhotep III had engraved on the occasion of his marriage with Tyi, give the names of her parents. See Maspero, *History of Egypt* (Engl. ed.), V, pp. 78f. These names are evidently of Egyptian origin, as Maspero has demonstrated in *Recueil de travaux*, III, p. 128.

⁶ Occasionally doubt has been raised whether Amenhotep III were possibly the son of Tyi (Wiedemann in *Proc. S. B. A.*, XVII, p. 156), but the letters of the correspondence of El-Amarna designate Amenhotep IV as the son of Tyi (Petrie, *History of Egypt*, II, p. 209).

⁷ Legrain, *Thèbes et le schisme de Khouniatonou*, p. 13 (see *Bessarione*, XI, 1906).

but not of a distinctly Semitic type.⁸ From the titles which he bears the grandfather of Amenhotep IV seems to have come from Akhmim, a city in the center of Egypt.

Let us then admit that the Pharaoh reformer was of good Egyptian stock. In any event if his physical type is a little degenerate, his mind was not at all decadent. To judge from the religious hymns composed by him, he had a subtle, mystical intellect, and very lively, human sensibilities. From pictures of the times we know that he adored family life; his mother Tyi, his wife, and even his four daughters appear about him, not merely in the privacy of his own apartments, but when he receives a high official, when he goes to the temple and in every public ceremony. As far as can be judged, Amenhotep IV seems to have been of a simple, good character, of subtle intelligence, tenacious and systematic. This dreamer and mystic pursued his ideas to their logical conclusion and proceeded swiftly to extreme resolutions.

We have seen above that from the beginning of his reign Amenhotep saw himself in the presence of a god, the Theban Amen, who through the policy of his priests had become too greedy for wealth, too preoccupied in making the palace the servant of his desires, too exclusively national for a country which made pretensions to the assimilation of Nubia and Syria.

Now we have to state that in the sixth year of the new reign a radical political and material revolution was effected.⁹ Thebes is no longer the capital of Egypt. What had been the city of Amen becomes the city of Aten; the corporate property of the Theban god is confiscated for the profit of the god Aten; the high priest of Amen and all his priesthood cease to exist, for the worship of Amen is forbidden over the entire territory of Egypt. The very name of Amen must no longer be pronounced; it must no longer be written on stone or papyrus, and since, in the silence of the present, the past recalled that name on thousands of monuments, the reformer king methodically undertook the destruction, not of the monuments, but of the name of the god Amen. On all walls, on columns, at the top of obelisks, down in the tombs, everywhere iconoclasts sent by the king strained their eyes to discover the condemned hieroglyphics, and pitilessly chiseled off the name of Amen and

⁸ Cf. *Catalog of the Museum of Cairo*, "Tomb of Yuaa and Thua," 1908, Plates LVII-LX and frontispiece.

⁹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 110, b.

¹⁰ See Lefébure, "La vertu et la vie du Nom, en Egypte," in *Mémoires*, VIII (1897), pp. 229-231: "Chiseling out of the name was a real murder...; the names of persons condemned or disgraced were chiseled out..."

that of Mut, the goddess sharing his throne. To chisel out the name of the god meant to kill his soul,¹⁰ to annihilate his double, to destroy the title to his possessions, to annul his victories and his conquests. It meant to make a new history of Egypt, in which the glory of exalted deeds accomplished would be left to their true authors, the Pharaoh's, and not be accredited to the haughty god, who called himself their father and inspirer. Finally, to mark well his complete break with an abhorred past, the king changed his name from Amenhotep to that of Khu-en-aten or "he who pleases the god Aten."¹¹

There was probably a terrible resistance on the part of Amen's priests, but we do not know its circumstances. Much later, when after the death of the reformer king the priests of Amen, restored to power, were lauding the merits of Tutankhamen, who reestablished them in their privileges, this is how they described the state of Egypt after the revolution:

"The world was like the time of chaos, the property of the gods was laid waste from Elephantine down to the Delta; their sanctuaries and fields were going to rack and ruin, noxious weeds grew rank there; the granaries and the sacred enclosures were pillaged, delivered over to passers-by. The world was defiled, the gods departed, turning their backs on man, their hearts disgusted with their creatures. . . ."¹²

This picture is strongly exaggerated. Where the text speaks of *gods*, it should read *the god* Amen. The distress of a single god and of a single object of worship did not imply the ruin of the other divinities nor of the other priestly orders.¹³ The king had directed his efforts of destruction against a single god, and in his place he had installed a divinity more ancient, more venerated, and perhaps more popular, the god Aten, whose name forthwith served to designate the king and the capital of Egypt.

Aten is the solar disk, the tangible and visible form of Ra, the sun-god, perhaps the most ancient and the most popular of the

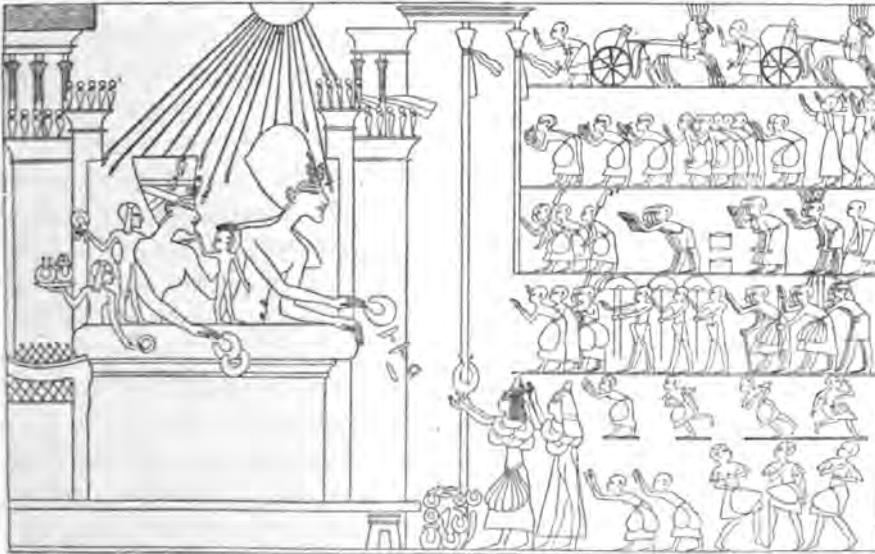
¹¹ The meaning of this name (which was up to then translated "glory" or "spirit of the god Aten") has been recently reestablished by Sethe, *Ägyptische Zeitschrift*, XLIV, p. 117. Schaefer remarks that King Minephtah Siptah took a name of the same type, Khu-en-ra, "he who pleases Ra." As Sethe shows, Khu-en-aten practically means with reference to Aten what Amen-hotep signifies with respect to Amen, "rest, peace, of Amen."

¹² Legrain, "La grande stèle de Toutânkhamon." *Recueil*, XXIX, p. 167.

¹³ It is still a debated question whether Khuenaten proscribed the worship of other gods than Amen. Breasted remarks that in the tomb of Rames, and elsewhere, they have carefully chiseled out not only the name of Amen, but the word "gods" (*Äg. Zeitschrift*, XL, p. 109); see, however, what is said below.

Egyptian gods. He is represented under the form of a disk the center of which is adorned by a coiled uræus snake. The rays of the disk fall clear to the ground like arms provided with hands; these hands take the offerings from the altars, extend the key of life (†) to the nostrils of the king, and hold him and his family embraced.¹⁴ In a word, what Amen was for the predecessors of Khuenaten, Aten is for the latter, a beneficent god, a father god, but he is no longer a tyrant god.

In fact, the king was very careful not to reconstitute for the service of Aten, a priestly order of the type of that which used to sway the destinies of Thebes. Like Ra, Aten came from Heliopolis,



KHUEENATEN MAKING THE PEOPLE OF EGYPT PROSPEROUS
(From Meyer, *Geschichte Aegyptens*.)

and his high priest bears the same title, Ur Maa, "the great seeing one," as the high priest of Ra. But the king did not entrust the guardianship of the new cult to the old priestly city of Heliopolis. It was in a new city, Khut-aten, "Horizon of Aten," the modern El-Amarna on the right bank of the Nile between Memphis and Thebes, that he founded the temple with its central obelisk consecrated to the god Aten. Gem-Aten, another city in Nubia near the third cataract, and a city in Syria the name of which is not

¹⁴ However, the representation of the "radiant disk" which is characteristic of monuments of Amenhotep IV is not a personal innovation of this king. The radiant disk is already traced on monuments of his father Amenhotep III (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 91, g). After Amenhotep IV, the use of this decorative feature disappeared completely.

known to us, also served as capitals in conquered countries for the new god of the State.¹⁵ The king himself administers the property necessary to the dignity suitable to the god, for he is "prophet-in-chief of Ra-Harmakhis"¹⁶ and "grand seer of Aten." This double title is very interesting from the fact that it shows the material unity of the cults of Harmakhis and of Aten, and the joining of the administration of their temporal property in the hands of the king. Besides, we know from a statuette in the Turin Museum that the relations between the family of Amenhotep IV and the priests of Heliopolis were ancient. A brother of Queen Tyi, therefore the uncle of the reformer king, was already "grand seer in Heliopolis" at the same time that he was "second prophet of Amen."¹⁷ Pursuant to this position as head of the hierarchy of Heliopolis and Aten, both uncle and nephew were granted the administration of the vested properties conceded to Aten and of those of Amen confiscated for the profit of Aten. It was a secularization of Amen's property, a resumption of possession of sacerdotal lands, which the king brought about. Nevertheless, when at the end of his reign the Pharaoh confided to his most devoted friend, Meryra,¹⁸ the office of high priest and great seer of Aten,¹⁹ he was very careful not to release any civil functions to him, and to entrust the financial and judicial administration of Egypt to others.²⁰ The high priest of Aten remained a subordinate of the king—no danger of his ever becoming a too powerful mayor of the palace.

If the Pharaoh assumed the personal management of the property of the new god of the State, he took an even greater interest in religious teaching. He made a strong effort to prevent the revolution which he had effected from remaining merely political and economical. The king was not satisfied with having put a hand upon the hierarchy and vested properties, he presumed to mould souls and to give to faith a direction toward a new and more human development.

To attain this end, it is probable that the king covered the land with temples in honor of Aten. Of these edifices, which were de-

¹⁵ Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 364, and *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, XL, pp. 106ff.

¹⁶ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 110, i.

¹⁷ L. Borchardt, "Ein Onkel Amenophis III. als Hoherpriester von Heliopolis," in *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, XLIV, p. 97.

¹⁸ Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 367.

¹⁹ Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, p. 405.

²⁰ The most powerful of these was the vizier Rames, who was not a high priest of Aten. Breasted, *Ancient Records*, II, pp. 385f.

stroyed almost everywhere after the death of the king, hardly anything remains but the débris at Thebes, Hermonthis, Memphis, Heliopolis;²¹ but just because it was abandoned by the successors of the reformer king, the capital of the cult of Aten has preserved to our day ruins where it is possible to make out the remnants of palaces and temples,²² and especially of the tombs where the favorites of Khuenaten have represented the king in his relations to them. There we see the king visiting his subjects, receiving them in his palace, appearing on the balcony to throw coronets and collars to them, which are as many marks of his royal favor, and he reserves this favor especially for those "who have carefully listened to his words and who have understood and practised his doctrine."²³ On several tombs, in order to show their zeal, his favorites have reproduced the verses of hymns composed in honor of Aten by the Pharaoh himself. For us these hymns are texts of unique and invaluable importance. In translating them, we take account of the enthusiastic and mystical spirit which animated the king, and we can appreciate what conception of greater humanity the establishment of the cult of Aten concealed.

HYMN OF AMENHOTEP IV.²⁴

Adoration of Harmakhis who riseth on the horizon in his name of "Heat of the solar disk...." by King Khu-en-aten and Queen Aten-nefer-neferu.

He speaks:

"Thou risest in beauty on the horizon of the sky, O Aten, initiator of life.

"When thou growest round in the east, thou fillest the earth with thy beauties (rays).

"Thou art charming, sublime, shining high above the earth. Thy rays envelop the lands and all that thou hast created. Since thou art Ra (creator) thou conquerest what they give and thou bindest the bonds of thy love. Thou art far away, but thy rays are on (touch) the ground. When thou art in the sky, day accompanieth thy steps.

²¹ See the texts cited by Breasted, *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, XL, p. 111.

²² Petrie, *Tell el Amarna*, 1894. See Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, I-VI, 1902-1908, and Bouriant, Legrain, Jéquier, *Monuments pour servir à l'histoire du culte d'Atonou*, I, 1903.

²³ Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 367.

²⁴ Breasted, *De hymnis in solem sub rege Amenophide IV conceptis*, 1894.

Night:

"When thou retest in the western horizon²⁵ the earth in darkness is like the dead at rest in their rock-tombs, with their heads swathed, their nostrils stuffed up, their eyes sightless (eye does not see eye): all their possessions, even what is under their heads, might be stolen from them without their perceiving it. Then every lion cometh out of his den, every serpent stingeth, it is as black as in an oven, earth is still. He who hath created all this slumbereth in his horizon.

Day, Humanity:

"The dawn cometh, thou risest at the horizon, thou shinest as Aten in the daytime, the darkness fleeth when thou shootest thy arrows, the two lands make holiday. People awaken, leap to their feet, for thou causest them to arise; they wash their limbs, take their clothing; their hands venerate thy rising, all the earth returns to labor.

Animals:

"All animals return to their pastures, trees and plants grow, birds fly in the thickets with wings straight in adoration of thy double, the beasts bound. All birds which had been under cover revive when thou risest for them.

Water:

"The boats ascend and descend the river, for every way openeth at thy appearance; the fish of the river leap toward thee, thy rays penetrate to the bottom of the sea.

Men and Animals:

"It is he who produceth the germ in woman and who createth seed in man, he who causeth the babe to live in the womb of its mother, he who sootheth the babe, that it may not cry! he nurseth it through the breast [of its mother], he giveth the breath of life to vivify all that he createth. When the babe falleth from the womb on the day of its birth, thou openest its mouth for words and thou satisfiest its needs.

"When the chick is in the egg—a cackler in rock—thou givest to it breath in the interior of the shell to give it life. When thou hast caused its development in the egg to the point of bursting it, it cometh out of the egg to announce its existence, and it walketh

²⁵ Here I employ Maspero's translation, *History*, V, p. 90.

on its feet as soon as it cometh out. How numerous are thy works. Thou hast created the earth in thy heart (when thou wast entirely alone), the earth with its people, big and little animals, all that liveth on the earth and walketh on foot, all that liveth in the air and flieth with its wings, foreign countries, Syria, Nubia, Egypt.²⁶

"Thou putttest every man in his place, creating what is necessary to him, each with his patrimony, and his property, with his varied language, his form and particular color of skin. Thou, master of choice, thou hast distinguished [from us] the foreign races.

"Thou createst the Nile in the other world, thou leadest it [upon the earth] when thou willest, to support man. . . ., thou permittest the Nile to descend from the sky toward them, thou createst on the mountains lakes [as large] as seas, thou inundatest the fields in their territories. . . ., thou givest milk to every territory.

"Thou hast made the seasons of the year to make everything grow that thou hast created, winter to refresh [thy creatures], summer [to warm them up again]. Thou hast created the distant sky in order to rise in it and to see from there all that thou hast created, thou entirely alone. Thou dawnest in thy form of Aten living, thou risest radiant, thou departest and thou returnest; thou hast created all forms, thou entirely alone, the provinces, cities, fields, roads, water. Every eye beholdeth thee above itself, for thou art the disk of day above the earth.

"Thou art in my heart, none other existeth who understandeth thee except me, thy son. . . .(O) thou, who makest men live when thou risest. . . .who, when thou goest to rest, causest them to die. . . ., teach them for thy son, who hath come from thy flesh, Khuenaten."

All readers of the hymn of Amenhotep IV will agree in praising its beauty of inspiration and expression. It is perhaps more difficult to attribute to this poetry the quality of *originality* which most Egyptologists discover in it. It is admitted among scholars that the hymn engraved at Khutitent expresses new concepts in the theological literature of the Egyptians: the adoration of a god qualified as the *only, sole, all-powerful* creator, the expression of a feeling for nature which associates, with man, animals, plants, water, and earth in the adoration of the god, the sole Providence of all that exists and of all that lives. Are these sentiments and their expression a new thing in Egypt and do they date precisely from

²⁶ It is very remarkable that in this enumeration, the king has given the first place to foreign countries.

the epoch of Khuenaten? To decide, it would be necessary to have other hymns, anterior to those of El-Amarna; the comparison of these texts with ours would permit judging of the originality of the latter.

Now, the religious poetry before the XVIIIth dynasty is—up to the present—composed only of very short bits, little hymns engraved on funerary steles, generally addressed to Osiris or to Ra, but the extremely concise redaction of which, considering that space is limited, gives no material for lyric development. However, there is one monument which has preserved for us a great hymn anterior to Amenhotep IV, and up to now no one has thought of comparing it with the texts of El-Amarna. It is a stele in the *Bibliothèque nationale* bearing the "Hymn to Osiris"; it was chiseled for a keeper of the cattle, Amenemhat, in whose name the initial part, Amen, was broken out in the epoch when Khuenaten caused the name of Amen to be erased on all monuments. As Chabas says, who has published the stele in magnificent style,²⁷ "we must then regard it as certain that this monument is anterior to Khuenaten." Now this highly developed hymn to Osiris which the stele contains, proves at the very outset that the worship and the praise of Osiris, of Isis, of Horus, of Atum, of Seb, of Nut, divinities whose names have not been broken out, were respected by the iconoclastic officials of Khuenaten. Let us finally note that Osiris is there adored as the first of the gods, as the creator of all that exists, land, water, plants, animals, men, and gods, as the Good-in-Being, the Providence whose care is extended to all creatures and to all parts of the universe. From this comparison, the result seems clear that the material developed in the hymns of Khuenaten is composed of themes that had been employed in Egyptian religious literature before and were probably well known to everybody. The "originality" granted to the hymns of Khuenaten reduces itself probably to the new expression, with a more personal accent (as far as we can judge), of an ancient thought.

It seems to us that other facts confirm this view. If the hymns anterior to Amenhotep IV are exceedingly rare, those are numerous which have come down to us in compilations, dated after his time. Now these hymns addressed to Amen, Thoth, Ptah, etc., reproduce almost literally a good number of the passages characteristic of the hymns to Aten: like the god of El-Amarna, Amen is called the only one, the sole, the creator of lands, waters, and animals; he, too, has

²⁷ Chabas, "Un hymne à Osiris," in *Bibliothèque égyptologique*:—Chabas, *Œuvres*, I, p. 95.

modeled with his powerful hand races of human beings, differing in color and language. Must it be concluded that the hymns of Aten have been plagiarized, in their most remarkable expressions, by the priests of the rival god, Amen of Thebes? It seems very astonishing that, if these expressions were peculiar to literature pertaining to Aten, they were not condemned like the cult of the god himself. We believe it more reasonable to admit that the school of El-Amarna derived its developments from a source which also fed the rival schools; the alternately preponderant gods of the various historical capitals were sung in the course of centuries in the same keys, however with shades of expression corresponding to this or that intellectual or moral preoccupation of the epoch in which the hymn was edited.

This being posited, it must be recognized that several of these general ideas have been developed by Khuenaten with singular force and poetry. Everywhere the intention of the king seems to me to have been as follows: no longer to hold up for the adoration of the Egyptians a god peculiar to one city and of a well-defined national character, but a god really superior to others through the role which he plays in nature, and of universally human character.

For this the king chose an old national god, the sun, whose power, beneficent to some, redoubtable to others, appears nowhere more absolute than in the countries of the Orient. This god is no longer represented to men, as in former times, by the odd form of a heraldic falcon (Harmakhis), but he is a radiant disk which becomes the speaking likeness of the divinity, a hieroglyphic which all people, Egyptians or foreigners and even moderns, can read and understand at the first glance.

This god, who personifies light, heat (from his name of "Heat which is in the disk"), and motion, is really the benefactor and animator of all that exists. With a native charm full of poetry, a freshness of impression, and a profusion of imagery which is felt to be very close to the poetic source, the hymn marvelously expresses more or less conscious or confused sentiments of adoration which animate men, animals, stones, and plants when face to face with him who dissipates night, puts wild beasts to flight, causes the growth of vegetation, and feeds man's offspring.

Such sentiments are common to all people, so perhaps for the first time in the history of the world, we see a king making the appeal to strangers, Nubians and Semites, to adore Aten, the universal benefactor, side by side with his own people. For the first time religion is conceived as a tie that binds people differing in

race, speech, and color. Khuenaten's god does not distinguish between Egyptians and barbarians, all people are in the same degree his children and must regard one another as brothers.

Thus there is at the center of the world a beneficent and thinking Energy which plays the role of Providence before living creatures. This Energy is both Heat and Thought. Such ideas were in the air at that time, and we know a text, the form of which seems old, in which god Ptah, with the same attributes as Aten in this case, is called "the intelligence and the language of the gods, source of the thoughts of every god and of every man and of every animal."²⁸

Accordingly this god, with whom the king lives on terms of intimacy, whom only he can understand and interpret to men like a prophet inspired by revelation, is a god of all humanity, an intellectual god, a god who assumes a reasonable and beautiful form. For all these reasons he deserved to become the god of the Egyptian Empire at that time when Egypt was encroaching on other nations and presuming to force its arms and its ideas upon them.

Judged from this point of view, the undertaking of Amenhotep IV exceeds the range of a political reaction against the invading power of those mayors of the palace, the high priests of Amen—we see in it a very interesting effort toward the establishment of a cult comprehensible to peoples differing in civilization and nationality. To sum up, the reform of Amenhotep IV is a return to a more human form of religion, and probably to an archaic conception which had already flourished in its prime in the times of the Ancient Empire when Ra was chief god of the living.

In like manner as in modern times, this return to simpler forms of religion was accompanied by a renewal of art and by a return to traditions of sincere and realistic observation of nature. Just in proportion as the power of the priests of Amen had developed, the Theban artists, engaged to decorate the temples or to make statues of gods and kings, had also risen to the employment of a style which was classical, artificial, and conventional, but of a majesty and coldness suitable to the majesty and authority of Amen. From sincerity and conviction, King Khuenaten withdrew his favor from Theban art and encouraged provincial artists who were less able but remained closer to nature. As the Pharaoh, in his acts and person, was the subject customarily proposed to artistic conception, he demanded that they should represent him and his family just as he was naturally, with his physical imperfections and in the

²⁸ Breasted, *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, XXXIX, pp. 39ff.

intimacy of his family, as well as in the pomp of court. Hence those pictures from the tombs where the king appears to us in familiar attitudes surrounded by his wife, daughters, and friends. Court festivities, celebrations staged on the occasion of a reward accorded to this or that good servant, ceremonies of the temples, or the mourning service held by the king at the time of the death of his favorite daughter, Baktaten, such were the subjects chosen. They were treated by the artists with that love of life, that joy animating all nature, that freedom of expression which strike us



KHUNATON, HIS QUEEN, AND HIS SIX DAUGHTERS, MAKING SACRIFICIAL OFFERINGS TO THE SUN.

in the hymns discussed above. It is the same spirit that animates liturgical poetry and plastic arts alike at this epoch.

But it turned out that several of these artists exaggerated the qualities of observation and of sincerity to excess. Perhaps they were not sufficiently masters of their art to be great artists while being faithful observers, several have given us portraits of the king and of his relatives, which are nothing but caricatures. But one artist at least has been found who could combine the realistic tendencies of the new school with the traditions of the pure and

classical style of the school of Thebes. To this we owe the statue of Amenhotep IV [see above] and the bust of the Louvre, and perhaps the head of a little girl and the torso of young girl, probably one of the royal princesses. These form a group of works which, from their perfection of modeling, sincerity of observation, and their lofty style of execution, count among the most lifelike marvels of sculpture of all time.

Amenhotep reigned scarcely sixteen years, and perhaps—at least to judge from certain effigies of him—the struggle against the priests of Amen shattered his health and brought him to old age before his time. His work did not survive him, his second successor, Tutankhamen, son of another wife of Amenhotep III, restored the cult of Amen and the power of the high priests, thus preparing, in a little distant future of about three hundred years, the accession of the priest-kings at Thebes. In their turn the temples of Aten were shattered and the memory of Khuenaten mocked. In an official document of the XIXth dynasty they do not even dare to pronounce his name, they designate him by a roundabout term, “the prostrated one, the criminal Khuenaten.”²⁹

The work undertaken by Khuenaten had perhaps been premature, certainly too hasty. Nothing durable is made without the collaboration of time. Khuenaten had thought to be able in a few years to communicate to his subjects and to the priests the devouring fervor from which his own soul, the reflection of the solar disk, had been kindled. Could his work survive him? That is the question that arises with regard to all reformers. In general their labors do not endure; the current of the past, dammed up for an instant, and the force of tradition, chained for a moment, return with formidable momentum and overwhelm the as yet poorly consolidated work of the innovators.

So it was with Amenhotep IV. Even official art, rejuvenated for a moment, relapsed after him into a hieratic and artificial solemnity. His reform seems not to have sensibly modified the development of Egyptian civilization, but if it counts for relatively little in the history of Egypt, it has great value for the history of humanity. Perhaps in the hymns of El-Amarna the idea of a Providence helpful to all living souls was for the first time worthily sung.

²⁹ Loret-Moret, “Inscription de Mes,” in *Aegyptische Zeitschrift*, XXXIX



Walt Whitman

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. XXXIII (No. 7)

JULY, 1919

NO. 758

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DEMOCRACY AS A RELIGION.

BY MAYNARD SHIPLEY.¹

"I say that the real and permanent grandeur
of these States must be their religion."

—Whitman.

A TRUE democracy, according to Walt Whitman, is a commonwealth founded upon the beneficent law of love and mutual aid, the law of life, even as the law of hatred is the way of death. Such a society of comrades would naturally develop an ennobling spiritual background, with a new religion,—or at least an old religion made new, the religion of Jesus, a religion in which love, fidelity, social service, and generous comradeship are the passwords of discipleship.

Whitman cared nothing for lip service and mere Puritanical piety, the holiness of not doing certain things, and yet leaving so many things undone. "What blurt is this about virtue and about vice?" asks Whitman. His answer is that—

"What behaved well in the past, or behaves well to-day, is not such a wonder; The wonder is, always and always, how there can be a mean man or an infidel."

Religion in *Leaves of Grass* is very different from the so-called religion of orthodoxy. Whitman declares he can learn more of true religion from a cow than from an ecclesiastic. The animals are so

¹ [Mr. Maynard Shipley is widely known in two diverging lines of literary effort. As a writer on criminal law and criminology, he has contributed monographs to the leading technical journals of this country and Europe, and is the author of a comprehensive work on the history of the death penalty, as yet only partly published. On the other hand, his popular science lectures are well known all over the United States, and he has published articles on astronomy and kindred topics in various scientific magazines. Mr. Shipley's first volume of *From Star-Dust to Aeroplane*, a book on evolution, is expected to be ready for publication early in 1920.—Ed.]

"placid and self-contain'd" he could "stand and look at them long and long," taking example from them. Says he:

"They do not sweat and whine about their condition;
 They do not lie awake in the dark and weep for their sins;
 They do not make me sick discussing their duty to God;
 Not one is dissatisfied—not one is demented with the mania of owning
 things;
 Not one kneels to another, nor to his kind that lived thousands of years
 ago;
 Not one is respectable or industrious over the whole earth."

Ignoring theologians, Whitman asks,

"Why should I pray? Why should I venerate and be ceremonious?"

He "chants the chant of dilation or pride," declaring that "We have had ducking and deprecating enough." Praying and venerating, fearing hell and dodging the Devil do not make a Christian, nor is religion composed of sermons and Bibles and conformity.

Leaves of Grass proclaims a religion of humanity, based not upon traditions and creeds, but upon the needs and aspirations of an enlightened intelligence, upon the cravings of the human heart itself. Whitman declares that his is "the greatest of faiths and the least of faiths." While rejecting none of the prophets and seers of the past who have contributed in any way to the spiritual uplift of man,

"Taking them all for what they were worth and not a cent more,
 Admitting that they were alive and did the work of their days,"

yet—

"Discovering as much, or more, in a framer framing a house;
 Putting higher claims for him there with his roll'd-up sleeves, driving the
 mallet and chisel;
 Not objecting to special revelation, considering a curl of smoke or a hair
 on the back of my hand just as curious as any revelation."

Nor does Whitman reject "redeemers." They, too, are with us always. We are redeemed—

"By the mechanic's wife with her babe at her nipple interceding for every
 person born,
 Three scythes at harvest whizzing in a row from three lusty angels with
 shirts bagg'd out at the waists,
 The snag-tooth'd hostler with red hair redeeming sins past and to come,
 Selling all he possesses, traveling on foot to fee lawyers for his brother and
 sit by him while he is being tried for forgery."

We get here very close to the heart of the Four Gospels, where the religion of Jesus is, in spirit, preserved for humanity.

(In reading *Leaves of Grass* we soon learn to feel Whitman's joy in religion as a phase of democracy. For him democracy includes all the essentials of all religions, of all times and places. Religion is not a set of statements to be believed, but a kind of life to be lived. Religion is the sum of our human relations and social activities under the law of love. This is what Whitman means when he cries exultingly—

"My comrade!

For you to share with me two greatneses, and a third one rising inclusive and more resplendent,

The greatness of Love and Democracy, and the greatness of Religion."

And yet Whitman's religion is not without its elements of faith, a faith that arises from sympathetic comradeship and love just as perfume is breathed forth by the living, growing flower. Man is not only to be compassionate, but he must be full of the "faith that never balks," faith in the power of Nature to turn evil into good, because the earth "has no conceivable failures." "All goes onward and outward, nothing collapses," says Whitman. Did you see the poor wretch in the chain gang, serving sentence for society's derelictions? Did you see the manacled hands at the insane asylum? Did you imagine that these souls were forever crushed and ruined? Whitman finds them only disguised a few moments for reasons. Says he:

"I saw the face of the most smear'd and slobbering idiot that they had at the asylum, and I knew for my own consolation what they knew not;

I knew of the agents that emptied and broke my brother; the same wait to clear the rubbish from the fallen tenement, and I shall look again, in a score or two of ages, and I shall meet the real landlord perfect, and un-harm'd, every inch as good as myself."

The insane, the criminal, the fallen, even the liar and hypocrite, are all included in Whitman's sympathy and love: "The weakest and shallowest is deathless with me," he declares.

"Not till the sun excludes you do I exclude you;

Not till the waters refuse to glisten for you and the leaves to rustle for you, do my words refuse to glisten and rustle for you."

"Because you are greasy or pimped, or that you were once drunk, or a thief, Or diseas'd, or rheumatic, or a prostitute—or are so now;

.

Do you give in that you are any less immortal?"

Knowing how all men are what they are by reason of circumstances mostly fortuitous, the victims of vicious environment on the one hand or the happy inheritors of wealth and boundless opportunities on the other, Whitman sees in the unfortunate merely what he himself would have become under the same conditions of life and heredity. He asks—

"Who am I too that I am not on trial or in prison?

Me ruthless and devilish as any, that my wrists are not chain'd with iron,
or my ankles with iron?"

"If you become degraded and criminal, then I become so for your sake;

If you remember your foolish and outlaw'd deeds, do you think I cannot
remember my own foolish and outlaw'd deeds?"

"Not a mutineer walks handcuff'd to jail, but I am handcuff'd to him and
walk by his side;

(I am less the jolly one there, and more the silent one, with sweat on my
twitching lips.)

Not a youngster is taken for larceny, but I go up too, and am tried and
sentenced."

Here, then, is true democracy applied, true religion finding expression in the widest and loftiest sympathy and charity,—real holiness, the antidote to weakness, sin, suffering, and shame.

And "the weakest and shallowest is deathless," declares our poet. Can Whitman prove this to be true? Let us see.

Leaves of Grass appeared at a time when many thoughtful men and women were coming more and more to distrust the tenets of all formal religions, and when the "revelations" upon which belief in immortality was founded were beginning to be subjected to a rigorous scientific criticism. But rejection of the traditional evidences of immortality by no means implied a total negation of immortality itself.

Concurrently with the waning of faith in theological dogma, there was growing up a large body of sincere thinkers who, while accepting the general theory of evolution as formulated by Spencer, Darwin, Haeckel, and others, could not rest content with a philosophy which left unsatisfied the soul's yearning for an interpretation of Nature which included "plan and purpose" in the universe. Rejecting the Bible as containing any special revelation from God to man, believing that proofs of plan and purpose are to be sought in Nature herself, or in the intuitions of the soul, that there never were any more miracles than there are now, the new school of tran-

scendentalism based their faith upon the principle that the unseen is proved by the seen, that wisdom is not susceptible of proof, is its own proof, and cannot be passed from one having it to one not having it, as one might buy or exchange merchandise. Undoubtedly the most powerful and convincing exponent of this school of philosophy was Walt Whitman. To him there was nothing more certain than that "The orbs and the systems of orbs play their swift sports through the air on purpose." He asks:

"Have you reckon'd that the landscape took substance and form that it might
be painted in a picture?
Or men and women that they might be written of, and songs sung?
Or the attraction of gravity, and the great laws and harmonious combina-
tions and the fluids of the air, as subjects for savons?
Or the brown land and the blue sea for maps and charts?
Or the stars to be put in constellations and named fancy names?"

Thus, to Whitman, the justification for belief in plan and purpose in the universe is the seeming absurdity of a contrary view: "Did you suppose the cosmic laws were an accident?" he asks.

Whitman neither offers nor needs positive proof of a purposeful progress toward some divine end, much less does he ask for miracles attesting Divine Will behind appearances:

"Why, who makes much of miracles?
As to me I know of nothing else but miracles,
.
.
.
I believe a leaf of grass is no less than the journey-work of the stars,
And the pismire is equally perfect, and a grain of sand, and the egg of the
wren,
.
.
.
And a mouse is miracle enough to stagger sextillions of infidels."

Whitman has been called atheist, anarchist, libertine, and what not. But, in reality, he was far from being any of these things. least of all was he an atheist, or "infidel," as all rebels were called twenty-five or more years ago. But he refused to believe that God walked in the gardens or on the mountain tops of the world for any one sooner than for himself, or that He was any more in evidence thousands of years ago than He is to-day. Whitman was, in a sense, a monist, a pantheist, believing that "objects gross and the unseen soul are one," and that God, or the creative and guiding Principle, the Reality that is behind the apparent, is merely the Whole of which we, human individuals, are self-conscious parts, being ourselves creators, redeemers, and miracle-workers of the

very highest order. Considered from this point of view, Whitman is not atheistical nor irreverent in saying:

"What do you suppose Creation is?

What do you suppose will satisfy the Soul, except to walk free, and own no superior?

What do you suppose I would intimate to you in a hundred ways, but that man or woman is as good as God?

And that there is no God any more divine than Yourself?

And that that is what the oldest and newest myths finally mean?"

So Whitman's God is a God without worshipers, without temples, creeds, prayers, Bibles, or punishments, or rewards, without any of the furniture and junk of past ages, minus everything except what waits intrinsically within us:

"When the psalm sings instead of the singer;

When the script preaches instead of the preacher;

.

I intend to reach them my hand, and make as much of them as I do of men and women like you."

In what form, then, does Whitman believe in God as existing? Is Nature herself God, with purpose and omnipotence, and omniscience? How is this possible? It isn't possible. Nothing is possible. Yet the impossible is with us always. It is precisely the impossible that is always being accomplished. In the dispute about God and eternity, Whitman prefers to be silent, declaring only—

"Ah more than any priest O soul we too believe in God,

But with the mystery of God we dare not dally."

Were man to believe only in what he can prove and explain, all mental processes would come to a standstill. Science is humbler to-day than it was fifty years ago. The impossible stands out with more defiant challenge than ever before. It may be just as well, or better, that Whitman has the power to make "downhearted sulkers and doubters" believe with him that there is a self-justified joy in the quenchless faith that man is deathless, and that the orbit of our lives "cannot be swept by a carpenter's compass." "I know I have the best of time and space, and was never measured, and never will be measured," says Whitman.

Finding the earth "rude, silent, incomprehensible at first," Whitman declares that he is not discouraged, reading a message of hope and good cheer in the strange hieroglyphics of sea, sky, and land. What a strange persuasiveness in the following lines:

"The sun and stars that float in the open air,
 The apple-shaped earth, and we upon it—surely the drift of them is some-
 thing grand!
 I do not know what it is except that it is grand, and that it is happiness.
 And that the enclosing purport of us here is not a speculation, or bon-mot,
 or reconnoissance,
 And that it is not something which by luck may turn out well for us, and
 without luck must be a failure for us,
 And not something which may be retracted in a certain contingency."

Leaves of Grass is fragrant with the thought that mere material progress, the accumulation of iron and steel, brick and mortar, palaces and hovels, furniture and bric-à-brac, jewelry and paintings, are all so much junk apart from the spiritual development of the common man:

"Yet again lo! the soul, above all science,
 For it has history gathered like husks around the globe,
 For it the entire star-myriads roll through the sky."

Facts, religions, trades, improvements, all have their parts to play in the drama of life, and are unequivocally real, declares Whitman:

"But the soul is also real, it too is positive and direct,
 No reasoning, no proof has established it,
 Undeniable growth has established it."

The optimism of *Leaves of Grass* is diffusive, boundless, and contagious, because genuine. Through sickness and poverty, the object at once of fervent adulation and of virulent abuse, Whitman's supreme faith, love, and joy remained an unanswerable affirmative that life, affectionately spent, is worth living, proving in his own person the truth of his declaration that it is as great a joy to live as it is to die—

"And to die is different from what any one supposed, and luckier."

"For not life's joy alone I sing, repeating—the joy of death!
 The beautiful touch of death, soothing and benumbing a few moments for reasons."

"The smallest sprout shows there is really no death,
 And if ever there was it led forward life, and does not wait at the end to arrest it."

Whitman's faith in immortality never wavered, though he made little or no attempt to reason it out, his belief being, as he said, part of his "untold and untellable wisdom."

Not long before the great bard passed contentedly into the joys revealed by "what we call dissolution," his devoted friend and biographer, Mr. Horace L. Traubel, said to him: "I was asked to-day whether your belief in immortality persisted."

Whitman answered, "What did you say?"

Traubel replied: "I said that if immortality depended upon your or any man's belief in it you could not believe. I said that immortality is seen and felt. I said that you see it and feel it."

Whitman cried, "Amen."

Already in 1855 Whitman had written:

"I swear I think there is nothing but immortality!

That the exquisite scheme is for it, and the nebulous float is for it, and the cohering is for it;

And all preparation is for it! and identity is for it! and life and materials are altogether for it!"

.....
 "I swear I think that everything without exception has an eternal Soul!"

When science fails to illuminate, to cheer, and to comfort; when the savant has nothing to offer but a modest agnosticism, or some facts or figures inapplicable to the case,—I see now the dearly loved child in the coffin, and the anguished mother close by!—when cold logic fails to convince and the clinched hands of grief clutch spasmodically and reach out for hope, for assurances, I rush thither not with death lilies and poison-scented flowers, but with *Leaves of Grass* in my hand, and sit with the bereaved one long and long, reading of lovely and soothing death, of "Footsteps gently ascending—mystical breezes, wafted soft and low," and "Ripples of unseen rivers—tides of a current, flowing, forever flowing." Whitman confidently whispers:

"I do not doubt interiors have their interiors, and exteriors have their exteriors—and that the eyesight has another eyesight, and the hearing another hearing, and the voice another voice;

I do not doubt that the passionately-wept deaths of young men are provided for—and that the deaths of young women, and the deaths of little children, are provided for;

(Did you think Life was so well provided for—and Death, the purport of all Life, is not well provided for?)

I do not doubt that wrecks at sea, no matter what the horrors of them—no matter whose wife, child, husband, father, lover, has gone down, are provided for, to the minutest points;

I do not doubt that whatever can possibly happen, anywhere, at any time, is provided for, in the inherences of things;

I do not think Life provides for all, and for Time and Space—but I believe Heavenly Death provides for all."

Could the most rigorously scientific critic find fault with such consoling assurances on the ground that it is not true, or not proved? If it is not proved neither is it denied, or deniable. Again we meet the age-old question, "What is truth?" Whitman answers:

"All truths wait in all things;
 They neither hasten their own delivery, nor resist it;
 They do not need the obstetric forceps of the surgeon;

 Logic and sermons never convince;

 Only what proves itself to every man and woman is so;
 Only what nobody denies is so."

Whitman declares that "the earth remains jagged and broken only to him or her who remains jagged and broken, and that for those to whom life has a meaning death also will have a meaning; for what is the significance of life and beauty apart from love and death—love the ameliorator of life, the breath of life, and death the great deliveress? Says Whitman:

"For now it is conveyed to me that you are the purports essential,
 That you hide in these shifting forms for reasons, and that they are mainly
 for you,
 That you beyond them come forth to remain, the real reality,
 That it may be you are what it is all for,

 Death or life I am then indifferent, my soul declines to prefer."

And so, Walt Whitman, taking from no books, nor laboratories, nor "special revelations," his faith, love, and charity; mildly but firmly in rebellion against all man-made creeds and dogmas; defiant of all set rules of conduct, looks out upon the universe afresh, and reads there the proof that love is the law of life, and that "affection shall solve the problems of freedom yet," because "Those who love each other shall become invincible," and that, in the long run, we shall surely see coming—

"Forth from their masks, no matter what,
 From the huge festering trunk, from craft and guile and tears,
 Health to emerge, joy, joy universal."
 "Is it a dream?
 Nay, but the lack of it a dream,
 And lacking it life's lore and wealth a dream,
 And all the world a dream."

FIVE POEMS TO WALT WHITMAN.

BY BAKER BROWNELL.

JOY.

G LAD fury in this man
 Soils the deep vacancy of a soul
 With fervent smoke; sentience
 Burns blindingly, an eager fact,
 A glorious caprice, crowding
 The stillness with joyous flames.

Joy validates the man;
 Joy is the stuff of sense: a fire,
 A shock, a passionate temperature,
 A finger's touch through joy
 Is vindicated being. Blindly
 Soaring, this man tastes sweetness
 In the will's texture—in the urge,
 The passion of a thing to be, the thrust
 Of life, the fiery, blind sweetness
 Of tasted being—joy
 Testifies, joy is enough of being.

Earth will, sweet with wonder,
 A world held in the glowing moment
 Of a touch; a moment's universal touch
 Of earth, deeds, hands, things of all space,
 Vivid with certainty, warm with the will
 Of sensed being: Being, being touches this man!

His fate is joy; chance
 Colors the moments of his touch
 With blinding gladness; upward
 Storms his fury, his all, his joy being,
 A lonely gust of storm across a stillness.

WHERE TRIUMPH?

Where triumph, where your conquering,
Exultant man,
Winner of sovereignty?

Man of burning self,
Are you
Passion's consciousness?

Devourer, hungerer
For red experience, are you
A nodule
Selfed, whorled, whipped out of the sweep
Of passionate being?

You win, passion's man,
Not sovereignty, not control,
But certainty
Of passion's experience.

You, Walt Whitman,
Are passion—your triumph—you
Are being's triumphant urgency.

An intuition of passionate being,
Of huge urgency,
Floats you on.

* * *

Painted circumstance there is,
A splashing thing,
A spattered sunset, lost
On a profound sky.

Ochered, red-rouged things,
Irresponsible,
Spill their manyness
Into colorless depths.

Glint many attentions
In the jewelled dome of experience
Hiding the single sun.

Beyond—
 One passion, one experience,
 One knowing that is being—beyond
 Is being.

* * *

Attend, attend to the voice
 Of wordless being.

THE DISTURBER.

Disturber of spaceless quiet, disturber of the sleep surrounding
 peace and war with curtains of stillness! Deeds and deeds
 undone roused from the deep dream of silence into thrilling
 agitation! Whitman, seer of disturbance!

Out of nests in the still sleep of space rise restless things, particu-
 lars, strugglers with time, mute pupils learning the eloquence of
 wordless distance, hungers, disturbers. Out of coolness, out
 of the calm thoughtless soul, rise thought, hot delimitation,
 time eagerness, conflict and man's peace, cramped derivations.
 Derivations of the absolute, Walt Whitman, poet!

VISION.

Man, what do you see, struggling, searching, exulting; what do you
 see hungering there, beyond the satisfied pomp of conventions,
 forms, codes?

Vision, Walt Whitman, vision of simple, sturdy stuff, of the real's
 intensity, vision of man's being!

You suffer experiences of being, delirious sickness, glad shouting,
 "Self have I found. I experience that which I am. Joy, intense
 experience is the color of me."

The being of you, Walt Whitman, is it felt or feeling? Man creature,
 you would know being never by the formal texts of man's
 understanding!

WAR.

Power and the glory of huge motion fill him, fill utterly with massive single sensation. A cup seeking fulness, a glad mirror crowded with burning light, utterness of sense, of realization, hungers in him.

Of hugeness, demonstration, war, this man is glad; glad of its certainty, its massive will, its proof, its storm. War disturbs terribly man's moderations.

BEYOND PROTESTANTISM.¹

BY EDWARD SCRIBNER AMES.

A SURVEY of the changes in the underlying conceptions and convictions of religion suggests that we are in the midst of a vast movement of man's spiritual life, which is fully as profound as the Reformation in which Luther led the revolt against Catholicism, or as the transformation of early primitive Christianity by its acceptance of the instruments and methods of Greek philosophy.

In order to appreciate what is carrying the development of Protestant Christianity beyond the bounds of Protestantism it may be helpful to glance at the Catholicism of the Middle Ages, from which Protestantism arose. There were two important factors in Catholicism. One was the doctrine of the depravity of human nature, and the other was the conviction that the Church and its sacraments offered the means by which man's sinful nature could be redeemed from this wicked world and made fit for heaven above. The Church surrounded the child from infancy and offered its good offices as the means of grace. Through baptism the child experienced birth out of its inherited evil nature into spiritual life. Through confirmation he advanced to mature strength. In the Eucharist or Lord's Supper the inner life was renewed and nourished. Man's nature was held to be so deeply sinful that the cure of his maladies required also penance and extreme unction. Further, special consecration was needed for those who were to bear offspring and this was provided in the sacrament of marriage. The seventh sacrament was that of ordination by which one was given the spiritual qualities necessary to the priesthood and the various clerical duties.

¹ The reader will find the views expressed in this article elaborated in the writer's book *The New Orthodoxy*, just published.

Protestantism as seen in its first great leader, Martin Luther, was a protest against the second feature of Catholicism, against the plan of trying to obtain and develop the spiritual life by these sacraments or good works. Against the first principle of Catholicism, namely, the depravity of human nature, he made no protest but accepted and accentuated it. With him, as with the older system, there was complete agreement as to man's original sin and inherited taint and deformity. Luther's disagreement with the Church was as to the means of salvation. He repudiated the good works, the priestly offices, and the mortifications of the flesh as the way of salvation. For him, salvation was an absolutely free gift of God's grace. "The just shall live by faith" were the words which rang in his soul until he understood them as the real way of deliverance. Man feels himself a helpless sinner, impotent and unworthy, without means of salvation and justification. Then he comes into contact with Christ. "Christ took all our sins upon Him and for them dies upon the cross." When a sinful man sees this innocent Son of God borne down by the sin and sorrow of others, the sinner feels the pangs of his own guilt. Through remorse and contrition he is led to experience faith in Christ and by this faith, he becomes one with Christ, "incorporated in Christ," and all that Christ has is his. From this new life in Christ good works flow as a natural consequence. They are not the source of salvation but the fruits. We perform them not to acquire merit but as the natural, spontaneous expression of our love and faith.

Since this faith is an experience in the heart of the believer, he is not dependent upon priest or pope. Therefore Luther discarded the distinction between the clergy and the laity. He also went beyond Catholicism in holding that a Christian man who has been redeemed from his sinful nature, may enter into the life of society with full consistency. He should marry and engage in business and in affairs of State. Such a life is not inferior to the seclusion of the monastery or the convent. The common pursuits of daily existence are avenues of religious service for a Christian man, for one whose life has been transformed.

After Luther's time, Protestantism approached Catholicism again in its doctrines of authority and of the ordinances. The old dogma of man's inherent sinfulness continued, and more importance was attached to baptism and the Eucharist. One may say that the orthodox Protestant position to-day is that man is impotent in himself, because of his sinfulness, to attain salvation. He needs the aid of a divine Saviour, through whose love and sacrifice he may be

saved. Specific directions for appropriating this saving power of Christ are found in the Bible. Whatever the Bible teaches is to be accepted, whatever it forbids is forbidden, and only where it is silent does man have freedom to follow his own opinion. That opinion, however, is not the judgment of the natural man but of one who has been transformed by divine grace. This explains the deep hostility which orthodoxy feels toward the good moral man who is sometimes an eminent character in the community. He may be an upright and honorable citizen, generous in his charities, responsive to public need and to the call of public duty, a faithful husband and a kind father, but not a member of any church. Abraham Lincoln was of that type. The churches cannot be comfortable in the presence of such a man. They are unable to acknowledge the genuineness and value of his goodness. He is an unconverted man, an unregenerate soul. He has never acknowledged the need of the divine institution of the Church to insure his place in the spiritual kingdom, and therefore he remains outside, a child of the world and under the condemnation of his sinful nature. Such a person is often pointed out as the most subtle and deadly foe of true religion. His very virtues become dangerous because they may influence others to remain in an unsaved state. A vicious, degraded man of the world would be more tolerable for he would at least be repulsive and unattractive.

Just the clear statement of these conspicuous features of Protestantism is sufficient to make men of the modern spirit shrink and withhold their full allegiance. There is doubtless much in and about orthodox Protestant churches which attracts them. There are family ties and congenial social attachments. The philanthropies and social service and spiritual aspirations all make their appeal. But the doctrines are distasteful. They seem remote and unconvincing. The churches appear to nourish certain impossible estimates of human life and of the present world. Religious leaders have not been insensitive to this. They have introduced gymnasiums and amusement parlors and reading-rooms and night schools. They have moving pictures. Gradually they have lessened emphasis upon doctrines and creeds, upon the necessity of conversion and the observance of the ordinances. The candidates for membership are examined less thoroughly as to their "experience," and the number of ministers and members is increasing who are cherishing, consciously or unconsciously, a fundamentally different feeling about religion and the Church. In this quiet, steady process of the secularization of religion Protestantism as a definite body of doctrines

and practices is passing away. That which is coming in its place has scarcely been named. One writer calls it the religion of the spirit, in contrast to the old religions of authority and of the letter. Others call it the new social religion, and still others name it the religion of democracy and the religion of man. A few would like to have it known as the religion of science, or free religion, or simply natural religion.

I shall call it here the religion of the spirit, not forgetting that it is also social and democratic and natural and scientific and free. Neither should it be forgotten that it is, in the best sense, Biblical and Christian.

This religion of the spirit stands in most marked contrast to Protestantism, and to Catholicism as well, in the fact that it feels itself to be natural to man. It accepts the view of modern psychology and ethics, both of which reject the doctrine of the innate sinfulness and evil disposition of the child. It holds that the infant should be regarded as an open possibility for good or for evil according to his environment, his education, and his experience in life. If of normal physique and mentality he may be expected to respond to intelligent, sympathetic direction and instruction. He will be naturally affectionate and imaginative, active and idealistic. Growing up among earnest reasonable Christian people he will see the attractiveness of the character of Jesus and respond to his heroism and to his vision of human brotherhood. He will naturally be drawn into the association of those who cherish the same ideals and who band themselves together in the church to labor for the coming of the gracious kingdom of love and beauty. He will have a divine passion for serving his fellow men as is the case with multitudes of teachers, nurses, physicians, social workers, artists, and scholars who have grown quite naturally into their enthusiasm and lifelong devotion.

Such an individual is not the ruthless superman of Nietzsche. He is conscious of his own limitations and failures and cruel mistakes. Suffering and remorse chasten him, but he seeks strength and courage and wisdom to renew his efforts. The pain of the world pierces his heart, but he does not accept it as wholly inevitable or as entirely beyond human power to correct. Like the patriot and the social reformer, he, too, labors for an incipient and unpopular cause, believing that it will become more powerful and more beneficent.

Modern knowledge of the history of religion strengthens faith in such a religion of the spirit. All peoples, even the most primi-

tive, have their rites and ceremonials which idealize their life and extend the horizon of their world. Sometimes these religions are crude and occasionally they are vicious from the standpoint of more developed civilizations, but the impressive things are their organization and control, their social sympathy and idealization. The missionaries among the more developed cultures of India and China and Japan find many sentiments and customs in the religions of those lands which they can endorse and incorporate in their interpretation of Christianity. Just as family affection and honest dealings within the group and regard for public opinion prevail throughout the world, so it is found that God has not left Himself without witness. When modern Christianity is presented adequately to people in the most diverse places it finds response in the natural sentiments of gratitude and of eager faith. It is beginning to be apparent that in so far as Protestantism has virtually prefaced its appeal to the races of men with the doctrine of depravity it has stood in its own way and wasted measureless energy and emotion. How much more attractive is the figure of Jesus surrounded by the crowd of hardened faces, saying "Let the little children come unto me for of such is the kingdom of heaven." He never administered any purificatory rites to overcome the evil nature of men before they could join his company. On the contrary, he said to them, "Come and follow me," "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me." Human nature has changed since then, but it has not become so depraved and sinful that a new method of joining the company of Jesus is necessary. It was as easy and as natural to become a follower of Jesus in his day as it is to matriculate in a free public school now. The religion of the spirit which is taking possession of the churches in our time repudiates the fundamental Protestant doctrine of original sin and substitutes in its place a vital faith in the idealism and spiritual energy of unfallen human nature.

This new form of Christianity, in the second place, is free. It is free from dependence upon the Church and its sacraments, as Luther held. That is, man does not languish in the bonds of original sin and remain there helpless until brought to the spiritual birth by baptism and the other sacraments of the Church. But neither does he depend upon some supernatural gift of grace as Luther and as Protestantism have taught. The light of divine love and aspiration is in and about every normal human being. "That was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." It is not necessary that a miracle be wrought upon every

soul before it can believe in the love and righteousness of Christ or have saving faith. As Jesus himself knew, the natural human soul, whether child or publican or nobleman or harlot or thief on the cross, had the capacity to hear his voice and to follow him even if it should be at first afar off. He said, "If any man thirst let him come unto me, and drink." It was the old prophetic call straight to the heart of mankind, "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price."

The Protestant view despised and pitied human nature; the newer view asserts the value and dignity of man and has faith in his capacity to advance through the unfolding of his native powers, taught by the great teachers of the race. This is the same conviction which has made for the new order in the State. The traditional conviction was that only those who had been divinely appointed and empowered should rule, but the modern State is founded upon the natural and inalienable rights of all men. Democracy rests upon the sense of the power and wisdom and justice potentially present in all citizens. The great political revolutions of recent centuries and those now in progress are the struggles of the masses of men to take possession of their own and to develop their native resources of mind and soul with full freedom and by the authority of their own experience and ideals.

Protestantism in seeking freedom from dependence upon the Church wrought a new bondage to the Bible. The religion of the spirit proclaims freedom here also. The Bible is accepted to-day by thoughtful people of all churches with discrimination. It is recognized that in this vast collection of scripture there is great diversity. It shows differences of culture and of spiritual ideals. In some parts social institutions are enjoined and allowed which in other parts are condemned and prohibited. Animal sacrifice, human slavery, polygamy, war and violence, are sanctioned in some records of the Old Testament and denounced at least in spirit in the New Testament. We have learned to test all sayings by our most enlightened standards. We do not accept everything which the Apostle Paul says as of supreme importance, nor because he wrote some things which seem unimportant, do we therefore abandon him entirely. We are not much concerned about his views of marriage and of woman, but we cherish with genuine appreciation his psalm of love in the thirteenth chapter of Corinthians. Or again the scholars may have proved that the Fourth Gospel, the

Gospel of John, is not so early as the Synoptics and that it is probably a less accurate record of the sayings and deeds of Jesus, but nevertheless we often find it richer and deeper and more persuasive, more satisfying to the heart.

Not only is this religion of the spirit free in its rejection of the authority of the letter of Scripture. It is free also in its appropriation and creation of other literature. Men are still writing psalms and hymns of faith. We use in our devotion the lyric poetry of Tennyson, Longfellow, Whittier, Goethe, and a host of other poets. Their words inspire and illuminate us. Similarly we employ the literature of our statesmen, moralists, and dramatists to refresh our souls and to direct our wills. They are our living prophets, and we have no doubt that they too speak inspired messages.

A third characteristic of the religion which is superseding Protestantism is its relation to the social order. Luther did indeed approve of Christians entering into marriage and into business and industry. But he felt that they were able to do this safely because they had first been "saved" and regenerated. He did not regard society itself as sacred. The present world remained for him a foreign and hostile realm. It was only the special grace of God in the hearts of men which could enable them to participate in this common life.

The newer spirit of religion regards this social order as itself sharing in the divine life. It regards patriotism and labor and art as inherently sacred, sacred because they contribute to the fulfilment of man's larger and nobler life. Existing social institutions are not perfect. They are in the keeping of finite and fallible hands, but they are the organs and instruments of our corporate life. They preserve the finest fruits of the long struggle of the race up from savagery and superstition. The modern Christian therefore takes them in good faith and with full enthusiasm. He is entirely in earnest when he asserts that he has abolished the distinction between the secular and the sacred. To him all life, all occupations, are saturated with ideal meaning, with tender spiritual intimacy and aspiration.

Therefore there is a new *rapport* between science and religion. Protestantism was doubtful of the value and validity of science. Even to this day one may find survivals of that old suspicion of learning and of inventions and the arts. But religion is becoming conscious that natural science is the instrument and workman of our wonderful modern social progress. It is destined to include the experimenters, discoverers, and inventors with its apostles,

prophets, and martyrs. It is becoming apparent that modern medicine, especially in foreign lands, is like the healing hand of Christ himself, and that the introduction of sanitation, efficient agriculture, better political systems, together with education and the fine arts is transforming the waste places of Christian and of heathen lands. All of this gives substance and vitality to the spiritual life. It makes objective and commanding the kingdom of brotherhood and of mutual love and service which Christianity has proclaimed. It brings a new unity and an unprecedented assurance and hope into the message and the ideals of Christianity.

The passing order was negative, it was a reaction against the old, while the new is positive and is constructively moving forward to new achievements and creations. The old despised human nature; the new trusts it and labors for its development. The old relied upon external authority and was in bondage to the past and to the Scriptures; the new is free from all authority of that kind and is controlled from within by conscience and reason and the law of love. The old viewed this world as a desert and foreign land to the soul; the new regards human society as the developing kingdom of God, in which the spirit of Jesus reigns more powerfully and more completely.

This religion of the spirit has not emerged in any one organization or party. It is not identical with any of the liberal groups such as the Unitarians, Ethical Culture Society, or rationalistic societies. Much less is it particularly represented by Christian Science or Theosophy or any of the archaic Oriental cults which are sporadic in a mixed and restless population like our own. Rather this coming development of Christianity is that which is already represented in the progressive parties of all the great evangelical bodies. These parties are constituted of those who are possessed of the modern mind either through their education in the schools or by their reading and practical contacts with life. This modern mind is characterized by understanding sympathy with modern natural and social science and with the history of religious and social institutions. Men of this type together with those who are sympathetic and responsive toward their leadership, constitute today a large company in all denominations, and these people have more in common with those of the same temper in the various religious bodies than they have with the traditionalists of their own communions.

But this characterization of the new tendency would be misleading if it gave the impression that we are entering upon a revival

of the older intellectualism or rationalism. While it has of necessity an intellectual aspect, it is something far richer and more human than that term suggests. This new movement has the fervor and piety of evangelical orthodoxy, but it is a social and not merely an individualistic enthusiasm. It is as serious as Puritanism but it is more artistic and cultivates a nobler ritual and liturgy. It has missionary zeal and courage, but it is not merely blind and ruthless toward other faiths, nor does it restrict itself to evangelism alone. It cultivates educational missions and medical missions and industrial missions, and seeks to transmit to the less fortunate of the earth the full cubic contents of our Christian civilization.

This form of Christianity, which promises to identify itself with the twentieth century, is already revitalizing the churches, enlisting devout laymen and eager college youth. It proclaims its message in the language of the time and it meets a response from the soul of the people, which proves that men are beginning to rejoice again in religion as a natural possession and a transforming power.

PRAYER.

BY JOHN DENMARK.

I PRAY every Sunday with my people. As we pray together for fellowship, peace, and faith, there comes upon me the joy of yearning with them for something beyond the pain of to-day. I feel that their hearts respond with mine in a great longing. When I have in my prayer much of tenderness and sympathy, I know that they are better satisfied with the morning's worship. But as I pray for ideals, I know that they are often begging for to-morrow's selfish victory. They believe that God will change the course of the universe to satisfy their wants. Because of my prayer they are failing to look reality in the face. I am a beggar leading beggars.

So I have stopped praying except when I must. I sit in my chair sometimes and try to think to God but I no longer try to find Him upon my knees. I seem to find more of God in the world when I am standing erect.

There is a tender mood that comes upon men when they think of the passing of their lives like a shadow. We have learned to call the mood reverence, and prayer has become its accepted form among nearly all races. It is the formal tribute of man to the Great Unknown that grips the destiny of us all. It is our common way

of expressing the wonder of the Psalmist: "What is man that Thou art mindful of him?"

Even the most cynical of men cannot stifle the wonder that comes into his being when he considers the vastness and intricacy of life. We would be more than human if we did not partake of that wonder. And most of all when the great gift of life itself is about to be taken away and we come for the first time to see the value of our treasure, how our souls are prostrated in an agony of fearful hope! Gethsemane was not and is not a delusion.

But how much of prayer is a delusion and a useless superstition.

An old lady came to my house the other day and, patting me on the shoulder, told me how much she hoped I would succeed in my new church. She promised to pray very earnestly that God would make the work fruitful. I thanked her in an embarrassed way and said good-bye. When she had gone I fell to thinking of the millions of useless prayers which have been offered up by lazy zealots as an excuse for real labor. I thought of the many times when prayer has been used by the chaplains of the rich to stifle the rebellion of the poor.

The case against prayer has been stated again and again by the men who have ceased to pray and by the men who have never prayed. I want to record here the sentiment of a man who still prays—with half a heart.

There are two attitudes which the average preacher may take toward prayer. He may believe that prayer actually changes the course of the universe, or he may believe that prayer is simply a "good spiritual tonic" for a congregation which needs moral exercise.

When a man starts to examine the reality of prayer as a means of changing the course of external life he encounters the most painful chapter in the story of the intellectual degradation of the clergy. In an age of miracles and wonders when every real phenomenon was an inexplicable fact and no such thing as scientific analysis was known, prayer was recognized as the personal request of a favored subject to his Great Warrior or Pet Chieftain. When the scientific awakening of the last century came, the natural conclusion of an intelligent preacher was that prayer had never proved its results and that as an institution of the Church it should be examined with real scrutiny. But the attacks of scholarship were centered upon the Bible and outworn theology, so the preacher was permitted to do as he pleased with prayer. Since the foundations

of Christianity were already trembling from the assaults of higher criticism, he let prayer alone. The result is that men who do not dare to believe in the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch still gather in great conventions and pray for the physical health of a missionary in China.

Now the proposition that the appendix of a certain missionary in China will become less inflamed if five thousand people in an American city ask God for his relief is one which is open to scientific analysis. If the parties in the case would submit to experiments the facts might be readily discovered. The doctors in China might arrange a clinic to take place simultaneously with the prayer-meetings in America and observe the effect of prayer-waves upon the afflicted missionary.

But, so far as I know, the members of a certain convention which met several years ago in a Western city and offered up prayers with me for the health of a missionary in China never inquired whether their prayers accomplished any physical result. They knew that their assumption of power to change physical facts was a lie.

They knew that the old promise, "Ask and it shall be given to you," as applied to most of the worth while things of life is a *lie*.

They would be unwilling to pay a postage stamp for a patent medicine which has failed to accomplish its promised results in as large a proportion of cases as prayer has, but they continue to class their credulity in the physical efficacy of prayer as "faith." They put this faith on a higher level than the gullibility of those rural audiences who spend hard-earned savings for tapeworm medicine sold by Demosthenic grafters. But I do not appreciate their distinction.

If prayer is to have recognition in the physical world, it must submit to physical tests. Three-cent gasoline, it was said, was recently invented by a Boston lawyer, but the automobile investors of the city did not pay any attention to the claim until it was scientifically experimented with. Then it was proved to be a failure.

Is the reconstruction of the universe by personal petition so unimportant an undertaking that no one need investigate it? Can the gigantic swindle of purgatorial and sick-get-better prayers which command so large a proportion of the money and loyalty of American Catholics and Protestants be passed over by the clergyman with a few words about "faith in the Unseen"?

The claim made by defenders of prayer as a physical transformer is that prayer is on a "spiritual level" distinct from three-

cent gasoline. Some prayer is. But the level of prayer is no higher than its aim, and when men spend time in interceding before God in the attempt to accomplish the results of medicine and muscle without resort to anything else, they must submit to comparison.

And comparisons are odious. They show that prayer as a physical transformer and restorer is more truly based upon superstition than any patent medicine on the market. Where prayer heals one, patent medicines heal five. The results must speak for themselves. Ten million prayers a day arise unanswered to God. During the war there were prayers for the soldiers of Europe by sympathetic Americans; there were prayers for the eternal conquest of the German arms by a million German mothers; there were prayers for the conquest of Russian, French, American, English, and Turkish murdering machines; there are prayers for a passing mark in examinations by schoolchildren; there are prayers for success in gambling on the stock-market; there are endless prayers for rain, for dry weather, and for salvation from the lightning. . . .

Why should we attempt to classify these prayers into "superstitious" and "intelligent"? In not a single case can it be proved that intercession before God affected His direction of the forces of war, lightning, or plague. The dilemma of the old reasoners is unanswerable: if God is an omnipotent and wise Father, then he does not need our personal pleadings to make Him realize the needs of mankind; if He is not such a Father, then the prayer is directed to an imaginary mind. If the universe is built upon the plan of conventional Christian theology, why pray at all?

The *failure* of prayer is a subject which is taboo among the clergy. We have learned to evade the real issue of the worthwhileness of a prayer for so long that we take ourselves seriously when we tell some afflicted sister who is about to lose her only son with tuberculosis: "If it is God's will, your prayers will be answered; never cease to pray." That is an evasive half lie. What we mean in our hearts is that the prayer will comfort the mother and do no harm to the son. The son will die if the physical laws of life make it inevitable.

I am saying these things at the risk of repeating very stale truths because I am repeatedly astonished by the number of people who still take intercessory prayer seriously. I meet sane, clear-headed business men, hard-working and cynical laboring men, who have failed to look the facts about prayer as a physical transformer squarely in the face. They would not allow a book agent to take up ten minutes of their time with a theory that has so little real

evidence in its support as the theory of personal intercessory prayer. But they allow velvet-voiced preachers to prey upon their superstitions without a murmur.

The story of these velvet-voiced ones is uniform. We have not had our prayers answered because we have not known *how* to pray. (As if the Lord God our Father were not Himself responsible for the lisping intellect of His creatures.) We should learn to pray simply and trustfully. Men have always prayed to God our Father; therefore we should pray to Him as our Father. He may not always answer us according to our wishes, but out of the abundance of His wisdom He will do what is best for us. It may not seem best to us at the time, but if we will trust in Him, our way will be made clear. So we have in the prayer-meeting that optimism born of selfish desire which deliberately creates a universe contrary to all the facts of life because men are more interested in happiness than they are in truth. Men do not always want to *know*. They want something to believe. They have but a short time to live and a very small portion of that time to devote to the things of religion and ultimate destiny. The easy faith of the fathers with its magic priestcraft is offered to them. Faith, the preacher tells them, is beyond reason anyway. Why listen to the skeptic? Simple trust brings that peace of intellectual death which fills the collection box and enables men to go on with the more important tasks of earning a living.

But in spite of the faith of the prayer-meeting in the power of changing the universe by personal prayer, the great masses of men are no longer able to believe in that kind of prayer. They compromise by believing in prayer as a means of making men more holy and Christian. Prayer, they are willing to believe, is a great spiritual tonic. Through prayer, we come into communion with God, even if He does not change the universe to suit our desires.

Whether we can accept this belief depends upon our hard-headedness. People might be divided roughly into the hard-headed, the mystical, and the soft-headed. I am among the hard-headed. Not that I do not enjoy poetry, a symphony orchestra, or a spring landscape. My critical reason is predominant over my imagination and emotion to a somewhat larger degree than among other men. I have been converted twice in revival meetings and have found profound emotional experience in prayer, but the effectiveness of those emotional crises was destroyed when I calmly considered their meaning and value. Never in my whole life have I been certain that I have communed with anything higher than my

own emotional aspirations. When God has met me on Sinai, He had always hidden his face.

Now the soft-headed man labels his great emotional moments "communion with God" because the world tells him to. He has never made any honest attempt to analyze his own reactions and discover whether the assumption of anything supernatural in his religious experience is true. His mother has taught him at her knee to call the self-revelation of childhood prayer, communion with God. Under the influence of that tradition and the hypnotic power of a great revivalist he hears the "call of God." It is a very real call from the highest moral traditions and ideals of his experience. He puts that experience into the storehouse of his memory and perhaps gives definite shape to it by adding the description of some great religious leader. Now he has a God to pray to. He believes in communion through prayer.

The hard-headed man looks on at this religious experience of the soft-headed man with lack of sympathy and sometimes contempt. He does not understand it very well. But the mystic does. The mystic is a man of imagination and insight who reaches the conclusion that "the mystery of things" is *personal* and that man can reach that Person through direct communion. The mystic is not an intellectual infant, although he often associates with such. Now I am a hard-headed man, so I cannot discuss the mystic with any fair appreciation, for I have striven hard after the mystic's experience and have never been able to find anything personal in religious experience outside of the yearnings of my own soul and the traditions of experience.

The painful truth about the position of the mystic within the Church is that his belief is taken up by all sorts of undiscerning people and applied to every imaginable superstition. I do not believe that one man in ten is able to comprehend the mystical point of view, but the preacher soon finds that it is a great advantage to define his own religious experience in these mystical terms. It sets him apart as a spiritual leader. So we often see the strange phenomenon of a congregation of hard-headed and anxiously selfish seekers after salvation creating their religious experience in the reflected light of their preacher's experience: and when the truth is known, the preacher is not a mystic but an imaginative descriptive artist, who has learned to paint his religious experience in colors which his congregation can admire.

The responsibility for sham religious experience and false evaluation of prayer falls upon the clergy. They have thought

loosely and spoken recklessly. They have defined the aspirations of their hearts with a definiteness which the facts do not support. When they quietly analyze their experience in prayer, they are willing to admit that the voice of God which they heard in prayer may have been the voice of conscience and nothing else. For those few men who, when they have carefully and critically analyzed their own minds, feel the presence of God coming to them in prayer, I have nothing but envy. I would like to be one of them—but God has never blessed me with the sign.

What, then, is left of the reality of prayer?

Prayer to me is nothing but a simple expression of human desire. There are times in our lives when we need to forget the small troubles and quarrels of the scramble we call life. Then it clears our vision for some one to express with us the higher hopes of universal service and brotherhood. That is why I still pray with my congregation for higher motives and ideals. I want to teach them through prayer something of higher aspiration.

And does not prayer have a real function as an expression of noble desire? Out of the darkness we have come and into it we will go. Everywhere is Death. The Mystery gives back no answer when we cry. The brave man looks into the darkness unafraid: he is terrified by no threat of the future but he would claim the Unknown for himself. He stretches out his hands to gain greater fullness of life. Priests and fear-mongers bring answers to his prayers. He scorns them for he is not asking for their answer. He is yearning for Life: he is on the great search which has no goal.

THE ETHICS OF PROHIBITION.

BY A. V. C. P. HUIZINGA.

I.

IT is a curious coincidence that just at the time that the slogan of "self-determination" is adopted as a panacea for the nations, even to straighten out their tangled international relations, the prohibition movement engulfs with its amendment to the Constitution of the United States the hundred million inhabitants of "the land of the free and the home of the brave." Legal restraint is thus deemed necessary for the free and the brave in this great republic to the extent of employing the very Constitution, designed as a

charter for the liberty of the people, as a police measure to regulate personal conduct. Whether the basic idea and purpose of the Constitution, as relating specifically to the fundamental principles of government to protect life, liberty, and property within the nation, is thereby not perverted to a questionable police regulation, which with its paternal assumption reduces personal liberty by circumscribing it, remains within the domain of legal experts, and for them to decide.

On this point Judge Alton B. Parker and ex-President Taft are agreed. Judge Parker declared: "that now and here in our land the time has come when conditions demand that the liberties and the form of government which constitutes their foundation be guarded with jealous care. . . . There is every indication that both the court and the tribunes are to be kept busy. There are innumerable proposals flying about our ears like missiles in battle for human betterment at the expense of human freedom."

Ex-President Taft observes: "The reaching out of the great central power to brush the door-steps of local communities, far removed geographically and politically from Washington, will be irritating in such States and communities, and will be a strain upon the bonds of the national union. It will produce variation in the enforcement of the law. There will be a loose administration in spots all over the United States and a politically inclined national administration will be strongly tempted to acquiesce in such a condition. . . . For these reasons, therefore, first because the permanent national liquor law in many communities will prove unenforceable for lack of local public sympathy; second, because attempted enforcement will require an enormous force of federal policemen and detectives, giving undue power to a sinister and partisan subordinate of the national administration; and third, because it means an unwise structural change in the relations between the people of the States and the central government, and a strain to the integrity of the Union, I am opposed to a national prohibition amendment."

Vehement denunciations are heard against the Southern States for abuse of their political responsibility in supporting the measure. It is asserted that the South has lynched Jeffersonism. For Thomas Jefferson it has substituted the Anti-Saloon League lobby. In supporting this measure, it is argued, the South has wrecked the whole structure of State rights, obliterated the police powers of the States, without which they have no political excuse for existence, and destroyed the personal liberty which has hitherto been a bulwark of American freedom. Centralization supplants liberty. The South

has lynched the Jeffersonian theory of government, now let it take the consequences.

It is generally admitted that the old-time Prohibition party has had little to do with the present result, while the Anti-Saloon League has had a great deal to do with it. Without considering here the merits or demerits of prohibition as such, it should be emphasized that this circumstance constitutes the most ominous feature of the procedure and way in which the result has been accomplished. For one certainly cannot now say—prohibition in itself be desirable or not—as does Mr. W. E. Emory in the *Boston Transcript*, writing under the witty caption “A short review of the big topic of the day that may place the soda fountain in hotels and other places that were ‘barred.’” He says: “Prohibition has gone beyond a party issue. It is largely a matter of education and evolution, and it is one on which the politician in Congress and in State legislatures is free to act like a statesman without incurring the displeasure of any considerable element of the voters. None knows better than the practical politician that the safest thing he can do is to vote for a moral reform and, indeed, that not to do so when he is out in the open is political suicide.” Mr. Emory assuredly proclaims here the moral reform movement of human nature by law with a vengeance, and betrays in these same few words its inadequacy.

It would seem that the severe arraignments of the prohibition movement as Anti-Saloon League are not without point, for since the Webb-Kenyon Act was declared constitutional the States had the power to control fully the use, sale, transportation, and manufacture of liquors, etc., each within its own limits, but now the proposed prohibition amendment forces its provisions upon those States that do not want it, forcing all individuals to conform their conduct to its regulation. Judge Cullen of the New York Court of Appeals is quoted in the *Connecticut Report* as saying that “in his career as lawyer and judge, he has witnessed the assaults on personal liberty starting with the assumption in prohibition laws of a right in A, and B, to pass a law that C shall not be allowed to drink for fear that D may allow himself to get drunk, gaining in force and volume until they have reached that height of legislative folly in eugenic laws which forbid men and women to marry except upon concurrent permission of a physician and a priest.”

There is then no question that this law goes far in the direction of restricting personal liberty, nor is the claim made that it does not interfere with private liberty, while by its centralizing of power in the Federal Government it is destructive of local civil right. Yet,

precisely the sumptuary laws—if administered at all—require to be administered locally for evident and generally recognized reasons. Prussian paternalism applies this permanent federal liquor law to every State, and imposes it upon those States that do not want it as well.

Mr. Gerald Chapin's article in the *New York Sunday Times* is interesting. He expects a reaction, if only the enthusiasts are permitted to enact their extreme restrictive measures. He opines that then the Amendment will soon become a dead letter in most unsympathetic States. He says: "We must keep in mind the fact that the country is in an abnormal state of mind," and expects a cure by letting the prohibition fanatics have full sway. In this he depends, as he declares, "on the sane psychology of reaction." Perhaps it might come about, but not till a deplorable object-lesson has been paid for. Mr. Chapin's adopted attitude is certainly logical, but logic is not always wisdom, and it is as sound psychology to look for insane reaction upon extreme measures at this time. To this Mr. Chapin points, when he says: "The present Amendment marks only the beginning of a series of infringements of personal liberty." Surely, why should not tobacco follow suit? Why—if adequate publicity for "postum" is kept up—should public opinion not be convinced that "there is a reason" also for the prohibition of coffee? Indeed, to what length will prohibitory measures not go, when man is once made to "live under law," because his responsibility is denied. I cannot help recalling here how some one said some years ago at the occasion of a half-drunk Indian in a trolley-car in Western New York: "Indians cannot have any liquor, because they are 'wards of the nation.'" Guardianship has been extended far since then.

The California Grape Productive Association obtained a restraining order forbidding Governor Stephens to certify the ratification to the Secretary of State, and it wants a large sum appropriated by the State legislature to recompense the wine grape growers of the State. It would seem they might rather ask Uncle Sam, who holds the final decision and responsibility, for eventual indemnity.

Just as it is urged by the opponents that the Anti-Saloon League lobby has hurried up unduly the prohibition movement into legal enactment, so it is claimed that the prohibition amendment itself is not properly passed by the majority of a quorum, instead of by the majority of the full membership of both houses. This is the view of the State Bar Association of Connecticut, which in a "Report of a Special Committee on the Prohibition Amendment

to the Federal Constitution" argues this case at some length, but concedes that in the House and in the Senate in the *ordinary* business of the legislative branch of the government precedent not only exists, but it is regular practice to regard the members in session as the "houses." They consider the proposed amendment as *extraordinary* business, conceding here, however, also precedent, but they contend that at these precedents there was at the time no disagreement and the point was therefore not raised, and conclude that "failure to raise the question concerning an amendment in favor of which there was practically unanimity of opinion cannot be held a waiver of the right to raise the objection nor an acquiescence in the precedent claimed to have been established." It would seem to be a question what legal weight this precedent should be accorded, for without consideration of the legal weight of precedent, the argument presented seems to favor the view of a majority of "full houses." The report makes also a strong attack on the wording in Section 2 of the Amendment: "The Congress and the several States shall have 'concurrent power' to enforce this article by appropriate legislation." They argue that "concurrent power" is clearly wrong, and would render the enforcement of the law confusing and ineffective. The Connecticut report does not make mention of the claim made elsewhere that there are fifteen States where the action of the State legislature may be carried to the people on a referendum, which would, if successfully carried out, annul the amendment. There are more than that number of States in which amendments to their own State constitutions must be referred to the people and in many cases any action of the legislature is subject to popular review. It is, however, asserted that "the United States Constitution provides that its amendment may be accomplished by act of Congress, which must be ratified by three quarters of the total number of States in one of two ways—either by action of the State legislature or by action of a convention called in each State for that purpose. Congress chooses which of these methods shall be used and in this case, as in nearly all others, the former was designated. There is therefore no hope in the referendum claim for the opponents of prohibition, except a possible delay of its enforcement. The opposition of prohibition finds also of little avail Article X of the Constitution, which provides that powers not delegated by the Constitution to the Federal Government or by it prohibited to the States shall be reserved to the States. In connection with the federal income tax some years ago the Supreme Court held that individual States had a perfect right to delegate to the Federal Government

any powers which they possess, as they have been doing at one time and another ever since the United States became a nation. Many claims are heard on every hand, the opposition evidently bestirring itself in the conviction of the imminence of their legal defeat. Some even expect Congress not to act upon the Amendment, which would turn the legal attempt at moral reform into the great joke, which they assert it is, and anyhow, 'better a great joke than a great calamity.'"

Nebraska evidently put the Amendment over on January 16, when the State of the peerless leader, the picturesque, first and foremost figure in the recent prohibition movement, ratified the Amendment as the thirty-sixth State. It is interesting to remember how only a few years ago William Jennings Bryan failed to raise prohibition to a national issue by adopting it in the Democratic platform, when we find ourselves now already with prohibition as an accomplished legal fact. No wonder that the cry goes up enthusiastically to proceed to make the whole world dry, bone-dry!

II.

We must, however, consider that legal enactments are not the whole story, that all law after all is but instrumental, creature and servant of ethical ends. We therefore leave these technical matters, pertaining to the legal machinery, to the legal profession and the courts, and turn to the ethics of prohibition, because we believe that all law should function ethically. Law may indeed generally be regarded as social ethics precipitated into written statute with this understanding that the law requires only the minimum and exacts this minimum under penalty. If law be thus precipitated into written statute from ethical sentiment of the social milieu over which it functions, it goes without saying that such legislation must bear a natural ethical relation to the people who enact it, and who are to stand guardians over it by enforcing it generally. This at least is desired in legislation. If law is not thus expressive of the moral tone of the community its functioning is bound to assume an artificial character, and its efficacy is doomed. This question, whether prohibition does really prohibit, comes within the domain of social ethics but is mainly viewed with a utilitarian bias, that is, with a view to its effect upon society rather than upon man. We need to consider man in society, but should give ethics there an individual, concrete bearing, as the rule of life is carried individually in the world's market-place. Hence we shall have to fall back here, as in most other cases, on the individual as our starting-point.

Moral reform is not from without but from within. The law cannot replace the ethical mandate which addresses itself personally to each individual. The law may aid in protecting whatever moral standards are prevailing in a community or nation, but the law as such cannot add one cubit to its moral stature. Both Woodrow Wilson and his opponent in the presidential campaign are in perfect agreement on this point. Woodrow Wilson said before the American Bar Association at Chattanooga, Tennessee: "The major premise of all law is moral responsibility, the moral responsibility of individuals for their acts, and no other foundation can any man lay on which a stable fabric of equitable justice may be reared." And he emphasized in this connection that the people ought to be cured of the appetite for law as the remedy for all ills. Hughes declares: "I do not sympathize very much with schemes of moral regeneration through legislation. We can accomplish a great deal by wise laws, but the impetus of moral movements must as a rule be given by the voluntary work of citizens who, with the force of conviction, press their views upon the people and secure that public sentiment according to which alone any true moral reform can be accomplished. I also have very little sympathy for an ambitious scheme for doing away with all evil in the community at once." As I tried to show in an article "Social or Individual Regeneration" in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, January, 1912, moral reform must begin within man, the leverage of all civilization and moral progress forever starts with the individual man. It is a sad testimony to the churches that they have allowed themselves to fix attention unduly upon surroundings, conditions, and external things, instead of engaging, as was their wont, the man, for after all it is the man who controls, creates, makes, and unmakes these "conditions," and also makes and breaks the customs. The magic word "environment" has subtly poisoned the modern mind into flabby fatalism of materialistic flavor. We are all set adrift upon the evolutionary currents with the vague hope that somehow the evolving is upward and onward, though some wrecks and much driftwood on life's ocean alarm us. We are evidently not naturally floating to the haven of destiny. We need compass, chart, and above all—we need to steer ourselves.

Professory Perry puts this clearly in *The Moral Economy* (p. 130): "The external environment of life is in some respects favorable, in others unfavorable. Now, strangely enough, it is the unfavorable rather than the favorable aspect of the environment that conduces to progress. Progress, or even the least good, would, of course, be impossible, unless the mechanical environment was

morally plastic. The fact that nature submits to the organization which we call life is a fundamental and constant condition of all civilization. But there is nothing in the mere compliance of nature to press life forward. It is the menace of nature which stimulates progress. It is because nature always remains a source of difficulty and danger that life is provoked to renew the war and achieve a more thorough conquest. Nature will not permit life to keep what it has unless it gains more." I will quote two more professors of Harvard who have given this subject special attention. Professor Peabody declares: "Better methods (as wiser laws) may simplify the social question, it can be solved by nothing less than better men." Professor Münsterberg observes in *American Problems* (p. 21): "The whole radicalism of the prohibition movement would not be necessary if there were more training for self-control. To prohibit always means only the removal of the temptation, but what is evidently more important is to remain temperate in the midst of a world of temptation. The rapid growth of divorce, the silly chase for luxury, the rivalry in ostentation and in the gratification of personal desires in a hundred forms cannot be cured if only one or another temptation is taken out of sight. The improvement must come from within. The fault is in ourselves, in our prejudices, in our training, in our habits, in our fanciful fear of nervousness."

A point that should not be lost sight of in connection with these legalistic tendencies, is that they make their strongest showing on the least positive moral strength. It is a truism to say that as moral virtue languishes people will naturally lean more strongly on the law, or the conventional verdict. Hence conventional and legal morality, which at best cultivates negative virtues, has become often of ill repute. It has led people to conceive prevailing of morality and religion as restraint, not as inner conformity to right, as a life responsive to and expressive of a positive principle within. The monumental exhibit of legal morality in the religious sphere stands branded in the Pharisees. Read in Schurer's work *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* the chapter "The Life Under the Law," realize the monstrous result when ethics and theology were swallowed up in jurisprudence, and you will pause at the folly to acquire temperance through prohibition. Rather the hysterical appeal for prohibition is itself proof of intemperance. Is not the leading appeal and argument on the ground of prevailing weakness and consequent abuse of liquor an explicit and implicit declaration of the moral bankruptcy of the nation? Scripture insists that Christian liberty is nowhere allowed to be forced. In

the whole Bible the prohibition fanatics search in vain for sanctions for their crusade. Christ turned water into wine. "And He called the multitude, and said unto them, Hear and understand. Not that which entereth the mouth defileth the man." The argument when Paul urges that the strong (those who do not abuse it) become weak to the weak (those who actually abuse it, or are liable to do so) can of course never come within the range of law, as it is necessarily a voluntary, individual act to abstain in behalf of the weaker brother. Yet, Billy Sunday, who should know Scripture, indulges in the following characteristic diction at the ratification of the prohibition amendment: "The rain of tears is over; the slums will soon be a memory. We will turn our prisons into factories, our jails into storehouses and corn-cribs. Men will walk upright now, women will smile, children will laugh, hell will be for rent." Without depreciating Billy's evangelistic endeavors the query forces itself forward: Can Billy really believe such extravagant statements? Does Billy not realize that his own evangelistic efforts aim with powerful emotional, histrionic, and dramatic effect at the will of his hearers, and unless that will is reached, and is (with or without grace) strong enough to break the baneful habit, his appeal goes for naught? Is Mr. Sunday not aware of the fact that prohibition only limits a man's choice by eliminating liquor as an object evil in itself or leading to evil consequences, but that the weak or depraved will, thus barred, is ever ready to find other objects? Still, Billy fills a niche all his own, his thundering people away from the temptation of drink into abstinence is readily seen to move on a higher plane than having possible temptations removed by the police measures of prohibition. Contrast Billy's thunder against the liquor traffic with the resolution of the Massachusetts Federation of patriotic societies and good-government clubs, held at Malta Hall in Cambridge, and one cannot fail to rate Billy's rampant denunciations as wholesome by the side of utterances of these alleged patriots of good-government clubs. Billy never smells unctuous, he is in fact the exact opposite of those whose fatal pride is inflated with the sense of their own excellence. These people urged commemoration of the 300th Anniversary of the Landing of the Pilgrims at Plymouth along with the resolution "that we exert every influence and labor unceasingly to make as a contribution by 1920 a decisive and complete victory over the greatest enemy of all times." How many of these people realize what an entirely different conception these Pilgrim Fathers, whom they wish to commemorate, had of "the greatest enemy of all times," over whom they certainly

could not gain "a decisive and complete victory" by a mere legal prohibitory enactment. How many of these people are aware that Robinson and Brewster, when the leaders of the Puritans at Leyden, obtained there special privileges to buy enough wine and beer without tax to supply most of the congregation, and that the beer which the pilgrims of the Mayflower had was sold off to pay their debts to their harsh English creditors! The Pilgrim Fathers had "disciplined hearts," but this prohibition movement is born of intemperance. This Massachusetts Federation of patriotic societies should be reminded of the fact that the Bay State itself annulled the prohibition law nearly two generations ago after having been dry for some twenty years, its leading men and best citizens sustained public opinion in a general protest against it. We might point here also to Cotton Mather's sermon on the Bostonian Ebenezer, where he says: "And, oh! that the drinking-houses in the town might once come under a laudable regulation. The town has an enormous number of them; will the haunters of those houses hear the counsels of heaven? For you that are town-dwellers, to be oft or long in your visits of the 'ordinary,' 't will certainly expose you to mischiefs more than ordinary.... But let the owners of those houses also now hear our counsels. Oh! hearken to me, that God may hearken to you another day! It is an honest, and a lawful, though it may not be a very desirable employment, that you have undertaken: you may glorify the Lord Jesus Christ in your employment if you will, and benefit the town considerably. There was a very godly man that was an innkeeper, and a great minister of God could say to that man in 3 John 2, 'Thy soul prospereth.' Oh, let it not be said of you, since you are fallen in this employment, 'Thy soul withereth'.... There was an inn at Bethlehem where the Lord Jesus Christ was met withal. Can Boston boast of many such? Alas, too ordinarily it may be said, 'There is no room for him in the inn.'"

We raise in this connection the question whether the prohibition movement itself is wholly guiltless of the excesses of the drink evils, when it forced the liquor traffic, which needs to be so carefully guarded, by its violent, persistent attacks into careless and reckless hands? Cardinal Gibbons is quoted as describing the Prohibition Amendment as a blow at the Christian religion, and predicts the invasion of American homes by federal officers "with the authority of policemen and the violence of burglars." This accords fully with Mr. Taft's statement, and is left for truly-good-government clubs to reflect upon.

PEACE AND THE MEANS TO PEACE.

BY GILBERT REID,¹

"And if I by Beelzebub cast out devils
....."—Matt. xii. 27.

THE great Teacher, of humble origin, one of the people, refused to cast out Beelzebub by Beelzebub. He used divine power in a divine way. He would not do evil that good might come. To be righteous, as He thought it, was the best way to achieve righteousness among all generations of his fellow men. To be a Christian in these days of testing is to catch the spirit of Christ and embue thereby the problems of the nations.

It has remained for a High-Church Anglican, the Lord Bishop of Oxford, to attest to the virtue of moral aims in waging war and effecting peace, such as President Wilson time and time again has urged on all belligerents of both sides in the world war, especially before the actual Peace Conference. Bishop Gore, on arrival in New York, used these words of spiritual clearness and dispassionate broad-mindedness: "The mere determination to beat Germany is apt to absorb all else. Whereas, in fact, we might defeat Germany and at the same time absorb so much of what is false in the spirit of the war as to defeat our professed aims in entering upon it. That is what makes me ready to do anything that lies in my power to keep the right moral principles of the war to the fore."

The Fourteen Points of President Wilson's address to Congress, January 8, of last year, have been called by some "war aims." He himself announced them as "the program of the world's peace." The major part relates to treatment to be meted out to the two Central Powers; the minor part applies to all the world. In his address on opening the Fourth Liberty Loan campaign, September 27, he dealt mainly with universal principles and to a less degree with enemy governments.

All these principles and all this program were adopted, marvelous to say, first by the spokesmen of the Central Powers, and later by the Versailles Inter-Allied Conference. Have the subsequent secret negotiations at Paris solidified or nullified these high principles, proclaimed as they were "on the housetop"?

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Some want to cast out Beelzebub—all wrong ideas and methods incident to the war—by righteous means and in a Christ-like spirit; others cling to fellowship with Beelzebub to crush Beelzebub, and in the crushing process to overthrow him who is innocent as well as the spirit that seeks for the highest and the best in the interrelations of nations and peoples.

What is important just now is that in the settlement of peace no aid shall be sought at the hands of Beelzebub.

Let us note a few places where Beelzebub might be able to creep in, if, indeed, he has not already crept in.

1. The natural impression went forth months ago that President Wilson and the prevailing American spirit refused, though in association with the Entente Allies, to approve everything they had done and planned since war began in 1914, but were supporting and fighting for aims which were more just,—equal opportunities to all in the future reorganization of the world. Because President Wilson seemed to occupy an advanced position as to the ultimate goal—lasting and universal peace—the enemy countries were emboldened to apply to him first of all to bring about armistice and peace. It was naturally supposed that if they could be induced to accept his program hostilities would cease without unnecessary shedding of human blood. Leading Britons had given encouragement to this supposition. Even the British Premier in July of last year stated that if “the Kaiser and his advisers are prepared to accept” the President’s conditions, “he can have peace not only with America but with Great Britain and France.”

It was not supposed that any card was “held up the sleeve.” President Wilson had himself stated as one of the conditions of peace that “diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.”

Now, how will the moral character of this new diplomacy be affected if one after another of the peace conditions be subjected to modification according to the good pleasure of just one side, or if any of the great principles be toned down or allowed to slip away? For instance, though “the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine should be righted,” as first most justly declared, the view-point of France, seconded by Great Britain and also apparently by the rest of the “Big Five,” has been that Alsace-Lorraine must be “restored to France,” in spite of the fact that this much-disputed territory has not always belonged to France and no plebiscite is to be taken.

What, then, of all other territory seized through conquest since 1871 by all the great Powers of the world on all the five continents?

The all-important point of freedom of the seas is another illustration. Naturally President Wilson's form of statement and America's original interpretation, were not acceptable to the British. The whole dispute is now relegated into annihilation by forming a League of Nations which is to allow no such thing as neutral nations, but by making all of them potentially belligerent, effectively does away with the whole problem of neutral rights. This looks like playing at diplomacy.

Will the American ideal succumb to passion or politics in harmony with one's desires? Shall the Fourteen Points be shelved while a League of Minority Nations is being formed as in a "close corporation"? Has the Beelzebub of Bias and imperial aggrandizement been given a place at the Peace Table?

2. Probably the supreme object in waging war against the Central Powers has been the overthrow of militarism. It is commonly spoken of as "Prussian," as if no other country had been dominated by militarism. The result has been that Prussia, and even every German, has been more hated than militarism. To match the force of Germany the temptation has been, quite naturally, to arrange a combination, not of mere spiritual ideas, but of superior military force, and in so doing we have weakened the strength of our arguments against militarism. For what, after all, is militarism but the will to conquer through force of arms? It is the military spirit, governing all else, on land or sea.

If it be true that the American purpose has been victory on the field of battle, it must also be acknowledged that with not a few the ultimate end has never been lost sight of, viz., lasting peace. So President Wilson in calling upon Congress to declare a state of war with the German government, said that he had "exactly the same thing in mind" that he had in mind when he previously announced his policy of mediation between the warring nations. His object still was "to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world."

But with too many the ambition has grown to have America henceforth military, to rely on war measures rather than on negotiation, to scorn peace societies and dub pacifists disloyal, and to continue to force men into army or navy by the usual method of conscription. So Bishop Gore, speaking in Boston, said: "Are we in no danger of militarism? I can conceive of no disaster comparable with this that we should win a great victory and be able to

dictate to the military autocracy of Germany a peace the most desirable that we could imagine; that we should have them under our feet, defeated before all Europe, and that then we should return to our several countries ourselves having imbibed that very disease from which we were seeking to deliver the world." He then declares that our chief moral aim "is that this is a war against war," but if we revert to the old "balances of power," "we are in view of the collapse of civilization." Shall we welcome to the Peace Table the Beelzebub of Militarism?

3. More than once has the American policy been described by President Wilson as opposed to all interference in the internal affairs of other nations, even of Germany and Austria-Hungary. To adopt such a policy of interference in any sovereign nation is contrary to the spirit of international law, and especially to the policy of the Wilson administration. In the President's address of January 8 last year he used the words: "Neither do we presume to suggest to her any alteration or modification of her institutions." At the same time he pointed out a necessary change of leadership. "But it is necessary, we must frankly say, and necessary as a preliminary to any intelligent dealings with her on our part, that we should know whom her spokesmen speak for when they speak to us, whether for the Reichstag majority or for the military party and the men whose creed is imperial domination."

In a previous address, of December 4, 1917, he also said: "We intend no wrong against the German Empire, no interference with her internal affairs." As to Austria-Hungary his tenth condition of peace originally read thus: "The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development."

But what has happened? Have not the victors openly set out to destroy the governments of the Central Powers by the Beelzebub of Revolution? Has not the orderly democratic element been handicapped by a Beelzebub of blockade and outside oppression? It has been stated by wise observers that if anarchy should spread from Russia to Germany and Austria-Hungary, it is likely to spread to Italy, France, and Great Britain, and, if there, then also to the United States. While the overthrow of autocratic rule seems desirable for the sake of democracy, is it not incumbent that we move cautiously, lest the reaction from autocracy or even monarchy be not democracy or even a republic, but anarchy and lawlessness?

Marquis Okuma is reported as saying: "Though all other

thrones in the world should totter and fall, you may be sure that the Imperial House of Japan would survive." Are we so sure? Will the anarchy resulting from antagonism to monarchical rulers and constitutional government stop with the continents of Europe and America? Might it not spread like an epidemic to Asia, and particularly to the two remaining empires of India and Japan?

4. Hatred is another Beelzebub being welcomed at the Peace Table. Perhaps we should use the milder term of lack of fairness and of conciliation.

In January of last year President Wilson said: "We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this program that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of pacific enterprise, such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power."

In his great address of September he outlined a Peace of Nations as "the most essential part of the peace settlement" of which this principle stands first: "The impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favorites and knows no standard but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned."

The Junker element in the nations opposed to the Central Powers has been crying out that the representatives of even the *people* of these two Powers should have no voice in the peace settlement, but should make complete surrender just as in the terms of armistice. How, then, can a League of *all* Nations be safely formed at the peace settlement? Are the peoples of these two nations to have no rights at all, and have no chance to defend their rights by appeal to reason? If Prussia's treatment of France in 1871 was too harsh and unjust, shall the Allied nations and the United States, aiming to organize a model world "consistent with the common interest of all," lend their influence to a peace settlement even more harsh and more unjust than that imposed by Prussia on France?

5. Another Beelzebub is the persistent violation of the spirit of international law, in the special matter of seizure or sequestration of private property of enemy subjects.

The English authority, Hall, says such action "would be looked upon with extreme disfavor." He continues: "It is evident that although it is within the bare rights of a belligerent to appropriate the property of his enemies existing within his jurisdiction, it can very rarely be wise to do so." Once again: "The absence of any instance

of confiscation in the more recent European wars, no less than the common interests of all nations and present feelings, warrant a confident hope that the dying right will never again be put in force, and that it will soon be wholly extinguished by disuse."

The lofty character of American motives in entering the war has received a shock in the rather ruthless way in which the Alien Property Custodian has disposed of property belonging to Germans. Certainly this department can do as it pleases, that is, be arbitrary, but unless such action hastens the defeat of German militarism, it seems to ordinary mortals that it would be more honorable to follow the modern trend of international law.

Right at the time that both Central Powers made overtures for peace and the armies of Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, and the United States were assured of victory, the announcement was made that the Alien Property Custodian was taking "control of property valued at more than \$21,300,000 which had previously been owned by, or held in trust for, descendants of wealthy American families, most of whom are now in possession of German and Austrian titles."

Mr. A. Mitchell Palmer, speaking in Philadelphia, lately gave his view-point: "Germany must be made to understand that her plan has failed in the industrial field as in the military. Industrial disarmament must come along with military disarmament," i. e., for Germany, but for no other country.

Again, while men everywhere were talking peace, the Allied Ministers in Peking, six of them, complained to the Chinese Government because it had delayed, as it had the right to delay, in interning German subjects in China and in breaking up German business houses, an object that not a few Britons had had in mind from the autumn of 1914.

All this, moreover, is contrary to the lofty principle stated by President Wilson in his speech of last September. He said: "Special alliances and economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific source in the modern world of the plans and passions that produce war. It would be an insincere as well as an insecure peace that did not exclude them in definite and binding terms."

It looks as if to the high-handedness of ruining private individuals of a belligerent nation, the victors would now form a league to carry forward the baneful policy of economic rivalry. Better the appeal of Lord Robert Cecil: "Let us erect the superstructure of a new international order, which will substitute international cooperation for international competition."

6. This war, at least American participation therein, is to liberate weak nations, oppressed peoples, and persecuted individuals. The essential idea of democracy is human freedom.

President Wilson in the fourth of his five principles for world-wide application—a modern Sermon on the Mount—asks: “Shall there be a common standard of right and privilege for all peoples and nations or shall the strong do as they will and the weak suffer without redress?”

This liberation primarily is for the Balkan peoples, for the peoples of Russia, for those under Turkish rule and in the once Empire-Kingdom of Austria-Hungary, and even for the people of the German States. May it not be applied to the diverse races and peoples dwelling within the bounds of these United States and of all our possessions?

Will it not soon be clear that oppressive methods have been used far too much on conscientious American citizens and on those who have fled from European tyranny to “the land of the free and the home of the brave”? Has the conscientious objector fared as well under the Stars and Stripes as under the Union Jack? Has the American opposed to war or to the entrance of his own country into the war, received as considerate treatment as men of similar mind have been accorded in the United Kingdom, to say nothing of Ireland? Has criticism of the Administration at Washington or of any American officials been tolerated to the same degree as criticism of the British Government and Lloyd George or even criticism of the German Imperial Government, and of the Kaiser himself? Is it not dangerous for every insignificant man to express his own thoughts, especially when his thoughts are erroneous in the eyes of the majority, or when he expresses himself in broken English? In a word, has not our great country lost much in not holding to the fundamental principles embodied in our Constitution and shown forth in the proud record of American institutions, liberal and just?

We wanted to overthrow European autocracy; has any American been autocratic? Has the Beelzebub of Autocracy been given a seat among the Big Five?

We lament the harshness of the Brest-Litovsk treaty; will we countenance something more harsh in heaping retribution on Germany and Austria-Hungary?

We point the finger of scorn at the oppressive domination of German military rule; has any American tasted oppression since Good Friday, 1917?

We feel sorry that so many in Europe are not free; are all Americans free?

We used to trace lawlessness and riots in Central and Eastern Europe to arbitrary officialdom; to what must we trace lawless and riotous conduct in this country?

Shall we make use of methods which we condemn in others?

St. Paul itemized the sins of the Gentiles, but, lest the Jews be puffed up with vain glory, he asked: "Thou that makest thy boast of the law, through breaking the law dishonorest thou God?"

ANDREW D. WHITE—NEUTRAL.

BY ROLAND HUGINS.

THE duration of the world war coincided with the last years of Andrew Dickson White. He died on November 4, 1918. If he had lived three days more he would have come to his eighty-sixth birthday. If he had been granted seven days more he would have lived until the signing of the armistice with Germany. So the final span of this great American's life overlapped almost exactly the period during which was fought the greatest battle of history.

Naturally Dr. White was intensely interested in the great conflict. The attention of practically every one in the world was absorbed by it. But not only that: he had an especial reason for interest, because of the fact that he knew personally many of the diplomats and generals who were responsible for the breaking of the flood-gates, and understood the inside diplomatic history of Europe during the last generation. He had served as Minister to Germany and to Russia, and later again as Ambassador to Germany. After his retirement in his seventieth year, he came to live in his spacious residence on the Cornell Campus. There he kept open house for members of the faculty and undergraduates. Those who came into contact with Dr. White in this period knew how stimulating and elevating was his influence. He brought something of Olympus to Ithaca.

In the summer of 1915 a little book of mine appeared under the title *Germany Misjudged*, printed by the Open Court Publishing Company. It was scarcely more than a lengthy pamphlet. It contended that America should keep out of the world war. Although tinged with a mild pro-Germanism, it was really pacifist in tone and intent, and might just as well have been entitled "The Duty of

Neutrality." That would have proved, as events unfolded themselves, a more discreet choice of title. At any rate, the War Department placed this book on its prohibited list for Army camps last year,—an attention which I take as an undeserved compliment to my persuasiveness.

One afternoon after the book had appeared Professor George Lincoln Burr of the History Department, who has endeared himself to many successive generations of Cornellians, stopped at my house to deliver a message from Dr. White. He said that Dr. White had read *Germany Misjudged* and that when he had found it to be written by an instructor in the University, expressed a desire to have me pay him a call. Upon presenting myself the next evening, Dr. White greeted me with gracious courtesy. We had a long talk before his library fire.

Dr. White said that he thought that I had made a number of good points in the book but there were numerous things with which he could not agree. He had marked passages from which he dissented. He said that he took particular exception to two statements. In the first place he said I had made a mistake in attempting to gloss over, even faintly, the German invasion of Belgium. That was not only in his mind a crime against international law and a small nation, but it was a military and political blunder. He thought that the Germans in their campaign with France should have advanced along the old routes used in 1870. He contended that, despite the fact that the frontier between France and Germany was much more strongly fortified than in previous days, the Germans would have ultimately strengthened their position, military and moral, at the expense of a slight initial strategic sacrifice, had they struck straight at Verdun. In the second place, he declared, I had not realized the enormity of the German policy of frightfulness. He quoted Emperor William's speech at the time of the Boxer Rebellion. He said that such a policy, openly avowed and ruthlessly pursued, could not fail in the end to bring down upon Germany world-wide condemnation and possibly new enemies.

What praise he had of the book he phrased in general terms. He said that much of my criticism of France, Russia, and England was well taken. He was glad to see that the younger members of the faculty were taking an interest in public affairs and were seeking to interpret them. He hoped that I would look further into the perplexities of international politics.

After that night I called now and again at Dr. White's house. He was always charming and responsive and never in the least

condescending. He had a graciousness that is rare to meet, blended with a perfect dignity. Dr. White in these conversations did most of the talking. His age showed itself only in one respect: he was fond of reminiscence. He would tell of incidents in which he had participated during the Civil War and during his sojourns in Europe; but his mind did not dwell exclusively on the past. At the conclusion of an anecdote about Bismarck or Disraeli he would pick up from the desk the latest copy of the *London Saturday Review* and read to me a paragraph that he approved or disapproved. Dr. White drew a very sharp line between truth and falsehood. He did not hesitate to designate prominent men as blackguards. I remember that one evening he showed me a book, I think it was *Delane of the Times*, on the pages of which he had been penciling comments, as was his habit. He had made such notations as "This gives the exact truth," or "This is an outrageous lie," or "Utterly false."

To Dr. White the war, coming at the eve of a long diplomatic life, brought less astonishment than to most Americans. He viewed it as history even while it was going on. He had seen too many wars in his life, and too many narrow escapes from conflict, to imagine that any millennium was just around the corner. He did not indulge in any exaggerated hopes that the outcome of this war, whatever it might be, would bring mankind suddenly to an era of perpetual peace. Up to the time that America entered the war Dr. White believed that Germany could not be defeated crushingly, and that the war would end in a negotiated peace on the basis of a draw. His attitude toward the whole conflict up to 1917 was aloof. But his neutrality was not the neutrality of indifference or ignorance. I have heard him say a half a dozen times that Germany had suffered many genuine grievances from her neighbors, Russia, France, and England. I have also heard him half a dozen times condemn in strong terms the conduct of the Prussian Junkers. Although he was by no means a partisan of President Wilson, he supported the policy of neutrality that Mr. Wilson pursued up to the time of his second election.

Dr. White was never a whole-hearted admirer of England, although he saw many fine things in the British civilization. He said once, "I have received the best treatment and the worst treatment that I have ever encountered, in England." Yet he thought that English business men were more honest than those of the Continent and that French business men were more honest than German. He told his experiences in buying furniture at one time or another for

his ministerial residences to support these estimates of European tradesmen. Dr. White was in England as a young man during our Civil War; and the profound impression that anti-American feeling and misrepresentation produced upon him at that time was never quite eradicated. His subsequent experience inclined him to the view that the Tories and Junkers of all countries are very much alike.

The predominant emotion that the world war aroused in Dr. White was therefore not one of partisanship for either side, but of deep regret that such a calamity should ever come upon the world. He feared that the war, if too long protracted, might ruin European civilization. Dr. White had been the presiding officer of the American Delegation to the First Peace Conference at the Hague; and throughout his life he had labored incessantly for the promotion of international good will. The war therefore appeared to him as the frustration of high hopes and endeavors.

In politics Dr. White was more of a conservative than a radical. He set a very high estimate on David Jayne Hill, a successor of his as Ambassador to Berlin; and he frequently told me that he regarded Mr. Hill's book on *The People's Government* as a masterpiece. He was really a Liberal of the old-fashioned school, a school that seems to be gradually becoming extinct. He was not only the advocate but the embodiment of the best American traditions. He was high-mindedness incarnate. Although he never hesitated to condemn what he thought false or low, he was a man of generous admirations. He often spoke in terms of praise of Americans of both parties, of Cleveland and Wilson, of John Hay, Roosevelt, and Taft. He esteemed a man for his character and not for his opinions. He did not consider it an affront that a man should differ with him.

The day after war was declared by the United States early in April, 1917, I encountered Dr. White on the sidewalk of State Street, down-town in Ithaca. He was just about to enter his automobile. I asked him what he thought of the declaration. He said: "I think we should have been wiser to have stayed out. But now that we are in we must remember that we are Americans and all stand together." From that day forward, I am sure, he supported the American Government in every possible way. But he knew, with Lord Morley, that "The world is traveling under formidable omens into a new era."

THE BOOK OF NAHUM IN THE LIGHT OF ASSYRIOLOGY.

BY H. W. MENGEDOHT.

AMONG the various books of the Bible which can be elucidated by the help of Egyptian or Assyrian monuments, there is one which is especially associated with Nineveh, that is the short prophecy of Nahum; and it is of interest to see what light the monuments recovered from Assyrian and Babylonian mounds throw upon the date and authenticity of that work. The book is a very remarkable one and has greatly exercised the minds of the critics of both the higher and lower schools of criticism, but the flood of light from the monuments which has been shed upon it, has done much to remove scholarly suspicions.

The first chapter, to be sure, stands apart from the succeeding portion—the chapters ii and iii, which especially relate to Nineveh—and many still hold the opinion that it is the work of a later hand, the existence of an acrostic psalm in chap. i. 2-9 being considered to indicate a post-Exilic date. The discovery, however, of a number of acrostic psalms in the clay tablets from the Royal Library of Nineveh of a date coinciding with that of Nahum, makes it more than possible that this peculiar form of writing was especially employed as being in the Assyrian style.

The next point on which we have important monumental evidence is that of the date when the prophecy was uttered. This date is clearly indicated by the writer. He refers in chap. iii. 8-9 to an important event in Assyrian history, the capture of Thebes by Assurbanipal.

He says:

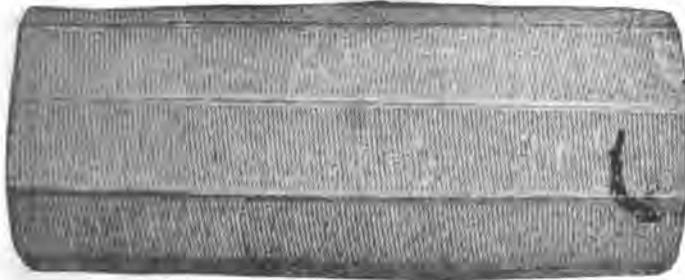
“Art thou better than populous No,¹ that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the sea, and her wall was from the sea?

“Ethiopia and Egypt were her strength, and it was infinite. Put and Lubim were thy helpers.”

Here the writer displays a great knowledge of the history of Egypt and Assyria in the seventh century B. C. Thebes was captured by Assurbanipal in 664-663 and, as he tells us in his great

¹ No-Amon, i. e., Thebes, the city of Amen-Ra.

ten-sided cylinder inscription, an immense spoil was carried away to Nineveh. The prophecy then must have been uttered after this important event, and the accuracy of the writer in speaking of



ASSURBANIPAL'S TEN-SIDED CLAY PRISM.
(From Fr. Delitzsch, *Babel and Bible*, Chicago, 1906.)

Ethiopians as well as Egyptians ruling in Thebes, is confirmed by the fact that at the time an Ethiopian king was actually on the throne of Egypt, a king whose Ethiopian name was Tanut-Amon, and who was entirely defeated by the Assyrians.

The directness with which the writer refers to, and practically describes, the destruction of Nineveh, would show that the limit of his horizon must be the capture and burning of the city by the Medes. The date of this important event can be fixed with great accuracy. In 1895, there was discovered at Babylon by Dr. Scheil a black basalt column inscribed with a long inscription of Nabonidus, the last of the Neo-Babylonian kings, who ruled 555-538 B. C.

The inscription is the coronation proclamation of the king and gives a summary of the events which led to his being appointed by the god Merodach to rule the kingdom. In this important text the king describes how the god Merodach called upon the aid of the Medes against the Assyrians to avenge the terrible and sacrilegious destruction of Babylon and the carrying away of the statue of Marduk to Assyria by Sennacherib. The king also gives the date of the destruction of the great temple of the moon-god at Kharran, which he rebuilt in 553 B. C., saying that the Medes destroyed the temple fifty-four years before, that is, in 607 B. C. As this was the same invasion which terminated in the fall of Nineveh, the date of that event may with certainty be fixed as 606 B. C. This was also the year when the Assyrio-Babylonian general Nabopolassar seized the throne of Babylon and proclaimed the new Babylonian empire. The date of Nahum, then, must be about 628-624 B. C., near the



ASSURBANIPAL POURING OUT A LIBATION OVER FOUR DEAD LIONS.*

(British Museum, reproduced by permission of the Trustees.)

* Translation of the three-line Assyrian inscription over the libation scene: "I am Assur-bani-pal, king of nations, king of Assyria, whom Ashur and Belit have given strength, [who] slew four lions. The mighty bow of Ishtar, lady of battle, over them I held, I poured a libation out over them."

end of the reign or shortly after the death of Assurbanipal, a period of great luxury and splendor in Nineveh, when the nation was waxing idle from the wealth of world-wide conquest and when it most certainly best fits the description of the prophet as being full of silver and gold and an unlimited store of treasure.

The splendor of Nineveh in the age of Nahum is graphically presented by Sennacherib in an inscription on a six-sided cylinder now in the British Museum, in which he describes his building, or rather rebuilding, of certain portions of Nineveh. He says:

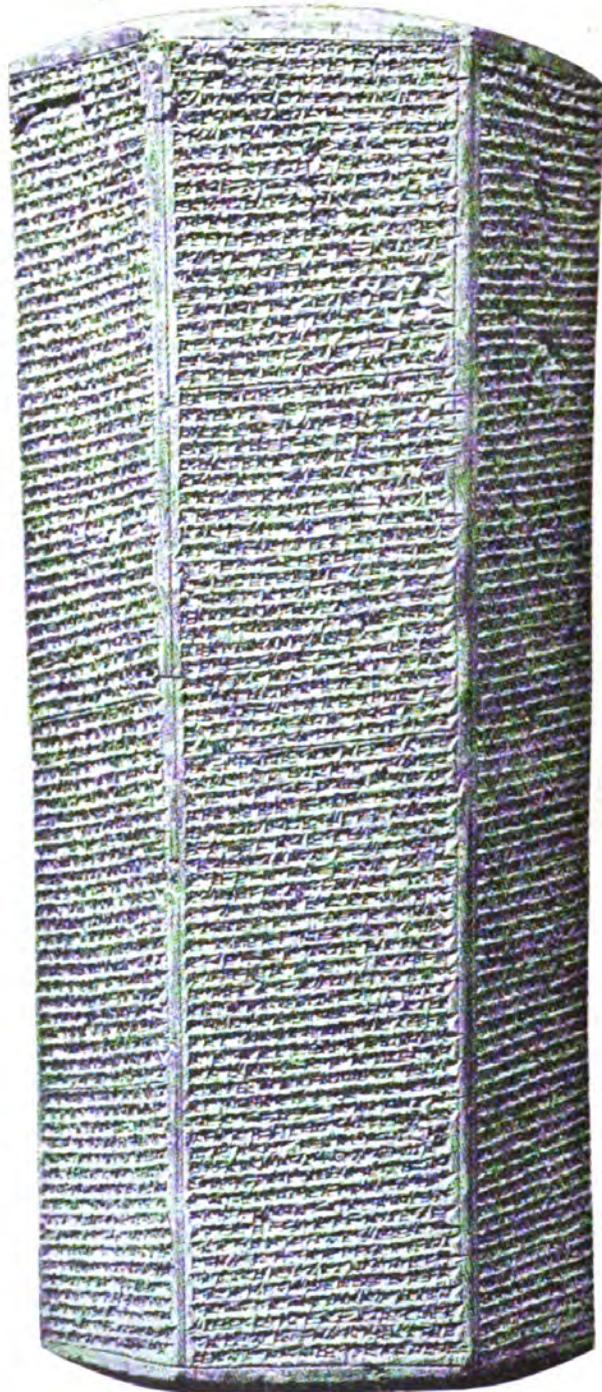
"Nineveh, the exalted town, the city beloved of Ishtar,
Wherein are all the shrines of the gods and goddesses,
The everlasting foundation, the eternal establishment,
Of which the design was in ancient times [like] the design of heaven
and thus fashioned,
Whose structure shone brightly,
The beautiful place, the dwelling of the oracle,
Wherein are all works of art, all shrines and treasures."

It is to be noted that the king calls the city "the city beloved of Ishtar," the Assyrian Venus, the Ashtaroth of the Phœnicians, and we shall see that it is against this goddess that the prophet directs his most vehement remarks, for he regards her as the personification of the city itself.

One remarkable feature of the light here thrown on the Book of Nahum, is that it reveals the extraordinary knowledge the prophet had of the history and topography of the Assyrian capital.

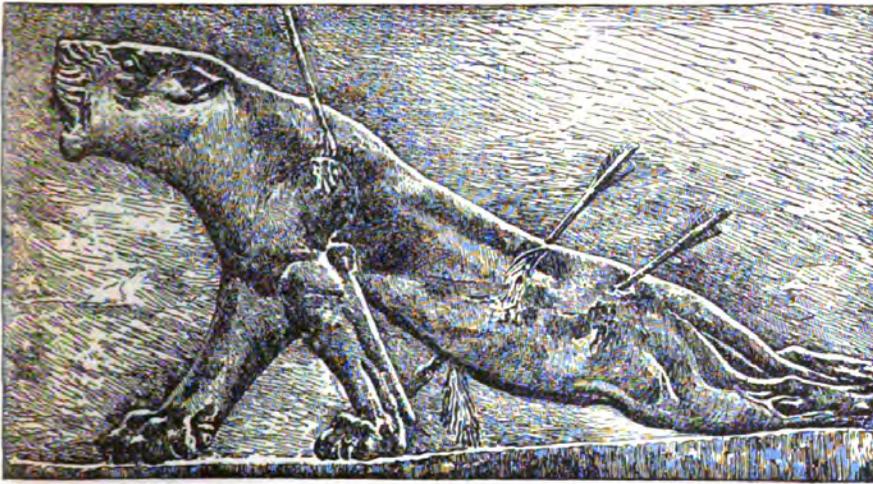
In chap. ii. 8 we read: "But Nineveh is of old like a pool of water." This statement gains further meaning when we find that the name of Nineveh, "the city of Nina," contains the name of the old Sumerian or Babylonian goddess of the fish-ponds and marshes, and the Assyrian city of Nineveh was probably a colony founded in ancient times from some Babylonian city or district in which the fish-goddess Nina was worshiped. Another interesting point in this connection has been made by the discovery of a number of tablets from Telloh, the ancient Lagash on the Shatt-el-Hai in southern Babylonia, and we learn from these that it was customary to offer fish to this goddess in the temples. It is this association of Nineveh with the fish that also led to the well-known story of Jonah when on his mission to Nineveh, though that work cannot boast of the wealth of support from the monuments which is obtainable for the Book of Nahum.

Not only is the prophet acquainted with the origin of Nineveh



SENNACHERIB'S SIX-SIDED CLAY PRISM.
(British Museum, reproduced by permission of the Trustees.)

but he is familiar with the patron deity of the city, the goddess Ishtar, and he denounces the goddess and her cult in no measured terms. He calls her by a name which has long been a puzzle to critics, "Huzzab," which, however, we are now able to explain with the assistance of the Assyrian inscriptions. This word is the equivalent of the Assyrian *esibu*, meaning "abandoned" or "divorced." Again the prophet waxes bitter in the following passage, chap. iii. 4: "Because of the multitude of the whoredoms of the wellfavored harlot, the mistress of witchcrafts," etc. This passage finds a complete explanation from a tablet in the British Museum



THE DYING LIONESS OF NINEVEH.
(From Fr. Delitzsch, *op. cit.*)

which formed part of the great Babylonian epic, the story of Gilgamesh or Nimrod. The goddess Ishtar, jealous of the victorious hero Gilgamesh, desires to marry him, saying "Thou shalt be my husband and I will be thy wife." But the hero is afraid of her and refuses, and then taunts her with the fatal outcome of her former notorious amours:

"On Tammuz (Adonis), the spouse of thy youth,
Thou didst lay affliction each year.
Thou didst love the Allahu-bird,
Thou didst smite him and break his wing.
He stands in the forest and cries 'Oh my wing.'
Thou didst love a lion perfect in strength,
Seven times didst thou dig snares for him.
Thou didst love a horse, glorious in war,
Bridle, spur, and whip didst thou lay upon him.

Thou didst gallop him for seven *kasbu*,²
 Trouble and sweat didst thou force him to bear,
 On his mother Silili thou didst lay affliction.
 Thou didst love Tabulu the shepherd,
 Who did continually pour out libations for thee
 And each day slaughtered kids for thee.
 But thou didst smite him and change him into a leopard
 So that his own shepherd-boy hunted him
 And his own dogs tore him in pieces," etc.

We have here a character study of the goddess which quite bears out the denunciations of the prophet. It also bears a striking resemblance to the Greek Circe, while the last episode recalls the Greek legend of Actæon being torn to pieces by his own dogs.

In another fragment of the epic we have a passage exactly parallel to the simile of Nahum in chap. ii. 7: "Her handmaids shall lead her as with the voice of doves, tabering upon their breasts." In a description of the destruction of Erech, the sacred city of Ishtar, we read:

"The asses tread down their young,
 Cows turn from their calves,
 Maidens mourn like doves."

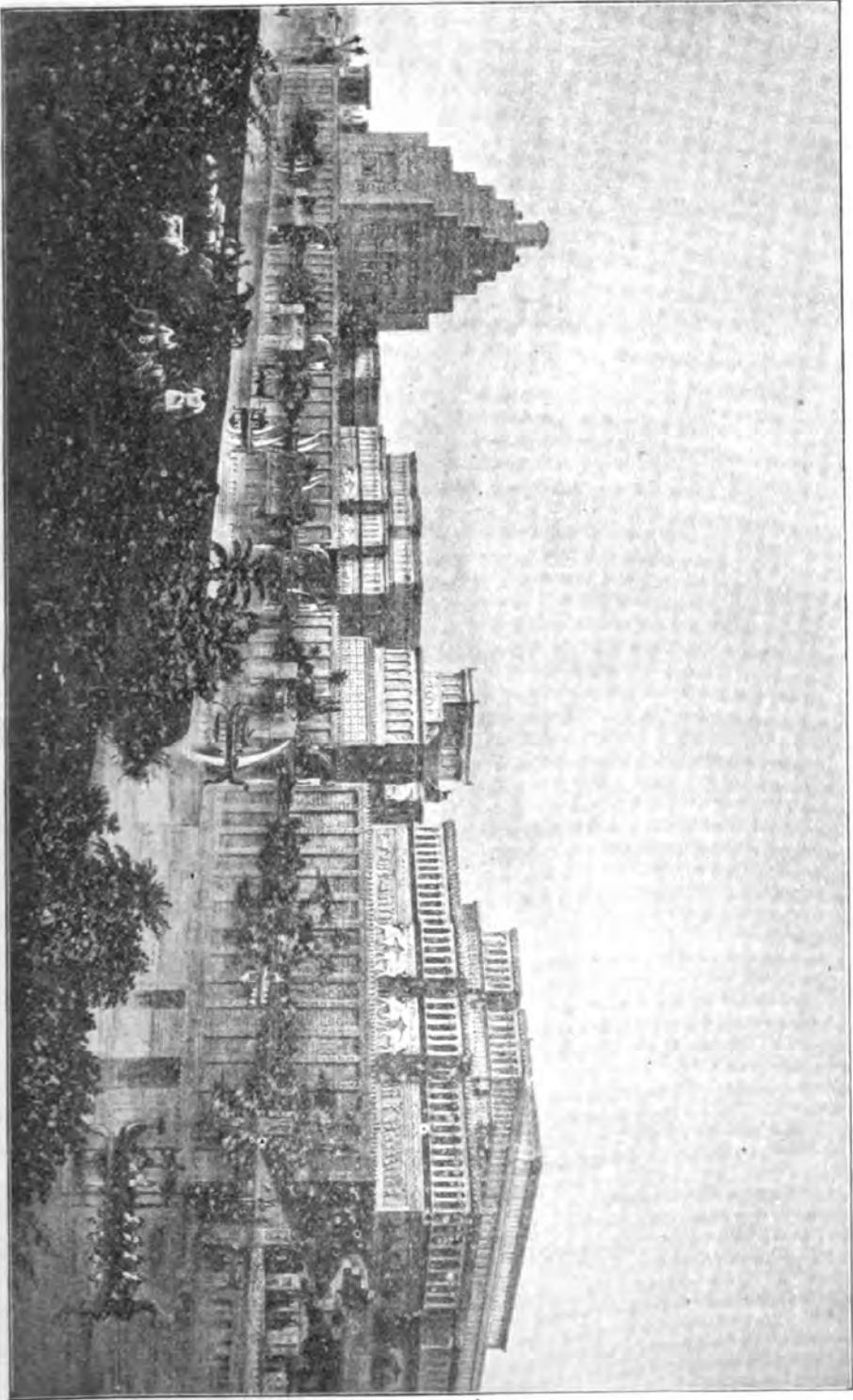
The simile applies to the two female attendants of Ishtar, *Kharimat* and *Samkhat*, the personifications of pleasure and lust.

Again, in the same chapter, verse 11: "Where is the dwelling of the lions, and the feedingplace of the young lions, where the lion, even the old lion, walked, and the lion's whelp, and none made them afraid." This has reference to the royal park which Sennacherib laid out and which Assurbanipal enlarged, and in which the latter is represented hunting lions in the famous basreliefs now in the British Museum. This park lay between the palace and the north gate of Nineveh and was called *Melulte*, a word which can only be translated by "paradise."

The writer of the book evidently knew the city well when he refers to the streets and broad ways. Sennacherib tells us he laid out wide streets and Esarhaddon says in his inscriptions that, on his return from the capture of Sidon, he marched his Phœnician captives through the squares and broad places (*eributi*) in triumph.

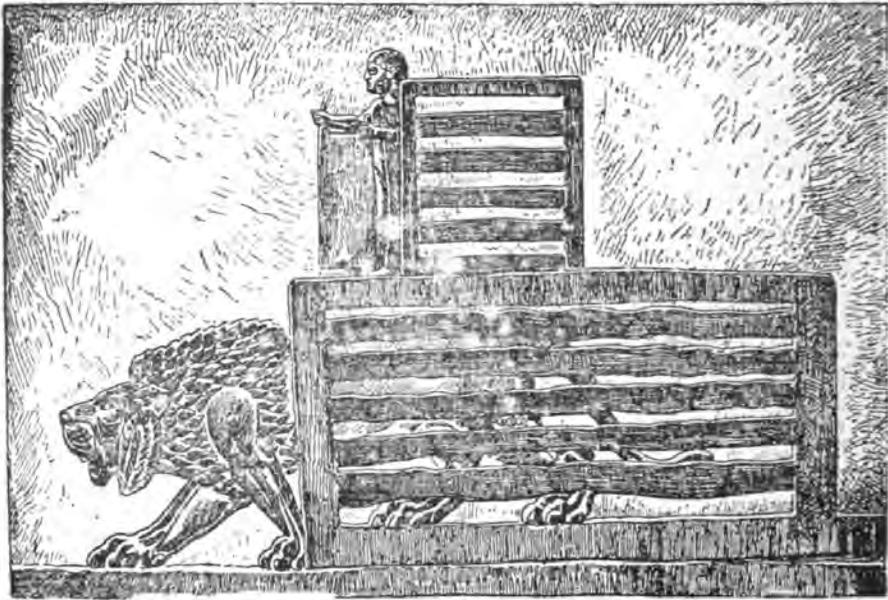
The destruction of Nineveh appears to have been in a great measure brought about by the diversion of the river *Khosr*, for as Nahum says, chap. ii. 6, "The gates of the rivers shall be opened, and the palace shall be dissolved." These words find a curious

² About 49 miles.



THE PALACES OF NIMRUD.* Imaginative restoration. (From a sketch by James Ferguson, Layard.)
* Assurbanipal resided here at least for a time. The river shown is the one referred to by Nabunn (s. v. chap. ii. 6.)

parallel in one of Sennacherib's cylinders describing the destruction of an old palace which had been built long before his time. The passage reads: "The river Tibiltu,³ a violent stream which since ancient days⁴ had come right up to the palace, and during the time of flood had caused havoc to its substructure and had destroyed the foundations thereof, of that river Tibiltu I diverted the course." The Medes, no doubt, when they besieged the city, diverted the river Khosr and caused the palace quarter to be flooded. The story of the destruction of the old palace above referred to may have



CAGED LION SET FREE FOR THE CHASE.
(From Fr. Delitzsch, *op. cit.*)

been known to Nahum and he used it as a simile for the coming destruction.

There is no need to pursue this subject further, sufficient striking examples have been cited to show how accurate even in minute details the prophet is and how fully his statements are borne out by the monuments. Thus the value of Assyriology as an aid to Biblical study has again been attested.

³ The reading of this name is doubtful.

⁴ In Assyrian *yumi sukuti*, lit., "days long distant."

THE MYSTICISM OF LAO-TZE.

BY EARL F. COOK.¹

IN books dealing with the religions of China the words "mystic," "mystical," and the like, frequently appear near the name of Lao-tze. Usually no further explanation is made, and the reader is left to deduce his own conclusions. The object of this exceedingly brief, and therefore crude, paper is to arrive at a more definite understanding of what lies beneath such vague and much abused terminology.

William James says that there is no personal religious experience which does not have its roots in mystical states of consciousness.² Dependable data about the life of Lao-tze are lacking, so it is impossible to make any extended observations about his religious experience. What data we do have, however, combined with the small deposit of his thought in the *Tao Teh King*, point clearly toward such experience and can be called mystical. In fact, it is doubtful if Lao-tze can be fully intelligible apart from this interpretation.

Environment always has a great deal to do with the appearance of various types of people and thought. Especially is this true of mystics. Wherever there is chaos and distress, persons tend to seek internal adjustment rather than external adjustment, so that some degree of certainty and comfort may be secured. A reconciliation of opposed and antagonistic factors is sought in the mind for the sake of peace. The outside world offers no substantial support, consequently the disturbed person seeks security elsewhere; generally in what is thought to be the groundwork of all things.

Lao-tze lived in a situation that produces such adjustment. His life and work were at the Imperial Court in Chau. Corruption apparently prevailed there. Men were incessantly using evil means to secure selfish ends. The dynasty itself was rapidly decaying. Elaborate ceremonialism and externalism were crushing the cherished qualities of human relationship. Historic fact reveals this and the internal evidence of the *Tao Teh King* manifests some such conditions. Various passages obviously could not have been written unless the government was bad, unless men were more interested

¹ Meadville Theological School.

² *The Varieties of Religious Experience*, p. 379.

in achieving their own ambitions than aiding good government. Then, there are references to the past state of man when he was simple and pure, and lived in harmony with Tao; and these are, more often than not, an indication of untidy affairs.³ He meditated upon its nature and produced a mysticism not fully developed.

Like many Christian mystics, when faced by intolerable conditions, Lao-tze found a simple solution. He said, "Get into harmony with Tao," while they said, "Get into harmony with God." At bottom both suggestions are really of the same experiential stuff. "Get into harmony" is the sum and substance of the teachings, all else is but an expansion of this fundamental principle.

The very simplicity of the principle has made it terrifying to some minds. No wonder Confucius with his insatiable love of detail and organization was bewildered by his conference with the old master. Too many have expected abstruse metaphysics to be hidden in the sayings of Lao-tze and frequently have made obvious remarks become profound utterances. The conciseness and brevity of the *Tao Teh King* have added to the confusion, but the five thousand characters in the little book are really repeating the same thoughts constantly. However, the well-known stiffness of the language has naturally compelled the finer aspects of mystical knowledge to receive poor expression. Moreover, the mystic's delight in paradox was not wanting in Lao-tze, for he says himself, "Words that are strictly true seem to be paradoxical."⁴ And the lack of emotional phraseology so usually characteristic of religious minds further complicates, strangely enough, the effort to penetrate the nature of his ideas and feelings.

Be this as it may, however, he repeats a familiar phrase of the mystics when he says, "He who knows the Tao does not care to speak about it; and he who is ever ready to speak about it does not know it" (56, 1), and frightens many away from trying to understand what is really meant by knowing the Tao. Lao-tze himself, nevertheless, immediately proceeds in the attempt to describe the knowledge. He dispels any fear of complexity by saying that his doctrine is very easy and simple to know and to practise; but adds that it is just because of this that "no one in the world" seems able to grasp it (53, 2; 70, 1). There is an originating and all-comprehending principle that expresses itself in immutable law. To penetrate this is to be at ease. The principle, of course, is Tao. It is the source and root of all creation. Its power

³ Legge's translation, *Sacred Books of the East*, Chapters 17, 19, 62, 65, 80.

⁴ Legge's translation, *loc. cit.*, Chapter 78, 4.

is endless and eternal. It silently and modestly produces and nourishes being. "What there was before the universe was Tao. Tao makes things what they are, but it is not itself a thing. Nothing can produce, yet everything has Tao within it, and continues to produce it without end." Thus it is absolute, and like the Absolute generally in mystical utterance, is inscrutable to sense-perception (21), or to man's worldly knowledge (20, 1), or to any of his ways of reasoning. It cannot be named and any attempt to name or describe it will end in incompleteness. Man's supreme concern, however, is to seek it, for if he finds it, every besetting problem will be solved. It will be an ever present help in time of trouble. It is the root, the essence of life, and if one can reach it, all will be well. He will be "helping the natural development of all things" (64, 4), and this development is good. Lao-tze's problem was also that of the Western mystics.

To know the Tao, everything that is opposed to its way of action is swept aside. Every barrier standing between the person and the Great One is broken down. Undivided attention is given to it. The imagination is cleansed and becomes without flaw (10, 1). The impure is completely overcome. Acts that damage the best qualities in life are forgotten. Thoughts resulting in unethical effects are purged out. The mind is purified. An elimination of the bad takes place, so that the good alone is existent. This is simplification—a point that Lao-tze stresses. It is returning to the root, to primordial stillness. It is the abolition of man's destructive ways and the substitution of Tao's constructive ways (74, 2). And Tao is absolutely virtuous, being the source of virtue.

But Tao contains the best ethical wisdom of the Chinese in the sixth century B. C. It is synthesized and functions as a unit. Thus, the mind by concentrating attention upon the good as a lump, naturally crowds out the bad, and moral action is an obvious resultant. There is a repeated accumulation of the precious attributes of the Tao, and with this accumulation every obstacle of the return to Tao's simplicity is subjugated (59, 2).

Those who try to hold Tao in their grasp lose it (29, 1), maintains Lao-tze. They are exerting their own wills and are not letting Tao act. Instead, they must become passive so that the great principle can use them completely. They renounce all. They become dead; only Tao is alive. Striving ceases in the ordinary sense of it (15, 3-4). Tao comes and uses you. The mind and body work and move, but your self is gone. Tao is using your self and thereby your body and mind. You stop being full of your self.

It has nothing to do. It is quiet, still, in "a condition of rest." You become possessed by the Great One; it permeates you, unhampered by your desires. Your will does not move (64, 4). You are nothing but a passive instrument of Tao's ceaseless beneficent action. You possess no will nor purpose of your own; you have emptied yourself of all desire (37, 3); you have discarded *your* benevolence and *your* righteousness (19, 1). Simplification has taken place. You continue diminishing and diminishing until you arrive at a condition of being wherein you do nothing on purpose (48, 2). The state of emptiness, of hollowness, of non-action, of humility has been attained. Now there is nothing which you yourself can do, yet there is nothing which you do not do (48, 2); that is, Tao has seized you and works out everything through the instrumentality of you. You are at one with Tao, the Absolute. "This is," says William James, "the everlasting and triumphant mystical tradition, hardly altered by difference of clime or creed."⁵

This elimination of *self-will* naturally bred a tendency toward the ascetic in Lao-tze, the same as it has in so many mystics. The pleasures of the senses are not highly respected, for they are likely to lead a person away from Tao. They are inclined to replace the immaterial by the material, and it is the former that have worth (53). Lao-tze, however, does not carry asceticism to a point of disease. What he really wishes is moderation (59, 1). The wants of the body must neither be suppressed nor allowed to become rampant but satisfied simply. They must not intervene between the person and Tao.

The effort to attain harmony and be at one with Tao does not seem to be marked by what is frequently called "the dark night of the soul." The sufferings of heart and body that have characterized the writings of some mystics do not show forth clearly in the *Tao Tsch King*. The scourging of self does not appear. There is no elaborately planned process of the successive steps to be taken before knowing the Tao. If you do not know it, there is pain and suffering and corruption. If you do know it, these evil things fade into nothingness. Concentrate on their opposites, was Lao-tze's only suggestion. Like his people, he was too pragmatic and practical to let sensitiveness develop fully within him. Moreover, his asceticism did not renounce the body to the extent that unsatisfied passion would aid "dark nights of suffering". It is evident that he was not forced to find sexual gratification by any other means than the customary. He says that Tao proceeds by contraries (49, 1), and

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 419.

this might let one infer that there were periods of fatigue and recuperation, of rise and fall, of exhilaration and depression, or what many like to call rhythm, in Lao-tze's experience. But the inference would be weakly supported. He is stingy in this aspect of mystical consciousness. It belongs to those who are more autobiographical and introspective.

After a person has come to know the Tao, however, the effects are very bountiful. In Chapter 54, Lao-tze says:

"Tao when nursed within one's self
 His vigor will make true:
 And where the family it rules
 What riches will accrue!
 The neighborhood where it prevails
 In thriving will abound;
 And 'tis seen throughout the state,
 Good fortune will be found.
 Employ it the kingdom o'er,
 And men will thrive all around."

Evidently the experiencing of Tao energizes one to action. Actual quietism, so often connected with Lao-tze, is wanting. There is, as has been said before, inaction and passivity on the part of a person's will, but this really was only an unconscious means to still greater ends. Evelyn Underhill's contention that mysticism is active and practical, not passive and theoretical,⁶ goes well with Lao-tze's attitude. He continually talks of worldly and governmental affairs, and how one possessed by Tao conducts himself in them. As in the case of St. Catherine of Siena and Ignatius Loyola, the knowing of the Great Source apparently resulted in greater spendings of energy, in giving oneself still more to work. And the more one gives, the more he has (81, 2). Consequently, there is little contemplation and meditation for their own sake. Tangible results, the creation of a better social life, is the main object—a social life, of course, that to us means backwardness. Mental peace produces such, as a seed produces fruit.

To achieve this result, Lao-tze does nothing more than call right action the action of Tao. He suppresses the lower side of man's nature and lets the upper side function alone. The best experience of his race, the general will or mind replacing the individual will or mind, naturally has powerful effect. At the risk of modernizing, one might say that perhaps Lao-tze blindly recognized this when he wrote: "The sage has no invariable mind of his own; he

⁶ *Mysticism*, p. 96.

makes the mind of his people his mind" (49, 1). Leuba's formula,⁷ that mystical death is a functional anesthesia falling upon particular regions of consciousness, applies well here. The evils and pains born of governmental life are subjected to death. They are ignored and the position they formerly held in the mind becomes empty, as it were, and is occupied by the good, by the pure—Tao.

To have comfort in the mind and in the government, Lao-tze proposed the reform measure of having the sage or king and those under him possessed by the Tao (37). This had been experienced by him and consequently was concrete and firm, but, to the ordinary person, it was vague and ambiguous. The knowing of Tao makes it possible for one to direct affairs, to be skilful at saving men and guiding them in the way of perpetual unity and peace (27, 1). Man's knowledge must not rule the State, because that is the reason for its pitiful condition, but Tao's knowledge must rule (65). This is a sure guarantee of health. When Lao-tze uses such a phrase as "be stupid," he means be stupid in the way of man but not in the way of Tao. To be a fool before men is to be wise with Tao (20). A skilful master of Tao has a penetration so exquisite and deep that it eludes men's knowledge (15, 1). He is able, therefore, to govern a State efficiently. He has given himself up to the natural development of things—Tao—and hence cannot fail. He is ruling with a greatness not his own.

It is in the references to the Tao that the unmistakable signs of mysticism emerge. The very opening sentences of the *Tao Teh King* reveal that quality of mystical experience that James calls "ineffability." And it continues finding expression throughout the book. "The Tao that can be trodden is not the enduring and unchanging Tao. The name that can be named is not the enduring and unchanging name. Conceived of as having no name, it is the originator of heaven and earth." Or,

"Who can of Tao the nature tell?
Our sight it flies, our touch as well,
Eluding sight, eluding touch...." (21).

It is an impossibility to give a name or discover the precise nature of this power over all. Speech cannot carry knowledge of it. Even he who knows it cannot talk about it (56, 1). Lao-tze attempts, however, to give a description of the experiencing of the Absolute, the Tao.

⁷ "The State of Death," *American Journal of Psychology*, Vol. XIV.

"The Tao when brightest seen, seems light to lack ;

.

Its greatest beauty seems to offend the eyes ;

.

Loud is its sound, but never word it said. . . ." (41).

Like all mystics struggling to outline this experience, he is forced to use symbolic language. Yet this is inadequate and does not catch the flavor. Tao remains hidden and indescribable (41, 3). It is bright, still it is not bright; that is, brightness is not large or great enough to express what is known and felt. Its beauty is likewise beyond language. The harmony is complete and so perfect that it hurts. The experience is more than that of perception, or of conception. It is feeling perfect unity (14, 1). The disharmonious and the discontinuous have been eliminated by simplification and a bundle or lump of like sentiments seize the mind at once. There is a perfect fit among them all. It is the glory of the mind functioning without collision. "It is a way of being." It is knowing eternity in time.

By this experience Lao-tze believed that he had penetrated the secret of being, that he had reached a knowledge greater than that of learned men. Tao was the source of virtue and he had reached it. People were too interested in the by-ways and hence were led away from the stillness and simplicity that is true knowledge (20-21). Obviously this aspect of the experience James would call "noetic," and others would call it illuminative.

This kind of experience is the culmination of the mystic's efforts. It is the goal that is sought and cherished. Lao-tze apparently reached it but he did not linger about it the same as the usual mystic. He caught a glimpse of what he believed to be Reality but did not let all his energy be absorbed in the sight. It was the conception of Tao as impersonal and not personal that undoubtedly had something to do with Lao-tze not laying greater stress upon the experiencing of the Tao itself. To him Tao was thought of as highly ethical and not as a person possessing some desirable attributes. This eliminated the high coloring and beauty in language common to the West where God has been conceived as personal and where Jesus and the Virgin Mary exist. In Lao-tze's teaching the sex-instinct was not suppressed but moderated, hence the lack of embellishing phrases, and the constant hovering near the object of desire. Moreover, he was much interested in the use to which the possession of the Tao could be put. He says, "The use of Tao is

inexhaustible." He does not become greatly elated over Tao as a thing in itself but rather in the results that Tao can produce. Tao tends to be sought more as a means to an end than as an end. Christian mystics have made union with God the supreme thing, while Lao-tze has tended to negate this end by gazing too long at the valuable results of the union. It is this tendency that makes his mysticism more or less imperfect. Furthermore, while he sought internal peace he did at the same time seek to use this peace as an instrument to attain external peace. Consequently the subjectivism and introspection of a fully developed mystical system is wanting. "Inwardmindedness" was recognized (47) but it had little chance to express itself. And it is the lack of this quality that accounts for no extended remarks on the way one follows to attain Tao. A description of the successive steps to the union are clearly absent, likewise the experience during the ascension of these steps—the dark nights. Lao-tze hints at this quality but nowhere gives a description. It is the absence of these things that leads to the conclusion that Lao-tze developed an imperfect mysticism.

BOOK REVIEWS.

AN INTRODUCTION TO POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY. By *H. P. Farrell*. London and New York: Longmans, Green and Co., 1917. Pp. vii, 220. Price 3s. 6d. net.

This is a short text-book whose purpose, as the author states in the Preface, is to explain to the beginner the nature of political philosophy, "and then to lead the student gently on to the study of the classical writers by presenting to him an epitome of their ideas with such explanatory comments and criticisms as are deemed necessary." The author expounds at some length the political views of Plato and Aristotle, the social-contract theorists, and the analytical and historical schools of political philosophy. He indulges not only in exposition but also in criticism. A list of books for further reading is provided and there is a good index. For the purposes stated in its title, this little book may be recommended as quite useful. Δ



O Her: Jesu Chiste/der du als ein strenger vnd gerechter richter der armē sündigē seelē so sich von dir ist abwerffen/ein vnendliche hellische straff verordnet hast bey Lucifero vnd ander en sein mir verstoffene geistē vnd verdampfen: Ich bit dich/verlyh mir an verdienstlich lebe sie in zeit der gnaden also siren/dz ich teilhaffte deins bitterē sterben/entinnen mög solicher grausamē straff durch die grundlose barmhertzigkeit deiner allmehigen genaden: Amen.

THE JAWS OF HELL.

German woodcut of the age of the Reformation.

(From Paul Carus, *History of the Devil*.)

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. XXXIII (No. 8)

AUGUST, 1919

NO. 759

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WALT WHITMAN'S MESSAGE.

BY O. E. LESSING.

WHITMAN'S "main life-work, the principal object" from which he was resolved never to be diverted, was the "great construction of the New Bible." In contrast to the Old Bible the new one was to reconcile "materialism and spirituality" through the medium of the "intellect, the esthetic." It was at the same time to be the poem of adherence to "the good old cause," and the good old cause "is that in all diversities, in all lands, at all times, under all circumstances,—which promulges liberty, justice, the cause of the people as against infidels and tyrants." Such was, according to Whitman's own words, the plan and purpose of *Leaves of Grass*, and Mr. Shipley in his article "Democracy as a Religion" has given us an enlightening exposition of the poet's ideas. It was a bold undertaking, indeed, for one man to do single-handed, within a few years, what the accumulated wisdom of many religious leaders had taken centuries to achieve. It may therefore well be doubted from the outset whether the poet's intentions ever reached their ultimate goal, the "construction of the *New Bible*."

Love, fidelity, social service, generous comradeship, democracy, humanity, universal sympathy, spiritualism, immortality, providential predestination,—if these are the ideals of *Leaves of Grass*, they are certainly no newer than the teachings of Christ and of His Apostles, than the gospel of love, brotherhood in God Father, redemption, and resurrection. As to the intended reconciliation of materialism and spiritualism, it is true that Whitman, like so many other visionaries—Lessing, Heine, Ibsen, e. g.,—dreamed of the possibility of a "third gospel." Among his very last utterances we find the following remark: "The philosophy of Greece taught normality and the beauty of life. Christianity teaches how to endure

illness and death. I have wondered whether a third philosophy fusing both, and doing full justice to both, might not be outlined."

On the other hand, it has irrefutably been pointed out (by Dr. Bertz in his unjustly ignored book *Der Yankce-Heiland*) that Whitman's idea of immortality and of the relation of body and soul, is essentially the same as St. Paul's conception of the "natural body" and the "spiritual body" (cf. 1 Cor. xvi. 44ff). Whereas Whitman seems to accept the hypotheses of modern science, like evolution, heredity, etc., thereby uniting, as he thought, religion and science, he holds in reality fast to the doctrines of Christianity as laid down in the New Testament, with one or two exceptions which constitute a relapse into Judaism. There never was a man with a less scientific mind than Whitman. He took for granted what appealed to his own nature. He believed what he wished to believe. He shrank from analysis. The disinterested objectivity of scientific investigation was distasteful to him. He welcomed science whenever it affirmed what he had chosen to affirm; to its negative results he shut his eyes. An almost feminine, not to say childlike, self-deception is revealed by such statements as this: "The utmost pride goes with the utmost resignation: science says to us—be ready to say yes whatever happens, whatever don't happen: yes, yes, yes. That's where science becomes religion—where the new spirit utters the highest truth—makes the last demonstration of faith: looks the universe full in the face—its bad in the face, its good—and says yes to it" (to Horace Traubel). He was unable to see, or would not see, the difference there is between a scientific affirmation of the facts of observable life and a demonstration of faith in things unobservable. He is delighted to hear that Huxley called the theory of evolution a mere working hypothesis. At the same time he says that his own work "must assume the essential truths of evolution, or something like them."¹ And in *Notes Left Over* he expects "first-class metaphysicians and speculative *philosophs*" to give to "the highest and subtlest and broadest truths of modern science their true assignment and last vivid flashes of light." Similarly he turns in his *Democratic Vistas* from the cold facts of science to the "living glow, fondness, warmth, which the old *exaltés* and poets supply," mentioning especially the "Hebrew Bible." In other words: science remained to Whitman a problem, religion a fact. He did not succeed in reconciling the two. His philosophy is anything but modern.

¹ Traubel, *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, Vol. II, p. 65; Vol. III, pp. 94f.

Even Whitman's strong opposition to any and all forms of orthodoxy, to ecclesiastical definitions, to organized systems of religion, cannot be considered an innovation. The New Testament itself knows nothing of a Church in the medieval sense. And Whitman in his aversion to orthodoxy had only to follow the example of the dissenters of the seventeenth or of the pietists and rationalists of the eighteenth century. It must be remembered that he always laid much stress upon his Quaker affiliations; witness his essay on Elias Hicks whom, with George Fox, he was inclined to rank as high as Shakespeare. Furthermore he is, through Carlyle and Emerson, connected with the romantic mysticism of Novalis, and through the latter with Jakob Böhme. It is safe to say that, except for temporary and rather whimsical, more or less esthetic, excursions into non-Christian fields, Whitman was at the bottom of his heart as devoted a disciple of Jesus as Elias Hicks himself. In the disguise of an iconoclast he was an ardent believer. The roaring lion was in fact a meek and faithful lamb—to use Dr. Bertz's quaint phraseology. He was not an "immoralist" like Nietzsche who destroyed established conventions so as to construct his "New Bible," *Zarathustra*. Whitman was very far indeed from the bold independence of the hermit of Sils Maria. Ecclesiastical critics may not admit that such is the case. They are, perhaps, shocked and misled by sensational details in reading *Children of Adam*, for instance, while they fail to grasp the innermost meaning of Whitman's religious message. This message is, contrary to his original intentions, identical in spirit with the Sermon on the Mount. It is old, not new. But is it not more beneficial to mankind to have the old message of unselfish love so emphatically and so unreservedly restated as was done by Whitman, than to have a *new* Bible? Whitman's failure as a religious innovator is his greatest asset.

If the Swan of Avon knew little Latin and less Greek, the Bard of Camden knew neither the one nor the other. Whitman was not a scholar nor an original thinker. He was always a poet: emotional as a man; impressionistic as an artist. The more exclusively he relied upon his immediate, personal experience, observation, and perception; the more he refrained from drawing upon indirect sources, the greater was his artistic success, the stronger his human appeal. His one central experience was love, an unbounded, nay, indiscriminate love of man and nature. It is this all-comprehensive love, together with his artistic impressionism, that accounts for his innumerable inconsistencies and self-contradictions. Not only in

matters of religion was there often the discrepancy between the lion's garb and the lamb's soul.

How revolutionary do certain passages of the "New Bible" sound! "Resist much, obey little!" "O latent right of insurrection! O quenchless, indispensable fire!" So he writes in 1860 and again in 1870. Was he indeed a revolutionary? As late as in April, 1888, so Traubel reports, he said to a Russian anarchist: "My heart is with all you rebels—all of you, to-day, always, wherever: your flag is my flag." But he refused to be impressed into his service by way of an endorsement. "I suppose I am radical his way, but I am not radical his way alone." At another occasion, in the same month, he delivers an after-dinner speech in praise of Cleveland, Gladstone, and Emperor Friedrich III, while four months later he says to Traubel: "God bless the red flag of revolt!" He evidently did not mean the red flag at all, for Carnegie was a good friend of his, and he had admittedly been unable to follow the drift of the economic and social movements of his time. What he meant was only the young man whom he was speaking to and whom he loved as an individual, not as the representative of any cause. In the same spirit he kissed a criminal on his brow and helped him escape the officers of the law, convinced, no doubt, that in so doing he was living up to the example of Him who sat with the publicans and sinners.

It was one of his charitable inconsistencies that he, while unshakably believing in the perpetuity of individual identity—"the simple, separate person"—he did not consider the individual responsible for his actions. He loved any human being as such. He saw a divine soul even in the criminal. Crime to him was a disease or the result of the imperfections of society. He went so far as to doubt whether he had made emphatic enough "his affirmative feeling about the underdog—the vicious, the criminal, the malignant (if there are any malignant)." And one of the last words of the dying poet gave expression to the same feeling. The chief source of such ultra-Christian sympathy for the malignant may be found in Whitman's theory of the origin and purpose of evil which he thinks is foreordained by Providence and an integral part of the Deity (cf. *The Square Deific*). The affirmative and universalistic mysticism of Jakob Böhme and the negative exclusiveness of the Calvinistic predestination are thus curiously blended. In addition to both evidently the optimism of Leibniz's "pre-established harmony" had filtered through to Whitman by the channels of popular articles in newspapers and magazines. That the problem of evil seriously

occupied his attention is shown by such notes as this: "Theories of evil—Festus, Faust, Manfred, Paradise Lost, Book of Job."² At any rate he believed that ours was the best possible of all worlds and that everything, good or evil alike, would eventually come to a state of harmony which, if he had known Nietzsche, he might have characterized as "Beyond Good and Evil." *Leaves of Grass* is the American theodicy.

Long after the first edition of the *Leaves* had appeared, Whitman became superficially acquainted with the "Hegelian formulas," and now, if never before, he felt completely assured and justified in his optimism. This optimism again was for him the very core and substance of democracy. Among a number of notes for a proposed course of public lectures, between 1860 and 1870, we are surprised by the following statement: "Identity's continuance despite of death—Humanity, the race, History, with all its long train of baffling, contradictory events—the tumultuous procession—the dark problem of evil, forming half of the infinite scheme—these are the themes, questions, which have directly or indirectly to do with any profound consideration of democracy and finally testing it, as all questions and as underlying all questions. Who advances me to light upon these? And without depreciating poets, patriots, saints, statesmen, inventors and the like I rate Hegel as Humanity's chiefest teacher and the choicest-loved physician of my mind and soul." No less enthusiastic, and in the same connection, does Whitman speak of Hegel in his *Democratic Vistas* and elsewhere. As late as 1888 he finds consolation in him. Of Hegel's works he seems to have known a translation of the *Introduction to the Philosophy of History* which he mentions about 1860. Otherwise he depended for his information upon popularizing extracts and, like certain Young-Hegelians, he interpreted the "formulas" to suit his democratic instincts.

There remains the strong individualism of the *Leaves* as a possible element of Whitman's original creation. As a matter of fact, however, we here approach his most fruitful source of inspiration: Emerson. His indebtedness to the Concord sage Whitman throughout his own life never became tired of acknowledging. The praise of Emerson runs as a golden thread through all of Whitman's private and public utterances from notes preparatory to the *Leaves*³ to the conversations with Horace Traubel.⁴ It was

² Cf. Putnam edition, Vol. VI, p. 154.

³ Putnam edition, Vol. VI, p. 159.

⁴ Cf. the three volumes of *With Walt Whitman in Camden* for dozens of testimonies.

not merely the poet's gratitude for Emerson's early and decisive recognition—which he might have used with more discretion—but the realization of his nearly absolute dependence upon Emerson's philosophy. It is true that Whitman himself, but more particularly a few uncritical disciples of his, at times endeavored to reduce Emerson's influence to a minimum of encouragement. Nevertheless, even statements to the contrary only prove the perfectly evident. Dr. Bertz is not exaggerating when he says that it would be an easy matter to make up a concordance of parallel passages from Emerson's *Essays* and Whitman's *Leaves*.⁵

No, Whitman misunderstood himself if he believed that his was a new gospel. His Bible, i. e., *Leaves of Grass*, was not new in its ideas but in its poetical form of expression, in its individual variations and adaptations in so far as these were the results of the poet's artistic and personal experiences. It is not as a philosopher or a religious reformer that Whitman has a message of his own but as a poet and as a man of extraordinary dynamic power. Following the trancelike enthusiasm of the first *Leaves* there came the stern reality of the Civil War. Whitman, like his great antipode Friedrich Nietzsche a few years later, became the wounddresser. Now, in the hospitals, at the bedsides of convalescent or dying soldiers, Whitman's love of mankind underwent its supreme test. There is no more touching document of unselfish devotion and inexhaustible love to be found in any war literature than in the wounddresser's letters to his mother and in his war reminiscences. Through all the unspeakable horrors, cruelties, atrocities, sufferings, caused by a fratricidal struggle, shines forth the comforting light of a sympathetic and forgiving love that possesses a stronger healing quality than do the medicines and the skill of physicians.

Whitman's conviction of the justice of the Northern cause does not make him love the individual Southerner the less. Reports of Rebel atrocities, some of which he vividly narrates himself, do not blind him to the fact that the Southerners too are human beings. He chivalrously admires their heroism in battle. He suffers with them when they suffer from wounds or diseases. He knows that they, too, are the sons of loving mothers and that they, too, have access to the kingdom of God. Rebel or Unionist, each has a divine and immortal soul. He "had no feelings detrimental to the honor of the masses south—the great body of people there: workers, toilers, men and women: whose share in noble qualifications, in

⁵ Cf. Bertz, *op. cit.*, pp. 109ff.

richness of character, I cannot, must not, dare not, question: no." He "only had a horror of the leaders, the conspirators, the group on top who prepared the way for all these terrors."⁶ The fearful tragedy of it all appears in the brief paragraph of *Specimen Days* entitled: "Two brothers, one South one North," which ends: "One was a strong Unionist, the other Secesh; both fought on their respective sides, both badly wounded, and both brought together here (to a Washington hospital) after a separation of four years. Each died for his cause." Each died for his cause—not a word of hatred or reproach: only love. Just as the wounddresser knew of no hatred, so the author of *Drum-Taps*, the only reflex in American literature worthy of the events, does not gloat over the downfall of the opponent, nor boast of the deeds of the victor, but he celebrates the heroic grandeur of the conflict and the triumph of the contested idea as such. He mourns the fallen as the martyrs of a cause, not as the victims of a personal enemy. Even his graphic account of Lincoln's assassination contains no word of hatred for the murderer. Nor is the beautiful dignity of the Lincoln poems marred by any outburst of resentment. He looks upon the war as one of the many tragic crises the human race has to go through on its march to universal freedom. Lincoln is the noblest of all sacrifices upon the altar of humanity. Thus we read in *Reconciliation*:

"Word over all, beautiful as the sky!

Beautiful that war, and all its deeds of carnage, must in time be utterly lost;
That the hands of the sisters Death and Night, incessantly softly wash
again, and ever again, this soil'd world:

... For my enemy is dead—a man divine as myself is dead;

I look where he lies, white-faced and still, in the coffin—I draw near;

I bend down, and touch lightly with my lips the white face in the coffin."

The success of the Union cause promised to him the ultimate victory of liberty and democracy throughout the world. But he never was bound by narrow party limits. A faithful adherent of the principles for which Lincoln had died, a "Republican" by name, he did not submit to anything like an official party creed. His toast to President Cleveland has been mentioned above. He believed in a patriotism far beyond sectional or nationalistic prejudices: "Not my country whether or no, God bless it and damn the rest!—no, not that—but my country: to be kept big, to grow bigger, to lead the procession, not in conquest, however, but in inspiration."

Whitman's political program may be called humanitarian. Its main ideas are accordingly simple, too simple indeed in view of

⁶ *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, Vol. III, pp. 545f.

man's real nature that has made civilization, or what we call civilization, so terribly complex. Was it not rather naive of him, long after the appearance of the *Communist Manifesto*, still to believe that social injustice, exploitation of the masses, and poverty, could be remedied by such devices as the single tax or the creation "of myriads of actual homes in fee simple" for "the bulk of the people"? He evidently had had a glimpse of Sismondi's *Social Science* and of Henry George's theories; and from Rousseau and our own Declaration of Independence he remembered that democracy was to be based upon the equal rights of all human beings. Karl Marx, the principles he represented, the economic facts looming in the backgrounds of *Capital*, he was unable fully to understand. And yet he knew that something was wrong with society, because he had for many years lived among the crowds of the big cities and had observed the lives of thousands with the keen eyes of the artist and with the sympathetic heart of the lover. So he was, for instance, passionately opposed to a protective tariff "primarily because it is not humanitarian, because it is a damnable imposition upon the masses." Very pertinently he raises the question: "Who gets the plunder?" and answers it in a way that is more than discouraging in its timeliness: "The profits of 'protection' go altogether to a few score select persons—who, by favor of Congress, State legislatures, the banks, and other special advantages, are forming a vulgar aristocracy, full as bad as anything in the British or European castes, of blood, or the dynasties of the past." Instead, he thought, free trade would help bring about the brotherhood of man. But no political, economic, or social system could in the least contribute to that end without love. Love was Whitman's panacea:

"Were you looking to be held together by the lawyers?
Or by an agreement on paper? or by arms?
—Nay—nor the world, nor any living thing, will so cohere."

But who is there to heed this warning? Who is there to practise universal love in a world which has so completely turned away from its true God for the orgiastic worship of the Golden Calf? How many of his dreams would Whitman, if he lived to-day, see fulfilled?

After the Civil War he hoped for a national regeneration that was to give a final justification to the victorious Union and its growing material prosperity. Universal love, in his sense, did not mean anything like a vague and sentimental cosmopolitanism.

"One's Self I sing—a simple, separate Person
Yet utter the word Democratic, the word En-masse."

And again :

"I will accept nothing which all cannot have their counterpart of on the same terms."

Inconsistent as he was in many things, this fundamental principle of genuine democracy he firmly adhered to through all the various phases of his inner development. It is collectivism based upon a responsible individualism both national and personal. Self-assertion and the collective conscience he wished to stimulate in his readers. The harmony of the individual with the collective spirit is the keynote of Whitman's literary Declaration of Independence, the *Democratic Vistas*.

Before America can become the leader of mankind, she must establish "the science of healthy average personalism the object of which should be to raise up and supply through the States a copious race of superb American men and women, cheerful, religious, ahead of any known." The masses must be built up by building up "grand individuals." To attain this end it is necessary to carry out a plan of practical eugenics which in turn results from an entire elimination of the prudery, hypocrisy, and sterility of Puritanism. "The Puritanical standards are constipated, narrow, and non-philosophic," he says in another connection. Only healthy fathers and mothers can beget the new race. Only if the functions of conjugal life are frankly and honestly acknowledged in their natural sanctity will it be possible to avoid the fatal extremes of Puritanism on the one hand and of licentiousness on the other. It is Puritanic sham-moralism that degrades the mothers of the race as shamefully as they were degraded in the Middle Ages, when monkish asceticism looked down upon woman as the originator of sin and as the ever dangerous tool of Satan. But no less degrading are the conventions and fashions of modern society. If Whitman saw the bacchantic lust, the irresponsible unrestraint, the frivolous immodesty that is rampant at the present time in all classes of our people, the so-called educated not excepted, he would think his whole life-work lost. "Everywhere an abnormal libidinousness, unhealthy forms, male, female, painted, padded, dyed, chignoned, muddy complexions, bad blood, the capacity for good motherhood decreasing or deceased." Can we rightly say that these words of 1870 have been refuted by the succeeding fifty years? Any one familiar with the conditions

in our public schools, colleges, factories, stores, places of amusement, will mournfully admit that we are still very far from Whitman's ideal of a race of athletic men and women.

The *ideal* race of the future, "the divine average," consisting of free, strong, healthy personalities bound together by mutual love, woman enjoying equal rights with man, will form a true democracy. Such a democracy will have overcome the evils of frivolity, corruption, hypocrisy, greed for money, moral depravity. Physical and spiritual health create genuine liberty. For the petrified formalism of dogmatic creeds and obsolete political institutions will not be tolerated by a healthy people. The collective personality of ideal democracy is a law unto itself and needs no laws decreed from above. Such is Whitman's interpretation of Lincoln's immortal definition of popular government.⁷

As if he had read Schiller's *Esthetic Education* he defines democratic liberty as freedom under the law. The pseudo-democrat seeks for "elevation" and "special privileges"; "the full-grown man or woman," the true democrat, "the master, sees greatness and health in being part of the masses; would you have in yourself the divine, vast, general law? then merge yourself in it." "Great, unspeakably great—is the Will! the free Soul of Man! at its greatest, understanding and obeying the laws, it can then, and then only, maintain true liberty." But the vast, divine Law is the law of justice, righteousness, and universal love. It is not the tyranny of autocratic rulers who disregard the craving of mankind for love; who give the starving people the stones of slavery instead of the bread of liberty. Whitman would have considered any violation of the sacred rights of the people as guaranteed by our constitution inconceivable. "What is independence?" he asks. "Freedom from all laws and bonds except those of one's own being, controlled by the universal ones."

True democracy once established within the nation—and not until then—the universal democracy will be founded upon the "religion of love that fuses, ties and aggregates, making the races comrades, and fraternizing all." This is Whitman's idea of a league of nations. It combines national independence with international good will. It is really American and at the same time humanitarian. It is indeed a league of free peoples, not a capitalistic syndicate for the enslavement of the masses.

⁷ The writer may be pardoned for using here an article of his on *Democratic Vistas* in *The New Times*.

American democracy in its individual form must seek its culmination and expression in a great, indigenous, thoroughly American literature. No problem occupied Whitman's thought more intensely than this. From the early sketches of his *American Primer* on to the last jottings of his dying days we find him pondering over "the terrible query: American National Literature—is there distinctively any such thing, or can there ever be?" Taking issue with reviewers who charged him with an "attitude of contempt and scorn and intolerance" toward the leading American poets, Whitman gives testimony of his appreciation of "the mighty four who stamp the first American century with its birthmarks of poetic literature." "I can't imagine any better luck befalling these States for a poetical beginning and initiation than has come from Emerson, Longfellow, Bryant, and Whittier." However great in their respective places, they were either not independent enough of European influence or not great enough to measure up to what Whitman had conceived to be the highest American standard. Compared with the immense realities of American life and nature, with the "teeming region of the Mississippi Valley," with "the pure breath, primitiveness, boundless prodigality, and amplitude of these prairies, the Rocky Mountains," even the mighty four must have seemed bookish and imitative to a poet whose imagination spanned the whole vast continent, the multitude of its people, and their relation to the universe. Let the American poet gratefully accept the treasures of Old World literature but beware of the un-American spirit they express. Let the American poet be inspired by his illustrious predecessors to greater achievements. To be genuinely American does not mean "to bluster out: 'nothing foreign'" but "to supply such forcible and superb specimens of American models that they put foreign models in second class." "Just go on supplying American models." But imitation was not to be eradicated so easily as Whitman occasionally dreamed. If only the models which were copied by American writers were genuine! "We all see London, Paris, Italy—not original, superb, as where they belong—but second-hand here, where they do not belong. We see the shreds of Hebrews, Romans, Greeks; but where, on her own soil do we see, in any faithful, highest, proud expression, America herself? I sometimes question whether she has a corner in her own house." "America demands a poetry that is bold, modern, and all-surrounding, and cosmical, as she is herself. It must bend the vision toward the future more than the past. Erect, inflated, and fully self-esteeming be the chant; and then America will listen with pleased ears."

As a literary critic Whitman is, as may be expected, no less impressionistic and subjective than in his attitude toward science. The literature of the world, Old or New, he measures by the standard of his personal conception of American democracy, the essence of which was or was to be spiritual and cosmic. By "cosmic" he evidently meant what the German romanticists called the infinite. He must have known enough of Schelling, whom indeed he invariably quotes with Kant, Fichte, and Hegel in support of his views, to share with him the theory that the function of art is to express the infinite by the image of the finite. And he was himself romantic enough to demand of poetry that it be suggestive, emotional, "interesting," rather than complete, plastic, and objective. On the other hand, he was opposed to the abnormal and morbid so many romanticists became entangled in, demanding "for these States a cheerful, religious fervor, endued with the ever-present modifications of the human emotions, friendship, benevolence, with a fair field for scientific inquiry, the right of individual judgment, and always the cooling influences of material nature." The democratic, the cosmic, the suggestive, the healthy and natural, therefore, are the four criteria Whitman applies to literature and its creators. From this point of view he prefers the Hebrew prophets, the "exaltés," to almost any other kind of poets, and goes so far as to place Shakespeare rather low inasmuch as he was a representative of an obsolete feudalistic order. He finds fault with Carlyle because he is undemocratic and pessimistic; with Emerson for his lack of original naturalness. As late as 1880 he sees in Poe hardly more than the "morbid, shadowy," artist. It seems to have been the result of an entire re-reading and revision, when in 1888, in conversation with Traubel he admits that Poe may, after all, be "a star of considerable magnitude, if not a sun, in the literary firmament." That there was a spiritual affinity between his and Poe's romantic philosophy (with Novalis's magic idealism for a common source), Whitman never suspected.

All of his ideals Whitman would have found realized in the one great poet of modern times, if he only had known him: Goethe. But Whitman, so it seems, never read all of *Faust*; he certainly knew nothing of *Wanderjahre*. At one time, upon being asked to express his opinion of Goethe, he frankly confesses that he does not know him, but ventures to express an "opinion" just the same. What a pity! For in *Faust* and *Wanderjahre* there were supreme examples of a poetry democratic in spirit, cosmic in scope; combining suggestiveness with health, spirituality with the sensuous

concreteness of nature. And withal, it was America that symbolized in Goethe's vision the ideal of liberty the European nations were so desperately striving for even then.

Does America "listen with pleased ears" to her own poets who endeavor to come up to Whitman's high standard? Is it too pessimistic a view, if we state our fear that Whitman's message is practically lost in the mad turmoil of our materialistic age? How little known is Whitman himself! *Drum-Taps*, to be sure, was revived during the war. But there are no indications of a general and whole-hearted acceptance of Whitman's essential ideals. After the flood of anniversary articles has subsided, *Leaves of Grass* will continue to slumber in the libraries. And our academic critics will go on harping on the theme of Whitman's "impossible" verse form. After all Whitman has done, the regularity of rhyme and meter are taught to be so much more important in poetry than the life pulsating in rhythms born of life. What a miserable spectacle does the attitude of our general public to modern American poetry afford! Just as Whitman is at best only half understood, so his peers and his worthiest followers are neglected. Mark Twain's popularity, e. g., is that of a general merrymaker, while his profound analysis of modern society remains unheeded and his Faustian search of truth unknown. Another terra incognita is the grandiose poetry of Moody. While the melodramatic *Great Divide* was hailed as a national triumph, the much deeper *Faith Healer* was rejected, and the Prometheus trilogy, dramatic poems of truly cosmic significance, never had a hearing at all. Horace Traubel who, in his *Optimos*, has given us the most powerful and inspiring book of indigenous American poetry since *Leaves of Grass*, has grown old and feeble without receiving a sign of gratitude or mere recognition from his people.

This tragic situation has, in part at least, been brought about by the failure of our responsible literary mediators to mediate between authors and public. In this new country of ours, in this twentieth century, there still predominates in the field of esthetics a pseudo-Aristotelian orthodoxy, combined with medieval asceticism and Puritanic narrow-mindedness. Instead of generous and sympathetic interpretation encouraging the new generation of poets in their struggle for literary independence, we see scholastic inquisition at work stifling by the weight of academic authority any contemporary effort toward characteristically American self-assertion. Whitman's impressionistic method of criticism certainly had its faults; but it was on the whole constructive and imbued with an artistic sense; and it instinctively pointed in the direction of progress. "The letter

of destructive criticism must not be pushed too far—it tends to render a man unfit to build.”⁸ If ever there is to be an authentic American literature such as Whitman demanded, criticism must approach the works of aspiring contemporaries in the spirit of discerning appreciation and unprejudiced sympathy rather than with the air of suspicious and antagonistic superiority as is the habit among our literary augurs now. Then, maybe, there will be found creative geniuses, and a public ready to listen to them, who give artistic expression to the ideals of national independence and super-national good will; who courageously proclaim the eternal values of justice, freedom, and love for all peoples and races on earth. Then Whitman’s terrible query will be answered in the affirmative: “American literature—is there distinctively any such thing, or can there ever be?”

OUT OF THE TWILIGHT.

BY T. SWANN HARDING.

AS Alan Seeger has reminded us, there is a perspective one can get only at Death’s door; and this holds true whether that death be in war or at peace. Here is a vision of reality, a clear revealing view of naked life for once brushed free of the encumbering excrescences which normally render it obscure and very often make it into a rude caricature. There, in a peaceful, pleasant condition, in the twilight zone, neither Life nor Death—we can look down the long vista of the past or peer dimly through the dissolving veil that hides eternal reality. And the fruits of this experience are revelations otherwise utterly impossible.

This wonderful possibility counterbalances the cruel pains of a hundred illnesses, and he that has undergone this walks the earth ever after a man apart. Second only to this personal experience is the passing of one held really dear; and when these two circumstances occur simultaneously, the effect is tremendous.

The actual, close-range contemplation of death has about it little indeed of unpleasantness, certainly nothing of terror; for with the emergency comes the strength to meet it, although in close proximity it becomes less a challenge and more “a consummation devoutly to be wished.” One discovers all in a flash that the shadow-world of Plato’s Ideas is after all this side of the threshold to the unknown; that the pleasures and satisfactions of this life

⁸ *With Walt Whitman in Camden*, Vol. III, p. 39.

melt into a misty haze of insignificance, while we retain only the strong, potent memory of love, ideals, and good. Reality becomes a concept only dimly outlined here; it is seen to be but the promise of that positive Reality beyond.

And, returning to what seems a changed world, possessing a reevaluation of all values, one walks apart and marvels at the persistent earnestness of men about the veriest trifles. The poignant realization comes that the real victors—those truly rewarded and decorated for bravery—are not the returning veterans of a world war, but are those fortunate beings whose shattered and discarded clay lies scattered in the God's acres of Flanders. Formerly a pang of regret seized us when we considered all those who strove but from whom Death snatched the reward. How could we have been so blind as to ignore the fact that the culminating event of death was the transition of all these wholesome spirits to some sphere of greater usefulness for which earth's training-school had triumphantly fitted them?

We return convinced believers in cosmic justice; convinced that disasters by sea and by land, the apparent partialities of fate, the shattered illusions of broken lives—these all fit into the rational scheme of things. For sin and remorse are ultimately relative matters; we do not progress far when we judge the relationship of pain to pleasure in a life by a process of what can be at best but superficial analysis. I am convinced that could every life be subjected to a truly searching analysis, could be plainly read as an open book, we should discover but one thing in all cases—prevailing justice. "As thy days so shall thy strength be." The greater the pain, the greater the fortitude vouchsafed, the greater the character builded. Many the man who carries within a perfect physique a mental pain more onerous and intolerable than any happy-dispositioned cripple could know. And how agonizing, though intangible, such pain can be! Violent death, holocaust, disaster, tragedy, war—the fearful things which tempt us to the apathic philosophy of Omar Khayyam—we find an assurance that these things have no terror and no unfitness. Remembering the quiet self-possession of a Frohman smilingly embarking upon "the great adventure," we should be slow to condemn a world system which, while it tests with fire, certainly produces much fine gold. And we may well stop and think of the disadvantages a pain-free universe would certainly possess. Verily these things become small in the light of eternal reality.

We live to discover that life in many cases brings eventually

an inordinate boredom, a veritable, semi-mystic nostalgia; a vague but intense yearning homesickness; a half-revealed aspiration for something this world cannot give. One comes, indeed, to wonder why the tired Man of Nazareth prayed "Let this Cup pass," meaning death—when death was for him, and is so often for all of us, the way of rest, repose, contentment, ease.

Death the easy way; life the gaunt hard road—does this seem impossible? Ah, though it may appear a strange and incomprehensible language to ears deafened by the howling din of mundane affairs, when moments of deep insight occur and the underlying realities of existence are revealed, we discover in surprise that nothing is sweeter or more to be desired than the dear, still slumber which men call Death and which angels understand as Birth; that nothing is more unsatisfying and positively difficult than the tear-obstructed pathway men call Life. Death in due time, peacefully, quietly or violently for some ideal cherished more than life; nothing is nobler, nothing more contenting, nothing more natural.

We must remember that life here and There is one; that there "is no death, what seems so is transition." This means that here are tasks that must be done; here is latent cowardice that must be suppressed; here is attainment that must be reached. Without the revelation its nearness produces, death has appeared hard to men. And when we consider those who have almost gaily faced it, we should be of poor stuff indeed to retire from the struggle simply because an obstacle presented itself. If life be a trial, it is nevertheless one to be bravely borne that our destiny may be achieved.

But as we go ahead, after having gained the death-bed perspective, we find many stones rolled away, many problems magically solved for us. The experience-of having undergone some really great trouble instantly cures many habits of petty irritability and indulgence without conscious effort on our part. It seems that the soul, having seen the smallness of so many things, but the greatness of a certain few, can no longer stoop to quick temper over trivialities.

All things appear in their true relation to one another and to ultimate ends. Whatever hopes achieved, whatever ideals unattained; whatever pleasures enjoyed, whatever pains endured; whatever knowledge gained, whatever ignorance deplored—these are all of passing, but purely relative, importance. The swirling eddies of the stream do not so much matter as its general trend. It does not so much matter where one happens to be as in what direction one

is heading. Erratic old David, with all his backslidings, his very disreputable doings and his often shameful indulgences—though he frequently stumbled and fell frightfully—yet had an upward urge; a surging aspiration Godward which the Father of all could not but bless.

And this is not to preach the shallow comforts of other-worldliness with its self-complacency. It merely means that we who have returned from the twilight zone endeavor to focus our attention principally upon the direction of the stream of life; we mean to see to it that we have an ideal which ever whispers "Upward! Onward!" and that the potency of that living ideal shall be the sign by which we almost automatically conquer.

Lastly, the very fact that the individual soul inevitably emerges from the most staggering misfortune with a trust in the ultimate Good renewed, a faith in God intensified, and a hope of immortality aroused, furnishes the most effective rebuke to those who, having suffered little, yet deplore the mad unreason of the universe. Winifred Kirkland's *The New Death* wonderfully attests this in the light of the battlefield.

And unless when the shades gather, the tongue thickens, the mist obscures our vision, and science stands impotent with folded hands, there comes suddenly into those dimming eyes a look which sees beyond earth's shadows; there appears on that wan face an expression incredulous, half of wonder, half of sheer joy—and we can softly say "Gladly I come for rest—may there be no sadness of farewell"—all—All has been lost. Erudition, wealth, power, acclaim, achievement—these mean nothing at such times. And the simplest maid who trusting passes on is more to be envied than a fitful king in a cloak of purple.

THE HINDU VIEW OF LIFE.

BY BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

IT has often been said that Europeans and Americans cannot understand the Hindu or the Asian mind. Oriental view-points and ideals are supposed to be fundamentally different from Occidental.

But what is the characteristic Oriental way of looking at things? Is it mysticism or the cult of the Eternal and Hereafter? There have been in Europe also mystics or "seers" of the Infinite, as many

and as great as in Asia, from the earliest times till to-day. The very first speculations of Hellas were embodied in the teachings of Pythagoras. He believed in the transmigration of the soul and preached the esoteric doctrine of numbers. He was a vegetarian and believed in general abstinence and ascetic mortification of the flesh. Plato's "idealism" also was mystical as much as the monism of the contemporary Upanishadists of India and Taoists of China.

Who has been a greater occultist than Jesus? His message was: "My kingdom is not of this world." His other-worldliness and pessimism are undeniable. He said: "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me." "If any man cometh unto me and hateth not his father and mother and wife and children, he cannot be my disciple." Indeed, the greatest passivist and submissionist among the world's teachers has been this Syrian Saviour of Europe and America. His political slogan was: "Render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." Such extreme "non-resistance" was probably never preached in India.

Plotinus (third century A. D.), the greatest neo-Platonist, was a mystical pantheist. He actually practised Yogic exercises by which he hoped to attain union with the "ultimate principle," the highest God of all. The monasticism, celibacy, nunnery, and notions about "the world, the flesh, and the devil," the "seven deadly sins," etc., of Christianity have been practically universal in the Western world. They have had too long a sway to be explained away as accidental, or adventitious, or imported, or unassimilated overgrowths. Spiritualistic "self-realization" was the creed of many a transcendentalist denomination in Europe during the Middle Ages. To the English Puritans, even music and sports were taboo. The painters of the romantic movement in Germany, e. g., Cornelius, Overbeck, etc., fought shy of women and preached that all artists should be monks. The race of Jacopone da Todis, Rosicrucians, Ruysbroecks, and Boehmes is not yet a thing of the past in Eur-America. And now that the philosopher of the "*élan vital*" has enunciated his doctrine of "intuition," mysticism is going to have a fresh lease of life.

Thus the psychology of the "soul" and the metaphysics of the infinite life and permanent verities, are as good orthodox Occidental commodities as Oriental. Even in the conception of the universe as a living being the tradition of the Occident has been as long as that of India.

According to Plato in his *Phædo* this universe is a living crea-

ture in very truth, possessing soul and reason by the providence of God. Virgil in his *Æneid* (Book VI, 96ff) writes:

"First, Heaven and Earth and Ocean's liquid plains,
The Moon's bright globe and planets of the pole,
One mind, infused through every part sustains;
One universal animating soul
Quickens, unites, and mingles with the whole.
Hence man proceeds, and beasts and birds of air,
And monsters that in marble ocean roll;
And fiery energy divine they share."

—Taylor's trans.

Similarly the Earth-Spirit conceived by Goethe is a personification of the *élan vital*, the active, vital forces of nature, the principle of change and growth within the universe.

This doctrine makes Plato, Virgil, and Goethe virtually Hindu Vedantists. How, then, does European mentality differ from Hindu? According to the Vedantists, the world originates out of Brahma (Self), the absolute Reality, the absolute Intelligence, the absolute Bliss. To the same group belongs also Browning with his message of immortality of soul or continuity of life-energy:

"Fool! all that is, at all,
Lasts ever, past recall;
Earth changes, but thy soul and God stand sure:
What entered into thee
That was, is, and shall be:
Time's wheel runs back or stops: Potter and clay endure."

The whole stanza can be bodily transferred into a section of the Hindu *Geeta*. The Emersons of America also disprove the notion that "transcendentalism" is an Oriental monopoly.

Let us take the other side of the shield. What is alleged to be the characteristic standpoint or philosophy of Eur-America? Is it secularism, optimism, or, to be more definite, militarism? But, this has not been the monopoly of the Western world. Hindu culture has always been an expression of humanism, positivism and other isms following from it as much as Hellenic, European and American culture.

Take militarism. Hindustan started the cult of Kshatriyaism, which in Japan is called Bushido ("The Way of the Warrior"). The first Hindu Napoleon, Chandragupta Maurya (fourth century B. C.) had a regular standing army of 600,000 infantry, 30,000 cavalry, 9000 elephants, and a multitude of chariots. Excluding followers and attendants, but including the archers, three on each

elephant, and two fighting men on each chariot, the whole army consisted of 690,000 men. A race which can organize such a vast fighting machine and wield it for offensive and defensive purposes is certainly not over-religious or unpractical or other-worldly.

Such vast armies have not been exceptional in Indian history. According to a Portuguese observer, Krisna of Vijayanagara (1509-30) in South India commanded an army of 703,000 foot, 32,600 horse, and 551 elephants, besides camp-followers. One of the smallest armies of the Hindus has been that of the Andhras in the Deccan. It had only 100,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, and 100 elephants.

Hindu Bushido had a spiritual "sanction" too. It was backed up by a theory which found its place in all Sanskrit treatises on warfare and political science. Thus we read in the *Shookra-necti* (Shookra's "Politics"):

"The death of Kshatriyas (warriors) in the bed is a sin. . . . Cowardice is a miserable sin. . . . People should not regret the death of the brave man who is killed at the front. The man is purged and delivered of all sins and attains heaven. The fairies of the other world vie with each other in reaching the warrior who is killed in battle in the hope that he be their husband."

Ahimsa, i. e., non-killing or non-resistance, has neither been a fact of India's politico-military history, nor a dominant trait of Hindu national thought and character. Kalidasa (c. 400 A. D.), the Hindu Virgil, enunciated the energistic ideal of his countrymen thus:

"Lords of the lithosphere from sea to sea,
Commanding the skies by air-chariots."

Wherein do Hindu ideals then differ from Eur-American?

We shall now analyze Hindu secularism or positivism a little more deeply. Desire for the good things of this earth, life, strength, and general well-being, is not a feature exclusively of the Occidental mind. If this be called optimism or materialism, the Hindus also have been profoundly optimistic and materialistic since the days of their commerce with Egypt during the Theban period. In fact, all through the ages the Hindus have been famous to foreign nations principally as materialists.

It is a glib talk among economists to-day that India is an essentially agricultural country, and that the Hindus are a thoroughly non-industrial race. But were the Christian nations down to the industrial revolution of the nineteenth century less agri-

cultural than the Hindus? Were they more "essentially" industrial? Historically speaking, Hindu materialism has manifested itself as much in commerce and industry as in agriculture.

The age-long international trade of the Hindus points to their thoroughly commercial genius. Egypt, Mesopotamia, Syria, Persia, the Roman Empire, China, they all have profited by the commerce of the Hindus. This was possible because of the adventurous seafaring character of the people of India. It inspired them in their colonizing exploits in the islands of the Indian Ocean, and enabled them to establish a sphere of influence comprising Japan on the east and Madagascar on the African coast. Besides, they were past masters in the art of ship-building and naval architecture. They constructed seagoing vessels of considerable size, and effected gradual improvements in shipping industry. Some of the ancient Hindu ships could accommodate 300, 500, 700, 800, and even 1500 passengers.

In the fifteenth century, according to Nicolo Conti, the Hindus could build ships larger than the Europeans, capable of containing 2000 butts and with five sails and as many masts. One of the Hindu ships on its way to the Red Sea, in 1612, was 153 ft. long, 42 ft. beam, 31 ft. deep, and was of 1500 tons burden. The English ships of that date were 300 or 500 tons at most.

The art of navigation was part of the education of Hindu princes. There were Sanskrit treatises on this and allied subjects. Lighthouses were constructed on the seacoast in Southern India. The marine interests were looked after by a special department of State. Marine affairs were important enough to call forth Asoka the Great's attention to them in his celebrated "Edicts" (third century B. C.). Something like marine insurance even occurs in Hindu legal literature.

A few shipping regulations are here reproduced from the *Institutes of Manu* (not later than the fourth century, A. D., but embodying the oldest tradition):

"For a long passage the boat-hire must be proportioned to the places and times. Know that this [rule refers] to passages along the banks of rivers; at sea there is no settled [freight].

"Whatever may be damaged in a boat by the fault of the boatmen that shall be made good by the boatmen collectively [each paying] his share.

"This decision on suits [brought by passengers holds good only] in case the boatmen are culpably negligent on the water; in

the case of accident caused by [the will of] gods, no fine can be [inflicted on them]."

Surely the Hindus knew how to appreciate and manage the earthly interests of men and women.

The industrial genius of the Hindus was not exhausted in ancient and medieval times. Even in 1811 the Frenchman Solvyns wrote in his *Les Hindous* about their efficiency as naval engineers and architects: "In ancient times the Indians excelled in the art of constructing vessels, and the present Hindus can in this respect still offer models to Europe—so much so that the English, attentive to everything which refers to naval architecture, have borrowed from the Hindus many improvements which they have adapted with success to their own shipping. . . . The Indian vessels unite elegance and utility, and are models of patience and fine workmanship." This certainly is materialism with a vengeance.

Ship-building was not indeed the sole industry of the Hindus. During the nineteenth century India has been converted into a mere market for the Western manufactures. Her role at present is only to produce raw materials at the dictate of modern industrial powers. This is the exact antipodes of the part she has ever played in the economic history of the world. All through the ages it was the manufactures of the Hindus which had sought markets and created demands in foreign countries.

Varahamihira's *Brihat Samhita* (sixth century, A. D.) is among other things a record of the achievements of Hindu industrialism. Cements and powders were made "strong as the thunderbolt." There were "experts in machinery." Experts in applied chemistry specialized in dyes, cosmetics, and even artificial imitation of natural flower-scents. Fast dyes were made for textile fabrics by the treatment of vegetable dyes with alum and other chemicals. The principle of indigotin was extracted from the indigo plant by an almost modern chemical process. Metallurgists were expert in the tempering of steel and could manufacture the so-called "Damascus swords." Pliny, the Roman of the first century A. D., admired the Hindu industrial attainments; Tavernier, the Frenchman of the seventeenth century, did likewise.

If Hindu civilization has not been materialistic, one wonders as to what is materialism. In what particulars did the "Greek view of life" differ from the Hindu?

We have spoken of the genius of the Hindus for martial exploits, naval organization, and colonizing adventure. We have noticed also their capacity for capturing the markets of the world

by the promotion of industry and commerce. All these activities bespeak a richly diversified institutional life, and indicate their ability to organize men and things, as well as administer public interests.

In a political work of the fourth century B. C., the *Arthashastra*, eighteen departments of State are mentioned. The war office of the first Hindu emperor was a highly organized and efficient public body. It consisted of thirty members, who formed themselves into six boards: (1) admiralty, (2) transport, commissariat, and army service, (3) infantry, (4) cavalry, (5) war-chariots, and (6) elephants. The heads of some of the other departments discharged the functions of the superintendent of manufactures, accountant-general, collector-general, and so forth.

Pataliputra (site of modern Bankipore, on the Ganges, in Bihar, Eastern India), the Rome of the Hindus, was nine miles in length and one and one half miles in breadth. The rectangular wall around it was pierced by sixty-four gates, crowned by five hundred and seventy towers. The thirty city-fathers of this capital constituted a municipal commission, which managed the affairs through six boards. These boards (1) superintended the industrial arts of the people, (2) looked to the needs of foreigners visiting the country, and managed their estates as trustees, if required, (3) collected the vital statistics by registering births and deaths for revenue and other purposes, (4) regulated trade, commerce, and weights and measures, (5) supervised manufactures, and (6) collected taxes on sales of commodities.

In subsequent ages Portuguese, French, and English visitors were struck by the volume of traffic in Indian cities, the well-ordered administration of civic life, and the sanitation and economic prosperity of the crowded urban areas. Tavernier found, for example, traveling conveyances more commodious in India than anything that had been "invented for ease in France or Italy."

The Hindus have exhibited their capacity for administration of public bodies to promote general well-being in other spheres as well. Fa-hien, the Chinese scholar-saint, visited India early in the fifth century A. D. He has given an account of the charitable institutions, colleges, monasteries, rest-houses, free hospitals, etc., endowed by the enlightened Hindu philanthropists of those days. His description of the free metropolitan hospital at Pataliputra says (Giles's translation):

"Hither come all poor or helpless patients suffering from all kinds of infirmities. They are well taken care of, and a doctor

attends them; food and medicine being supplied according to their wants. Thus they are quite comfortable."

The Hindus were the first in the world to build hospitals and have anticipated the activity of modern "Christian charity." The first Christian establishment for relief of the sick was founded in the fourth century A. D. during the reign of Constantine. But in India hospitals both for men and animals are at least as old as the time of Asoka (third century B. C.).

The same genius for organization and administration has been displayed by the Hindus in the management of their great universities, to which scholars flocked from all parts of Asia. The university of Nalanda in Bihar (Eastern India) was run for at least seven hundred years, from the fifth to the twelfth century A. D. The number of halls in it was 300 and that of scholars 5000. It was a residential-teaching university and gave instruction, room, board, and medicine free of any cost whatsoever.

Eur-American scholars are wont to think that Amphictyonic Leagues and Olympic institutions, Councils of Trent and Conferences of Westphalia, congresses of scientists and academies of learned men, etc., are Hellenic, Greco-Roman, Christian, or Occidental patents. These have, however, been plentiful in the history of Hindu civilization.

Parisats, or academies, whether permanent or peripatetic, have existed in India since time immemorial. Medicine, grammar, logic, chemistry, mathematics, political science, jurisprudence, in fact almost every branch of learning has grown up in India through the clubbing of intellects. Cooperative researches and investigations have been the tradition of intellectual life among the Hindus. As a result of this we know to-day only of "schools" or "cycles" or "systems" of thought, very rarely of the individuals who built them up through the ages. Most of the names in the annals of science and philosophy in India are those of masters or pioneers, and these, again, are but pseudonyms associated with the patronymic saints or gods, e. g., the Prometheuses and Apollos of Hindu culture.

It is this collective or *parisadic* origin which explains why the treatises on arts and sciences in Sanskrit literature have in general the title of *Samhita*, i. e., compilation. Mostly encyclopedic works, they bear internal evidence of the collaboration and cumulative experience of many minds.

Individualistic ideals and ends are as a rule associated with moral, religious, and spiritual affairs in India. Yet even here the Hindu capacity for cooperation has been equally evident as in other

spheres. Every twelve years the Hindus have had a Council of Trent, so to speak, since the earliest times. These congresses of spiritual leaders are called "Koombha-Mela," after the planetary conjunction (of Koombha) which recurs periodically. These are tremendously vitalizing forces; their delegates number about 75,000, and the audiences millions. The name of other moral and religious associations is legion.

Like the Greeks and the medieval Italians and Hansards, the Hindus also developed republican city-states, corporations and guilds. The folknotes of European politics were represented in India by the village communities. And as for the vices of political life, they have not been confined to the East. Internecine warfare, feudalistic disintegration, absence of national unity, arbitrary taxation and legislation, territorial aggrandizement, etc., have flourished as rank and luxuriant on European soil as on Asian.

In the thirteenth century Dante complained of the disunion and political corruption in Italy:

"Ah, slavish Italy! thou inn of grief!
Vessel without a pilot in loud storm!
Lady no longer of fair provinces,
But brothel-house impure! * * *

While now thy living ones
In thee abide not without war; and one
Malicious gnaws another; ay, of those
Whom the same wall and the same moat contains.
Seek, wretched one! around thy seacoasts wide;
Then homeward to thy bosom turn; and mark,
If any part of thee sweet peace enjoy."

—Cary's trans.

This was the complaint of Machiavelli also in the sixteenth century.

This picture of Italy has really been the norm of political and international life in the Occident. In what respects, then, are the civic sense and political genius of the Western races superior to those of the Hindus, Chinese, and Mohammedans?

THE SIKHS, THEIR LAWS, AND THEIR CUSTOMS.

BY SURENDRA KARR.

ONE of the main reasons for the recent passage of the Rowlatt bills is apprehension that the Indian soldiers returning from the battlefields of France might join the revolutionists who are working for the independence of India. The Rowlatt bills incorporate all the previous measures designed to keep India pacified, and, besides, permit the ordinary police to exercise unlimited powers in interpreting freedom of thought, press, speech, and assemblage.

More than a million and a half of India's soldiers participated in the struggle to make the world safe for democracy. Many of them fought, bled, and died. The rest have returned, their minds filled with pictures of that portion of France from Neuve Chapelle to Givenchy which has been drenched with Indian blood. They also remember their countrymen who gave their lives—for what?

Earlier in the year, we read in the papers of riots and disorders in India. Since then, things seem to have quieted down again. Still, an editorial in the *London Times*, of April 15, may still bear quoting. It says:

“From the reports it is clear that by far the worst trouble was at Amritsar, the great and wealthy city in the Punjab, which is the religious capital of the Sikhs.”

The Sikhs were the last to be conquered by the British, and with their awakening, the entire edifice of the British Empire in India would be endangered.

It is, indeed, fascinating as well as instructive to study the Order of the Sikhs. To understand the Sikhs it is necessary to get acquainted with the philosophy of their ideals and their conception of life.

Although the British Indian government recruits a large number of forces from the Sikh community, they were not militaristic in their nature when Nanak founded the Sikh religion.

Nanak tried to accomplish what was later attempted in a different way by Akbar, the great emperor-statesman (1556-1605). Akbar, though born in the Islamic faith, intended to create a common bond of understanding between all the peoples of India, forgetting and rejecting all the differences and accepting all that was best in the various creeds. He made an effort,

"To gather here and there
 From each fair plant, the blossom choicest grown,
 To wreathe a crown, not only for the King,
 But in due time for every Mussulman,
 Brahmin and Buddhist, Christian and Parsee,
 Through all the warring world of Hindustan."

Had Akbar's aim been understood by his descendants, the history of India would have been written differently. "Heresy to heresy, orthodoxy to orthodoxy; *but the rose petal's dust belongs to the perfume-seller's heart.*" that was the feeling of Akbar, as aptly expressed by his historian, Abul Fazl.

Nanak was born in Talvandi near Lahore in 1469. He died in 1538, a few years before Akbar's birth. Unlike Akbar's, however, Nanak's interests were purely religious. His aim was to bring the Hindu and Moslem faiths on to a common ground, so their mutual detestation would naturally die out. He began to preach, in popular dialect, the doctrines he had formulated. His gospel gathered together pariahs and gentry alike. His was One God who does not recognize caste, color, or creed. Moslems may call him Allah, Hindus, Ishvara, and Christians, God; but He is the same. In Nanak's conception, there was no Hindu and no Mussulman. In the background of his philosophy is the essence of Hinduism which seeks the unity of all religions. Unlike Christianity and Islam, Hinduism embraces and includes all that is best in all, and never tries to extirpate the noble tenets of other religions.

Nanak was stirred in his early life by the teachings of Kabir, who was a follower of Ramananda. Ramananda again was the principal instrument in spreading the philosophy of Ramanuja, one among the two other revivalists of Hinduism in the Middle Ages, Shankara and Madhavacarya. Shankara was a monist; Ramanuja, a dualist; and Madhavacarya, a qualified dualist. The difference between Ramanuja and Madhavacarya is insignificant, excepting the method of approach. Ramanuja makes the distinction between Jivatman and Paramatman, i. e., the small self (individual soul) and the Great Self (Supreme Soul); while Shankara firmly upholds that there is but one Self, i. e., Brahman, the Absolute. He says:

"I have no death or fear, no distinction of caste;
 No father, no mother, no birth;
 No friend or relation, no master or disciple.
 I am the soul of Knowledge and Bliss,
 I am Shiva, I am Shiva" (i. e., the Absolute, Infinite).

Now, Ramanuja accepts the theory of Shankara, but lays stress on the theory that the small self can attain the highest stage of Self through proper functioning of its nature. The devotional element became the predominating factor in the Ramanuja school. It gave rise to a new Vaishnavite sect, whose preachings were that everybody is equal in the eyes of God. As the reactionary rise of the priestly power, with their superstitious rituals and exercises which excite the imagination of undeveloped minds, at one time pushed aside the most exalted ethics of Gautama, the Buddha, the revolutionary messenger of equality, liberty, and democracy, the Vaishnavites under Ramananda and Kabir gathered around them a large number of followers from all classes of people who put a ban on intellectual abstractions like Shankara's theory.

Kabir's field of work was in Benares, the center of Hinduism. Here he found a strong rival of his doctrine in the proselyting religion, Islam, which, besides, was supported by political power. However, instead of antagonizing the Moslems, he taught: "God is One, whether we worship Him as Allah or as Rama. The Hindu God lives at Benares, the Mohammedan God at Mecca; but lo, He who made the world lives not in a city made by hands. There is one Father of Hindu and Mussulman, One God in all matter." In this way he unified the various creeds, and the Hindu-Moslems fraternized with each other. The light of love of Kabir enlightened young Nanak, who, following in the footsteps of Kabir, aroused the central and northwestern parts of India.

Nanak did not believe in caste, and ceremonies of worship he strongly condemned. The liberal-minded people flocked to him, proclaiming the doctrine of equality and fraternity. Devotional doctrines appeal to the people much more quickly than anything else, either elevating them to be active and loyal to the right cause, or causing them to degenerate into slavish inertia. Both Kabir and Nanak urged their followers not to become ascetics, but to go on with their ordinary daily avocations. "One God, whose name is True, the Creative Agent without fear, without enmity, without birth, without death," was the belief of Nanak. He did his best to convince the Hindus and Mohammedans that the only salvation for them was in obliterating their differences. He left no stone unturned to induce them to forget all distinctions of sex, caste, and sectarian feelings. Like Buddha, Nanak revolted against the invidious distinction of caste and the formalism of the priestly class.

Nanak laid the foundation-stone of Sikhism, which was built up by the nine other Gurus ("teachers") who followed him in the pontificate. His adherents came to be known as Sikhs ("disciples") and their creed as Sikhism. In the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth centuries, the doctrines of the Sikhs spread all over upper India; many conversions were made and a community was thus organized.

After the death of Nanak, Angad became the second Guru. He is said to have invented the script, Gurumukhi, in which the dialect spoken by the Sikhs is written. Many Arabic and Persian words have been introduced into this language, but Sanskrit words in very modified forms predominate.

The third Guru, Amar-das, took a strong stand against the caste system, and it is said that he would never receive any one who had not dined with a person of another caste.

The fourth Guru, Ram-das, built the beautiful city of Amritsar ("Fountain of Immortality"), where the Golden Temple of the Sikhs draws the travelers from all parts of the world. The temple is built of marble inlaid with precious stones and, in places, overlaid with gold, and is reflected in the adjoining artificial lake, where the devotees take their daily ablutions.

The fifth Guru, Arjun, son of Ram-das, collected the inspiring sayings of the Gurus into a great book, called the *Granth Sahib*, the bible of the Sikhs. Selections from the works of the Bhagats (saints), both Hindus and Moslems, were included in this collection, thus putting them all on a level. It was in the year 1581 that he ascended the *gadi* (chair) of his father. During this time Jahangir (1605-27), the son of Akbar, began to show antipathy toward the movements that were striving for a union between the two communities, the Hindus and the Mohammedans. Arjun, restless and spirited as he was, was put to death owing to his opposition to the divided policy of the Moslem ruler. This stirred up the Sikh community, and they found it necessary to make plans for their own safety.

The sixth Guru, Har-Govind, son of Arjun, appealed to his followers to prepare themselves to defend the defenseless and to put an end to the aggression of the aggressors. He himself adopted the practice of wearing two swords in order to signify his dual role of spiritual as well as military leader. He advocated the policy of *mens sana in corpore sano*, emphasizing that spiritual development must go hand in hand with good health.

Guru Teg-Bahadur, son of the sixth Guru, Har-Govind, strove to consolidate the Sikh community. He was beheaded, in 1675, for

espousing the cause of the Hindus who, in fear of forceful conversion by the Moslem rulers, sought shelter with him. More and more did oppression and persecution open the eyes of the Sikhs, causing them to band themselves together and to develop a martial spirit.

Guru Govind, son of Teg-Bahadur, called upon the Sikhs to organize into a disciplined army to fight the battle for freedom. By this time, the upper classes of the Hindus had widely embraced the Sikh faith. The heroic Rajputs, the philosophic and warlike Kshatriyas, the Jats, the peasants, the tailors, the barbers, the washermen and the like, they all could be found in the ranks of the Sikhs. Guru Govind knew how to fan the fire of enthusiasm and all joined hands as comrades in arms as they were comrades in faith.

A story is told how the Guru called a big assembly of the Sikhs and stirred up the people by his declaration that he wanted five human heads, to be offered by those who were true to the principles of their creed. "Come on," he called, "whoever wants to offer his head on the altar of freedom." The people were electrified, for lo, there came one calmly on to the platform. Pin-drop silence prevailed. Guru Govind took him away to the back of the stage. With bloodstained hands he reappeared, beckoned to the audience and made an eloquent appeal: "I want four more heads." Nerves began to break, brains to fag; but the heroic ones were determined enough to stand the trial. One after the other, the four offered their heads. Many more were eager to sacrifice their heads for the cause, but to their great disappointment they were refused. After washing his hands, Guru Govind again came out on the platform and said: "Brethren, I am pleased with your enthusiastic response to my appeal. You have stood the test patiently and heroically. With your cooperation and the five heads, we shall be able to save our freedom, faith, and honor. I am convinced that death cannot scare us, nor can fear reside within us, for life is death and death is life when we rightly understand the mystery of life. Rest assured that upon your corpses will rise a nation of immortals." There was a silence, and then amidst the outbursts of wildest enthusiasm, the five sacrificed ones appeared on the platform. Instead of taking the heads of his disciples, the Guru had only killed a few sheep to show the blood.

Guru Govind introduced a system of initiation, called *khanda-di-pahul*, baptism by the sword. Those who were initiated were named *khalsa*, the elect. Caste was entirely abolished, and everybody became a warrior, taking a solemn vow to fight for the faith

to the death, and to regard every other member of the league as a brother (*bhai*). Thus the Sikh Brotherhood became an army of heroes as unconquerable as Cromwell's Ironsides.

The Khalsa were asked to wear as articles of dress: *kesh* (hair), *khanda* (dagger), *kanga* (comb), *kara* (bangle), and *kuchh* (breeches). *Kesh* represents the vow that the hair will not be shorn until freedom is attained. It used to be the custom in those days to make a promise in this fashion. *Khanda* and *kuchh*—the sword and the breeches—indicate a soldier. *Kara* signifies the iron ring that has to be put around the enemies. *Kanga* serves two purposes—a practical one, the long hair may be held together by it, and a symbolical one, reminding its wearer that watchfulness should be as pointed and many-sided as the teeth of a comb. The Sikhs still wear these articles of dress. At the instance of Guru Govind, they now also adopted the surname Singh, i. e., Lion. They were strictly forbidden to indulge in smoking and drinking.

This politico-religious body, under Guru Govind Singh, became a well-organized and disciplined army and had many successful encounters with the troops of the Mogul Aurang-Zeb (1658-1707). Guru Govind and his four sons finally met their fate at the hands of their enemies (1708). Banda, the successor to Guru Govind, though not appointed by him, carried on successful campaigns with vigor and strength until 1716, when he suffered a disastrous defeat. The military power of the Sikhs was thus disorganized, and so was their political life; yet, though well-nigh exterminated, the spirit with which they were born remained alive.

After the death of Aurang-Zeb the Mogul Empire began to disintegrate. The throne of Delhi began to totter at the onrush of the Mahrattas in the south and of the British in the east. Newer elements entered the political history of India. The Persians and the Afghans invaded the country from the northwest. At last the Sikhs saw a splendid opportunity to regain and reassert their power. Left to themselves, they reoccupied all their lost territories, drove the Afghans out of the country, and kept them at a safe distance. This was the time when, on a solid foundation, they could at last build up a national state of their own. Both men and women took the sword as their profession.

The democratic ideas embodied in their religious beliefs were introduced into their political organization. Two small republics, called Taran Dal and Budha Dal, were established. The village became the unit of administration, and a council of five, *panchayet*, elected by popular vote of both men and women, administered

justice and peace. Taran Dal and Budha Dal were subdivided into twelve petty states or *mists*. The states were organized on democratic lines, but decentralization took the place of a strong central control. Consequently they became too individualized and began to look with jealous eyes upon each other.

Having nobody to fear, the Sikhs, for the time being, lapsed into repose and idleness. Their former spirit began to wane, and degeneration set in.

During this critical period of Sikh history, Ranjit Singh was born, in 1779, of the Sukarchakia clan. Though only a lad at his father's death, he saw a great peril hovering over the destiny of the Sikhs. The British, in the meantime, had been crushing the Maharratta power, surrounding the Punjab from both the east and south. In the northwest, the Persians, Afghans, and Russians were hatching plans for the invasion of India.

Ranjit Singh's aim, therefore, was to unite all the Sikhs in one centralized state. In 1799, by rendering a good service to the Amir of Afghanistan, he secured possession of Lahore. Ten years later he scored a diplomatic success over the British with whom he concluded a treaty enabling him to give his undivided attention to rounding out and consolidating his possessions in the Punjab. It may be interesting to know that one of his most formidable opponents was his mother-in-law, Sadakour, who was the head of the Kanhaya clan. In those days, women of India used to take active part in politics, as some of them are taking now. One by one Ranjit brought all the separate bodies of Sikhs under his scepter, subduing all turbulent elements, including a slave girl who had raised a large force and made a gallant stand against him. His ambition was realized and the Sikhs were united under a common central government.

For a time, it seemed best to the British to let Ranjit Singh alone. Russia lying ever ready to invade India, in cooperation with Afghanistan, they would have preferred to keep the Punjab under Ranjit Singh's sway as a buffer state. But his suspicion and distrust of British policy in India were deep-rooted, and the great majority of the people shared his views. He had to wait, however, for an opportune moment to strike. In accordance with the wise counsel of his minister, Aziz-u-Din, he postponed crossing the river Sutlej, the boundary of the British sphere of influence, in order to make more thorough preparations.

Ranjit realized that in order to fight the British he must train his soldiers along Western lines. He therefore invited two French-

men to his capital, Ventura and Allard, distinguished officers of Napoleon's army, and with their help reconstructed his whole army, especially the artillery. Owing, however to the ominous advance of the Russians through Persia to the borders of Afghanistan, he finally signed a new treaty with the English, thus maintaining friendly relations with them to the end. Had Ranjit lived long enough, perhaps he would have conquered and annexed a large portion of Afghanistan, against which he directed several campaigns.

Ranjit Singh died in 1839. He left behind him a united Sikh Confederacy, and a disciplined army of 60,000 troops.

In 1842, the British lost their prestige in India in the Afghan campaign. At last, in 1845, the Sikhs crossed the Sutlej, and all but succeeded in winning the victory. But in 1849 they were finally subdued, and all that had still remained free of India came under British suzerainty.

This, in rough outline, is the history of the Sikhs, whose doctrines were non-military in their inception but who were forced by circumstances to become militaristic.

Fear and death are unknown to the Sikhs. Their conception of death is the union of the soul with God. Their funeral hymn sets forth the ideal which they practise:

"In the House where God's praise is sung, and He is meditated on, sing the Sohila and remember the Creator.

"Sing the Sohila of my fearless Lord: I am a sacrifice to the joy by which everlasting comfort is obtained.

"The year and the auspicious time for marriage (i.e., the mystic marriage of the soul with God) are at hand, meet me my friends: anoint me with oil like the bride. Pray, my friends, that I may meet my Lord. The message comes to every house. The invitation goes forth every day.

"Remember the voice of the Caller, Nanak, the dawn is at hand."

Who can doubt that the Sikhs will play an important part when the principle of self-determination will at last be applied to India? Who can doubt that they will not apply, in the future government of India, the principles of democracy with which the Sikh Order was established? To-day the differences between Hindus and Moslems are submerged in a common national and political consciousness. The two groups are united in a spirit of cordiality, in order not only to preserve India as a national unit, but also for the emancipation of India and the safeguarding and promotion of her

culture and civilization. In April last, the Mohammedans went to the Hindu temples and the Hindus to the Mohammedan mosques, to pray and plan for the protection of their national rights and interests. Such an event is unparalleled and unprecedented in the history of India. The Sikh Order proves that that bugbear of Indian hopes, caste system and religious antagonism, resides only in the pamphlets and speeches of imperialistic propagandists and missionaries. The work of Akbar, the statesman, and Nanak, the teacher, cannot but infuse a spirit of harmony in all faiths of the Indian nation. We may patiently watch the events.

THE COSMIC MOUTH, EARS, AND NOSE.

BY LAWRENCE PARMLY BROWN.

IN mythology the underworld is generally conceived as a vast cavity or cave, with its entrance mouth on the western horizon where the sun, moon, and planets set; while these luminaries are supposed to rise through an exit orifice in the east, otherwise an entrance to the upper world—most words for mouth also having the broader



HERACLES ENTERING THE DRAGON'S MOUTH.

(Etruscan vase picture of Perugia.)

significance of an orifice or opening, generally as an entrance to a cavity, sometimes as an exit from the same. But all the stars of the visible heaven rise and set (with the exception of those in the arctic circle having the north pole of the ecliptic as its center), whence it was natural that some should recognize the whole horizon circle as the vast mouth of the underworld figure that swallows nearly all the celestial bodies and again vomits them forth.

The underworld figure is conceived in many and various forms—animal, human, and composite—and is often assimilated to a night figure, sometimes to a figure of the whole cosmos. Thus we have the black pig that swallows and subsequently disgorges the (lunar) eye of Horus, the great wolf Fenrir that bites off (and swallows) the solar hand of Tyr, and the mythic king Cambles who eats his wife and finds her (solar) hand sticking from his mouth in the morning (as considered in previous articles of this series). Thus, too, the Greek Kronos in his cosmic character swallowed his first children; but Rhea (for the earth-mother) gave him a stone in place of Zeus (for the sun), who subsequently conquers his father—



THE JONAH STORY ON A SARCOPHAGUS.

(Found at Mt. Vatican.)

whereupon the latter disgorges the stone and children (Hesiod, *Theog.*, 455-450).

Some of the ancients held that the earth floats on an underworld sea, in connection with which the swallowing figure was conceived as a great fish or sea-monster. The Persian Jemshid, in his solar character, was swallowed by a monster that lay in wait for him at the bottom of the sea, but rose again from the waters when he was disgorged (Goldziher, *Mythol. Heb.*, p. 203). The Hindu Saktideva, on a voyage in search of the Golden City (of the dawn), was shipwrecked and swallowed by a great fish; but came forth unharmed when the fish was caught and cut open (*Somadeva Bhatta*, V, 25). In one version of the Herakles-Hesione myth, the solar

Herakles cast himself into the mouth of a great fish at Joppa, tore its belly to pieces and came forth safely after three days (those of the winter solstice—Lycophron, *Cassand.*, V, 33.—He was shipwrecked when swallowed by the great fish, according to Æneas Gazeus). Joppa is on the western coast of Palestine, and there, too, the lunar Andromeda was rescued from the sea-monster by the solar Perseus (Pliny, *H. N.*, V, 14, 34; Strabo, XVI, 759, etc.). In the Old Testament, Jonah is about to be shipwrecked after leaving Joppa, when he is cast into the sea and swallowed by the great fish in which he remains for three days and three nights. He refers to himself while in the belly of the fish as being under the earth, at



JASON SWALLOWED BY A SERPENT.

(Ornament of an Etruscan mirror.)

“the bottoms of the mountains,” and says that he cried to God “out of the belly of Sheol” (Sept. “hades,” A. V. “hell”); so “the Lord spoke unto the fish, and it vomited out Jonah upon the dry land” (Jonah i-ii). In accordance with the original mythos, Jesus says that “even as Jonas was in the belly of the great fish (*κῆτος*) three days and three nights, thus shall be the son of man in the heart of the earth three days and three nights” (Matt. xii. 40).

In Matt. xvii. 24-27, Jesus tells Peter he will find a stater in the mouth of the first fish he catches, so he may pay the tribute due from both of them; this coin doubtless being a mere variant of

the mythic finger-ring (for the sun) thrown into the sea and swallowed by a fish (for the underworld) from which it is subsequently recovered—as in a Jewish legend of Solomon's "ring of power" (Eisenmenger, *Entdeckt. Judenth.*, I, p. 360); in the Hindu drama of "Sakuntala, or the Fatal Ring" (Act VI), and in the Greek stories of Polycrates (Herod., III, 40-43, etc.) and of Theseus (Hygin., *Poet. Ast.*, II, 5; Paus., I, 17, 3). In ancient Egypt and elsewhere coins of both gold and silver were made in the shape of rings (Wilkinson, *Anc. Eg.*, I, p. 286).

In Egyptian mythology the underworld is sometimes represented by the great serpent Apep, who vomits up all that he swallows (*Book of the Dead*, CVIII, both Recensions); and Horapollo says that the Egyptians depicted a serpent to represent a mouth "because the serpent is powerful in none of its members except the mouth only" (*Hieroglyph.*, I, 45). In Is. v. 14, it is said that Sheol (A. V. hell) "hath opened her mouth" (cf. Ps. cxli. 7, where "the mouth of Sheol" is that of the grave); and in Prov. i. 12, the dead "that go down into the pit" are alluded to as being swallowed whole. In early Christian art, hell is often represented by a dragon with open mouth—for the western entrance to the underworld; a tradition surviving to a comparatively late age (see frontispiece).

The medieval dragon is a crocodilian monster, generally with a serpent's tail, and often conceived as breathing fire—primarily for the mythical fire of the underworld, supposed to be seen directly or by reflection when the entrance and exit are opened in the morning and the evening respectively. Some of the Egyptians probably symbolized the underworld by the crocodile itself, for Horapollo says they represented the sunrise by the eye of a crocodile "because it is first seen as that animal rises out of the water" (I, 65). But in Job's leviathan¹ we probably have the whole universe as a crocodilian monster, whose "eyes are as the appearance of the morning star" (Job xlii. 18, Septuagint); and what is said of smoke coming from his nostrils and fire from his mouth (so his breath "kindles coals"—*ibid.* xli. 20, 21), is elsewhere applied to Jehovah in his cosmic character, and substantially in the same words (2 Sam. xxii. 9; Ps. xviii. 8). Thus, too, fire comes from the

¹ Gunkel has shown that the Biblical leviathan represents the Assyrio-Babylonian female dragon Tiamat (*Schöpfung und Chaos*, pp. 85, 86; cf. Carus, in *The Monist*, Vol. XI, pp. 423-430). But Tiamat was recognized as a figure of the primordial universe; the fable being that she was conquered and divided through the middle by Bel-Merodach, who formed the heaven from one half of her, and the earth from the other half ("Assyrian Epic of Creation," in *Records of the Past*, N. S., 1, p. 142; Berosus, in Eusebius, *Chron.*, V, 8; etc.).

mouth of the Hindu cosmic man Purusha (*Ramayana*, IV, 28); from that of the cosmic Vishnu (*Vish. Purana*, I, 12), and from the many mouths of the cosmic Krishna (*Bhagavadgita*; XI).

In the *Litany of Ra*, where various parts of the human body become gods (the deceased apparently being identified with the *pantheos*), the mouth is said to be "the king of the Ament" or the underworld (IV, 1, 8). The *Book of the Dead* refers to "the whirl-



JASON COMING OUT OF THE DRAGON'S MOUTH.*

(From an Attic vase.)

wind and storm" that comes from the mouth of the cosmic Ra (as if from the underworld—CXXX, Theban), while Job says to God: "The words of thy mouth are like a strong wind" (viii. 2; where we find the usual Hebrew word for mouth, *peh*, so called from breathing and blowing—Gesenius, s. v.). In Isaiah xi. 4, it is said that Jehovah "shall smite the earth with the rod (Sept. 'word')

* No information has come down to us relating to the myth of Jason as swallowed and disgorged by the serpent or dragon. In classical mythology, as we have it, he is saved from the monster by Medea, who slays it (Eurip., *Med.*, 480, etc.).

of his mouth, and with the breath of his lips shall he slay the wicked"; where we evidently have the wind as the breath and the thunder as the voice of the cosmic god—the latter concept being a common one, as in Job xxxvii. 5: "God thundereth marvelously with his voice."

The cosmic man is sometimes conceived as exhaling or giving forth the winds through his ears. Thus in the *Vishnu Purana* the whole universe is from Vishnu, who assumes its form, with the heaven for his head; while the sun comes from his eyes, the wind (as his breath) from his ears, fire from his mouth, etc. (I, 12). In Macrobius the Egyptian Serapis described himself with the heaven for his head, the sun for his eyes, the sea for his body, and the earth for his feet, while the air comes from his ears (*Sat.*, I, 20). In the *Ramayana* the cosmic Purusha has the sky for his body, the sun and moon for his eyes, fire in his mouth, and the two Aswins (doubtless as wind figures) for his ears (IV, 28). In these views of the cosmic man with the celestial sphere for his head, the daytime sky apparently represents his face as conceived to revolve around the earth from east to west, with the mouth and nose as well as the solar eye in the zodiac band, which necessarily places one ear to the extreme north and the other to the extreme south of both the earth and the celestial sphere; whence it follows that the two chief winds—the cold and the hot, from the north and the south—are those that come from the cosmic ears. Again, there can be little doubt that some of the early astrologers, like some in later times, placed the cosmic head within the ecliptic circle with the face upturned to the north, thus putting the tip of the nose at the pole of the ecliptic; and in the precessional period of about 2000 to 1 B. C., when the spring equinox fell in Aries, the solar eye was naturally connected with that eastern sign, and the mouth with the western sign Libra, which gives the southern sign Capricorn and the northern Cancer for the two ears, in connection with the nose at the central position in the north. And as Capricorn is the she-goat, the nurse of the gods in oriental legends (Allen, *Star Names*, p. 135), we have a reasonable explanation of an otherwise inexplicable statement in Horapollo: "When they (the Egyptians) would symbolize a man who hears with more than usual acuteness, they portray a she-goat, for she breathes through both her nostrils and her ears" (*Hieroglyph.*, II, 68; cf. Hippolytus, *Philosophum.*, IV, 31). The Crab (Cancer) of the Babylonio-Greek sphere could hardly be conceived as breathing thus; but in all probability some of the ancients represented this sign by an ass, on account of its

huge ears—two of the stars of Cancer still being called the two asses, as they were by the Greeks and Romans. Moreover, Capricorn is represented by a bull or ox in the ancient Chinese zodiac; the Egyptians had a god Satem = Hearing, who was figured with the head of a bull or ox (Wilkinson, *Anc. Egyptians*, III, p. 226), and Horapollon says that "to denote hearing, they delineate the ear of a bull" (I, 47—which is confirmed by the literary hieroglyphics).

The ass is distinguished for its loud voice as well as for its large ears and mouth. Being red in color, it is recognized as a figure of the sun on or near the horizon as well as in the storm (with the thunder for its voice); while again it is a lunar figure. In the Egyptian *Book of Hades* a human figure with the ears of an ass, and labeled Aai (= Ass), has the solar disk on his head as he lies stretched out on the ground, lifting himself (from the underworld) by means of a rope (*Records of the Past*, X, p. 130). In the *Book of the Dead* it is said that the Osirified deceased "heard the great words of the Ass (the sun) with the Cat (the moon) in the house of Put" (CXXVb, both Recensions, according to the usual rendering). The Greek Silenus, as drunk and unable to walk (in one view a figure of the sun in the west), is generally represented riding on an ass (a duplicate figure of the setting sun); and in the (storm) war of the gods with the giants (for clouds), after Silenus had slain Enceladus (for the night), the braying of the former's ass put the other giants to flight (Eurip., *Cyclops*, 7, etc.). The same ass is sometimes ridden by the solar Dionysus or Bacchus in his drunken old age. Silenus, as the chief of the satyrs, has a mythic variant in the man-goat Pan, who was finally recognized as a symbol of τὸ πᾶν = the all, the universe—as in the Orphic Hymns, etc. Pan's thunderous voice, certainly not that of a goat, is a mythic counterpart of the braying of the ass of Silenus, for with it Pan frightened the giant Titans during their war with the gods (Eratosth., *Catast.*, 27). A human voice is sometimes assigned to the solar ass, as in the story of Balaam, whose ass crushes its rider's foot against one of the walls of its (zodiac) path (Num. xxii. 24, et seq.). Dionysus is fabled to have been conveyed across a marsh by two young asses (perhaps those of Cancer), one of which had the faculty of human speech (Hygin., *Poet. Ast.*, II, 23); while the Hindu Aswins, who ride in a chariot drawn by winged asses, deliver Bhugyus out of the waters (those of the underworld or the watery signs) in a vessel that moves of itself through the air (*Rigveda*, I, 116, 2). The Phrygian Midas is mythologically associated with both Silenus (Hygin., *Fab.*, 191) and Pan (Ovid, *Met.*,

XI, 90, 146; etc.). Silenus at one time gave Midas the power to turn everything he touched into gold (like the rising sun), and when the latter declared the former to be superior to Apollo in musical ability, the god changed the ears of Midas into those of an ass (Hygin., *loc. cit.*, etc.).

In the Osiris cult, Set (Suti) or Typhon was the chief figure of evil, the underworld, and the west; but in all probability he was originally a figure of the sun of "the two horizons." In the *Book of the Dead* it is said that "Set hath opened the ways of the two eyes in heaven" (CVII, Theban). In a Pyramid text, when the deceased king "standeth up he is Horus (for the rising sun), and when he sitteth down he is Set (for the setting sun)"; while the sun-god in general, or the soli-cosmic god, is sometimes figured with two heads, one of Horus and the other of Set (Budge, *Gods*, II, p. 242). Set is generally figured in human form with the head of an animal like that of a camel, but with large square ears unlike any known to naturalists. Some extinct animal is supposed to be indicated (Budge, *loc. cit.*, II, p. 243), and if this be so, there can be little doubt that it was a wild ass; for there is much evidence indicating that the animal of Set was a red ass as a symbol of the sun on and below the horizon. Set has the head of an ass in a Demotic papyrus (Budge, *loc. cit.*, II, p. 254). Apep, the serpent of the underworld, is the eater of the Ass, as the setting sun (*Book of the Dead*, XL, Theban; the vignette in the Saïte showing the deceased spearing a serpent on the back of an ass that is lying down). Plutarch supposes that the red ass was an emblem of Typhon (Set) because of its color, stupidity, and sensuality (*De Iside*, 30); and he preserves a late legend in which Typhon escapes on an ass when defeated by Horus in a battle, after which defeat Typhon begat Hierosolymos (= Jerusalem) and Judæos (= Judea), "thus dragging the Jewish history into the legend" (*ibid.*, 31). Plutarch elsewhere says that the Jews worshiped the image of an ass because wild asses during the Exodus led them to fountains (for the earth-surrounding ocean), and that they abstained from eating the hare because of its resemblance to the ass; adding that the hare excels all other creatures in quickness of hearing, whence the Egyptians depicted the ear of a hare as an emblem of hearing (*Sympos.*, IV, *quaest.* V, 6). Like the Jews, the early Christians were accused of worshiping the ass, an ass god or the head of an ass (Tacitus, *Hist.*, V, 4; Tertullian, *Apol.*, 16, *Ad Nat.*, 11; etc.).

The female dog-monster of the Egyptian Ament is figured with

a huge mouth, as the devourer of the wicked (as in the Judgment Hall, *Book of the Dead*, CXXV, vignette, etc.); and its Greek male counterpart guards the entrance to Hades, being simply "the dog" in Homer (*Il.*, VIII, 363, etc.), while Hesiod calls him Kerberos and gives him fifty heads (*Theog.*, 311), which are generally reduced to three by later writers. In all probability the jackal-headed Anubis (Anpu) of the Egyptians, with jaws and ears of exaggerated size as compared with the jackal itself, is a mere variant of the ass god Set. The jackal (a wild dog) is a nocturnal scavenger that hides by day in its burrow in the earth, being espe-



JACKAL-HEADED ANUBIS.
(From Egyptian monuments.)



ASS-HEADED SET.
(After Brugsch.)

cially detested because it digs into graves and feeds on the bodies of the dead; while the annoyance from its loud and dismal howling and wailing by night is the theme of numerous apologues and tales in Asiatic literature. Anubis presided over tombs and was the god of embalming as well as the preparer and opener of the roads to and from the underworld and the guide of the dead on those roads (like the Greek Hermes as the Psychopompos or Conductor of Souls). Plutarch says: "By Anubis, they (the Egyptians) understand the horizontal circle (the horizon) that divides the invisible part of the universe (cosmos), which they call Nephthys, from the visible part, to which they gave the name of Isis" (*De Iside*,

44); and he also tells us that Anubis was the son of Nephthys by Osiris (*ibid.*, 38). But it appears from the *Book of the Dead* that Anubis was especially identified with the morning twilight and the cosmic mouth of the east, for he calls or vocally summons the deceased from the underworld (CLII; cf. XVII, 34, Saïte, where the call appears to be "Come to us"); while *ibid.*, LV, Saïte, the deceased says, "I am the jackal. . . . I open the mouth of Osiris (as the cosmic god) and give back sight to his eyes." In XLII (both Recensions), the lips of the deceased (for the organs of speech) are identified with Anpu (Anubis), and his ears with Ap-uat (= Guide-of-roads), another jackal-headed god and a mere variant of Anpu. Still another variant is found in Tuametef, the jackal-headed, who belongs to the east among the four funeral gods, as sometimes assigned to the cardinal points (Budge, *Gods*, I, 492); while in the oblong zodiac of Dendera a jackal (probably for Ap-uat) is placed between the western signs Scorpio and Sagittarius. In another connection with the zodiac, Anpu opened the roads to the north and guarded the summer solstice, while Ap-uat opened the roads to the south and guarded the winter solstice (Budge, *Gods*, II, p. 264, etc.). In a late theological refinement, Anubis is "he who reveals the things of heaven, the Word (Logos) of those who move above" (Plutarch, *De Iside*, 61, cf. 54); or, as Apuleius has it, he is "that messenger between heaven and hell displaying alternately a face as black as night and golden as day" (*De Asino*, XI). The cave-born Hermes has the same character, being the divine messenger or herald and the god of eloquence and speech in general, to whom the tongues of sacrificed animals were offered (Aristoph., *Pax*, 1062); indeed, Hermes is sometimes the Logos, the angelic and interpreting Word of God (Justin Martyr, I *Apol.*, 21, 22; Hippolytus, *Philosophum.*, IV, 48, V, 2, etc.). Both in his general and planetary characters the Babylonio-Assyrian counterpart of the speaking god Hermes (Mercury) is Nebo (Ass., Nabu—cf. Anup, Anub, Anubis), who finally became a god of wisdom; and his wife or consort is Tasmit = Hearing (Sayce, *Rel. Anc. Eg. and Bab.*, p. 363). In Acts iv. 36, we find Joses, the companion of Paul, given the surname Barnabas, which probably signifies Son of Nabu, although interpreted "son of exhortation" (ὁὶς παρακλήσεως) in the Greek text; while *ibid.* xiv. 12, the people of Lystra "called Barnabas, Zeus; and Paul, Hermes, because he was the leader in speaking"—where the original text probably had "because they were leaders in speaking," whence they were identified with Zeus the Thunderer and Hermes the Logos.

In one view, of great antiquity, sound as the voice of nature belongs to the daytime and the upper world, while silence or dumbness belongs to the night and the world below. The Egyptians had a goddess of silence, Merseker. In the Assyrian epic of Izdubar we find Silence enthroned in the underworld, reigning over a waste of blackness (Tablet VII, col. 6, as rendered by Hamilton); while the Hebrew *dumah* = silence is used poetically for Sheol, as in Ps. cxv. 17, where we read of the dead "that go down into silence" (Sept. "hades"; Vulg. "infernium"—as also for *dumah* in Ps. xciv. 17). The lowest department of Sheol, directly under our feet, was naturally recognized as the place of silence *par excellence*: and it seems that the twelve sons of Ishmael (= Hearer-god) primarily represent the twelve hours of the night; the sixth son being *Dumah* = Silence, while the last of the group is *Kedemah* = Eastern (Gen. xxv. 14: 1 Chron. i. 30). In Norse mythology, Vidar, apparently as a figure of the night, is the silent god (Thorpe, *North. Mythol.*, I, p. 193); and Loki, the Evil One (primarily of the night, secondarily of the thunderstorm), has his lips sewed together with a thong, in which condition he must remain until Ragnarok, the cyclic renovation of the world corresponding to the dawn and the spring of the year (*Elder Edda*, "Skaldskap," 35).

Those who located the home of the dead in the region of perpetual occultation (the part of the southern sky never visible to an observer in the northern hemisphere) naturally recognized that region as the place where "dead night forever reigns in silence. . . . and wraps all things in darkness," as Virgil has it (*Georg.*, I, 243 et seq.). Again, the natural period of darkness and silence becomes the cyclic night preceding the day of the manifested or created universe—this day being replaced by a week in the Hebrew cosmology. Thus in 4 Esdras, "darkness and silence were on every side" in the beginning of the creation week (vi. 39), and at its close the universe will again be turned into "the old silence" as in the beginning (vii. 30). According to Genesis i. 1-3, "In the beginning. . . darkness was upon the face of the abyss. . . . and God said, Let there be light, and there was light"—that of the dawn, preceding the creation of the sun. In the Gnostic system of Valentinus, the first eon or emanation of the deity in nature was Bythos = Depth or Abyss, and his consort was Sigē = Silence, who gave birth to Nous = Intelligence (corresponding to light in Genesis), who in turn produced Logos = Word, Speech (Irenæus, *Adv. Haeres.*, I, 1, 1; Tertullian, *Adv. Valentin.*, 7). Here the production of the Logos belongs to the dawn of creation, just as the voice

of nature awakens with the dawn of day and is therefore associated with the cosmic mouth of the east. Some appear to have started with the cyclic dawn, for John in his Gospel says: "In the beginning was the Word (Logos, as identified with Christ)"; and Philo had previously called the mystic Logos the Beginning, the East, Light, etc. According to the pseudo-Hermes Trismegistus, in the dawn of creation darkness changed into light, whence at first issued an inarticulate voice—"Then from that light a certain holy Word joined itself to nature" (*Pymander*, II, 46).

The Memnon of the Greeks, doubtless a solar figure, was identified by them with the original of the celebrated vocal statue near Thebes, which really represented King Amenophis. This statue gave forth sounds when the rays of the rising sun first struck it (Pausan., I, 42, 2, etc.), just as the sun itself was sometimes supposed to give forth audible sounds, as we know from Tacitus, Poseidonius, Juvenal, and others. After the statue had been wrecked by Cambyses, an inscription was placed on its base in which it is said: "Cambyses wounded me, a stone cut into the image of the Sun-King. I had formerly the sweet voice of Memnon" (see *American Quarterly Review*, IX, p. 32). Memnon was a name of the ass at Athens (Poll., IX, 48), and we saw above that the sun was sometimes symbolized by that animal. In Greek mythology, Memnon is the son of Eos, the Dawn (Hesiod, *Theog.*, 984), who weeps dew-drop tears for him every morning (Serv. *ad Aen.*, I, 493; Ovid, *Met.*, XIII, 622). The husband of Eos and father of Memnon was Tithonus (apparently a cosmic figure), who was granted immortality but not eternal youth; so in his old age (at night) he shrunk away, became unable to move and almost dumb (Homer, *Hymn. in Ven.*, 218 et seq.).

In one view the dawn figure becomes a listener, as in the *Book of the Dead*, where the deceased refers to his escape at sunrise from the underworld waters in the shape of the hawk of Horus, and to the rescue of the arm (for the solar flabellum) "of the great god who listens to the words in Annu" (the heaven—CLIII, Saïte). In all probability the Iranian Serosh or Craosha was also a dawn-listener originally; for the *Avesta* refers to a tradition that makes the name of the god signify "hearing." He hears even what is whispered in the ear; morning (and evening) prayers are addressed to him, and under his special care is the division of the day from midnight to the disappearance of the stars, during which heaven and earth hold their breath and listen—as being the period of deepest silence among the habitations of men (*Avesta*, "Yasna," LV, etc.). In

Crete there was a statue of Zeus which had no ears, "because it behooves the ruler and lord of gods to listen to no one," according to Plutarch (*De Iside*, 76—obviously a late refinement of rare order); but it is not improbable that this statue actually represented the soli-cosmic god of winter and night, primarily with inactive ears as well as other organs, secondarily as deaf to the appeals of men for light, warmth, and the products of the earth.

The well-known figure of the Egyptian Harpocrates (Harpakrat = Horus the child, the morning sun) with his forefinger on his lips, doubtless represents the natural dumbness of the god's infancy; but the finger on the lips (or the whole hand among the Hebrews and others) also symbolizes silence or dumbness in general. Thus Horapollon says that "to denote dumbness they (the Egyptians) depict the number 1095, which is the number of days in the space of three years, the year consisting of 365 days; within which time if a child does not speak, it shows that it has an impediment in its speech" (*Hieroglyph.*, I, 28). The ancient Mexicans appear to have recognized the period immediately following the deluge as that of the infancy of mankind; for in their mythology men were then born dumb, and a dove brought them tongues—which appear like commas in the pictographs of the scene (Herrera, *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, XVIII, p. 34; Humboldt, *Vues des Cordillères*, p. 226).

The silence or dumbness of the cosmic or soli-cosmic god at night appears to have been attributed by some of the Egyptians to an injury done to his mouth. In the *Book of the Dead* we read: "Ra spake unto the god Ami-haf (sometimes rendered 'King in his time'), and an injury was done to his mouth; that is to say, he was wounded in that mouth" (CXV, Theban). In the same Recension, Chap. XXIII, the Osirified deceased says in the underworld: "May the good Ptah (= Opener, originally the rising sun) open my mouth, and may the god of my city loose the (mummy) swathings which are over my mouth. Moreover, may Thoth (the moon-god), being filled and furnished with charms, come and loose the bandages, even the bandages of Set which fetter my mouth; and may the god Tum (as the setting sun) hurl them at those who would fetter me with them, and drive them back. May my mouth be opened; may my mouth be unclosed by Shu (Light or Space) with his iron knife wherewith he opened the mouth of the gods." In the Saïte parallel it is Tum (instead of Set) who binds the mouth, which is here opened by Ptah only; while the mouth itself is identified as that of Osiris, doubtless in his cosmic character (cf. Chaps. XXI and

XXII, which relate to "giving a mouth" to the deceased as assimilated to Osiris—both Recensions). In LXXXII, Theban, the Osirified says: "My head is like unto that of Ra, . . . my tongue is like unto that of Ptah" (the Saïte here apparently being corrupt, likening the body to Ptah). In all probability these texts refer primarily to the morning opening of the eastern cosmic mouth as the organ of speech (whence the identification of the tongue with that of Ptah), while Tum (or Set) as the binder of the mouth belongs to the west and the evening (cf. Tum or Tem with *dumah* = silent, dumb). In other texts of the *Book of the Dead* the nostrils and mouth of the Osirified deceased are opened at the same time, apparently as the organs of breathing. Thus in LVII, the deceased says: "My nostrils are opened in Tattu (as the region of the two horizons)," or as others say, "My mouth and nostrils are opened in Tatau" (Theban—or Tattu, Saïte); and in one papyrus the restored deceased says in the same chapter: "I am strong in my mouth and nostrils; for behold, Tum has given stability to them" (Navelle, *Todtenbuch*, Bd. I, Bl. 70).

In the New Testament story of the conception and birth of John the Baptist, there can be no reasonable doubt that the primary suggestion for the dumbness of his father Zacharias is found in the concept of the silence or dumbness of the cosmic man at night. This story appears only in Luke i, evidently having had no place in the Christian mythos as known to Mark; while in all probability it originally had no connection with the story of the conception of Jesus with which it is now interwoven in Luke. The essential elements of the former story, taken by itself, are these: Zacharias, a priest, and his wife Elizabeth, although righteous, were nevertheless childless in their old age; he prayed for a child while offering incense in the temple; the angel Gabriel appeared beside the altar of incense and told Zacharias that in answer to his prayer the barren Elizabeth would bear a son, to be called John, who would go forth in the spirit and power of Elijah, as the forerunner of the Messiah Jesus (cf. Mal. iv. 5); as a sign of the truth of this prophecy, which Zacharias doubted, Gabriel told him that he would be unable to speak from thence on until its fulfilment; Zacharias had tarried long in the temple, and when he came out he was dumb, nor could he speak again until he gave the promised son the name John on the eighth day after his birth—whereupon the mouth of Zacharias "was opened immediately, and his tongue loosed, and he spoke, blessing God," and prophesied, saying to John, "And thou, little child, shalt be called the prophet of the Highest; for thou shalt go before the

face of the Lord (Jesus Christ) to prepare his ways," etc. The last statement was doubtless derived from the allusion to John the Baptist in Mark i. 2-3: "Behold, I (God) send my messenger (John) before thy face (that of Jesus), who shall prepare thy way before thee (paraphrasing Mal. iii. 1). The voice of one crying in the wilderness, Prepare the way of the Lord, make his paths straight" (paraphrasing the Sept. of Is. xl. 3). Whether or not the suggestion for the Old Testament texts came from the Egyptian mythology, there can be no reasonable doubt that John was recognized as a counterpart of Anup or Anubis as a figure of the eastern horizon mouth, the messenger (or herald) of the rising sun, and the opener and preparer of the roads from the underworld—whence it appears that John, in the story under consideration, primarily represents the dawn in relation to Jesus in his solar character. We saw above that both Anubis and Hermes were sometimes recognized as the Logos, the Word or Speech, which otherwise comes from the eastern horizon mouth; and the abrupt introduction of "The voice of one crying in the wilderness" in Mark i. 3, has led some to a mystical identification of John as that voice itself—"the beseeching voice of the Word (Christ) crying in the wilderness," as Clement of Alexandria has it (*Exhort.*, I). It was therefore natural enough that John's father should be given the character of the cosmic man who becomes silent or dumb at nightfall and recovers his voice at dawn—thus being a mythic counterpart of Osiris as the father of Anubis and the cosmic god whose mouth is bound and subsequently opened. In accordance with this, Zacharias was probably conceived as having been afflicted with dumbness while officiating at the evening offering of incense in the temple; for there were two such offerings daily, one in the morning and the other in the evening, during both of which profound silence was observed by the worshipers, as we know from the Talmud (*Mishna*, "Tamid," III, 8; cf. Num. x. 10—the silence of the evening offering probably having suggested the silence in heaven for about "half an hour" or cycle, *špa*, at the close of the cyclic week of the seven seals in Rev. viii. 1). Moreover, Epiphanius (*Adv. Haeres.*, I, 2, 12) preserves a Gnostic tradition that it was not Gabriel whom Zacharias saw when stricken dumb, but "a man standing in the form of an ass"—probably for an ass-headed human figure like the original Egyptian Set—who in one view belonged to the sunset and the western cosmic mouth. According to Epiphanius (*loc. cit.*), when Zacharias went out of the temple he was minded to upbraid the people for worshiping this figure; but the

being who had thus appeared deprived him of speech, the recovery of which led to his death—for he told the people of what he had seen, and they slew him. In another legend, Herod ordered Zacharias slain because he would not reveal where the infant Jesus was hidden, so he “was murdered about daybreak”—as if taken for a figure of the silent night (*Protevangelium*, 23).

In Luke's account, John and Jesus are born six months apart; John as associated with the wilderness or desert probably having been recognized by some as a figure of the winter sun, while Jesus represented the sun of summer—whence the former is made to say of the latter, “Him it behooves to increase (in strength), but me to decrease” (John iii. 30). Although Anubis was sometimes assigned to the north and the summer solstice, it is not improbable that some placed the birth of John at the winter solstice and the birth of Jesus at the summer solstice; which is in accordance with the characters of the youthful Virgin Mary as the earth-mother in summer and the aged and barren Elizabeth as the earth-mother in winter, the fruitless season. The mythic barren woman who brings forth in her old age is represented in the Old Testament by Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, Hannah, the unnamed wife of Manoah, and the woman of Shunem in the story of Elisha (cf. Ps. cxiii. 9, where God “maketh the barren woman to keep house, and to be a joyful mother of children”). But the closest counterpart of Elizabeth is found in Nephthys, the mother of Anubis; her sister Isis as the mother of Horus being a similar counterpart of the Virgin Mary as the mother of Jesus. Plutarch tells us that Nephthys was barren while the wife of Typhon, but finally became the mother of Anubis by Osiris (the cosmic counterpart of Zacharias); and he adds that Typhon signifies “that the entire extent of the country was unproductive and bore no crops from barrenness,” while the barrenness of Nephthys symbolizes the infertility of “the extreme limits of their country, their confines and seashores” (*De Iside*, 38—where the original concepts are evidently confused).

In Chap. XXVI of the *Book of the Dead*, the heart, eyes, hands, arms, and legs, as well as the mouth of the deceased, are restored in the underworld (shortly before his ascension into the celestial regions); but in that book there appears to be no definite mention of the restoration of the ears or hearing, which is nevertheless implied in connection with the restoration of the other organs and faculties. The devotees of the Hindu Matta sacrificed their tongues to her, and it was claimed that they grew again after two or three days (*Aycen Akbery*, II, p. 133; Maurice, *Ind. Antiq.*, II, p. 161).

The Babylonian Bel appears to have been accredited with the cure of the dumb; for in the "Epistle of Jeremias" (in Baruch vi. 41) it is said of the Chaldeans that "if they shall see one dumb, that cannot speak, they bring him (to Bel) and intreat Bel that he (the dumb one) may speak, as though he (Bel) were able to understand it (the appeal)." In the *Rigveda* the Aswins restore the hearing of the son of Nrishad (I, 117, 8). At the moment of the incarnation of Buddha, the dumb spoke, the deaf heard and the lame walked when the blind received sight through longing to behold his glory (Rhys-Davids, *Birth Stories*, p. 64); while at his birth he "put all darkness to flight. The blind see, the deaf hear, the demented are restored to reason" (*Lalita Vistara*, I, 76 et seq.). The Hindus believe that those born dumb, deaf, blind, etc., are thus punished for the sins of a former life; dumbness being specified as a punishment for "a stealer of the words (of the Vedas)," in the *Law of Manu* (XI, 51), while the *Ayeen Akbery* has it for a patricide (III, p. 175). Among the cures attributed to Æsculapius, as recorded on a stele found at Epidaurus, we have the following: "A dumb boy came to the sanctuary as suppliant for his voice. When he had performed the initiatory sacrifices, and had done all that was customary, the attendant of the god (Æsculapius), looking at the father of the lad, said, 'Promise, if you obtain that for which he is present, to offer within a year the proper sacrifices for the cure.' Suddenly the lad exclaimed, 'I promise,' and the father in astonishment bade him speak again. He did speak again, and from that time he was cured." (Trans. of Merriam, in *American Antiquarian*, VI, p. 302.)

There is no literal cure of either the dumb or the deaf in the canonical Old Testament; but what may be considered figurative cures of dumbness (for the restoration of the prophetic power after its withdrawal by God) are found in Ezekiel (iii. 26, 27; xxiv. 27; xxxiii. 22). In Isaiah (lvi. 10) the figuratively dumb are coupled with the figuratively blind; while the latter are coupled with those similarly deaf (*ibid.* xlii. 19; xliii. 8; xxix. 18—in the last text the cure being prophesied for a time that was often taken for that of the Messiah). In the one great prophecy of literal cures in the Messianic kingdom, that of Is. xxxv, it is said (5-6) that "the eyes of the blind shall be opened, and the ears of the deaf shall be unstopped (Sept. 'shall hear') . . . and the tongue of the dumb shall sing (Sept. 'and the tongue of the stammerers, *μογιλάλον*, shall speak plainly, *τρανή δὲ ἔσται*')." And in all probability we have a fragment of a similar prophecy in Plutarch's tract *On the Ces-*

sation of Oracles (39), where we read: "For truly the oracle given to the Thessalians respecting Anna promises: To the deaf, hearing: to the blind, their sight." It is true that Plutarch understands this to refer to memory, comparing that faculty to hearing by the deaf and seeing by the blind; but there is no sufficient reason for any such interpretation, which was perhaps suggested by the belief that the seat of memory was in the lower part of the ear (Pliny, *N. H.*, XI, 103). In Greek mythology, Battus = Stammerer, who promised not to reveal where Hermes had hidden the (cloud) cattle of Apollo (the sun) but did not keep the secret (Ovid, *Met.*, II, 688, etc.), appears to have been originally a dawn figure with the newly acquired and imperfect speech of childhood.

In Is. xxxv (taken in connection with xxix. 18) we doubtless have the Old Testament suggestion for the statement in all three Synoptic Gospels that many dumb and many deaf persons were cured by Jesus (Mark vii. 37; Matt. xi. 5, xv. 30-31; Luke vii. 22). While Mark specifies both the dumb as speaking and deaf as hearing, Matthew and Luke have only the deaf (*κωφοὶ*, probably because they considered the afflicted ones both deaf and dumb—for *κωφός* primarily signifies blunted, dull; secondarily, either dumb or deaf). And while the dumb and deaf are separate and distinct in Isaiah and always elsewhere in the Old Testament, nevertheless, in Mark (the original Gospel) we now find no individual cure of a person exclusively dumb or exclusively deaf. In Mark vii. 32-36 (and there only), it is related that there was brought to Jesus "a deaf man who stammered (*μογιλάλον*, following the Sept. of Is. xxxv. 6), —and they (the people) beseech him (Jesus) that he might lay his hand on him (the man). And having taken him away from the crowd apart, he (Jesus) put his fingers to (or 'into') his (the man's) ears, and having spit (on one of his fingers) he (Jesus) touched his (the man's) tongue. And having looked up to heaven, he (Jesus) sighed, and says to him (the man), Ephphatha, that is, Be opened. And immediately his ears were opened, and the band of his tongue was loosed, and he spoke rightly (*ὀρθῶς*)." The *Diatessaron* of Tatian has it that Jesus "spat upon his fingers, and thrust them into his (the man's) ears, and touched his tongue" (XXI, 3). The peculiar pronunciation of the Aramaic "Ephphatha" doubtless suggested the sighing of Jesus, who was probably conceived as putting the little finger of each hand to or into the man's ears—not only because the little finger is the "ear-finger," so called from its use in scratching or cleaning the ear, but also because it was known among the Greeks and Romans as "the medical finger,"

from its employment in the application of salves, etc. In the nature mythos the fingers represent the rays from the solar hand; while spittle is mythically dew or rain. Jehovah with his hand touched the mouths of two of his prophets to take away the sin of evil speaking (Is. vi. 6; Jerem. i. 9), which is probably the primary suggestion for the touching of the tongue by Jesus; while the application of saliva from the mouth of the incarnate Word may have been considered peculiarly appropriate for the cure of a dumb or stammering tongue (cf. Wisdom x. 21: "For wisdom opens the mouth of the dumb," etc.). But the primary suggestion for the employment of the spittle is perhaps found in its connection with the cure of the blind man in Mark viii. 23, although there is no inconsistency in employing it in other cures. In the *Book of the Dead* the deceased says of the soli-cosmic personification, "I have delivered the god...from the grievous sickness of the body, of the arm and of the leg. I have come and I have spit upon the body," etc. (CII, Theban.—For spittle as a creative as well as a curative agency, see Budge, *Osiris*, pp. 203-206).

In the extant text of Mark ix. 17-29 we have an epileptic boy who was possessed "from childhood" by "a dumb spirit," one that is "dumb and deaf"; but it nevertheless hears Jesus command it to come out of the boy, and utters a cry as it comes out. And as there is no particular reason for attributing dumbness or deafness to possession by evil spirits or demons (which are generally supposed to be the cause of mental disorders only), there can be little or no doubt that the original of Mark's story related to an epileptic who was neither dumb nor deaf; in fact, this demonized boy reappears with nothing of dumbness or deafness in Matt. xvii. 14-21, and Luke ix. 38-42. But nevertheless, Matthew (ix. 32-34) has a cure of "a dumb man possessed by a demon" (which was cast out by Jesus, so that the "dumb spoke"), and also one of a person "possessed by a demon, blind and dumb" (who was cured, so that he "both spake and saw"—xii. 22-28); while Luke says that Jesus "was casting out a demon and it was dumb. And it came to pass, on the demon having gone out, the dumb spoke", etc. (xi. 14-21). In connection with the three last accounts, we find Jesus accused of casting out demons "by the chief of the demons," who is called Beelzebub in Matt. xii. 24 and Luke xi. 15; but this evil figure has no special relation to the dumb and deaf. The recognition of the dumb as also blind in Matt. xii. 22-28, was probably suggested by the coupling of the blind and dumb in Is. lvi. 10; the Gospel writer perhaps also having in mind some such idea as that expressed by Sophocles where he says,

"Thine ears, thy soul, even as thine eyes, are blind" (*Oed. Tyr.*, 371).

According to the *Infancy of the Saviour* (15) a new-made bride, who had just been stricken dumb "by the arts of Satan and the work of enchanters," had both her speech and hearing restored when she took the infant Christ in her arms, and drew him close, kissing him, etc. (as if she represented the dawn with the infant sun-god in her arms).

In the great cosmic war of the Hindu *Ramayana*, the three winter or watery signs of the zodiac are represented by the giant brothers Kumbhakarna, Meghanada, and Ravan, who are conquered by the solar Rama (I, 3). Kumbhakarna is fabled to have been so named from the size of his ears, as being capacious enough to contain a *kumbha* or large water jar (Griffith's *Ramayana*, III, App., p. 359). But he appears to be a figure of Aquarius, for the Hindu name of this sign is Kumbha as being anciently represented by a water jar, the handles of which resemble ears when taken in connection with its spout as a mouth or nose; in fact, the handles of such jars or pitchers have been called ears from the earliest times, as in Homer. Again, the Hindu poet Sripati describes the Kumbha of Aquarius as borne on the shoulder of a man who pours out its contents (Sir Wm. Jones, "On the Antiquity of the Indian Zodiac," in *Works*, I, p. 336), in which position it naturally suggests an enormous ear. As such it answers for one of the ears of the cosmic god with his head placed within the zodiac and his other ear assigned to Leo; and there are reasons for supposing that some of the ancient astrologers recognized the ear in Leo as a hearing ear, and the one in Aquarius as a deafened ear. In the *Ramayana* (Book III) there is a cosmic battle connected with the course of the sun through the watery signs of the Hindu winter; a description of that season appearing in Canto 16, where Rama (as the sun-god) goes bathing, followed by his consort Sita (for the moon or earth) and Laksman with a pitcher (for Aquarius). In Canto 17, the deformed giantess Surpanaka is introduced as in love with Rama; and in Canto 18 she attempts to slay Sita, but is foiled by Laksman, who with a sword cuts off her ears and her nose (apparently as variants of the handles and spout of the water jar of Aquarius). Rama finally dies when the waters of Pampa are reached (76—probably at the winter solstice).

In Mark xiv. 47, when Jesus had been taken and bound immediately after his betrayal by Judas, an unnamed bystander, "having drawn the (i. e., 'his') sword, struck the bondman of the high

priest, and took off his ear,"—substantially the same account re-appearing in Matt. xxvi. 51. It was the right ear that was thus cut off, according to Luke, who is alone in adding that Jesus, "having touched his (the bondsman's) ear, he healed him" (xxii. 50). John has: "Then Simon, now (also named) Petros, having a sword, drew it and struck the bondman of the high priest, and cut off his right ear. And the bondman's name was Malchos" (xviii. 10; cf. 26). In Mark alone this incident is immediately followed by the introduction of a certain young man who followed Jesus with only a cloth (his night dress) about his body, even this being torn away, so he fled naked (xiv. 51, 52); which indicates that Old Testament types for these associated elements were recognized in Ez. xxiii. 25, 26, where God is to punish the wicked Aholibah by the sword of the Babylonians and Assyrians, who shall take off her nose and her ears and strip her of her raiment. Aholibah has an equally wicked sister, Aholah, who is slain (*ibid.*, verse 9), which probably accounts for Mark's two figures instead of one. Ezekiel says: "Samaria is Aholah, and Jerusalem, Aholibah" (verse 4); but Mark's two figures are obviously represented as actual human beings, who are nevertheless introduced in accordance with the nature mythos in which the cosmic figure has one ear cut off (or deafened) in the sign of the winter solstice (anciently Aquarius, as in the case of Sarpanaka), while the earth is bereft of its clothing or vegetation in the winter season. Thus in Mark (as also in Luke and John, but not in Matthew) the introduction of the two figures under consideration is immediately followed by the account of Peter in the palace of the high priest warming himself at a fire—"for it was cold," as is added in John (xviii. 18).

The name Simon or Simeon signifies "Hearing" or "the Hearer" (see Gen. xxix. 33); we read of the Patriarchs Simeon and Levi that "weapons of violence are their swords" (*ibid.* xlix. 5, R. V.), and Simon as the first Apostle and a fisherman was doubtless recognized as a figure of Pisces (the Fishes), into which sign retrograded the spring equinox and the opening of the Jewish sacred year at about the beginning of the Christian era—the name *Petros* doubtless being referred by some to the Hebrew *peter* = opener, a variant of the Egyptian *Ptah* (and *Petra*—see *Book of the Dead*, LXVIII, Theban). And it is not improbable that the author of the Gospel of John (an Alexandrine Greco-Jew) assigned the cutting off of the ear of Malchos to the sword of Simon Petros in his zodiacal character, because the opening or restoration of the cosmic ear (as the hearing organ) was sometimes connected with

the spring equinox. From the historical standpoint it is quite incongruous for the fisherman Peter to have a sword; but mythically it is the light-weapon of the rising sun, the sword of Laksman and the knife with which Ptah opens the mouth of the cosmic Osiris (*Book of the Dead*, XXIII, Saïte). It belongs to "the sword-god Zio" (= Zeus) who has only one hand (for the eastern flabellum) in the legend of Walter of Aquitaine (Thorpe, *North. Mythol.*, I, p. 217); it is often depicted in the right hand of the youthful sun-god Mithra (Cumont, *Mysteries of Mithra*, pp. 21, 23, 117, etc., 2d ed., 1910), and is "the sword of flame whirling itself about" in connection with the cherubim "at the east of the garden of Eden" (Hebrew of Gen. ii. 24; cf. the Babylonian flaming sword of Bel-



BIRTH OF THE SOLAR MITHRA.

With the knife of the opener and torch of the rising sun.

(Bas-relief found in the crypt of St. Clement's at Rome. From Cumont, *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, p. 202.)

Merodach, "which turned four ways" as specifically referred to the cardinal points, in the tablet of Bel and the Dragon—*Records of the Past*, IX, p. 137). As a human figure who loses his ear or organ of hearing, the Gospel bondman appears to be conceived as a listener or spy of the high priest who opposes Jesus (as the night opposes the day, etc.); while John perhaps gives the name Malchos (King or Counselor) to this bondman to intimate that he was also an adviser of the high priest—perhaps as a counterpart of Anubis or Hermes as the speaker of the (evil) Word.

In an Egyptian astronomical calendar of the XXth dynasty the stars are named in relation to the following seven positions on the

fixed hemisphere above the earth: the right shoulder, ear, and eye; "the middle" (i. e., between the eyes), and the left eye, ear, and shoulder (Renouf, *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archaeol.*, III, pp. 400-421 and key figure). Without the shoulders, which were apparently included to make up the typical seven, we have a cosmic head in all probability originally conceived with the tip of the nose at the celestial north pole, and only the eyes and the ears on the oblique zodiac path: and the tip of the nose would also be at the same pole when the face was placed within the zodiac and upturned toward the north, as it naturally would be by astrologers in the northern hemisphere. The nose is the only facial organ that could well be identified with the pole as the projecting end of the axis of the celestial sphere: and the Kabbalistic Macroprosopus (= Great Countenance) is the "Long of nose," being described with that organ "long and extended" (*Zohar*, "Iddera Zuta," XV). We saw above that Anubis was sometimes the guardian of the summer solstice in the northern sign of the zodiac: and in the circular planisphere of Dendera the jackal of this god is found at the north pole, while in a Pyramid text (Unas, 219) the nose of the deceased is identified with that of Anubis (Budge, *Gods*, II, p. 262). We also saw above that the two chief winds, from the north and the south, were in one view conceived as the breath from the cosmic ears; but the north wind as the most powerful of all was sometimes recognized as the chief or father of the winds (like the Greek Boreas—*Il.*, XX, 223, etc.), while the nose is the proper organ of breathing, being called the "breathing-place" in some languages (e. g., in Hebrew, *aph*). Thus in the *Book of the Dead* we read of "the north wind which cometh forth to (through?) the nose of Khenti-Amenti" (= Governor of the underworld, Osiris—XCIX, Theban; while the Saïte parallel has: "through the nostril of the Resident in the West"—Osiris); and the Osirified deceased says, "my nose is the nose of Khenti-Kas" (XI.II, Theban,—the Saïte assigning it "to the Resident in Seckem" = Osiris). In both Recensions, the deceased says: "I am the nose of the god of the winds" (CXXV); and again (LXXI) "I am the pure lotus (perhaps for the north pole) which springeth up from the divine splendor that belongeth to the nostril of Ra" (Theban,—or "I keep the nostril of Ra who keeps the nostril of Hathor," Saïte). In XCIX, Theban, we find "The nose of heaven which proceedeth from the god Utu" (perhaps a figure of the north and stormy season—cf. Egyptian *uta* or *uat* = wet, north, etc.). Of the long nose of Macroprosopus it is said: "From this nose, from the openings of the nostrils, the Spirit (or Breath) of Life

rusheth forth" (*Zohar*, "Iddera Zuta," V); and the storm wind is the angry breath from the nose of Jehovah—"the blast of his nostrils" (Ex. xv. 8)—"the breath of his nostrils" (Job iv. 9)—"the blast of the breath of his nostrils" (2 Sam. xxii. 16).

When the visible universe is conceived as the whole body of the cosmic man, one of its central organs is naturally identified with the north pole. Thus in the *Litany of Ra* (IV, 1, 8) the spleen of the deceased is said to be the god Fenti (= Nose—the central organ of the face thus being confused with that of the body); and in the Mexican man of the zodiac the wind symbol belongs to the liver as the central organ while the air symbol belongs to the mouth (Kingsborough, *Mex. Antiq.*, VI, p. 223, and Plate LXXV). Among the forty-two Assessors (for constellations) in the *Book of the Dead*, we find that Fenti = Nose "comes forth from Khemennu" (CXXVb, both Recensions), in all probability because the terrestrial city of that name was situated in the center of Egypt. It was known to the Greeks as Great Hermopolis, probably through being recognized as a counterpart of Cancer (the sign of the northern solstice about 2000-1 B.C.); for Hermes was generally identified with Thoth (Tahuti), and both were finally assigned to Cancer in their zodiacal characters, while the ibis-head of Thoth has a strong resemblance to a huge aquiline nose. In the *Book of the Dead*, where the deceased says that he is the nose of the god of the winds, he adds that this god gives life to all mankind on the day when the (lunar) eye of Ra is full, at the end of the second month of Pert (the growing season—CXXV, Theban); doubtless referring to some festival at about the time of the winter solstice, which anciently fell at the close of the second month of the growing season. But in all probability the life-giving cosmic nose was originally associated with the summer or northern solstice (although perhaps not in Egypt), for Cancer was the Gate of Life through which souls descended to earth, according to the Platonists and others (Porphyr., *Nymph. Ant.*, 11; Macrobian, *In Somn. Scip.*, I, 12; etc.).

MISCELLANEOUS.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE MYTHOLOGY OF ALL RACES. Vol. XII. Egyptian. By *W. Max Müller*, Ph. D. Boston; Marshall Jones Company, 1918. Pp. xiv, 245 [+ 83].

This book, although it does not pretend to be more than a sketch, is in fact the result of a life devoted to the study of ancient Egypt. It is the work of a man whose authority to speak on the question nobody will doubt. Every reader of the book will feel immediately that an authority of the highest rank is speaking to him.

Egyptian religion has always been of the greatest interest to the nations of the West. When, two thousand years ago, the classical people had lost their faith in the gods of their fathers, they turned to the gods of the East, especially to those of the Egyptians. Just because the "wisdom of Egypt" was an absolutely unintelligible mystery to them, they accepted it as the very deepest of all truths. A later age has lost the belief in this truth, but the mystery of the Egyptian religion is even now very hard to penetrate, for we have before us a religion which cannot be reduced to a reasonable system. We have no book of revelation, as we have in many other religions, where the doctrine would be given more or less completely. In fact, we have no definite system of doctrine at all, Egyptian religion being composed merely of countless speculations and myths that are widely divergent and very often even conflicting. We have the crudest worship of animals, which has always in Christianity served as an illustration of the utter folly of heathenism, and side by side with this we find very high ethical ideas which remind us of well-known passages in the Old and New Testaments. "I have removed wickedness, I have not done wrong to men, I did not oppress relatives, I did not commit deceit in the place of justice" confesses the dead in his prayer to Osiris in the so-called *Book of the Dead*. And from epitaphs we learn that among the moral demands which have to be satisfied, are "giving bread to the hungry, water to the thirsty, clothing to the naked, a ship to the stranded." We meet an endless number of gods exercising contradictory functions, and together with this we read lofty passages which led many scholars to believe, that Egyptian religion was a pure monotheism, disguised under the outward appearance of a symbolic polytheism, and that the Egyptian gods were looked upon as only discriminated manifestations of the same Supreme Being.

These contradictions, of which the Egyptian religion is full, must, as the author very ingeniously shows, be explained by the origin of the religion and the extreme conservatism of the Egyptians. As to the origin the author does not follow the modern apologists for the Egyptian religion who always try to find a hidden meaning in the crudities of animal worship etc., but shows that the only way to understand this religion is to trace it back to its very origin in a period which is prehistoric to us, that is, in the fifth millennium B. C. The Egyptian religion of that time has to be placed on a level with ordinary African paganism. Its beginning is animism which knows no gods in the sense of

advanced pagan religions, but only believes that earth and heaven are filled by countless spirits. With this agrees the tendency to seek the gods preferably in animal form. Then the extreme conservatism of the Egyptians kept these crude gods even at a period when their civilization had become very highly developed and higher philosophical and ethical thoughts had entered their religion. Egyptian art shows the same conservatism. It has kept the childish perspective of primitive days down to the Greek period, although artists were able to draw quite correctly even three thousand years before that time. In the same way in religion the conservative Egyptians were especially anxious to tread in the ways of their blessed forefathers, to adore the same gods to whom their ancestors had bowed down since time immemorial, and to worship them in exactly the same form, so that, ever after 3000 B. C., the religion of the later so highly developed Egyptians remained deplorably similar to that of their barbarous ancestors.

Out of this animism the cosmic conception of the gods and a rich mythology developed. "The first attempt at philosophical thought which accompanied the development of Egyptian civilization evidently led to a closer contemplation of nature and to a better appreciation of it." How and under what influence this development took place, we do not know, nor does the author reveal it to us. There is no historic certainty and the author is very sober, keeping away from all speculation without historical foundation. The most probable theory is, that influences from Asia were at work. There, especially in the Babylonian religion, we find in a surprising way very many identical myths. Egyptian mythology is based, like the Babylonian, on the happenings in the sky. It centers around the sun, his daily and yearly course, the effect of which is the regular change in nature, life and death. The principal representative of these ideas is Osiris. He and the gods connected with him by countless myths have been the most popular divinities of Egypt. And just this figure of Osiris is under the name of Tammuz an equally important figure in Asiatic mythology, and it is quite probable that the primitive ideas of the Osiris myth came from Asia.

This Osiris myth is the most characteristic myth of all in the Egyptian religion. It shows also in the clearest way, how far these myths are from forming any system. Osiris, the god of changing nature in the widest sense, is also the divinity of the most important change, death. He is the patron of the soul of the departed, the king of the underworld, the judge of man, being at the same time the lord of resurrection and of new and eternal life. As changing nature he may be seen in the daily and yearly course of the sun. As the sun he is the ruler of the sky and can therefore actually be identified with the sky, he can sit in the celestial tree or be that tree, the tree of life itself. In his honor, 365 lights were burned, showing him to be the god of the year. As such he has chiefly lunar festivals, so that he can easily assume features of the moon. He is even directly called the moon. He can moreover be sought in many important stars, e. g., in the morning star, or in Jupiter. He is furthermore identified with the Nile, especially the subterranean Nile, the abyss, the ocean which encircles the underworld. There is scarcely any part of changing nature in which Osiris cannot be found, and it is not an inadequate title which is often given him: "Lord of Everything."

This not only shows the unsystematic character of the Egyptian mind, but it reveals also the kaleidoscopic character of their mythology. This was to the mind of the ancient Egyptians not a disadvantage, but a beauty. The same

we find in Babylonian mythology. Just the fact that you could bring everything in connection with the sun-god, was to the ancient Egyptians and Babylonians the inner proof of the truth of the whole "system." For to them it was a system which united all phenomena of the world.

Here, finally, was a wide field where syncretistic speculations and pantheistic tendencies could work. This syncretism began very early. The most radical syncretism is that of the famous king Amenhotep IV, about 1400 B. C. Breaking with all traditions he tried to suppress entirely the worship of Amon and moved from Thebes, the city of Amon, to a place near the site of the modern Tell-Amarna. In his famous hymn to the sun he praises the sun-god as the only deity of the universe. We know very little about his new doctrine, except that it was a pantheistic approach to monotheism. But even here Dr. Müller warns the reader with the soberness of the true historian not to overrate this reformation. "We may admire," he says, "the great boldness of the king's step, may view it with sympathy, and may regret its failure, yet Amenhotep IV must not be overrated and compared with the great thinkers and reformers in the world's history."

This soberness of judgment is characteristic of the whole book, and the author is perfectly right in calling his survey unprejudiced and unbiased, which makes the reading of the book a great pleasure to every one interested in the history of religion.

I. BENZINGER.

NEW YORK.

GUYNEMER, KNIGHT OF THE AIR. By *Henry Bordeaux*. Tr. from the French by *Louise Morgan Sill*. Yale University Press, 1918. Pp. 256.

"*La terre a vu jadis errer des paladins*,"—such is the heading Henry Bordeaux gives to one of the sub-sections of this biography. He might as well have used it as a motto for the whole book, as the very wording of its title suggests. He celebrates Guynemer as a resurrected knight of the days of chivalry, going out to meet the foe in single combat, for the protection of the weak and suffering. His favorite comparison is that with Roland, who, like his hero, died *pour la belle France*. A hard-headed man of to-day may smile at these poetic reminiscences, still—has it not often been observed during the war that chivalry, driven out of the bloody, muddy land combat, had taken wing only to inspire the fighters in the air? Besides, the very name Guynemer seems to hold a romantic charm even for people who know little of the language and history of the French, and we are not surprised at all to be given documentary evidence that traces the history of the name back to the legendary age of the *Chansons de geste* and the Crusades.

Aside from all this, however, the present-day aspect of the story is never entirely lost sight of. After all it is a very modern young man who steps out of these pages to receive our last greeting: nervous, subtle, scientific, and passionately industrious when he had found his vocation.

The son of rich parents, graduate of that famous Jesuit school, the Collège Stanislas through which, before his time, Anatole France and Henry Bordeaux himself had passed, he really found himself without much occupation when August, 1914, drew near. To be sure, he had been preparing to enter the Ecole Polytechnique, having taken an absorbing interest in all things mechanic ever since a schoolmate first initiated him into the mysteries of an automobile. Still, the boy, not yet quite twenty, could hardly have dreamed of the career

that was before him when the hour struck. An earlier effort of his to become an aviator had failed, not receiving the sanction of his father. Now it was different. Being too frail of health and constitution to do infantry service, he at last succeeded in entering the flying corps as a student mechanic, November 21, 1914. His first flight followed more than three months later, March 10, 1915; his first victory, July 19 of the same year.

This is the portrait the author gives of him—a literary portrait which is the more valuable since, as we are told, few snapshots of Guynemer give a natural impression of him (pp. 121f):

"This tall thin young man, with his amber-colored skin, his long oval face and thin nose, his mouth with its corners falling slightly, a very slight moustache, and crow-black hair tossed backward, would have resembled a Moorish chief had he been more impassive. But his features constantly showed his changing thoughts, and this play of expression gave grace and freshness to his face. His eyes—the unforgettable eyes of Guynemer—round like agates, black and burning with a brilliance impossible to endure, for which there is only one expression sufficiently strong, that of Saint-Simon concerning some personage of the court of Louis XIV: 'The glances of his eyes were like blows'—pierced the sky like arrows, when his practiced ear had heard the harsh hum of an enemy motor. . . ."

At that time no air fighting in squadrons, as it came more and more into practice in 1917, was yet thought of: the air duel, pure and simple, was the order of the day. One or two of these fights we shall give in Guynemer's own words, taken from a letter to his father (pp. 100f):

"Combat with two Fokkers. The first, trapped, and his passenger killed, dived upon me without having seen me. Result: 35 bullets at close quarters and '*couic*' [his finish]! The fall was seen by four airplanes (3 plus 1 makes 4, and perhaps that will win me the 'cross'). Then combat with the second Fokker, a one-seated machine shooting through the propeller, as rapid and easily handled as mine. We fought at ten meters, both turning vertically to try to get behind. My spring was slack: compelled to shoot with one hand above my head, I was handicapped; I was able to shoot twenty-one times in ten seconds. Once we almost telescoped, and I jumped over him—his head must have passed within fifty centimeters of my wheels. That disgusted him; he went away and let me go. I came back with an intake pipe burst, one rocker torn away: the splinters had made a number of holes in my overcoat and two notches in the propeller. There were three more in one wheel, in the body-frame (injuring a cable), and in the rudder."

"All these accounts of the chase," Henry Bordeaux continues, "cruel and clear, seem to breathe a savage joy and the pride of triumph. The sight of a burning airplane, of an enemy sinking down, intoxicated him. Even the remains of his enemies were dear to him, like treasures won by his young strength. The shoulderstraps and decorations worn by his adversary who fell at Tilloloy were given over to him; and Achilles before the trophies of Hector was not more arrogant. These combats in the sky, more than nine thousand feet above the earth, in which the two antagonists are isolated in a duel to the death, scarcely to be seen from the land, alone in empty space, in which every second lost, every shot lost, may cause defeat—and what a defeat! falling, burning, into the abyss beneath—in which they fight sometimes so near together, with short, unsteady thrusts, that they see each other like knights in

the lists, while the machines graze and clash together like shields, so that fragments of them fall down like the feathers of birds of prey fighting beak to beak—these combats which require the simultaneous handling of the controlling elements and of the machine-gun, and in which speed is a weapon, why should they not change these young men, these children, into demi-gods?"

Eight times during his whole flying career this demi-god was brought down himself, once after a triple victory, in the author's words (p. 136), "from a height of 3000 meters, the Spad falling at the highest speed down to earth, and rebounding and planting itself in the ground like a picket." Then Bordeaux quotes Guynemer himself: "I was completely stupefied for twenty-four hours, but have escaped with merely immense fatigue (especially where I wear my looping-the-loop straps, which saved my life), and a gash in my knee presented to me by my magneto. During that 3000-meter tumble I was planning the best way to hit the ground (I had the choice of sauces): I found the way, but there were still 95 out of 100 chances for the wooden cross. *Enfin*, all right!"

Twice more he escaped, though not in quite as miraculous a fashion,—in the meantime rounding out more than fifty accredited victories. The fatal morning came September 11, 1917. He was shot through the head in single combat, in Flanders, south of Poelcapelle. The enemy, in retreat before the British, had no time to remove the body and bury the fighter,—shells buried him where he had fallen with his machine, no trace of either being found no more than twenty-four hours later. A marble slab in the Pantheon commemorates his name in the sanctuary of the French nation.

Over this whole field Henry Bordeaux's now enthusiastic, now caressing style carries our imagination as thought in a swift smooth flight. The translation detracts little. Looking down upon the short heroic life of Guynemer from the safe altitude of a survivor, he constantly leaves us in view of the panorama of this life, no matter on what detail of school, of home, or of battle he may be focusing our attention for the moment.

Four charcoal drawings by W. A. Dwiggin in good, though not excellent reproduction, accompany us on our way: "The First Flight in a Blériot," "In the Air," "Combat," and "Going West," while the frontispiece, a three-color wood-block by Rudolph Ruzicka, showing Guynemer ready for an ascent, gains more and more in significance the farther we progress.

STUDIES IN JAPANESE BUDDHISM. By *A. K. Reischauer*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1917. Pp. xx, 361. Price, \$2 net.

This is a valuable study of Buddhism in Japan by Dr. Reischauer, Professor in Meiji Gakuin, Tokyo. It includes, besides a general outline of the religion of the founder and of Buddhist origins, a sketch of Mahayana Buddhism, or the Northern stream of Buddhist doctrine which reached Japan in the middle of the sixth century. The subject is of a curious complexity, owing to the spirit of compromise exhibited by later developments of this religion. It could readily assimilate opposites and digest incongruities. Dr. Reischauer gives the present view of the founder, the result of modern criticism. It seems evident that the Buddha had no special fondness for metaphysical doctrine, and that he "rather sidestepped them when he could." His primary interest was the deliverance of humanity from the bonds of sin and passion. He apparently denied the reality of the self, and set such problems among the Great

Indeterminates. "The jungle, the desert, the puppet-show, the writhing, the entanglement of such speculations is accompanied by sorrow, wrangling, resentment, the fever of excitement. It conduces neither to the detachment of the heart nor to freedom from lusts, nor to tranquillity, nor to peace, nor to wisdom, nor to the insight of the higher stages of the faith, nor to Nirvana." But Gautama's disciples were Hindus, to whom metaphysical speculation was the bread of life, and in the course of centuries Buddhism developed from a non-religious system of ethics into a religion *sans* ethics. Additions were made to the ever-growing complexity of the Mahayana school until it contained not only the content of primitive Buddhism, but also everything Buddha had opposed. It took on the color of any local condition, like a chamæleon; it gathered into itself everything that came its way, until the Buddhist temple was littered with strange agglomerations of rubbish. Buddhism, spreading through China and Korea, changed its very essentials, and when this accommodated faith reached Japan it was still further expanded and modified, especially by the native Shinto. The Jodo, Zen, Shin, and Nichiren sects are Japanese contributions to Buddhism and represent the greatest religious impetus in Japan. The story of the development and decay of the various schisms would try the patience of any student, and to-day in Japan fifty Buddhist sects are officially recognized.

The last chapter gives a well-informed survey of the place of Buddhism in Japanese life. Its place, as a vehicle of culture, has been a great one in the past. Dr. Reischauer agrees with Professor Inouye Tetsujiro (p. 326) as to the disabling defects of Buddhism, chief of which is an essential pessimism. "Buddhism must shed its pessimism or lose its hold on the people," according to Professor Inouye. But can this most adaptable of religions adapt itself so far? As Dr. Reischauer points out, for Buddhism to shed its pessimism is not like a snake shedding its skin, but rather like shedding its backbone." Buddhism without pessimism would no longer be Buddhism. N. C.

THE EXCEPTIONAL CHILD. By *Maximilian P. E. Groszmann*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. 764. Price \$2.50 net.

The author is an expert on this subject and has been an educator almost all his life. He was first in Milwaukee, then in New York in the Ethical Training School as principal, and then established an institute for the exceptional child. It is necessary especially for this department not only to have sufficient intelligence to distinguish children and treat them according to their special dispositions, but also to have perseverance and love of the child, which needs specialization and personal application.

How few children are really rigidly normal and how many pass through periods of abnormal dispositions which expose them to the danger of becoming abnormal! The typical child is often mediocre and the atypical child contains chances of becoming ingenious and talented or gifted in one special, abnormal or supernormal, sense. To treat the normal child correctly we ought to be able to understand the abnormal, the atypical, the unusual child, and in certain critical periods the educator ought to be broad enough to judge of growing tendencies so as to make the best use of the material in his care.

We have here a book written by a man of good judgment and large experience, who has done his best to make his experience accessible to others. The author says in his Foreword: "The purpose of the book is to give a per-

spective of the entire situation, and to suggest ways and means of coping with the problem in its various aspects. . . . Thus, questions of heredity and family history, of environment and social-economic conditions, of child hygiene and public sanitation, of medical inspection and clinical work, of psychologic and psychopathic investigation, and other elements too numerous to state, enter into the discussion. Our investigations will take us into juvenile courts and into the hovels of crime and prostitution, into the almshouses and charity bureaus, and wherever humanity's woes and shortcomings are studied and methods of relief are considered."

The author's endeavor "to write the book in simple language and in a style which will appeal even to readers who have but a modicum of scientific training and vocabulary" may be said to have met with eminent success. On the other hand, in the words of the Foreword, "the material is so presented that it gives the reader who is anxious and capable to make professional use of it the opportunity to do so. An effort has been made to avoid mere assertions, and to refer in every case to sources and expert counsel. The classified bibliography presented at the close of the book will facilitate these references."

The book is richly illustrated with pictures of children, drawings, etc., and is attractively bound.

PSYCHIC SCIENCE: an Introduction and Contribution to the Experimental Study of Psychological Phenomena. By *Emile Boirac*, Rector of the Dijon Academy. Translated by *Dudley Wright*. London: W. Rider & Son, Ltd., 1919. Pp. viii, 370. Price, 10s. 6d. net.

Dr. Boirac's work, *La Psychologie Inconnue*, which is here adequately translated was written between 1893 and 1903, and is of considerable interest to those who consider that psychical research should be brought into line with the exact sciences. Of course, scientific men to-day adopt a different attitude from that of the eminent biologist mentioned by William James, who said to him that if the facts of telepathy, etc., were true, the first duty which every honest man would owe to science would be to deny them, and then prevent them, if possible, from ever becoming known; but the difficulty and elusiveness of most psychical phenomena are an obstacle in the way of systematic investigation. Dr. Boirac's method is undoubtedly the right one, that is, to start with the investigation of simpler phenomena, such as magnetoid phenomena, leaving on one side spiritoid and hypnoid phenomena (to which latter class belong those connected with hypnotism and suggestion). Many scientific men have investigated hypnoid phenomena, but the magnetoid have been relatively neglected. It is Dr. Boirac's belief that the systematic study of spiritoid phenomena should be postponed until such time as the magnetoid have been scientifically explored. He recommends, in fact, beginning with the alphabet. His method is an experimental study of the phenomena in question, under strict conditions, and it would be of interest to reproduce and further develop his experiments.

He gives strong evidence from his own carefully conducted experiments that a form of energy more or less analogous to electricity and magnetism can be set in operation by mental effort, and this he terms "animal magnetism." He is careful to exclude the possibility of "suggestion," and his experiments were designed to be "non-suggestive" or even anti-suggestive. Especially interesting are those experiments in the externalization of sensibility (Chapter XVI).

M. T.



PAUL CARUS

(From a portrait by E. Winold Reiss)

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. XXXIII (No. 9)

SEPTEMBER 1919

NO. 760

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PAUL CARUS.

BY JULIUS GOEBEL.

THE death of Paul Carus, which was announced in the March number of *The Open Court*, has meant not only a sad bereavement to his family and his immediate friends, but also an irretrievable loss to all those who had felt the influence of his powerful mind, his upright character, and his lovable personality. Despite the lingering illness which slowly sapped his strength, but which he bore with patience and fortitude, he continued his indefatigable work in the interest of his fellow-men almost to the last, faithful to the ideals to which he had devoted his life.

Descending from a family of distinguished scholars, Dr. Carus was born in 1852 at Ilsenburg am Harz where his father, who later rose to the high ecclesiastical office of First Superintendent General of the Church of Eastern and Western Prussia, was then pastor. He received his early and thorough training in the classics and in mathematics at the Gymnasia of Posen and Stettin and afterward studied philosophy, classical philology, and the natural sciences at the universities of Greifswald, Strassburg, and Tübingen where in 1876 he received the degree of Ph. D. Having successfully passed the examination for state service, he was appointed teacher in the military academy of Dresden, but his liberal views soon brought him into conflict with the autocratic authorities. He tendered his resignation and turned to America where in the atmosphere of freedom he hoped to find the opportunity for the development and realization of the ideals which filled his mind and heart. His expectations were more than fulfilled when in 1887 he was called to the editorship of *The Open Court* and afterward to that of *The Monist*, the two periodicals which owe their existence to the pro-

found scientific and religious interests and to the generosity of Edward C. Hegeler. In this position and as author of numerous scientific and literary works he generously repaid the hospitality of the country that had received him as one of its future citizens.

In a remarkable address on "Some Practical Influences of German Thought Upon the United States," delivered before the German Society of New York on the occasion of its centennial thirty-five years ago, Andrew D. White made the statement that "every one who has given even superficial attention to the history of the United States must acknowledge that the Germans have taken the most honorable part in our national development so far." At present the unprejudiced student of history will admit that the influence of German thought emanating from the leaders of each successive generation of German newcomers constituted one of the important factors in the shaping of our intellectual, social, and political life. The rise of the transcendentalism in which the American mind found its first self-expression, is closely connected with Karl Follen, the first interpreter of Kant's philosophy in this country, the advocate of religious freedom, and the early champion of the anti-slavery cause. Again in the great struggle for freedom against slavery such men as Franz Lieber, Carl Schurz, Karl Heinzen, and numerous less distinguished leaders of political thought rendered invaluable service to the preservation of our national unity.

Among the scholars of German descent who during recent decades, the period of greatest intellectual growth and achievement in our history, contributed the best of their intellect, their character, and their training to the development of higher American civilization, Paul Carus takes one of the foremost places. That it was in the realm of philosophy, ethics, and religion where his exceptional talents were to leave their permanent mark seemed predetermined by his early development and preparation. Several collections of poems published before he came to this country show us the young truthseeker who had lost the faith of childhood days in the traditional dogmatism of the Church, in the violent struggles of religious doubts and anxiously looking for guidance to the light of reason. The philosophical treatises which he published at that time and which finally cost him his official position, give evidence not only of the profundity and penetration of his mind but also of the seriousness with which he strove toward the attainment of a philosophy which would be not a mere system or theory of knowledge but which would embrace ethics and religion as well.

The period in which Paul Carus received his university training marks the lowest ebb of philosophical thought and interest in Germany during the nineteenth century. It is the period of reaction against the idealistic systems of previous decades, the time of the early triumphs of the natural sciences which seemed to leave room only for the pessimistic or the materialistic view in matters philosophical. It is significant that Carus was not affected by either of these views but rather felt drawn to a movement which then began gradually to gain ground with the slogan "back to Kant." While this movement in its early stages resulted in the attitude of agnosticism or in hairsplitting disquisitions on the theory of cognition, Carus seems to have been one of the first to recognize that to go back to Kant meant to go beyond him. Not, of course, in the way of the new realists who, for obvious reasons, pursue the policy of the ostrich by dodging the inevitable critical problem, or according to the puerile method of those who think that the disparagement of Kant means his refutation.

At the time of Paul Carus's arrival in America the interest in philosophy as a domain independent of the guardianship of the Church was little developed in this country. The study of Kant, which had inaugurated the transcendental movement, had more or less ceased with the passing of this movement. Its place was taken by the Scotch realism of Reid and W. Hamilton which Witherspoon and McCosh, its chief interpreters, skilfully employed to fortify the doctrines of Presbyterian orthodoxy. There were in the seventies and early eighties a number of men who, while studying in Germany, had come in contact with the Kantian revival; but their influence, confined to isolated and small academic circles, was of little consequence. Few American universities had at that time philosophical departments worthy of the name.

It is without question due in a large measure to the enthusiasm and indefatigable zeal of Paul Carus that gradually, during the last twenty-five years, an understanding for the deeper questions of philosophy and religious thought has been awakened in wider circles of the nation. And it is both fascinating and instructive to follow the growth of the ideas which constitute the message of his educational mission.

The careful reader will discover even in Carus's first philosophical essays his earnest attempt to solve two of the most troublesome problems of modern thought: the dualism contained in Kant's philosophy, and the resulting conflict between knowledge and belief. It is, however, chiefly in two books written in the full vigor of his

early manhood that Carus boldly attacked these problems and laid the foundation of his philosophy which he subsequently expanded in numerous works. The titles of these books are: *Fundamental Problems, the Method of Philosophy as a Systematic Arrangement of Knowledge*, 1889; and *The Soul of Man, an Investigation of the Facts of Physiological and Experimental Psychology*, 1891.

Carus himself has repeatedly emphasized the fact that his conception of "form" constitutes the central idea of his philosophy. By a new and more precise formulation of this conception he hopes to approach Kant's unknowable "thing in itself," to bridge the chasm between object and subject, and to arrive at a monistic contemplation of the world which would exclude the traditional dualism of most philosophies and produce a union of philosophy and religion.

Carus takes his chief argument against the unknowability of the thing in itself from modern mathematics, especially from the theory of space as developed by H. Grassmann. According to this thinker the traditional axioms have no place in mathematics, instead of them the "theory of forms in general" should precede all special branches of mathematics. Accepting this "theory of forms in general" Carus says: "We can generalize the concept space and consider the line as a space of one dimension, the plane as a space of two dimensions, and actual space as a space of three dimensions. It is impossible to form any intuitive conception of a space of four and, still less, of more than four dimensions. Nevertheless we can abstract from dimensions altogether and conceive of such absolute space as 'Form, pure and simple.' In doing so, we can lay down the laws which are equally valid for all kinds of spaces, whether of three, or four, of n dimensions."

Grassmann's theory of "forms in general" throws a new light upon Kant's doctrine of the *a priori* in Carus's opinion, because "it exhibits a science of pure form in its most generalized abstractness. Thus the *a priori* has lost the last vestige of mystery, and we can easily understand how the cosmical order is due to the formal laws of nature. While Kant's reasoning has been correct in the main, it is apparent that real space is not quite so purely formal as he imagined. A system of form of the third degree (three dimensions) can be posited *a priori* by formal thought; but the fact that real space is such a system of the third degree can be ascertained by experience only."

The full significance of the new interpretation which Carus gives to "form" becomes apparent if we remember that in his opinion the formal laws of nature and the formal laws of thought are iden-

tical inasmuch as consistency, the primary attribute of form, applies to both. In fact, it may be said that it is form in which, according to Carus, the material and the spiritual meet and unite. One of the chief arguments for this assertion he finds in the nature of memory, which he defines as nothing more or less than the psychical aspect of the preservation of form in living substance. The impression which the sensations leave behind them could neither be preserved nor reproduced if the organs did not retain their form despite the continuous change which is going on in the nervous substance. Memory, which rests on organized substance, can therefore be described as a process going on in tridimensional space, of which form is a part and as such subject to decay in death. This decay of form, however, is of no consequence to the whole of humanity since the achievements of the memory of the individual will be utilized by those who survive, and the growth of human knowledge and of higher civilization is thus made possible.

The preservation of form as such, despite the decay of the individual form, seems to justify Carus in his assumption that form is the real essence of things and that the latter, therefore, are not mere phenomena, as in Kant's philosophy, but possess reality which we can know. Defining the soul as the *form of an organism* he holds that "the 'soul of a thing' is the formative principle which gave and still gives shape to it so as to make it the thing it is. The laws that rule the changes and formations of the world are not material things, yet they are realities nevertheless. When we call them realities we do not mean that they are entities which exist of themselves, nor are they mysterious powers outside of or behind things. They are *in* the things and are part of the things; and it is through the mental process of abstraction that we acquire an insight into them."

Having arrived at his monistic view of the soul as a knowable reality, Carus inquires into the ultimate source of the formative principle and finds it in God, "the highest reality in the world." "Taking this view," he says, "of the importance of form and using the word soul to signify the formative factors of the various forms and their relations that have been evolved and constantly are evolving; we are naturally led to the conception of a soul of the universe. The soul of the universe we call God."

To be sure his conception of God as the law that shaped and is still shaping the world, that is forming and ever re-forming, evolving and ever re-evolving the universe; as the light of mentality that flashes up in consciousness and finds its divinest expression

in the clear thought of articulate speech; as the moral law that binds human society and leads it to ever grander ideals, to always higher goals and aspirations; as the *sursum* that everywhere animates nature, the upward and forward tendency that manifests itself in the natural growth of things and in the progress of evolution—is not the God of religious dogmatists, nor of pantheists, nor of such scientists as know only “blind” Law and Force. Nevertheless, Carus feels himself entitled to speak of God in terms of traditional religious belief. In his book *God* he makes the eloquent plea that the purer conception of God which he claims to have attained “loses nothing of the definiteness and personality of the old God-conception. A surrender of the letter does not imply a surrender of the spirit that God is our Father, our Lord, our Judge, our Comforter, our Savior, the prototype of the incarnated Christ-ideal, the Way, the Truth, and the Light.”

Whether the conception of God as the “Allfood of existence,” “the surreal and superpersonal world-order and law,” a conception which is the result of abstract thought, will satisfy the innermost craving of the human heart is a question to which religious experience alone can give the final answer. That Carus himself embraced his scientific and philosophical idea of God with the mystic fervor of deep religious feeling there can be no question. Being essentially a religious nature, he had no interest, as he repeatedly said, in erecting the structure of a new philosophic system, but all his efforts were directed toward ethical and religious reform. A beautiful passage in his book *God* gives us a glimpse of his religious experiences and his attitude toward religious truth: “In his personal development the author of this book has successfully passed through all the stages of belief, and can therefore appreciate the arguments proffered from all sides. He knows from his own experience and still cherishes the sacred God-ward longings of a childlike mind, and at the same time he is conscious of the truth that lies in the negations of atheism. But having regained a positive attitude through formulating in affirmative terms the truth of the negations to which his conscientious doubts led him, he can now better understand the religious aspirations of his childhood and has ceased to look upon the imperfections of creeds as absolute errors.”

It is from the standpoint of the broad tolerance, the sympathetic humanity, and the profound religious spirit exhibited in these lines that we can best understand the many-sided activity of Paul Carus during the latter half of his life. The monistic view of the world to which he had attained through arduous study, incessant thinking, and

long inner struggles, had become to him a religious message which he was indefatigable in proclaiming to his fellow-men in numerous publications. His favorite idea of the interrelation of science and religion finds expression in the subtitle of this Journal: "A Magazine Devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the Extension of the Religious Parliament Idea."

His zealous attempt to mediate between knowledge and belief, science and religion, had its counterpart in his efforts to bring about an understanding between the enlightened representatives of the great religious world. As Leibniz had cherished the dream of uniting the various Christian denominations into one universal Church, so Carus entertained the hope of the ultimate triumph of one religion, the Religion of Truth. "Mankind," he says in the Preface to his book *Buddhism and Its Christian Critics*, "is destined to have one religion, as well as one moral ideal and one universal language, and the decision as to which religion will at last be universally accepted cannot come about by accident. Science will spread, may-be, slowly but unfailingly, and the universal acceptance of a scientific world conception bodes the dawn of the Religion of Truth." To hasten the coming of this day he translated and interpreted with incredible toil and industry the *Gospel of Buddha* and the *Tao Teh King* of Lao-tze, the Chinese philosopher, of which the former was again translated into many languages and is used at present in the Buddhist schools and temples of Japan and Ceylon. What attracted him in these religious documents above all seems to have been their rationalistic character so closely related to his own mental make-up.

To the end of his life Paul Carus remained faithful to his convictions of the objectivity and eternity of truth. Gratefully conscious of the debt which he owed to Kant, he valiantly defended the basic truths of Kant's philosophy,—of which, as we have seen, he was no blind follower,—against the sophistry of pragmatism as well as against the anti-moralism of Nietzsche and the sentimental intuitivism of Bergson. At the same time we may notice in his polemics, especially in his book on Nietzsche, a strain of deep despondency and disillusionment. Where he expected that with all the wonderful successes and triumphs of scientific invention this age of science would find its consummation in the adoption of a philosophy of science, he saw himself confronted at the close of his life with retrograde movements in philosophy, subjectivistic movements which questioned the very foundations of truth as he saw them.

Fortunately a kind fate spared him from witnessing the recent supreme vindication of the philosophy of the "relativity of truth" when solemn pledges were wantonly broken, the traditional conceptions of honor and conscience were thrown to the winds, and under the guise of expediency and utility, hypocrisy and deceit were sanctified, while the disillusionment following in the wake of this performance killed the last germs of idealistic hopes and aspirations in millions of young souls.

Nothing was more abhorrent to Paul Carus than the type of individual who hides his want of principle and lack of character behind professions of sublime idealism, or seeks to justify his crippled moral nature by convenient catchwords which the philosophies of subjectivism have always furnished in abundance. Paul Carus belonged to a generation which exemplified the power of German idealism to build strong and sterling characters and belied the foolish attempts of certain philosophasters to fasten the guilt of the recent world catastrophe upon the Kantian view of the world. A staunch believer in the inexorable demands of reason and of the moral law, he was far from being a moral rigorist, but a teacher of deepest insight into human nature, full of sympathy for its weaknesses and frailties. As a scholar of comprehensive knowledge in many fields he had little patience with the arrogance of academic "specialists" and their conception of science as a huge factory in which the single workman is permitted to produce but one piece of the machinery of knowledge. At the same time his humility of spirit, his kindness and helpfulness won him countless friends in many lands and in all walks of life.

Having been a victim of the autocracy of his native country, his liberty-loving soul embraced the hospitable land which had given him shelter and the opportunity to develop his talents with all the gratitude and patriotism of which it was capable, but he resented the inhuman demand to hate his kin, remembering the Biblical malediction: "And he that curseth his father or his mother, shall surely be put to death." His reverence for the founders of our Republic and its Constitution knew no bounds, hence he looked with grave patriotic misgivings upon the machinations of certain selfish politicians who were frivolously playing with the destiny of our nation as marked out by its founders.

The lifework of men like Paul Carus devoted to the service of mankind and its imperishable values will not end with the close of his career. The immortality in which he firmly believed will certainly be his. When America shall have recovered from the fanati-

cism of the war spirit and its debasing effects, when, in harmony and peaceful competition with the most advanced nations of the old world, we shall resume our work in the interest of the higher civilization of mankind, then Paul Carus will be remembered as one of our pathfinders. No more befitting expression of the ideal of life which he upheld and which will assure Paul Carus a lasting memory in the coming era of human progress can be found than in the closing words of his little book *Whence and Whither*, an admirable summary of his philosophy:

"Life is in itself a boon only as an opportunity to perform a task, to accomplish a certain work, to actualize an ideal. The aim of life is its significance, and it alone establishes its dignity. By having an aim that is rooted in eternity, we need not mind the transiency of life. We can impart to life a significance that is beyond the intrinsic meaning of the moment, and, being the revelation of imperishable ideals, possesses a worth everlasting. The recognition of the spiritual background which transfigures our bodily life implies a lesson which is the quintessence of all religion."

THE IDEALS OF THE LIFE AND WORK OF PAUL CARUS.

(1852-1919.)

BY PHILIP E. B. JOURDAIN.

THE whole of the life-work of Paul Carus was a consistent and ceaseless following out of his ideals. It is quite easy to express in general terms what these ideals were: To accept nothing as true without a thorough critical examination, and to reject nothing as altogether false unless a sympathetic and careful search has failed to reveal a way that it might indicate to some truth or other. But such maxims, which would obviously be accepted at once by both thinking and unthinking people, have that character which makes them easy to profess and teach, but hard to follow. Indeed, it is in the actual application of these maxims to particular cases of what claims to be knowledge, that lies the true test of a philosopher. In our lives we meet a variety of propositions that may or

may not serve as bases for knowledge; we may believe or disbelieve that twice two are four, that two straight lines cannot enclose a space, that Christ was of divine origin and worked miracles, that Brutus murdered Julius Cæsar, that Bacon wrote Shakespeare, that a sea-serpent was once seen off Galveston, or that Theodore Roosevelt was twice president of the United States. If we take any one of these propositions and investigate its truth or falsehood as thoroughly as we can, it is quite possible that we run up against some cherished prejudice or other; and the prejudice may prevent us from grasping some truth which this proposition may indicate, either unambiguously or—if it is not strictly true—vaguely and, as it were, with a wavering finger. We know that it is extremely rare to find such ideals consistently worked out in every action of a man's life. Some men manage to divide their lives into public and private compartments, to profess belief or disbelief in certain things and not to show their beliefs in their lives. Such a man Paul Carus was not. Of him it may be said more truly than of most other philosophers and men of science that to live was both to express and to practise his ideals. Throughout a full and busy life he sought calmly and without rest the truth that might be expressed in any or all of the domains of thought and action, science and art.

Some of the incidents of his life illustrate that sturdy independence of thought that is so essential to the carrying out of these ideals. He was born at Ilsenburg in Germany on July 18, 1852. At the Gymnasium of Stettin he came under the influence of the great mathematician Hermann Grassmann, of whom he always spoke with affectionate respect. Later he studied at the universities of Strassburg and Tübingen. Owing to the need he felt so strongly for keeping his independence of thought, he resigned a teaching post in Germany and came first to England and then to America. Thus he was one of those seekers for intellectual freedom who traveled from East to West.

Fortunately he met in the United States a man strongly imbued with the noble ideals of encouraging independence of thought; for it was this that was necessary even approximately to realize the ideals of religion on a firm basis of science, a science of philosophy, and a philosophy of science. In 1887, Edward Carl Hegeler of La Salle, Illinois, founded a company to publish books and other literature with the object of establishing ethics and religion on a scientific basis. Since the end of 1887 up to the end of his life, Paul Carus was closely associated with the management and literary work of the Open Court Publishing Company. During that time

his ideals had free expression, and now they live though he is dead. Thus, there was a rapid growth in the number of his books, emphasizing, on the one hand, that what claimed to be sources of knowledge must be, as in mathematics or natural science, critically examined, and, on the other hand, his wide eagerness to discover fragments of the truth that may be glimpsed in poetry, art, or even in the myths and symbols of religions. It is instructive to compare Comte and Carus in one respect: Comte tried explicitly to found a religion on the basis of positive science alone; Carus saw clearly that no philosophy that hopes to be permanent can neglect history or put itself into uncritical opposition to the systems which have for centuries expressed some of the dearest and highest aspirations of mankind, and that it is not a merit to allow ignorance to blind the glimpses of truth that we sometimes get from prophets, poets, and priests of other religions and other philosophies.

In his refusal to admit uncriticized would-be "sources of knowledge" and in his wide interest in all branches of science, there was something in Carus that reminds one of Kant. Broadly speaking, Carus was a Kantian; but he was by no means an uncritical follower of Kant. He recognized quite clearly, for example, the intrusion of psychology into much of Kant's work on the theory of knowledge; he went far beyond Kant by emphasizing, perhaps before anybody else, that the essence of mathematics was, as he expressed it, that it deals with *anyness*, or, as the mathematicians express it, that it consists of implications between propositional *functions*. It seems to have been from Kant, and partly perhaps from Grassmann and certainly from his own psychological tendencies in the direction of visualizing numbers, that his beliefs grew that the science of space was fundamental in mathematics. Toward his own philosophical results Carus maintained a critical attitude; and one of the most frequent and characteristic utterances of his was that he had no wish to found a philosophy of his own, but only to contribute to the philosophy of science. He was not a maker of systems, as were Hegel and Spencer; he was a wide-minded and scientific thinker, as Hegel and Spencer were not.

It seems that, in those who really live in their works and ideals, it is impossible to separate the philosopher from the man. Everything human that struck one about Paul Carus,—his humorous and lovable personality, the affection with which he inspired us all—seemed to be knit up with the great ideals which he followed. These ideals indeed were his very life, and gave him much of his charm. A brave spirit and a true friend.

DE RERUM NATURA.¹

VON PAUL CARUS.

I. DAS PROBLEM.

DAS Weltenall versuch' ich zu erfassen,
 Und heil'ger Schauder bebt durch mein Gemüth.
 Mit Ehrfurcht nur darf ich die Blicke heben,
 Wenn ich das Ganze alles Daseins denke,
 Das grosse All der herrlichen Gestirne,
 Mit allem Leben, das sich in ihm regt,
 Wie es, seit ungemess'nen Ewigkeiten
 Sich immer neu gestaltend, neue Welten
 Aus den zertrümmerten erschafft. Mit Ehrfurcht
 Betrachtet dich, du wunderbarer Kosmos,
 Der Astronom, der deine Bahnen misst;
 Und überwältigt steht der Philosoph,
 Wenn er das Räthsel zu ergründen sucht,
 Das in dir lebt. Du gleichst dem Ocean,
 Aus dessen unbegriff'ner Tiefe Fluthen
 Auf Fluthen majestätisch sich erheben,
 Um wieder in das Meer zurückzusinken.

An deinem Ufer, Ocean der Welten,
 Steht sinnend auch der Dichter; welches Sehnen
 Durchbebt sein träumerisches Herz! Harmonisch
 Klingt andachtsvoll die Seele wie Gebet;
 Doch durch die weihevollen Stimmung tönt,
 Wie Dissonanz, des Zweifels bange Frage:
 "Willst du es wagen, was unmöglich ist,
 Das ew'ge All der Welten zu besingen?
 Wie willst du denn das Universum preisen,
 An dem Jahrtausende sich abgemüht,
 Es zu erforschen? Sind die Wissenschaften
 Nicht schon ein Hymnus, der zwar unvollkommen,
 Doch immer reicher ist als dein Gedicht—
 Ein grosser Hymnus, dessen Einzeltöne
 Die edelsten und besten Geister sind,
 Die unsre Menschheit je hervorgebracht?"

¹ [This poem, originally composed in 1884-5, is here reprinted, with variants from manuscript, from the Chicago edition of 1895.—Ed.]

DE RERUM NATURA.¹

BY PAUL CARUS.

I. THE PROBLEM.

WHEN thought, to comprehend the Universe,
 Within me stirs, my soul is thrilled with awe.
 With reverence only dare I lift mine eye
 To front the gathered worlds of that All-One
 Wherein the cosmic order rules supreme
 Ensouling with its breath both sun and mote.
 Since measureless eternities new worlds
 Originate from wrecks of those destroyed—
 A rhythmic palingenesis.

With awe

O Cosmos, contemplateth he thy ways,
 Whose peering glass surveys the teeming heavens.
 Before the mystery that in thee lives
 Bewildered stands the gray philosopher.
 For like the sea thou art, from whose abyss
 Wave upon wave majestically swells
 To sink again down into plumbless deeps.

Upon thy bank, Ocean of Worlds, behold
 The poet musing stands! What longings stir
 His dreamy heart! How, as in prayer, the soul
 With full devotion glows exultantly!
 Yet through his hallowed mood of worship jars
 The discord of the doubter's questionings:
 "And wilt thou venture the impossible,
 "To celebrate in song the infinite?
 "How darest thou to glorify the All
 "On which for ages man's inquiring mind
 "Has spent its efforts—many not in vain—
 "With probings after truth? The Sciences
 "Are anthems grand whose cadences unfold
 "Far richer music than thy harp can yield.
 "Their notes seraphic are the noble souls
 "That soar on wings of thought to untold heights."

¹ [Reprinted from *Truth, and Other Poems*, Chicago, 1914.—Ed.]

Lasst mich nur sagen, was mein Herz empfindet,
 Wenn ich die Ordnung schaue, welche herrscht,
 Und die mit eiserner Nothwendigkeit
 Nach mathematisch sicherem Gesetz
 Die Liebe und den Hass der ungezählten
 Atome regelt; jene Ordnung, welche
 Das Einzelne dem Ganzen unterwirft,
 So dass die Nebelmasse zum System
 der rollenden Planeten sich entwickelt;
 Dieselbe Ordnung, die dann auch der Zellen
 Aufkeimendes Geschlecht zur Einheit führt,
 Dass sie die Arbeit für das Ganze theilen,
 Harmonisch sich zum Organismus bildend.

Doch höre ich des Missmuths bittren Vorwurf:
 "Und rühmst du alles das, vergiss auch nicht,
 Wie die Gerechtigkeit so grausam straft,
 Wenn untauglich, der Ordnung sich zu fügen,
 Ein Einzelnes dem Dienste sich entzieht,
 Den es dem Ganzen schuldet. Unerbittlich
 Lässt sie auch schuldlos den Gerechten leiden."

Das weiss ich wohl und habe selbst erfahren,
 Wie viel das Leben Qual und Elend birgt,
 Und wie ein jedes Streben sich verbindet
 Mit Noth und Schmerzen. Ohne Kampf kein Sieg,
 Und jeder Kampf bringt Wunden. Alles ringt
 Nach einem Ziel, das in verschiedner Art
 Verlockend uns belebt und vorwärts treibt
 Um die geahnte—unbekannte Mitte.
 Ich weiss es wohl; doch hab' ich auch erkannt,
 Der Schmerz ist's grade, der das Leben adelt,
 Und Mühsal giebt der Arbeit ihren Werth.
 Das Leid gab die Natur in gleichem Masse,
 Wie sie die Lust und Freude auch vertheilte,
 Und nur wer lebt, der fällt dem Tod anheim.
 Wenn aber sich der Mensch darob beklagt,
 Gedenke er an die Gerechtigkeit:
 Sein Nachtheil ist im Vorzug nur begründet.
 Das Schicksal waltet mit derselben Strenge
 Allüberall und mit derselben Güte;

Yea, but emotion yearns for utterance
 When I behold the never failing order
 That brooks no chaos, proves the universe
 A glorious cosmos well ordained by law,
 And finds its image in the human soul.
 What wondrous constancy in nature's realm!
 Its ordinance enthralleth every part
 To service of a greater whole. It sways
 The love and hate of atoms numberless;
 By rule mechanical it buildeth worlds
 And maketh loosely scattered star-dust change
 To solar systems,—suns with wandering moons
 The dispensation of this order leadeth
 The budding race of cells to unity,
 Allotting so the labor of the whole
 That organisms deftly shape themselves.
 What grandeur overwhelming, infinite!

"And this thou laudest?" rose the bitter voice
 That fain would hush the poet's cosmic psalm,
 "Forget not then how Justice smiteth him
 "Who, finding not his duty to the whole,
 "In restive selfhood shirks. Yea, verily
 "The guiltless with the guilty feel the smart."

That know I well, for life hath shown to me
 How much of misery the heart may hold.
 Ay, every effort is with grief entwined
 And anxious care. Without the battle's brunt
 No victory; and conflict yields but wounds.
 We all pursue elusive luring goals
 Which woo the weariness of toiling feet.
 Onward and on we rush without a halt
 Around a center dreamed of but unseen.
 I know it well, yet have I also found
 That pain's tuition will ennoble life,
 And our endeavor giveth toil its worth.
 In equal measure Nature suffering doles
 With pleasure's sweetening apportionment;
 And only he who lives is doomed to die.
 And this is justice, therefore murmur not.
 All preference in life is duly balanced

Wie hoch der Werth, so schwer ist auch die Bürde.
 Doch was du leidest in des Strebens Drang,
 Das musst du für die Menschheit leiden, welche
 In deinem Herzen lebt, die dich beseelt,
 Die vorgesteckten Ziele zu erreichen
 Und dieses Lebens Räthsel aufzulösen.
 Bleibt aber unsre Arbeit eitel Stückwerk,
 Und schau ich in das namenlose Elend,
 Das in der Welt das Einzelne durchzittert,
 So blick' ich aufwärts, um den Trost zu finden,
 Wo ich die Einheit aller Dinge suche;
 Denn eine Ahnung hier im Busen sagt,
 Dass jeder Missklang sich verklären muss,
 Wenn man die Harmonie des Ganzen hört.

Drum soll die Nichtigkeit des Einzeldaseins,
 Die Kleinheit meiner selbst, mich nicht beirren.
 Bin ich ein Theil, so diene ich dem Ganzen,
 Und lasse mir des Strebens Thatendrang
 Durch Mühe, Schmerz und Trübsal nicht vergällen.
 Und muss das Herz im Todeskampfe brechen,
 Neigt sich der Tag und des Bewusstseins Licht,
 Verzweifle nicht; du bleibst im Schooss des Alls;
 Ein jeder Tropfen deines Wesens bleibt,
 Wie wenn der Strom im Oceane mündet.
 Vergänglichkeit ist unsres Lebens Fluch;
 Doch Schmerz und Sorge auch vermag uns nur
 In unsern Erdentagen zu bedrängen;
 Und wenn der letzte Athemzug gethan,
 Fällt alles hin, was hier uns schrecken kann,
 Und Ewigkeit wird einzig uns zu Theil
 Nur in des Todes heiliger Vollendung.

2. DIE SEELE.

Hier bin ich, selbstbewusst und thatendurstig.
 Es pulst ein warmes Leben durch die Adern,
 Und rastlos sprühen der Gedanken Blitze.
 Besinne dich, o Seele, auf dich selbst:
 Was bist du, und wo kommst du her? Was ist
 Das Ziel, das du verfolgst? und was der Zweck,
 Der deinem Streben seine Weihe giebt?

By corresponding risks. Throughout we are
 Embraced with equity's unbending sternness
 And with the favors of impartial love.
 The burden must be sore that winneth worth,
 Yet what thou sufferest in the press of strife,
 Must thou for that humanity endure
 Which liveth in thy heart, inspiring thee
 To win the goal that shimmers to thy dream,
 And goading thee to solve life's mysteries.
 When I the nameless misery behold
 That trembles through the individual soul,
 Whose puny work in idle piecemeal lies,
 I will look up and seek life's consolation
 In cosmic Unity's eternal bliss.
 Then hope, a-yearn within my bosom, saith:
 "Lo, every dissonance must be attuned
 "If thou the pulsing harmony wouldst hear
 "That swelleth from the chorded galaxies."

Let not self's insufficiency mislead:
 Thou art a part, so gladly serve the whole.
 Take courage lest thine aspirations flag,
 By weariness and tribulation galled.
 And death, life's holy consummation, brings
 The benison of eternity.
 When in death's agony thy heart must break,
 When day declines, and light in consciousness
 Becomes extinct, fading away in gloom,
 Do not, O Soul, despair! thou livest yet
 Within the bosom of the All. The stream
 That finds the sea meets not extinction there.
 The vampire years soon drain the pulse of life;
 But transient, too, are all our cares and griefs.
 When silence darkens round the failing breath
 The evils vanish that disquiet us,
 And death, life's holy consummation, brings
 The benison of eternity.

II. THE SOUL.

Here am I, imaged in the glass of thought,
 And eager in desire to dare and do.

Erkläre dir dein eignes Wesen, Seele,
Und gib Bescheid, wie du dir selbst erscheinst.

Im Auge wechselt eine Bilderpracht,
Die farbenreich mir die Umgebung malt.
Durch's Ohr dringt Nachricht in Gestalt von Tönen;
Ein jeder Sinn schafft seine eigne Stimmung,
Und jede Stimmung dauert im Gedächtniss,
Das immer wieder anklingt, wenn erregt.
Doch aus dem Wallen der Empfindungen,
Die sich wie Ranken durch einander schlingen,
Erwachsen feste Formen von Begriffen,
Die vieles Gleiche an einander reihen.
Und wie Idee sich mit Idee verbindet,
Ideen zeugend, welche Klarheit breitet
Sich wachsend über die Gedanken aus!
Des Thatendranges ungezähmtes Sehnen
Gewinnt nun Ziel und Zweck. Es regelt sich
Der wilden Triebe wirrer Widerspruch
In ruhevoller, fester Selbstbeherrschung.

O welche Mannigfaltigkeit! Und Alles
Verwebt harmonisch sich zu einem Ganzen,
Der Seele herrliches Gebilde schaffend;
Das ist mein Selbst. Was ich berühre wandelt
Sich zauberartig zu Gefühl. Es kündigt
Die Nahrung im Geschmack sich an. Welch Klingen
Weht durch die Lüfte! Welche Farbenwärme
Durchglüht mein Schauen in der Schönheit Form!
Und alles, alles hat Bedeutung: alles
Bezeichnet Dinge, Pflanzen, Ströme, Sterne,
Bezeichnet Brüder, Schmerzen, Freud' und Liebe,
Bezeichnet Feinde, Kampf und Zorn und Trotz.
Die Bilder und Gedanken sind Symbole,
Die mir das Jenseit meines Selbst erschliessen.

Es klingt in mir, doch höre ich's da draussen;
Ich seh das Ding, doch liegt das Bild im Auge.
Und so verketten tausend feine Fäden
Mich mit der Welt, in der ich mich bewege.
So wie ich sie betrachte, ist die Welt
Ein Theil von mir; ich bin sie selbst. Dagegen,
So wie ich bin, wie ich entstanden bin,

Life, warm and pulsing, tingles in my veins,
 And restlessly thought's lightning flashes dart.
 Pause thee, O Soul, and think upon thyself!
 What art thou, then? Unveil thy mystery.
 Whence comest thou? and what may be the purpose
 That giveth to thy strivings consecration?
 Declare thy nature to thyself, O Soul,
 And read thy features in awareness traced.

Kaleidoscopic splendors haunt mine eye,
 Picturing ambient Nature's shifting shapes,
 And through mine ear pierce tonal messages.
 Each sense its typical investment weaves,
 Which, wrapt in memory's stability,
 Shall rise anon out of the buried past.
 From interfused sensations manifold,
 The staple forms of concepts crystallize,
 To union drawn by psychic kindredship.
 As thought joins thought, new thoughts are bred, wherein
 The mind in glorious luminescence moves.
 The restlessness which here for action yearns,
 Gains aim and purpose; and the vague commotions
 Of instincts and of passions wild are stilled
 In calm tranquillity of self-control.

What wildering manifoldness! yet how all
 In multifarious unity entwined,
 Creates the wondrous fabric of the soul!
 And this I call my Self. What visions rare!
 What cadencing of tones! what odor-sensing!
 And all, yea all, hath meaning: what befalls
 Denoteth streams and forests and the stars,
 Our dearest hopes, love's lurement, and dread fears,
 Denoteth joys and racking pains, denoteth
 Wrath, struggle, brothers, enemies; and all
 This pageantry of varied forms are symbols
 Revealing to the Self its own Beyond.

Beyond, I hear the clangor of the world;
 But only in myself the voices range.
 Beyond, a glimmering panorama lures;
 But in mine eye the compassed picture lies.

Bin ich ein Theil der Welt. Sie bleibt, ich schwinde;
 Doch noch nach meinem Tode werde ich
 In dem was jetzt als Nicht-ich mir erscheint,
 In Ewigkeiten als ihr Theil beharren.

Ich bin geboren und erzogen. Aber
 Sagt mir, wo war ich, ehe ich entstand?
 Entstand ich aus dem Nichts, und soll ich wieder
 Zerstieben in das Nichts? Das kann nicht sein.
 Ich bin geformt und kenne das Modell,
 Das mir das Wesen meines Daseins gab.
 Nicht aus dem Nichts taucht meine Seele auf;
 Sie ist der Abdruck ihrer Vorgeschichte,
 Bereichert durch die eigene Erfahrung.
 Im Auge lebt das Sehnen meiner Ahnen,
 Im Ohr ihr Hören, in der Hand ihr Thun.
 Der Sprache Laut ist fertig mir gegeben
 In hörbaren Gedanken; jedes Wort
 Ist ein lebend'ger Theil von meinem Selbst,
 Das so sich auferbaut aus vielen Seelen.

Ich nenn' mich "Ich", when ich die Seele meine;
 Doch dieses "Ich", wo sollen wir es suchen?
 Ist nicht die Seele grösser als das Ich?
 "Ich sehe," sag' ich, doch das Auge sieht,
 Und wenn das Auge sieht, erwachen mächtig
 Die alten Bilder der Erinnerung.
 "Ich höre," sag' ich, doch es hört das Ohr.
 Wo das gehörte Wort anklingt, da tönen
 Die Saiten der Empfindung; es erwacht
 Der Widerhall von längst verschollnen Klängen.
 Vollendet nur ist die Vergangenheit,
 Nicht todt; denn immer wieder aus dem Grabe
 Ersteht sie auf zu neu verjüngtem Leben.
 Ein Name ist das Ich, der Alles meint,
 Was sich in meinem Dasein hat vereinigt.
 Nimm nicht den Namen für die Wirklichkeit
 Und nicht Vergängliches für ewig. Mein Ich
 Ist meiner Seele gegenwärt'ges Wirken,
 Der flüchtige Moment von Ewigkeiten,
 Die sich da kreuzen, wo mein Herzblut schlägt.
 Das Ich entstand und wird vergehn; die Seele

Thus by a thousand subtle threads am I
 Close intertwined with that surrounding world
 Wherein I move. I contemplate the Vision:
 Of me it is a part. I am the All;
 Albeit that which into Self hath grown
 Is of the world a part: This bides, I pass,
 But lo! e'en then, in that which lies outside
 Of mine own self, I evermore endure.

Ere yet I came to birth: the gathered lore
 Of tome and sense and life's wide school I sought,
 Ere ever life I knew, where was I then?
 Am I from nothing come, to lapse again
 Into nonentity? Nay, into form
 Have I been fashioned, and the mould I know
 Wherein the features of my Self were wrought.
 Not from the blank Inane emerged the soul:
 A sacred treasury it is of dreams
 And deeds that built the present from the past,
 Adding thereto its own experiences.
 Ancestral lives are seeing in mine eyes,
 Their hearing listeneth within mine ears,
 And in my hand their strength is plied again.
 Speech came, a rich consignment from the past,
 Each word aglow with wondrous spirit life,
 Thus building up my soul of myriad souls.

I call that something "I" which seems my soul;
 Yet more the spirit is than ego holds.
 For lo! this ego, where shall it be sought?
 I'm wont to say "I see"; yet 'tis the eye
 That sees, and seeing, kindleth in the thought
 The beaming images of memory.
 "I hear" we say: Hearing is of the ear;
 And where the caught word stirs, there chords resound
 Of slumbering sentiment; and echoes wake
 Of tones that long ago to silence lapsed.
 Not dead, perfected only, is the past;
 And ever from the darkness of the grave
 It rises to rejuvenated life.
 The "I" is but a name to clothe withal
 The clustered mass that now my being forms.
 Take not the symbol for reality,

Jedoch beharrt und lebt im Strom der Zeiten.
 Was ich ererbt und was ich neu erworben,
 Das dauert fort. Die Seele ist unsterblich.
 Selbst nach dem Tode wirkt sie weiter fort
 Auf spätere Geschlechter, und ihr Einfluss
 Wirkt mitbestimmend auf die Zukunft ein.

Such' ich des Seelenlebens Quell, wo anders
 Kann ich ihn finden als in der Natur,
 Dem grossen All, des winz'ger Theil ich bin?
 Es prägt die heilige Natur in mir
 Des Daseins mannigfache Formen ein
 Und bildet mich nach ihrem Ebenbilde.

Es giebt ein Ew'ges in der Welt des Wechsels,
 Ein Unbewegtes in der Zeiten Wandel.
 Nenn es Gesetz, nenn's Gott, nenn es den Logos,
 Der uranfänglich war, nenn's wie du willst:
 Es bleibt sich selbst getreu im steten Fluss;
 Es ist allüberall, das All bestimmend
 In unabweislicher Nothwendigkeit.
 Und wenn ich Ordnung bringe in das Chaos
 Der unerschöpflichen Erfahrungen,
 Die sich in meinen Sinnen spiegeln, suche
 Ich dieses Unabänderliche auf,
 Um mich zurechtzufinden in der Welt.
 Sein Echo ist die Sprache der Vernunft,
 Die uns als Compass dient auf unsrer Fahrt
 Durch unbekannte Meere.

Grosses All,
 Du allumfassende Unendlichkeit!
 Du sprichst zu uns in unzweideut'ger Sprache
 Und lässt uns lernen, wie wir handeln sollen.
 Dein Walten lebt in jeglichem Atom
 Und in der Sterne stolzen Sphärenbahnen.
 Du Urquell alles Lebens, aller Ordnung,
 Dir dankt sein Dasein auch ein jedes Wesen,
 Das wunderbar Empfindung warm durchglüht.
 Im Aufwärtsstreben aus dem blinden Drängen
 Der unorganischen Natur. Da schaffst
 Du dir ein neues Reich im Seelenleben,
 In dem dein Walten abgebildet ist.

The transient for the Eterne. Mine ego, lo!
 'Tis but my spirit's scintillating play,
 This fluctuant moment of eternities
 That now are crossing where my heart-blood beats.
 I was not, am, and soon shall pass. But never
 My soul can cease; the breeding ages aye
 Shall know its life. All that the past bequeathed,
 And all that life hath added unto me,
 This shall endure in immortality.

And if the welling spring of spirit-life
 I seek, where but in Nature is it found—
 In that great All whose tiny part I am?
 Yea, holy Nature stampeth into me
 Its own, its wondrous varied forms;
 Thus after its own likeness fashioning me.

Something there is eternal in the world
 Of change, moveless in all the moving tides.
 Wouldst call it God or Law? Wouldst call it Logos,
 Which from beginning was? Name as thou wilt:
 In ceaseless flux it evermore remains
 True to itself in stern necessity.
 When I reduce to order the entangled
 Chaotic mass of my experiences
 Reflected from the facets of the sense,
 I seek what changes not, the calm Eterne,
 And trace my bearings in the restless world.
 The still small Voice in reason echoeth,
 And like a compass in our voyagings
 Directeth through the oceans unexplored.

O, thou all-comprehensive infinite!
 Thou One and All! Thou norm of all that is!
 In no ambiguous language speakest thou,
 In no uncertain promptings teachest duty,
 Thy governance doth in the atom live,
 And in the circling courses of the stars,
 Fountain of Order; fountain, too, of Life!
 To thee all sentient things their being owe,
 'Tis thy warm breath which quickeneth our pulse.
 Here potent aspirations upward yearn,
 As spurning nature's lowly elements.

Du giebst uns Licht, und deiner Weisung folgend
 erspähnen wir den rechten Pfad. Du bist der Richter,
 Du bist das Mass aller Gerechtigkeit.
 In dir ist die Bewegung alles Werdens,
 In dir ihr Grund, in dir ihr Ziel beschlossen.
 Was aus dir stammt, ist dir nicht fremd und fern;
 Und auch des Menschen flücht'ges Erdenleben,
 Es findet nur in dir den einz'gen Zweck.
 Dein Odem ist es, der es warm durchzittert;
 Es ist dein Licht, das in der Menschenseele
 Als Geistesfunke sprüht; und in die Tiefen
 Voll ungeahnter, ew'ger Schöpferkraft,
 In deinen Schooss, kehrt auch der Mensch zurück.
 Im Leben friedlos, findet er in dir
 Die heilige, die ew'ge Ruhe wieder.

In dieser Ruhe, die uns vorbehalten
 Als letztes Ziel und Zuflucht unsres Lebens,
 In dieser Herrlichkeit des Selbstentwerdens
 Und dieser Wonne seliger Vergottung,
 In dem, das ungeworden unzerstörbar,
 Das ewig ist im wechselhaften All,
 Will ich den Frieden meiner Seele finden.
 So wird mein Handeln, Leiden und Beginnen
 Mit Zuversicht beschattet. Diese Ahnung
 Der heil'gen Weihe, die die Welt durchklingt,
 Soll Kraft mir geben, wenn ich kämpfen muss,
 Soll mich zu hülfsbereiter Bruderliebe
 Erwärmen, mich mit meinem Feind versöhnen,
 Im Glücke mäss'gen, mich in Trübsal trösten;
 Sie soll den Schlüssel aller Räthsel bilden,
 Die mich umringen, soll das Licht mir zeigen,
 In dem des Lebens Tragik sich verklärt,
 Soll das Verständniss mir des Seins erschliessen,
 In welchem alle Klänge harmoniren,
 Wo Hass in Liebe schwindet, wo Erfüllung
 Des Strebens Schmerz in Seligkeit versöhnt.
 Des Seelenlebens Born allein gewährt
 Unsterblichkeit, wo sonst uns Tod bedroht.
 In ihm nur findet schliesslich unsre Seele
 Ihr ew'ges Heil und ihre letzte Zuflucht,
 Ihre Erlösung und ihr Vaterheim.

Thou formest in the soul an empire new
 Where thou thy dispensation dost portray,
 Thou givest light, and following its gleam,
 We grope for paths of truth. Thou art the judge,
 Thou art the only standard of the right;
 From thee all motion of becoming starts;
 In thee its motive and its purpose lie.
 What from thee springs not alien is to thee;
 And life in thee findeth its only aim.
 Thy breath it is which warmly through us thrills;
 It is thy light that gloweth in the soul.
 Into undreamed-of fathoms of thy depth,
 O great Creator-power!—unto thy heart
 Shall man return. Restless in life, in thee
 He finds the holy, termless rest again.

Yea, in this rest which still remains to us
 As life's last aim and refuge evermore—
 In this great glory of release from self,
 This blissful apotheosis of life;
 In this which never was not, and shall be
 The ever present superreal of being,
 The immutable amid the changeful All,—
 In this my soul its bidding-place shall find.
 Here all my deeds, my pains, my surging hopes
 With confidence shall shaded be; and here
 The holy spell of an unfathomed peace
 Which haunts presagefully the yearning world,
 Shall strength amid my toilings bring to me;
 To charity shall rouse, and brother-love;
 Shall prompt to benedictions on my foes;
 In fortune it shall cheer, in sorrow soothe;
 Shall yield the key to all the many riddles
 Which compass me about; shall show the light
 Wherein life's tragedies transfigured glow;
 Shall lend to thought such vast interpretations
 That Nature's dissonances will accord;
 That love with hatred will be harmonized,
 And rapturous fruition compensate
 For all the pains our aspirations bring.
 This source of spirit-life, in death's despite,
 Holds heritage of immortality.

3. DAS ALL.

Es ist der Stoff nicht todt; er ist beseelt,
 Und schon in seiner rohesten Gestalt
 Birgt er als anorganisch träge Masse
 Das Leben in sich, das ihm dermaleinst
 Entspriessen soll. Des Geistes Feuerfunken
 Sind nicht von aussen in den Stoff gekommen;
 Sie sind darin geboren und gewachsen
 Aus dumpfer Nacht zum klaren Tageslicht.
 Die höchste Blüthe, die am Weltenbaume
 Sich als Gedanke götterstolz entfaltet,
 Liegt in dem Keim der Wurzel schon beschlossen.
 Der gleiche Trieb durchdringt das ganze All,
 Und nirgends ist ein Ding des Strebens baar.

Wer mag die Qual der Sehnsucht wohl ermessen,
 Die alle Dinge zu einander treibt?
 Wer kennt die Lust des Strebens, auch wo wir
 Mit blödem Auge nur den todtten Stoff
 Sich dem Gesetz der Schwere fügen sehn?

So treiben langsam durch den weiten Raum
 Die Trümmer alter Welten, starr und kalt,
 Als wären sie dem Leben abgestorben.
 In ihrer Nähe leuchtet unsre Sonne
 Und lockt sie an sich; mehr und mehr erfasst
 Ein banges Sehnen die Atome; schneller
 Und immer schneller treibt es sie dahin,
 Bis sie, in Gluth verwandelt, als Komet
 Den Himmel unsrer Erde roth erleuchten.

Da zagt das abergläubische Geschlecht
 Erschreckter Menschen; allerorts verkünden
 Falsche Propheten Krieg und Pestilenz,
 Verrath und Noth und Weltemuntergang.
 Der Zecher nur im Stillen freut sich harmlos
 Auf seinen heurigen Kometenwein.
 Doch fern von dem Getriebe dieser Welt
 Steht an dem Teleskop der Astronom.
 Mit ruhig festem Blick betrachtet er
 Den fremden Gast, der unsre Bahnen kreuzt.

III. THE ALL.

Not dead is matter, though inert it seem.
 A hidden life ensouls the eternal mass,
 Which ever into quickened forms evolves.
 Think not that spirit-germs have come to us
 From alien realms of transcendental being:
 In matter immanent, their nascent life,
 From ancient darkness struggling, seeks the day.
 Divinely noble thought, the crowning flower
 That on the World-tree grows, concealed hath lain
 Within the quickening virtues of its root.
 An upward impulse animates the All,
 And nothing is that aspiration lacks.

O, who can gauge the torture of the longing
 That calleth ever out of gravity
 For tactual companionship's caress?
 Who knows how congregated atoms thrill
 With love's delight, e'en where our feeble eye
 But dust in stark inertness contemplates?

Thus slowly through the fathomless expanse
 Drift ancient fragments of disrupted worlds;
 When lo! from out the neighboring fields of space,
 The silver wooings of our sun are flashed.
 The errant masses wax in their desires;
 And fleeter, ever fleeter, sunward speeding,
 They kindle into mystic comet flames
 Whose sheen our far-off firmament reflects.
 Dismayed are all the superstitious tribe
 Of frightened folk. Of war and pestilence
 False prophets prate, of famine and distress,
 And eke of fronting hour of final doom.
 Only with gladness thrills the tipler's heart
 In fancied foretaste of the comet's touch
 Upon the favored season's vintage cast.
 But from the world's commotion all aloof,
 The astronomer, with raptured vision, stands
 And marks the midnight's fiery wanderer.
 The spectrum catches tokens from his light

Das farbenreiche Spectrum prüft den Stoff;
 Er ist nicht anders als auf unsrer Erde,
 Und wohl war jener Trümmerhauf' dereinst
 Einmal bewohnt—ähnlich wie unsre Erde.

Des Forschers Auge prüft des Wandrers Lauf
 Und misst nach mathematischem Gesetz
 Den Weg, auf dem er um die Sonne eilt,
 Der als Parabel wieder ihn zurück
 Aus unserem System in's Weite führt,
 Wo er, sich selber überlassen, langsam
 Im dunklen Raume weiter treiben muss.
 Er ist erkaltet, wie zuvor; doch schläft
 In ihm die Ahnung eines neuen Lebens,
 Das schaffensfroh er wieder kann gestalten.
 Er fühlt die Lust dazu, doch fehlt die Kraft;
 Er selbst aus sich allein vermag es nicht.
 Doch bleibt er nicht vereinsamt; plötzlich treibt
 Aus fernen Welten, wie von ungefähr,
 Ihm ein Genoss entgegen. Sie verlassen
 Jetzt beide ihre alte Bahn und stürzen
 Mit ganzer Wucht sich donnernd auf einander.
 Der Raum erzittert im Zusammenprall;
 Und fest umschlungen von dem Bann der Schwere,
 So rasen sie in schnellem Wirbel fort.
 Alsbald ruft das verdoppelte Gewicht
 Noch mehr Kometen aus der Ferne her.
 Von allen Seiten kommen sie zusammen
 Und ballen sich in wilder Leidenschaft,
 Bis sie zu Gluthen lohend sich entzünden
 Und prächtig rings den Weltenraum erleuchten.

O heil'ges Licht, erzeugt in Götterschöne
 Durch die Bewegung der Atome, welche
 In ihrem Lauf sich gegenseitig hemmen;
 Bist du das Wunderkind erfüllter Liebe?
 Oder ist es der Kampf, der dich gebiert,
 Bei dem, im Feuereifer wilden Streites,
 Das Gauze sich zu einem Gluthenmeer,
 Zu einem Wirbelsturm von Gasen löst?
 Soll ich dich als der Arbeit Segen grüssen?
 Nach langer Irrfahrt durch gemeinsam ernstes,

Of elemental kindredship with earth,
 And fancy hints of ancient dwellers there.
 With eager glass the astronomer attends
 The traveller's sun-surrounding course, and maps
 His outward path to distant voids again.
 With flagging pace and breath that wanes of fire,
 The lonely wanderer wends. But in his heart
 A dream of resurrection sleeps. What time
 He yearneth for a larger life, whereto
 His single power cannot attain, behold
 From distant scopes, where universes teem,
 An errant comrade, as by chance appears.
 By gravitation's mutual greetings lured,
 Both quit their courses, and, with gathering speed,
 Impetuous to collision rush.

Space quaketh

Where in their passionate embrace they meet
 And night is raptured with a flaming blaze.
 Their doubled mass, with wider ordinance,
 More night-embosomed comets summons forth.
 Responding spaces yield their homeless broods
 Which come with eager haste from every side
 To join in tasks of a communal work.
 The sheen of the new nebula which spreads
 Through cosmic space proclaims the fiery birth
 Of a new world with potencies renewed.

O Light, in beauty's holy guise begot
 Through atom-motions, kissing in their play!
 Art thou requited love's consummate child?
 Or art thou of the progeny of war
 Whose frantic passion, wrought to furious wrath,
 Dissolveth all to fiery turbulence
 Of gaseous hurricanes a-whirl? Perhaps
 As toil-engendered boon we greet thee best;
 For, after wanderings orderless and dark,
 A common will inspires the meeting atoms;
 Their immemorial desires at length
 Create rich stores of power and life and light,
 Burning the night from space.

There still prevails

A chaos wild of contravening storms:
 The seething masses interpenetrant
 Disport themselves in Bacchic revelry.
 Wider and wider in their mazy gyres
 The glowing circles spin, until at last
 Their currents fuse in one vast vortex-whirl
 To mould anon a pageantry of worlds.
 Amid the chaos infant Order breathes.
 In their swift circles see the planets sweep
 As shapely spheres about the central sun,
 Whose sovereignty as vassals they obey.
 But where the cooling surface darkens round,
 Impending vapors loose their liquid stores;
 Seas urge with thunderous tides against the rocks
 And over all an airy heaven hangs.

Although the atoms are complete, remaining
 The same in their immutability,
 They yet for closer union ever strive.
 They build up higher complexes, but when
 The active oxygen with burning greed
 Seizes upon the grosser elements
 Feeding the flame of life in constant rounds
 Of nourishment and waste, then in this change,
 The structure stays while matter passes on,
 And preservation of the living form
 Means memory, the builder of the soul.
 Life-plasm builds up cells varied in kind.
 The tender germs unfold their gathering life
 And teem in myriad hordes after their kind.
 The promptings of life's many needs create
 Various responses with divided labor.
 'Tis by cooperative work alone
 That functions slowly into organs grow,
 Developing the life of organisms
 With nobler rule upon a higher plane.
 The hyperphysical is bursting forth
 From night's sensationless rigidity,
 Precursor of a spiritual day

Gethier und Pflanzen kämpfen um ihr Dasein;
 Es scheint die Welt ein weites Schlachtfeld,
 Auf dem ein Wesen mit dem andern steht,
 Bald eng verbündet, bald in bitterer Fehde.
 Doch in dem Kampf erstarken auch die Kräfte,
 Und was die Väter ringend sich erworben,
 Das erbt auf Kinder und auf Enkel fort.
 Sind auch die Ahnen selber längst entschwunden,
 Sind sie ermattet längst zurückgesunken
 In's dunkle Reich des räthselhaften Todes,
 So lebt ihr Wirken dennoch und ihr Streben,
 Es lebt die ganze Seele ihres Wesens
 In allen folgenden Geschlechtern fort.

Der Tag bricht an: im Selbstbewusstsein leuchtet
 Erkenntniss immer heller auf; und endlich
 Weiss die Vernunft sich selber zu erfassen.
 Organisch schön gegliedert klingt die Sprache
 Wie Götterlaut dem eingeweihten Ohr.
 Das ist der Born, aus dem die Dichter schöpfen,
 Das ist der Quell, aus dem die Wissbegier
 In nimmersatten Zügen ihren Durst
 Zu löschen strebt. Daraus entströmt das Licht,
 Mit dem der Geist in alle Tiefen dringt,
 Mit dem er die Geheimnisse beleuchtet,
 Die dort in räthselhaftem Dunkel schlummern.
 Die Sonnenstrahlen der Erkenntniss breiten
 Verklärend über diese Welt sich aus.
 Sie bringen in den Kampf des Unverstandes
 Lindernd Versöhnung. In des Irrthums Nacht,
 Die noch den Strebenden gefangen hält,
 Verheissen sie Erlösung von dem Wahn.

O heil'ge Sonne, die du in der Mitte
 Der dunkeln und erstarrten Himmelskörper
 Licht, Wärme, Leben rings umher erweckst,
 Für And're opferst du dich willig auf,
 Verschwenderisch ergiesst du deine Gaben
 In's weite Weltenall, ganz unbekümmert,
 Ob man's dir dankt, ob dich der Thor verschmäht,
 Und ob der Böse Missbrauch mit dir treibt.
 Für Andre lebst du, und du stirbst für Andre.

Of consciousness and purpose-guided will.
 The multiplying tribes of living forms
 In struggle for existence ever toil,
 Till all the world a plain of battle grows,
 Creature to creature dealing doom of death,
 For hunger's or for passion's goading sake.
 But keener waxes and of larger use
 The sway of whetted powers that ply the strife;
 And ever the appropriated gain,
 In stern heredity's bequeathment held,
 From generation unto generation,
 Following fast, is yielded to the years;
 And though for rest a-yearn, the failing lives
 Of ancient ages lapsed in death's dark realm,
 Their aspirations and their toils endure:
 The soul of all their work lives yet, their lives
 Into our own projected hitherward.

The soul's day breaketh. Consciousness appears
 With clearing light, and Reason learns at last
 Her powers to marshal and her realms to rule.
 In pleasing modulations language rings,
 Like speech of gods, to ears initiate.
 Here poets find their rhythmic ravishment;
 Here, too, desire for knowledge all athirst
 In never-sating draughts her fever feeds;
 And, borrowing illumination here,
 The spirit fathometh abysmal depths,
 Where, wrapt in mystic silences and glooms,
 The slumbering secrets of creation lie.
 Cognition's searching sunbeams spread and glow,
 Transfiguring the unfolding universe.
 They bring to ignorance, whose feeble eyes
 By superstition's lowering clouds are dimmed,
 A lore assuasive of celestial truth;
 And unto error's night, that like a prison
 Encompasseth the aspiring soul of man,
 They bear the promise of deliverance
 From false illusion's lures and mockeries.

O holy sun, in all the circling host
 Of bleak and darkened worlds, with touch benign

Wer diese Welt erleuchtet, giebt sich selbst,
 Sein eigen Herzblut giebt er willig hin.
 Er muss gar oft die Dornenkrone tragen,
 Als Märtyrer die Geisselhiebe dulden,
 Um schmähhch dann am Kreuze zu verbluten.
 Drum sehnt das stolze Licht sich gern zurück
 In jene Nacht, aus der es einst entsprossen.
 Für alle Welt hat es sich hingegeben,
 Und muss erlöschen. Alles Leben stockt
 Je mehr die Sonne im Erkalten ist.
 Es ist bald Alles ringsumher erstarrt,
 Der Frost zersprengt die wohlgefügtten Globen
 Und schlägt den ganzen Bau in todtte Trümmer,
 Die mehr und mehr sich von einander trennen
 Und als Kometen durch den Weltraum irren.

Doch wie der Mensch am Morgen neu erwacht,
 Um Abends wiederum in Schlaf zu sinken ;
 Und wie der Einzelne dem Tod verfällt,
 Indess die Menschheit immer neu entsteht
 Und durch Geburten wieder sich verjüngt ;
 Wie Tag und Nacht am Himmelsbogen wechseln :
 So athmet auch die Welt bald aus, bald ein.
 Des Lebens Welle wogt mit Macht empor ;
 Sie sinkt zurück zur unermess'nen Tiefe
 Und ringt sich aus dem Schooss des Oceanes
 Zu neuem Dasein prächtiger empor.
 So hebt sich aus den Gräbern neues Leben,
 Und aus den Trümmern wachsen neue Welten,
 Den ewig wunderbaren Kreis vollendend.

Light, warmth, and thrilling life awakening,
 Thyself thou givest willingly for others
 In sacrifice, and pourest forth thy gifts
 Unstintedly to all the needful worlds;
 Nor reckest thou if thanks thy largess greet,
 If ingrate fools reject thine offering,
 Or evil-doers warp its sacred use.
 For others dost thou live, for others die.
 So he that would the world illumine giveth
 Himself, his heartblood freely yielding up.
 The thorny crown resignedly he wears,
 The martyr's scourging suffers and the taunts,
 And on the cross finds ignominious death.
 For this the glorious radiance of the sun
 Longeth again to find the ancient night.
 For all the world he offered up himself
 And in surcease of labor findeth peace.
 As wintry years around the cooling sun
 Fold darkening, life faileth on the planets.
 An arctic desolation everywhere
 To heedless heavens appeals despairingly.
 The wedging frosts dispart the shapely spheres,
 And drifting fragments mark the erstwhile worlds.
 With widening distances space presses in
 The Sundered masses to estrange, until
 Again they range the voids as comet-forms.

But as the morning ever wakes the eyes
 Whose weariness the evening sealed with sleep;
 As new-born spring the doom of winter thwarts,
 And genial resurgence foils the tomb
 With life rejuvenized in serial birth;
 As night and day, in alternating layers,
 From time unfold: so too the world respire.
 The cosmic tides in rhythmic surges rise,
 Ever to ebb in restless billows back
 Where call the soundless Deeps; then upward heave
 With gathered stress of nobler aspiration.
 Thus ever from the grave is life redeemed,
 And ruins wake to spheres regenerate,
 Gemming the circle of eternity
 With threaded universes evermore.

THEORETISCHE PHILOSOPHIE UND PRAK- TISCHES LEBEN.¹

VON PAUL CARUS.

DAS Schmerzenskind meiner Studien, Philosophie, welches mir mein Amt gekostet hatte, behandelte ich inzwischen durchaus nicht stiefmütterlich. Im Gegentheil! Alles, was ich that, was ich kennen lernte, was ich studirte, kurzum alle meine Erfahrungen, versuchte ich für die Wissenschaft der Wissenschaften verwerthbar zu machen. Philosophie wird nicht nur aus Büchern gelernt, sondern auch aus dem praktischen Leben. Viele Philosophen gewöhnten sich an die abstrakte Luft ihres Studierzimmers so, dass sie dieselbe für die allgemeine Atmosphäre der Welt hielten. Vielleicht dachte ich, ist es für mich und meine Entwicklung gerade gut, dass mich das Schicksal so in der Welt herumwirft.² Wie Theorie und Praxis stets Hand in Hand gehen sollen, so muss der richtige Idealismus eines Philosophen oder Dichters sich auch in der Realität des Lebens bestätigen; und umgekehrt wird der Realismus der Wirklichkeit durch die Idealität des Forschers und des Artisten in Wissenschaft und Kunst sich zur Wahrheit verklären. Idealität und Realität sind Gegensätze, keine Widersprüche.

So weit unsere Zeit in mancher Beziehung fortgeschritten ist, steht doch Philosophie noch lange nicht auf dem Platze, den dieselbe einnehmen sollte. Die allgemeinen Grundwahrheiten, insofern sie von objectiver Bedeutung und nothwendige Vorbedingungen zur allgemeinen Bildung sind, sollten in den obersten Klassen höherer Schulen (in der Prima eines Gymnasiums) neben der Logik Gegenstand des Unterrichtes sein. Alle Fragen, die ich in meiner Schrift *Ursache, Grund und Zweck*³ behandelt habe, sind von der Art und bilden einen wichtigen, wo nicht den wichtigsten Theil derjenigen Kenntnisse, welche man bei jedem gebildeten Menschen voraus-

¹ [Reprinted from *Aus dem Exil*, Dresden, 1885, as a specimen of Dr. Carus's early philosophical writings.—Ep.]

² Hume, *Enq. Hum. Underst.*: "It seems that nature has pointed out a mixed kind of life as most suitable to the human race and secretly admonished them to allow none of these biases to draw too much, so as to incapacitate them for other occupations and entertainments. Indulge your passion for science, says she, but *let your science be human and such as may have direct reference to action and society*. Abstruse thought and profound researches I prohibit and will severely punish by the pensive melancholy which they introduce, by the endless uncertainty in which they involve you, and by the cold reception which your pretended discoveries shall meet with when communicated. *Be a philosopher, but amidst all your philosophy be still a man.*"

setzen sollte. Die Zeit wird kommen, in der man das einsieht; doch sind *die* Länder noch sehr weit davon entfernt, in denen man unter Religionsunterricht das Eindringen des Luther'schen Katechismus versteht, einer an sich zwar genialen Schöpfung des grossen Reformators, aber ganz ungeeignet dazu auswendig gelernt zu werden. Einerseits sind die Hauptstücke viel zu schwer, insbesondere für so jugendliche Gemüther, in die sie hineingetrommelt werden; andererseits bilden sie doch nur einen Ballast, der, abgesehen von den zehn Geboten, weder für Moral noch für Religion einen Anhalt im praktischen Leben gewährt.

Die Art, wie man Philosophie behandelt hat, diente aber nur dazu, vor ihr zurückzuschrecken; und so kommt es, dass sich jetzt Viele davor bekreuzigen und segnen, wenn sie nur den Namen derselben erwähnt hören—Viele, die doch im Grunde genommen das Bedürfniss haben, klare Anschauungen zu gewinnen über die Grundlage, auf der letztthin unser Erkennen und Wissen beruht, die einen Ueberblick haben wollen über die Welt in ihrer Ganzheit, um sich so, gewissermassen aus der Vogelperspektive, über ihr Leben zu orientiren und über den Lebensweg, den sie einzuschlagen wünschen;—ein Bedürfniss, das von Natur in jedem Menschen liegt, von jedem Nachdenkenden empfunden wird, und das eben Philosophen befriedigen soll.

Alle Schwierigkeiten dieser Wissenschaft hängen schliesslich mit dem Kausalitätsgesetz zusammen. Welterschöpfung, Weltentwicklung, die Idee des Schöpfers, eines Gottes, der Begriff des Wunders, die Grundlage der Erkenntnistheorie, die Thatsache der Willensfreiheit—alle Schwierigkeiten dieser Gegenstände beruhen auf einer scheinbaren oder wirklichen Kollision mit dem eisernen Gesetz der Kausalität. Darum, meine ich, muss man hier den Hebel ansetzen, wenn man die wuchtigen Lasten regieren und zwingen will. Hier ist der wunde Punkt, in welchen die Sonde eingeführt werden muss. Wenn wir über das Wesen der Kausalität Klarheit gewonnen haben, werden sich manche Räthsel von selber lösen.

David Hume war der erste, welcher die Bedeutung dieser Thatsache begriff, und die Kausalität zum Gegenstand seiner Untersuchungen machte. Er verzweifelte aber an der Lösung und überliess das Werk dem gewaltigen Königsberger Denker. Kant hat die von Hume gestellte Frage dadurch gefördert, dass er sie verallgemeinerte. Er fand die Aehnlichkeit, welche mathematische Axiome mit dem Gesetz von Ursache und Wirkung haben. Beide intuitiv begreifbar, sind ein und desselben Ursprunges. Er erklärt

³ Dresden, Hof-Verlag R. von Grumbkow.

sie für subjektiv und glaubt die Schwierigkeit dadurch gehoben, dass er mit ihnen die ganze Welt für phänomenal—für blosse Vorstellung unseres Geistes erklärt. Schopenhauer steht in dieser Beziehung ganz auf Kant's Standpunkt. Seitdem haben sich in den drei Kulturländern Europas drei Schulen gebildet, die bei manchen Verschiedenheiten gewisse Grundzüge gemein haben.

In Deutschland liess man nach Kant die Kardinalfrage der Philosophie in Ruhe und erfreute sich der Systemmacherei. Als unser Publikum derselben müde war, verlangte man fast allgemein ein Zurückgehen auf Kant, nicht so sehr seiner Resultate wegen, als in Anerkennung seiner Methode. Kantische Kritik wollte man mit den Ergebnissen der Naturwissenschaft vereinigen. Ein hervorragender Vertreter dieser Richtung war der geniale Verfasser der *Geschichte des Materialismus*, Albert Lange. Nach seiner Ansicht ist der Materialismus zwar durch Kant's Kritik theoretisch unmöglich geworden, bleibt aber praktisch die beste Grundlage, auf der die Naturwissenschaften weiter arbeiten können und müssen. Die meisten Neukantianer, welche dem Grundsatz dieses Neokriticismus folgen, einen Einklang zwischen Philosophie und Naturwissenschaft herzustellen, gestehen bei Erwägung der Schwierigkeiten ihre Unfähigkeit ein und bekennen offen, dass die Lösung noch nicht gefunden ist.

Weniger gründlich und fast nur den praktischen Zweck in's Auge fassend, entwickelte sich die Philosophie in Frankreich und England. Der Positivismus Comte's und der von diesem stark beeinflusste Empirismus John Stuart Mill's verzichteten eigentlich auf die Lösung der Schwierigkeiten gänzlich. Die positive Thatsache der Empirie soll danach das einzig Gegebene sein, worauf sich alles Wissen gründet; und die Kausalität ist ein empirisches Gesetz, das uns nur seiner Alltäglichkeit wegen apodiktisch und nothwendig erscheint. Thatsachen sind Trumpf; aber eine Norm, was als Thatsache zu betrachten ist, existirt weder nach Comte noch nach Mill. Richtig betrachtet, sind sie Skeptiker und haben dem Wundergläubigen nichts zu erwidern, wenn sich selbiger darauf beruft, dass sein Glaube auf Thatsachen begründet ist. Superstition, Irrthum und Täuschung beruhen immer auf scheinbaren, oft sogar auf wirklichen Thatsachen, die nur missverstanden sind. Thatsache und Thatsächlichkeit sind gerade das, über dessen Wesen wir Auskunft haben wollen. Was ist real und wirklich? Was ist Schein und Trug? Nur am Leitfaden der Kausalität vermögen wir Wahn von Wahrheit zu unterscheiden; und wehe unserer Erkenntniss, wenn das Gesetz von Ursache und Wirkung nichts anderes ist, als

eine empirische Regel, die wir aus vielen Fällen abstrahirt haben, die aber umgestossen werden kann (und wahrlich! umgestossen würde!) durch eine einzige Ausnahme! Was wäre die Nothwendigkeit der Kausalität, wenn Mohammed's Wunder über allen Zweifel erhaben sind, und wenn man die Geisterklopferei als übernatürliche Thatsache hinnehmen müsste?

Wenn ich aber auch der "positiven Philosophie" nicht huldige, verdanke ich derselben doch heilsame Anregung. Ihre Kritik des Metaphysicismus und Apriorismus diene mir dazu, die Schwächen in Kant's Transcendentalphilosophie zu zeigen. Gewisse Irrthümer, die in der That alles verdrehen und die Welt auf den Kopf stellen, hatten sich eingeschlichen und verdienten ausgemerzt zu werden. Nur meine ich, dass Comte und Mill das Kind mit dem Bade ausgeschüttet haben. Ein solcher Narr war der alte Kant denn doch nicht, dass er sich sein Lebenlang mit unfruchtbaren und verschrobenen Begriffen abgeplagt hätte. So falsch *die* Apriorität ist, wie sie Comte sich vorstellt, so enthält doch die Apriorität, von der Kant spricht, wenn sie auch hier und da von Unklarheiten oder Irrthümern verdunkelt ist, einen hinreichenden Gehalt von Wahrheit, dass sie nicht mir nichts dir nichts über Bord zu werfen ist. Um die irrthümlichen Vorstellungen zu vermeiden, denen nicht nur Comte und Mill, sondern auch Kant und seine Anhänger anheimgefallen sind, habe ich zur Bezeichnung des Gegensatzes von apriorischer und aposteriorischer (oder empirischer) Erkenntniss lieber die Ausdrücke "innerlich" und "äusserlich" gewählt, um den falschen Beigeschmack des "vorherigen" los zu werden, der dem Worte *apriori* anhaftet. Nur durch diese Unterscheidung von innerer und von äusserer Erkenntniss vermögen wir uns Klarheit zu verschaffen über die Natur nothwendiger Wahrheiten, zu denen in erster Linie auch die Kausalität gehört.

Doch halt! Ich fange an zu dociren; und das will ich hier nicht, zumal ich mich selber abschreiben müsste, wenn ich in diesem Thema fortfahren wollte. Ich habe mich an die Aufgabe gewagt, die mit dem Begriffe der Kausalität verbundenen Schwierigkeiten zu lösen; und hoffe, dass es mir gelungen ist. Ich hege die Zuversicht, dass ein Jeder, der nicht durch vorgefasste Meinung beeinflusst oder für irgend ein System, bewusst oder unbewusst, im voraus eingenommen ist, *dieses* Werk, nachdem er es gelesen, mit der Ueberzeugung aus der Hand legen wird, dass damit die Hume'sche Frage gelöst ist.

Hiermit kehre ich zu dem Anfange dieses Kapitels zurück. Als Hume die Untersuchung der Kausalität begann, hatte es den

Anschein, als wäre alle Sicherheit und Objektivität wissenschaftlicher Forschung zerstört; bei wiederholter und genauer Prüfung löste sich aber die schreiende Dissonanz auf. So scheint jede Kritik fast immer Das, was wir für wahr und richtig gehalten haben, im Herzblatt zu vergiften und zu zerstören. Wenn wir aber *sine ira ac studio* mit Ruhe und Unparteilichkeit die Sache näher untersuchen, so zeigt sich, dass es nur die Form war, die zerbrochen ist; aus der zerstörten Hülle entfaltet sich dann die reife Frucht. Das wirklich *Gute* und das echte *Schöne* kann allemal die scharfe Kritik der *Wahrheit* vertragen. Wenn die Harmonie dieses Dreiklanges noch so oft zerstört scheint, wird sie sich doch immer wieder zu reineren und volleren Accorden vereinigen. Ebensowenig kann aber auch die Wirklichkeit des Lebens von den Idealen unserer Bestrebungen getrennt werden. Mögen dieselben in noch so grellem Kontraste erscheinen, immer wieder werden die Gegensätze sich suchen und beeinflussen. Darum soll der Philosoph in der theoretischen Abstraction seiner Gedanken die Realität dieser Welt weder verachten noch ihre Macht und Feindseligkeit überschätzen und darüber an der Lebensfähigkeit idealer Bestrebungen verzweifeln. Ideal und Wirklichkeit gehen oft sehr weit auseinander, aber nur um sich desto sehnlicher zu suchen; den sie bedürfen einander und sind gegenseitig auf sich angewiesen.

ON PSYCHICAL RESEARCH.

BY PAUL CARUS.

SO much is persistence the law of this world of action and reaction, regulated throughout with mechanical precision by the law of causation, that no event can take place without leaving forever its imprint upon the entire universe. The result of a commotion of any kind may be ever so infinitesimal and practically nil, yet it exists; or rather, it persists and will form forever and aye an indelible part of the cosmic constitution.

In this world of persistence where the sum total of matter and energy always remains the same, we ought to expect also a persistence of that wonderful element which is called mind, or spirit, or soul. In truth there is, among the large masses of mankind, no doubt about the fact itself. And indeed, if we regard the whole of life, we must grant that soul, mind, spirit, whatever you may call that feature of man which constitutes his superiority over the

rest of creation, is not only being preserved but conditions the very progress that is being made in life's evolution. The problem of immortality is not so much a question of fact as a question of how the preservation of soul is possible, and how it is accomplished. But in order to be successful in the solution of this problem, we must first and above all understand what we mean by soul, and how it rises into existence. Not until then shall we be able to understand, not only the nature of the soul, but also the laws of its preservation.

We have devoted a special book to the subject¹ and do not intend to enter here into the problem itself again, but will limit our discussion to a critical investigation of the most significant conclusions reached by the Society for Psychical Research, condensed and summarized in the stupendous work of the late and much lamented Frederick W. H. Myers, entitled *Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death*, posthumously published in two stately volumes.

If in this labor of critique the results of the writer of this article will be negative, it seems desirable to state at once that he is not an agnostic, nor a negationist. On the contrary, he believes in affirmations and takes an affirmative position on this same ground. He trusts that in this world of facts, of positive occurrences, negations have only a transient significance. Even errors are actualities, and to know that a thing is not so is only the first station on the road to truth, which must finally give up the secret in positive terms.

In order to be fair, however, and to live up to the maxim *audiatur et altera pars*, we have deemed it best to incorporate in this very number a sympathetic review of Myers's work which contains the quintessence of psychical research.²

Psychical research, it is here contended, in spite of its painstaking investigations and voluminous publications, has so far published nothing that might be considered a success in proving the survival of human personality after death in the sense set forth by the leaders of the movement; but whatever we may think of the shortcomings of those that devote themselves to this special branch of inquiry, we must recognize the paramount importance of their unique undertaking. Even if their labors prove futile their work deserves the credit of a trial which ought to have been made, were

¹ *Whence and Whither*, 2d ed., 1903.

²[For lack of space, this review, by Mr. Albert J. Edmunds, will appear in a later issue of *The Open Court*.—Ed.]

it merely for the sake of proving that the supposition on which their procedure is based must be regarded as an error.

The publications of the society and also the ponderous book of Myers have not as yet produced the effect upon the present generation, especially on the representatives of science, which the adherents of psychical research expect, and we, who have followed with keen interest their experiments and experiences, can very well understand both the high-strung expectancy of the leaders and their subsequent disappointment when they failed to excite that general interest among scientists and thinkers they had so ardently hoped for. The main reason must be sought in the fact that the evidence so confidently brought forth for a survival of human personality after death, is very unsatisfactory to critical minds.

The Society for Psychical Research, having started with bright hopes, left the expectant world disappointed; but their mistakes were so natural, their errors, based upon a conception of the soul that has come down to us from primitive ages, are so ingrained in our common notions that we should be grateful to them for having made a systematic, painstaking attempt to verify the conclusions that would follow from the traditional conception of the soul.

Mr. Myers, one of the main promoters of the society, came to the conclusion that orthodox science was too materialistic, and orthodox religion was too narrow. Both, he claimed, were wrong in their contentions: the former denied the reality of the spiritual world, while the latter, though postulating it, limited the proofs of its existence to ancient traditions. Thus, he and his friends, Edmund Gurney, William Stainton Moses, and others decided to search for the existence of spiritual manifestations in the living present, convinced that if the spiritual world is real, its revelations cannot have been limited to the past: it ought to manifest itself constantly, and we ought to find evidences of it in our own experience.

The conclusion is logical. If the premises are correct, the proposition must be sound. If there is a spiritual world it must manifest itself. But *are* the premises correct?

We have to criticize Myers at the very start when he regards science as materialistic. But our criticism will not affect his real position, for it is purely verbal and we make it merely for the ulterior end of preparing our readers for an explanation of our own views. We insist (and Myers would perhaps not have de-

murred) that genuine science is not materialistic. It may be true that there are many scientists who see nothing but materialism in their several specialties, but for that reason we can and should not brand science itself as materialistic. If there is anything that recognizes spirit and the significance of spirit, it is science, for science is the highest efflorescence of spirit, and there is nothing so spiritual as science. Its very existence disproves the contention of materialism. We freely admit that science does not encourage belief in the objective reality of "spirits" in the sense of ghosts, but every one will grant that a repudiation of the belief in spirits is not yet a denial of the existence of spirit.

Spiritualists, however, do love to characterize the realistic spirit of science as materialism, and if their conception of materialism must be accepted, Mr. Myers may be right after all when he speaks of science as materialistic.

What is materialism?

Materialism is that view which denies the existence of spirit or soul or mind except as a production of matter, it regards matter as the only reality, and consequently looks upon this same matter as the ultimate principle of explaining the universe.

Materialism is an old theory, but it was first worked out in its boldest form by two French authors, La Mettrie and Baron d'Holbach. Both insist that matter alone is real and that the soul is merely a function of matter. Holbach is especially vigorous in combating the idea of God in every possible shape and regards religion as a morbid tendency of mankind and the chief source of all human corruption.

The apostles of materialism in Germany were Moleschott, Carl Vogt, and Ludwig Büchner. Though the latter has in later years modified his position, all of them contend that matter is the only reality and mean to explain from it alone the existence of consciousness and spirit. Moleschott uttered the famous aphorism, "No thought without phosphorus," and Vogt explained his theory most drastically by saying, "Thought is a secretion of the brain. Thought stands in the same relation to the brain as gall to the liver and urine to the kidneys."

In spite of the obvious crudities of materialism, science has proceeded successfully along materialistic lines and many great discoveries have been made by avowed materialists. For this reason, Prof. F. A. Lange, a thoughtful searcher for truth and a great scholar especially in the domain of the history of philosophy, came to the conclusion that materialism, though in itself untenable, may

be employed by the scientist as a good working hypothesis. Thus, while rejecting materialism in theory, he admits its claim on practical grounds and in this spirit has written his great and meritorious work on *The History of Materialism*.

As Professor Lange states, materialism is as old as philosophy itself but not older. With the attempt of giving a materialistic explanation of the universe, the day of science first begins to dawn, and science continues to flourish so long as it follows the materialistic principle. This is true exactly as Lange meant it. A great part of scientific work consists in measuring and weighing and may be carried out without any reference to the mental aspect thereby presupposed. In a word, we can ignore the epistemological problem without invalidating the results of the special science under consideration. But it is unsatisfactory to leave a fundamental problem unsolved. The very existence of consciousness proves that matter is not the sole reality, and no amount of dialectical argument will ever accomplish the task of explaining how consciousness can be derived from either matter or energy. The physicist operates with two fundamental concepts, viz., mass and motion, when contemplating changes of positions, and he calculates both the velocity of moving masses and their acceleration. But from none of these ideas, neither from mass nor from motion, nor from velocity or acceleration can he derive or explain, or elucidate the nature of consciousness.

The fact of consciousness alone is sufficient to upset the fundamental claims of materialism. Materialism will hold good in the narrow domain of specialties dealing with conditions of matter, but cannot be regarded as a solution of the riddle of the world.

By spiritism we understand a belief in spirits; by spiritualism, the theory that the world is spiritual. Spiritualism is a philosophy that, according to definitions, may be tenable, but spiritism, the belief in spirits, has never as yet made good its claim. Spirits may appear and may haunt the imagination of people who are either excited by special circumstances or are predisposed for spirits by an abnormal nervous constitution, but, as we shall try to prove, the objective reality of spirits rests on no solid foundation, and we do not believe we make too strong a statement if we say that so far there has never been forthcoming any evidence that may be regarded as universally convincing.

The claim of spiritism has been investigated again and again, and always with the same unvarying result: *non liquet*. Indeed, one

of the soundest and most philosophical minds that ever lived on earth inquired into the problem and dismissed it with a shrug.

Kant, as we know from a letter to Charlotte von Knobloch, had his attention called to Swedenborg, and he expressed his anxiety to see and question this remarkable man himself. He spent some money to get Swedenborg's books, but the result of his investigations was greatly disappointing. His book on the subject, *The Dreams of a Visionary Explained by Dreams of Metaphysics*, is in many respects unsatisfactory, for he seems to deem it beneath his dignity to investigate any one of the stories which had aroused his curiosity. Says he (Frank Sewall's translation): "The realm of shadows is the paradise of visionaries. Here they find an unbounded territory where they can settle at pleasure. The hypochondriac's vapors, the fairy-tales of the nursery, the miracles of the cloister will furnish sufficient building material."

And the question is settled indeed. Kant adds:

"Holy Rome holds there profitable provinces. The two crowns of the invisible kingdom support the third which is the fragile diadem of the sovereignty on earth, and the keys which fit the two gates of the other world, open at the same time, sympathetically, the money-chests of this present existence, and the prerogatives of the spirit world, whenever policy demands their justification, rise above all impotent objections of the sages, and their use or abuse has become too venerable to feel the need of being submitted to their despicable investigations. But the common tales which favor easy credence and are only partially disputed, why do they spread unutilized or unchallenged, and creep even into the systems of philosophy although they have not the argument of utility in their favor (*argumentum ab utili*) which is the most convincing of all proofs?"

Kant proposes the question: "Shall we wholly deny the truth of all such apparitions, and what reasons can we quote to disprove them?" If we admit only one of these stories, how important such an avowal would be. If, therefore, we want to demolish any or all of them, we shall have to point out the fundamental fallacy from which the most inexplicable ones would seem to flow.

The miracle of life is consciousness, and consciousness, as we have seen, is a factor that cannot be subsumed under the caption of physical phenomena. Consciousness is a function, but it is not a motion, still less a product consisting of matter. Thus it is neither a substance nor a fact of dynamics, but a state of its own.

This one basic fact disposes with one fell blow of materialism. The truth of materialism is that all objective bodies can be reduced to volume and mass; they consist of a definite amount of something that can be weighed and measured. We have only to add from the philosophical standpoint that objectivity and concrete materiality are identical terms. Anything objectified appears to us as body, as matter and motion, and its constitution as well as movements can be weighed, measured, and described with the usual methods that characterize the natural sciences. By common every-day experience we have become so well acquainted with matter that we seem to know all about it. Our own body consists of matter, thus it is perfectly legitimate, albeit one-sided, to say that we consist of matter.

Yet we must not forget that we know matter only as if it were something outside; we never penetrate into its inside. We know matter as it affects our senses, and the terms "matter" and "sense-perceived" are identical. *Vice versa*, nothing can be represented in our senses except in the shape of material bodies. If I think of Plato I may in my mind form an abstract idea of his philosophy; in that case I think of Plato's philosophy in intangible, abstract thoughts which appear as a string of words. These abstract thoughts, however, are absolutely empty unless they reveal concrete realities, which means sense-woven images. As soon as I become conscious of the meaning of abstract thoughts, images rise in my mind which are pictures of concrete things. Thus, Plato appears before me as a dream-image of a real man. The picture may be vague but it is always sense-woven and appears in the senses as the picture of a material body. In other words, we are absolutely powerless to represent anything except in terms of matter. Our abstract thoughts have no significance unless they are applicable to concrete material instances. Thus it appears that materiality is indispensable for any actual objectified existence, which means for any entity which is not a mere subjective fiction but forms a part of the objective outside world, interconnected with it through the law of cause and effect. A part that can be acted upon can react upon its surroundings.

Materiality is not the whole of existence but for objective reality it is indispensable. Other features of existence may be and, indeed, are more important from a human standpoint, but materiality is, as it were, that which makes them actual, and although not dignified by those superior qualities which constitute the worth of higher and nobler forms of existence, it is the material feature in everything existent, bad and good, noble and vulgar, high and

low, which is common to all and without which they would be non-existent or mere dreams.

If believers in ghosts think of spirits they cannot help thinking of them in the shape of some concrete bodily appearance. The substance of ghosts may consist of a material that lacks qualities which we expect in concrete things, but it is after all conceived as a substance of some kind. It may be, like vapor, visible to the eye, but is impalpable, not tangible to the hands. It may be assumed to be endowed with force like electric currents, the material substratum of which is as elusive as the ether, the presence of which is imperceptible to any one of our senses. Still we cannot think of an objective thing without attributing to it a substance of some kind, a bodily shape consisting of volume and mass.

One fact, we said, which cannot be deduced from matter is consciousness. But what is consciousness? If we take the existence of matter and the material universe for granted, and if we start in philosophizing from our notion of matter as that which resists our touch, that which can be weighed and measured, we are astonished to see how a material body such as ours can be endowed with that wonderful quality of picturing the world in sensation. Physical science informs us of ether-waves that with incredible rapidity are transmitted through space. It computes the different lengths of its waves which originate by refraction from different bodies. Everything is ether in motion, yet the sensation which corresponds to it is the warm glow of a world of color, a panorama of moving pictures full of life and beauty. The objectivity of a tumult in the ocean of ether that surrounds our eye is transformed into the subjective mirage of a beautiful picture which forms in our material constitution the world as we see it.

The same is true of all other senses. Inert, clumsy bodies resist our touch, and we feel them as hard or soft, as flexible, warm, or cold, or whatever it may be, and contact with objective things is transformed into the subjective sensation of touch.

The air around us is in constant commotion, and if we neglect here the currents produced by the wind and consider only the waves which sometimes stir the physical constitution of this gaseous mixture, now condensing, now expanding its molecules, we can depict it as a system of globular waves that are being propagated from a multitude of places where simultaneous commotions call them into being. Suppose we listen to a symphony played by an orchestra; every touch of a string, every blow of a horn compresses one portion of the air in such a way as to produce a commotion that is propa-

gated in all directions, and the airy spheres which thus fill the air pass through each other without disturbing each other. Our ear is the recipient of all of them simultaneously if they reach the drum of the ear at the same time, successively if they touch it one after the other,—yet how different is the subjective sensation from the objective fact! Every commotion is felt as a definite tone of a definite pitch with definite undertones which produce what in acoustics is called “timbre.” What a life is here, non-material, reproducing a world of commotions in analogous terms of sensation, and although all of these tones intermingle in one concussion of the drum, the delicacy of the ear is such as to analyze all the tones into their elements and perceive every one of them in its own peculiarity.

The senses of smell and taste are a little different in their constitution. Here some external bodies actually enter into our bodily constitution and combine into chemical compounds which produce the sensations of taste and smell. Thus in these lower senses, parts of matter actually enter and are amalgamated with the constituents of our own bodily system. It is a partial assimilation of solid, or liquid, or gaseous bodies that touch our tongue or the mucous membrane of our nose.

This difference between the objective and the subjective is characteristic of all of our life whenever we are confronted with objective facts that are translated into subjective sensations. *Vice versa*, whenever a subjective conception is represented as actual we have no other means but to represent it as an objective, concrete sense-perception, that is to say, in objective and bodily form. This digression is perhaps redundant to our readers since the facts ought to be presupposed, but it is necessary because we must bear it in mind when we come to consider the reality of so-called spiritual phenomena. This world of ours consists in and through the contrast of bodily existence and sensation. The two are one and inseparable. We can rightly repeat, though perhaps in a little modified sense, Schopenhauer’s maxim: “There is no subject without object, no object without subject.” When the materialist claims that the world should be explained from matter alone he is philosophically crude, and when the spiritualist thinks that spirits can exist without matter he is strangely mistaken. The truth is that there are neither pure materialists nor pure spiritualists. Materialists, so called, only deny that spirits can exist without matter, and in this statement—theoretically at least—spiritualists will not oppose them; *vice versa*, spiritualists claim that spirits can exist in a material form different from the material constitution of the bodies which (dualistically

speaking) we at present inhabit. The truth is that all materialists implicitly must spiritualize matter while spiritualists materialize spirit. Believers in spiritistic phenomena accordingly speak of "materializations" and the criticism is quite justified that spiritualists are truly more materialistic than are materialists.

But let us consider the nature of our mental life more closely. We can understand why natural laws, according to the law of form, constitute one great cosmic order. We can understand how in organized life, a definite progress is possible, building up from primitive beginnings the wonderful structure of the human brain which reflects the surrounding world so accurately as to allow man to adapt himself to conditions, to foredetermine future events, to prevent coming dangers, and to regulate the course of events according to his needs. This quality of foresight and adaptability, the formation of design, the realization of purpose, is the characteristic feature of mental life. We can on the basis of natural law and of the cosmic order understand its origin, but the ultimate facts of concrete existence will forever remain the wonder of the inquiring philosopher. We can trace the "Why?", we can explain that all facts must be such as they are, but that they are at all remains and will forever remain a truth which cannot be deduced by any logical argumentation but must remain a mere matter of fact. An objective world mirrored in subjective consciousness exists as a relation, subject-object relation, in which the two are so intimately interwoven that the thinking subject feels itself to be moving about in its own objective surrounding. *Vice versa*, we endow all the objects with which we are confronted with the same subjectivity that possesses us. But there is a difference here. The savage may think that every moving body is alive, is animated with a soul like ours, but when science advances we come to the conclusion that objective bodies are similar to us only in proportion to the similarity of their bodily constitution. We assume that beings of the same human constitution are possessed of the same human feelings, the same aspirations, etc., of our soul. Mammals of a lower kind, which we know to be deprived of the higher faculties of abstract thought, are yet similar to us in so far as they are possessed of sentiments and are subject to pain in the same way as are our bodies. The whole scale of life is conceived to be analogous to our own constitution and we see the dimmest shadow of a feeling originate in the most primitive structures of living animal substances. Such is the structure of the universe as to the relation between soul and body, spirit and matter, subject and object; and what a grand result is the mind of

man which is at present the highest result of the cosmic life on earth as we know it.

The delicacy of the interrelation between subject and object is such that materialism, barring its philosophical one-sidedness, is perfectly justified if its claims be limited to the fact that nothing is real except it be material and that all concrete events are mechanical motions mechanically determinable, mechanically caused, and of a definite mechanical effect; yet all subjective phenomena are spiritual and the most delicate features of this grand universe of ours are representable in ideas which in their physical aspect are commotions in the brain.

The wonder of life is our normal soul-life as we know it in our daily consciousness but also as it appears in dream and subconscious states.

So long as the soul was regarded as an abrupt unity the facts of double personality had to be regarded as a strange mystery, but since evolution has thrown a light upon the development of this soul we know that it is not a unity but a unification. The soul is not the ego possessed of thoughts but a rich commonwealth of memories, of emotions, and of impulses, organized not unlike a great nation under a central government. Consciousness is only one small portion of the whole being, that portion of psychical activities which comes to the notion of the central government. The innumerable subconscious centers of soul-life also affect consciousness, but they never rise into a clear comprehension unless forced to the front by some abnormal complication and even then they remain dim and vague and mostly also inexplicable unless their condition can be formulated in words.

The higher life of man, his spirituality, consists of that portion which finds expression in language. Man is the speaking animal, and any animal that would develop speech would become human, would develop reason, would be capable of abstract thought, would be capable of generalizing concepts, would be capable of thinking in abstract terms.

Just as the rise of the nation is the basis of the powers and the operations and the opportunities of the government, so that part of our soul which rises into consciousness and which is crystallized around the ego-idea, is dependent upon the resources of the first psychical domain which remains unconscious almost throughout our entire lifetime, and yet the latter is the basis of the former and there is a constant interchange between the two domains.

The ego-idea seems to be the center of all, but it is in itself an empty thought without any reality. When we say: "I do this," "I have done this," "I propose to do that," "I have an idea," "This is my hand and this the rest of my body," the ego-idea is only the thought "I" which by its constant repetition and innumerable relations is swelled up out of all proportion into undue significance. The little word "I" stands for the whole personality, just as a king may represent his whole nation; but *vice versa*, just as the king is, after all, only one man in a nation, so the word "I" is only one word—important though it may be through its relations to other words among the entire host of a man's vocabulary. The word "I" is a representative word. It means the entirety of the organism, and this representativeness constitutes its importance. Aside from this, it is a pronoun which has no more import than the words "thou," or "you," or "that."

But let us now consider the significance of the subconscious domain. Consciousness is not the primordial beginning of the individual development but its final result. Sentient beings begin with many disconnected feelings which are gradually developed into a psychical organism of great complexity and well-functioning interconnection of higher and lower, coordinated, superordinated, and subordinated stations, changing a rich multiplicity of feelings and thoughts into an orderly commonwealth.

If our entire soul were to acquire consciousness, the central government of our soul, the ego, would not be fit for any ordinate business. It would be as if the President of the United States would have to be in formal connection with every one of the ninety millions or more of the inhabitants of this country. He would find it impossible to attend to the affairs of the State. Thus, nature has limited the range of consciousness and allows only such events to rise into its limited sphere as demand a special settlement by conscious deliberation. A great number of subordinated local centers are not at all connected with consciousness. The heart moves without receiving special orders from the ego and so the stomach attends to the work of digestion. All the neural ganglions of the sympathetic plexus which constitute an important part of the nervous system of man are absolutely independent of the cerebrum and have no direct connection with consciousness. Nevertheless, as the condition of the farmers of a country is of great importance to the central government and may render it at critical moments either powerful or weak, so the subconscious centers of man's nervous constitution have an unflinching influence upon his mental

disposition and make him, even without his perceiving it, pessimistic or optimistic, buoyant and jubilant or depressed and sad.

There is no need here of entering into the evolution of man's soul, how it has been built up from small beginnings, and how the different centers were established in the course of the natural evolution of the human organism. Suffice it to say that unwittingly now and then, the lower centers modify the rise of the central government, and their influence appears to be mysterious and sometimes inexplicable.

If we limit our field of investigation merely to the ideas which have once been conscious we are confronted with many strange events which suggest to the unsophisticated the idea that some supernatural agency manifests itself in our life. Many prophetic dreams and strange coincidences find through a consideration of these facts their natural explanation. We are told that the Chicago fire had been foreseen in dreams and that other great events cast their shadows before them in sensitive minds, and this is not at all impossible. In fact, any one who had his eyes open would have thought of the danger whenever he considered the many wooden structures of the original city of Chicago. We might say it is more astonishing that people did not foresee the danger to take measures against it in due time.

When I once landed at the Hoboken pier at the North German Lloyd wharf, I remember the remarks made by some one who in his business had acquired an eye for the danger of fire, that if by some accident a fire were started on this pier the flames would rapidly spread over the whole wharf. If this comment had been made by a mystic it would have been considered as a remarkable prophecy of the fire that actually took place and caused the terrible loss of so many lives. The conditions of the danger were present for a great number of years but the people who worked on the spot were so accustomed to it that they were unmindful of it and were thus taken by surprise when the accident happened.

Now, it frequently comes to pass that the central government of our soul is so engrossed with the humdrum of the occurrences of daily life that it has no time or leisure or restfulness to listen to the warning voice of our subconscious impulses. Suppose that the actually prevailing conditions of a constant danger impress themselves on our subconscious observation, they remain unnoticed because our conscious self is preoccupied in other quarters. Yet the impulse has been made in the shape of an undefined feeling of uncomfortable apprehension which is as little heeded as was the

voice of the seer who warned Cæsar of the Ides of March. Sometimes, however, this dim foreboding of a coming danger gains strength during sleep and then takes the shape of warning dreams. These dreams may either be a direct warning or assume the shape of apparitions which originate in our subconscious imagination under the general influence of this special uncomfortable apprehension.

We are told by psychologists that frequently solutions of problems are discovered in dreams, that poets who during the busy day do not find the necessary leisure to compose a poem with which their mind is pregnant, will suddenly find the correct expression in their dream and find themselves fully disposed to write their thoughts down when they wake from a refreshing slumber. The effects which our subconscious life thus unexpectedly produces in our conscious life are sometimes so marvelous that they seem to justify the ancient belief of an intercourse of divine beings with mortal man, and yet these phases in the life of man find their natural explanation if we only consider the dependence of the conscious central life of the soul on its subconscious resources.

Mr. Andrew Lang recounts an interesting instance of it in the dream of Professor Hilprecht which I am glad to say is as far superior to many other psychical experiences enumerated in the reports of the Society for Psychical Research as a scholar of vast learning and great ingenuity is superior to the average believer in spiritual phenomena. We quote from Mr. Lang's well-known book on *Dreams and Ghosts*:

The Assyrian Priest.

Herr H. V. Hilprecht is Professor of Assyriology in the University of Pennsylvania. That university had despatched an expedition to explore the ruins of Babylon, and sketches of the objects discovered had been sent home. Among these were drawings of two small fragments of agate, inscribed with characters. One Saturday night in March, 1893, Professor Hilprecht had wearied himself with puzzling over these two fragments, which were supposed to be broken pieces of finger-rings. He was inclined, from the nature of the characters, to date them about 1700-1140 B. C.; and as the first character of the third line of the first fragment seemed to read KU, he guessed that it might stand for Kurigalzu, a king of that name.

About midnight the professor went, weary and perplexed, to bed.

"Then I dreamed the following remarkable dream. A tall, thin priest of the old pre-Christian Nippur, about forty years of age, and clad in a simple *abba*, led me to the treasure-chamber of the temple, on its south-east side. He went with me into a small low-ceiled room without windows, in which there was a large wooden chest, while scraps of agate and lapis lazuli lay scattered on the floor. Here he addressed me as follows:

"The two fragments, which you have published separately upon pages 22 and 26, belong together [this amazing Assyrian priest spoke American!]. They are not finger-rings, and their history is as follows:

"King Kurigalzu (about 1300 B. C.) once sent to the temple of Bel, among other articles of agate and lapis lazuli, an inscribed votive cylinder of agate. Then the priests suddenly received the command to make for the statue of the god Nibib a pair of ear-rings of agate. We were in great dismay, since there was no agate as raw material at hand. In order to execute the command, there was nothing for us to do but cut the votive cylinder in three parts, thus making three rings, each of which contained a portion of the original inscription. The first two rings served as ear-rings for the statue of the god; the two fragments which have given you so much trouble are parts of them. If you will put the two together, you will have confirmation of my words. But the third ring you have not found yet, and you never will find it."

The professor awoke, bounded out of bed, as Mrs. Hilprecht testifies, and was heard crying from his study, "It is so, it is so!" Mrs. Hilprecht followed her lord, "and satisfied herself in the midnight hour as to the outcome of his most interesting dream."

The inscription ran thus, the missing fragment being restored, "by analogy from many similar inscriptions":

"To the god Nibib, child
Of the god Bel,
His Lord
Kurigalzu,
Pontifex of the god Bel,
Has presented it."

But in the drawings the fragments were of different colors, so that a student working on the drawings would not guess them to be parts of one cylinder. Professor Hilprecht, however, examined the two actual fragments in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople. They lay in two distinct cases, but, when put together, fitted. When cut

asunder of old, in Babylon, the white vein of the stone showed on one fragment, the gray surface on the other.

Professor Romaine Newbold, who publishes this dream, explains that the professor had unconsciously reasoned out his facts, the difference of color in the two pieces of agate disappearing in the dream. The professor had heard from Dr. Peters of the expedition, that a room had been discovered with fragments of a wooden box and chips of agate and lapis lazuli. The sleeping mind "combined its information," reasoned rightly from it, and threw its own conclusions into a dramatic form, receiving the information from the lips of a priest of Nippur.

Probably we do a good deal of reasoning in sleep. Professor Hilprecht, in 1882-1883, was working at a translation of an inscription wherein came *Nabû-Kudûrru-usur*, rendered by Professor Delitzsch "Nebo protect my mortarboard." Professor Hilprecht accepted this, but woke one morning with his mind full of the thought that the words should be rendered "Nebo protect my boundary," which "sounds a deal likelier," and is now accepted.

What better illustration of our point of view could be found! Dreams are most wonderful phenomena, and it would be worth while for any one who wants to understand the nature of psychical life to pay special attention to their nature. When the central station of our soul, the headquarters of consciousness, takes a rest, when sleep sets in, other departments of our mental life still continue to function and the shapes they produce are naturally and necessarily of the same nature as our waking experiences. They are their revival, hence the similarity which, for all practical purposes, is a sameness in kind, exhibiting a difference only in clearness and strength. Dreams' as a rule are weaker than sense-impressions during the waking state, but their objective interpretation is exactly the same. This may seem mysterious, but it is a matter of course, for wherever they appear to be original they are in fact merely combinations of elements which have first been furnished by sensations. Thus, things which we find in dreams are like the things which we find in reality. Bodies which we touch in dreams present the same sensation of resistance as bodies which we touch in the waking state. Even tastes, odors, and voices perceived in dreams are as actual as those perceived in the normal waking state. We must bear this in mind in order to know that the usual spiritualistic phenomena are not at all miraculous or even strange. Anything that is represented in our mind as actual assumes the shape of bodily concrete-

ness, and our dreams are simply a revival of old memories. Whatever new there may be in dreams, whatever greater beauty or originality dreams and visions may present, their elementary materials are always furnished from the storehouse of memory.

We are so accustomed to these features of our normal life that they do not appear to us as wonderful; but when we are confronted with abnormal experiences we are set to thinking, and we become better aware than otherwise of the spirituality of our existence. Some examples will explain.

I have among my friends many believers in spiritual phenomena, but I have never quarreled with any one of them, for I am too deeply convinced of the importance and the seriousness of the question to try to settle it that way. Moreover, I learn through their information and I positively know that they have not the slightest doubt as to the reliability of their own experiences. One old friend of mine, a lady highly advanced in years, who is the last survivor of a family well known all over the English-speaking world, derives much comfort from the development of her spiritual powers, and whatever may be the facts, it seems to me that this comfort alone is a justification of my proceeding, at any rate in her own case. For reasons which I need not specify I shall limit myself to quoting from a letter of hers which she wrote to me a short time ago, and which in part reads as follows:

"My own psychic powers are now so developed that I have been able to form what we call a 'study class,' consisting of myself and Mrs. F., a cousin about forty years of age, on this side, and Sir Benjamin R., M. D., chairman on the other side; and every morning after my cup of coffee and a roll in bed my hand writes questions and answers—the one as easily as the other. By this means. . . my husband who died nearly three years ago, and my father and mother, and all my brothers and sisters (ten of these—and I am the last on earth) are able. . . to give me their experiences in spirit life. I have become so familiar with that life that like Paul I have sometimes to say whether in the body or out of the body I cannot tell.

"Again we have a private medium who for many years has given us, in complete trance condition, communications from souls on the other side that are of themselves proofs of identity—as for instance nearly all the judges of * * * with whom my husband was in intimate relations for thirty years—referring to legal questions, etc., and I have taken notes of these—word for word—so

that if I could just publish these notes the whole question would be settled of the possibility of communications of a reliable character. But this can never be, because of the privacy—so I live almost alone in the midst of revelations that are so enchanting I can only wonder why they are not a part of the ordinary human experience. I could read to you pages on pages that would sink deep into your heart, but probably shall never have the opportunity.”

The truth of these spirit experiences is that the personalities with whom we have been in actual intercourse and who have impressed us with their personality, are and remain actual presences with our spiritual life so long as we are capable of reviving their memories. The memory of a dead mother often is and always can become a factor for good in the life of her son which in moments of temptation may guide him in the right path. Thus, it would be wrong to say that the dead are absolutely dead as if they had never been. They continue to influence the course of affairs on earth, and it frequently happens that the dead man killed, perhaps slain by his enemies a martyr of his cause, will be a greater power than he ever was in his life. It is true enough that those friends of ours who have quitted this life continue to be spiritually with us. They still play an active part in our lives, and the advice which we may derive directly from them through our memories may be as typical as if they came from their own mouths while they were still in the flesh.

Some time ago I met at a banquet of the Chicago Press Club a venerable judge of good social standing with an excellent record of his judicial career, who was drawn into a conversation concerning spirits. It was Judge B. Being asked by his neighbor whether he believed in spirits he answered, “I do not merely believe in them, I know that they exist, for I have seen them and spoken with them, and I know that they exist as well as I exist myself, or you, or any other person whom I have met.” The lady was quite startled and knew not at first whether to take him seriously or what to make of him—so rare is it (in this so-called materialistic age) that a man of scholarly education has visions acoustic as well as ocular. Judge B. was serious in his explanation, and among his friends he is well known for this particular feature of his bodily and mental constitution.

Judge B. believes in the objective reality of his visions, and I will not quarrel with him on the subject. To him certainly they are as real as the normal sight of actual things that are reflected in his eye. Details are indifferent, for visions are not exactly alike

in different persons. Judge B. informs me that the spirits he sees are impressive personages, a little taller than ordinary mortals and surrounded with a light which may be called a halo. They do not walk but hover in the air and glide along noiselessly. They speak like ordinary mortals, only their voice is more musical, but the sound is as plain and natural as the voices of his friends who are still in the flesh.

I mention this case because it is the best instance known to me of the faculty of vision taking place in the waking state. We may assume that in primitive society, among Indians or among people not touched by the pale cast of thought, by scientific considerations and the self-criticism which forms part of our educational system, instances of the same kind are much more frequent. Not only do they develop more frequently, but wherever they develop they are more conspicuous because they are regarded with awe and reverence. Communications received through visions are supposed to be of a reliable character and often are accredited with superior wisdom and a more complete knowledge than is commonly allowed to mortals in the flesh. Visions play an important part in primitive society and almost every Indian tribe, be it ever so small, can boast of one or several men or women who are visited by ghosts and gods and other spiritual personages. People who have never investigated spiritual phenomena are apt to be bewildered by facts of this kind whenever they are suddenly confronted with them, but a physiologist or psychologist of wide experience is not. They know that visions are phenomena which are neither more nor less remarkable than waking dreams. There are persons who are subject to waking dreams which are frequently, but not always, of an oppressive nature so as to be premonitions of nervous attacks, but sometimes they are of a less dismal character and reflect either indifferent or even beneficial, or simply irritated states of mind. Pleasant visions as also pleasant dreams are frequently indications of a recuperation of health after a severe illness. In a man like Judge B. they are parts of his normal mental constitution, and if he sees visions they are not oppressive to him and not indicative of any hysterical condition.

The instances which he has to relate I need not all repeat, but for completeness' sake I will mention some additional facts. Thus, he fancied he saw an archangel when, after a severe illness, he had "died," or let us say, after he had been under the impression that he had already passed through the transition from the mortal to the immortal state. He saw the archangel before him and heard

him ask the question whether he was a singer and could join the heavenly choir. When Judge B. answered in the negative, the angel replied that at present he could not be fitly employed in heaven and so should go back to earth, whereupon he recovered the consciousness of his body. The crisis of his disease had set in and his life was saved. Judge B. made these statements when some one asked him if he was musical, and he answered: "If I were I would not be here. Because I was not musical I was sent back to the world when I had died."

Experiences of this kind are certainly remarkable, and many a reader will say, just as I did, Is it possible that a man who is a judge of good standing, to whose judgment frequently decisions of great importance are submitted, is so abnormally constituted that he sees spirits as plainly as people with whom he is surrounded? So when I met the judge again I asked him whether he had the confidence that communications which spirits made to him are reliable. He answered, "Indeed they are," but suggested that discrimination should be used, for even spirits are not always trustworthy, and in the spirit world there are also liars and humorists, and they are not less than we subject to error. I further inquired of the judge whether, say for instance in criminal cases, he would be influenced by spirit communications, and he admitted that he would be apt to be thus influenced, but that he would try not to be and that he would exclude evidence derived from that source. When I demanded his reason he said, "There is no other reason except that their use is not sanctioned in our legal proceedings," but he did not hesitate to say that if it were he would deem it right in a judge to make use of spirit communications.

Here the practical sense of the judge kept him from going astray, for consider that, if spirit communications were admissible evidence in court, all doors would be open to prejudice and to proceedings upon visionary grounds which could easily endanger not only property but even life. There is scarcely a murder committed without some medium or prophet informing the police that he is in possession of the secret, and if such testimony were admitted as evidence we might have a renewal of the methods of legal procedure during the time of witchcraft and witch-persecution. Accordingly there can be no question about this matter in the opinion of any justice-loving person, and even if spirit communications could be proved to be reliable they should not be admitted as evidence in court.

This, of course, does not exclude the possibility that a judge

or a juror serving in a criminal case may be deeply impressed with significant interrelations of facts, neglected by attorneys, which during the trial assume the form of extraordinary dreams or other mental phenomena, and that such visions more or less accurately express the real character of the situation. Charles Dickens has described a case of this kind in his two ghost-stories in the volume entitled *Christmas Stories*, to which we refer the reader.

The truth is, which can be denied only by those who have no insight into psychical phenomena, that there are persons who actually see ghosts, not only in states of hysterical excitement, but sometimes also when they are in a calm state of contemplative restfulness. If we call such conditions abnormal we must also confess that they vary merely a little and in insignificant details from the normal conditions of every healthy man whose psychical life consists in seeing things as, we may say, nature intended him to see them,—remaining unmindful of the many after-images and waking dream states which he might have if he were to develop that faculty of his soul which is slumbering in almost every one of us; for those people who have no waking dreams have dreams while they slumber, and if we only consider that our dreams might rise before us in broad daylight we will easily understand a whole class of spirit phenomena.

Our memory-images are faint reproductions of the sense-impressions which they represent, and the fixedness of a rising memory-image depends very much, not only upon the constitution of different individuals but also upon time and occasion. In some individuals it is sometimes as realistic as the original sense-impression and thus can actually become an illusion. People of a vivid imagination, artists, poets, or other persons of a high-strung nervous system are apt to see their own artistic creations bodily before their eyes, and this quality frequently enables them to describe purely imaginary scenes as vividly as if they related self-experienced events. Among famous people I will here mention only the inventor Nicola Tesla who says that when he was a child he used to see the things of which he spoke. If for instance his nurse spoke of a cat he saw a cat before him, and it was an actual torture to him to get rid of these pictures which he knew to be illusions. When he grew older and stronger his nervous constitution became sufficiently settled so that he acquired a mastership over the powers of his imagination, and he could now call them and discharge them at will. Even now he is not in need of making draughts of machinery when working on an invention, but he can so realistically picture

things to himself that he can actually measure machines he sees in his imagination bodily before him.

The fact that our mental images are or at least may become so very realistic seems strange, and yet it is only what we ought to expect considering both the origin of our memories and the nature of our mental constitution.

The sense of a hallucination is in itself real enough. The unreality of the hallucination consists in the error of its interpretation. Suppose for instance we gaze intently upon a red spot. The rods and cones of our retina are thereby subjected to a chemical disintegration which is subjectively felt as a red sensation. This sensation in form corresponds to the spot in a similar way as the picture in a mirror is similar in form to the outside object. When we cease gazing at the red spot a green after-image appears in our field of vision whithersoever we may turn our eyes. This after-image is due to the conditions of the retina after being exposed for a certain time in one and the same spot to red color-waves. The sensation is no longer red but appears in the color complementary to red and the commonly accepted interpretation is that the one part of the chemicals which produces the red sensation has been consumed, thus leaving those which will produce its complementary color. It is merely an affectation in our organ of sight which corresponds to one that produces the green color effect. The illusion does not consist in the sensation being untrue, but in the wrong interpretation which we are apt to impute to it. While the red spot is caused by an objective event, viz., the red color-waves proceeding from the red spot, the green after-image is due to an internal disturbance, though according to the established habits of our organs of sight it appears to exist in the outside world in the same way as the red spot. When we try to grasp it or touch it, it eludes our hand and does not justify the anticipations which we generally have concerning those objects of our experience which we call real; hence we call it unreal or an illusion.

Dreams are illusions. They are, like the after-images, internal disturbances of our mind having their physiological seat in the brain where every vision, every dream, voice, every hallucination of taste and odor or other sensations has its physical seat. Dreams considered in themselves are as real as are sensations. Dreams are unreal only in so far as they would not be verified by our senses in a waking state, nor are they real to the experiences of others. While Macbeth in the excitement of his evil conscience sees the ghost of Banquo, his guests declare that he stares into the empty

air; they see nothing. The event is surely subjective. It is real enough to Macbeth but it is an illusion so far as the object outside of Macbeth's mind is concerned.

The brain is a very delicate organism and it responds more readily to external impressions than the daintiest mechanism of artificial manufacture. As the eolian harp resounds when the wind passes through it, so the human soul vibrates in sympathetic response under the innumerable impressions that touch it. The suffering of one of our own fellow-beings calls forth in our own heart a similar disposition, the "fellow-pain" called *Mitleid* or co-suffering in German, *συμπαθεια* in Greek. Thus ideas, pains, sensations, illusions can easily become sympathetic. Some hysteric person may have a vision and impress others that are somehow predisposed for similar illusions so vividly with the picture oppressing him that they too see it; for instance, when the sentinels in the castle of Elsinore have an apparition which they consider to be Hamlet's father's ghost, they will easily find among those who are of a similar mental constitution, some who, when conducted to the haunted spot, will also swear they see the ghost of the late king who died in some mysterious way. Shakespeare's representation of the ghost-scene is characteristic enough for a description of a genuine vision, Horatio and the young prince are specially prepared for the occasion by having their imaginations stirred through the accounts of the sentinels. Thus we see that even two or several minds may have an illusion which to all outer appearances is the same—and yet there is no reason to assume that there is any ghost outside of these several visions.

SCIENCE, THEOLOGY, AND THE CHURCH.

BY PAUL CARUS.

NOT very long ago in all Christian churches the Bible was believed to be the word of God in the literal sense of the term, but it is now treated by all Christian theologians, viz., by all those Bible scholars who lay claim to being scientific investigators, as a collection of books of Hebrew literature which is to be studied by the same methods and according to the same rules as any other literary products of ancient or modern times.

It goes without saying that the Bible has not lost its venerableness, its sanctity, its significance, either in the churches or in secular

history, for its several books are important milestones on the road of religious progress. They are documents containing evidence of how the human mind has been groping after the truth, and we learn from them how man rose higher and higher, from rung to rung, on the ascending scale of evolution.

All the civilized nations on earth possess religious books, and some of these books possess both philosophical depth and genuine piety. But the Bible contains the books of a peculiarly religious people which for centuries has identified its religion with its nationality and, whatever else we may say, has become by dint of historic facts one main strand of the intellectual ancestry of European civilization. What the Greeks are to us in art and science, the Jews have become to mankind in religion—our leaders, our spiritual ancestors. The documents of their religious endeavor in bygone ages have come down to us, as a most precious inheritance, as a holy writ, to be revered with awe and respect. Indeed, the Bible has become more truly sacred to us than it ever was. For now we understand the nature of its sanctity, while formerly our reverence was based upon a crude, indeed a pagan, conception of revelation. We have not lost the Bible. We understand it better. But we must not be blind to the change that has come upon our interpretation of its character.

This change has been fully accomplished in theological circles, but its effects have not yet reached the pews, in fact it is just now only beginning to take hold of the clergymen who stand as yet outside the pale of science, and they are the majority in the field of pastoral work. A goodly number of clergymen ignore the new conception and treat higher criticism as the product of infidelity. Some believe that there is much truth in the new theology, but they are reluctant to acknowledge the fact. Others are "on the fence" and know not how to face the problem. They are puzzled; they have heard of the change, they know that many of the traditional views have become untenable, but they do not know what to do about it. They have the best intention to adapt themselves to new conditions but feel uncertain as to what attitude to take and how far they should go in making concessions to science.

When I venture to make a few comments on this subject I have in mind mainly that class of clergymen who, just being affected by the change and feeling it as an important crisis in the development of the churches, are now confronted by the question, "What shall we use in our pastoral work of the methods and results of a scientific theology?"

The old method of dealing with such questions was to ignore the very existence of the problem, to deny the facts of the case pointblank, to denounce the scholar who discussed the difficulties as an infidel or a child of Satan. A favorite and convenient way out of the dilemma was to take refuge in agnosticism by saying that science is too human and fallible—truth itself can never be obtained, so let us stay on the safe side and believe.

The old method of suppression of the problem has been successfully applied in the Roman Church to modernism, the result being that the leaven which might have leavened the whole lump has been carefully removed and the old stagnation has been preserved; but I learn from Roman Catholics of Europe, that the end is not yet. The flames of enthusiasm in modernist circles have been quenched but the fire is still smoldering under the ashes, and what will become of it depends on many factors, the life of the present Pope¹ as well as the personality of his successor and also on other affairs in the social and political development of the Roman Catholic nations.

Protestant theologians, and even those clergymen who by disposition and preference are not scholars but preachers, confining themselves to the practical work of their pastoral duties, are pretty well agreed that *the problem is not to be avoided but must be faced, and that the truth should prevail.*

We know that in the end the truth *will* prevail, but we may either promote the truth or retard it; and the latter need not be the attitude of a hypocrite, at least not in the present case, because the unscientific clergyman is still in doubt whether or not he can trust the "higher critics" and how far he can accept their results when he finds that there is something in their labors where their contentions cannot be denied.

My answer to the question here raised is not intended to be of a specifically new nature, nor will I indulge in generalities, for I believe that every clergyman must for himself find the mode of adapting his pastoral work to the changes which make themselves felt through the influences of science and of higher criticism upon his way of using the Bible. His relation to his congregation is of an individual character, and the needs of the several congregations are very different. Only this is to be borne in mind, that in giving unto science what belongs to science we give to God what belongs to God. In so far as science is genuine it is divine, and the assured

¹ [This article was written during the pontificate of Pius X.—Ed.]

results of science are truth, which means they are a revelation of God.

The religious spirit consists in the sentiment of devotion, and our devotion may remain the same even if our dogmas and theological interpretations change under the influence of a deeper and more scientific insight. And the fostering of intellectual growth is a duty of every man.

Therefore, first of all, I would expect of every clergyman that he should endeavor to keep abreast with the progress of his profession. Every professional man, be he a physician, or an engineer, or what not, must keep posted on the new inventions in his specialty; why should the theologian deem himself exempt from a duty which is really a matter of course?

A preacher must know what the great lights of Biblical research have discovered; he ought to know what comparative religion has to say about non-Christian religions and what parallels exist between the sacred writings of other faiths and the Bible, and also how these parallels have to be explained, whether by a historic connection or on the assumption of a borrowing on either side, or whether they are due to the universal laws which determine the religious development of mankind in Asia as well as in Europe. The primitive human soul is the same, and social as well as other conditions are to a great extent also the same throughout the world. It would therefore not be astonishing to find that the decimal system of numbers has been invented independently in several parts of the globe. Why should not the Golden Rule have been proclaimed independently by prophets of different nations, in China by Confucius, in Palestine by Jesus?

There are the strangest coincidences in religious legends and doctrines where there is no possibility of a historical connection, and where the theory of borrowing is absolutely excluded. I will quote only one striking example. The Buddhist saint Shinran Shonin, the founder of the True Sect of the Pure Land who lived more than seven centuries ago (1173-1262) in Japan, insisted most vigorously on the doctrine that man can not save himself, that he must rely on another and a higher power, on Buddha, and that salvation is accomplished "by faith alone." This very formula "by faith alone" is literally the same as Luther's *sola fide*.

The influence of science upon religion appears at first sight to be negative and the first duty of a pastor is to be constructive. He has to edify—to build up—the souls of his flock; he must strengthen them in temptation, comfort them in the grief of be-

reavements, and establish them in the faith that righteousness is the only principle that can be adopted as the supreme rule of life. This is positive work, and *I see no use in preaching any negativism or dragging the controversies of scientific speculation into the pulpit*

Here the first duty is one of restraint, perhaps even of omission. A clergyman who has grown liberal and has given up many beliefs of the old tradition, should *not* say that he no longer holds this or that view, but his proclamations should be positive. He should state what he believes and on what grounds he bases his convictions. If for some special reason he feels for honesty's sake compelled to let a negative statement slip in, he should never disparage the old view which he countenances no longer, but should speak of it with the respect which is due to his father and grandfather who held these views.

In other words, it is not necessary to parade the new and more scientific theology with a demonstrative ostentation which will give offense to the old-fashioned believer. The fifth commandment does not say "Tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth even if it gives offense"; the commandment is negative, it says "Thou shalt not lie." It would be wrong for a clergyman to make statements which he no longer believes; but neither is he expected to vent the negative results of higher criticism in the pulpit. A discussion of them may be, and indeed is, in place in the advanced classes of Sunday-schools, but they are out of place in sermons. I see no harm in speaking even in the pulpit of "holy legends" when referring to Biblical stories which have since proved to be unhistorical, but that ought to be done incidentally and without emphasis, more as a matter of course, not as something novel, or heretical, and without a coquetry as evincing originality or holding advanced views.

We can summarize all these demands by the one word "tact." A clergyman ought to use tact when he speaks to the congregation about higher criticism or any other innovation of modern times. But the warning not to proclaim negative results does not mean that the positive truths of science should be concealed. On the contrary, they ought to be discussed and the congregation should become acquainted with them through their own spiritual leader. If science and dogma collide, then an explanation would be in order to show that, though the letter of the dogma be untenable, the spirit of it may be or actually is true.

The advisability of this policy of not concealing the results of comparative religion and higher criticism, was impressed upon me

twice when I had been asked to address a congregation, once on the former, the other time on the latter topic. After the lecture I met on each occasion members of the congregation who expressed their satisfaction by saying, "I heard this and that before, but I had the impression that these things militated against Christianity; now I understand them and I am satisfied that they are all right. I am no more disturbed about them."

The reason for this attitude of some people seems to be that outsiders, i. e., non-Christians or even infidels, would speak about the noble ethics of Buddhism or other topics with the outspoken intent to discredit Christianity; but if a Christian moral maxim is also held by Buddhists why should a Christian feel scandalized? An ideal does not lose its worth and dignity if it is pronounced by two prophets of different faiths in different countries at different times. On the contrary, we gain through such coincidences the assurance that these ideals are founded on the nature of cosmic conditions and that there is a probability that on other planets the religious development of rational beings would be very similar to ours. Wherever rational beings develop on other planets, their reason, their logic, their mathematics, their arithmetic, and their algebra will essentially be the same as our own, and so their moral ideals and their religious notions, yea their very Bibles, their Holy Writ will show many similarities and exhibit some close parallels in moral maxims and the expression of devotional sentiment. Details may differ but the essentials will be identical; for instance, in their arithmetic they may adopt an octonal or a duodecimal system, in case they happen to have either four or six fingers, or perhaps three, on each hand.

While theological scholars are remarkably fearless, the attitude of the clergy to-day is on the whole still dominated by an over-conservatism which fights shy of innovations, partly because they are not sufficiently acquainted with modern theology and partly because clergymen are afraid of the new light and the changes it may bring about. But there is no reason to shrink from the truth. The changes which truth brings will in the long run always be wholesome, but truth must be stated with truthfulness, which means that no sinister motives should prompt the statement, no vanity or ill will.

Truthfulness means the *subjective* state of mind of serving the cause of the truth that is *objective*. It is love of truth, and truth should be preached in the true way. There is no excuse for an untruth, still less for a lie, and a lie under all conditions will prove dangerous. Schiller and Goethe in their *Xenions* have devoted

much thought to these problems of pragmatism, and we quote here one or two of them.²

Schiller says:

"Truth that will injure
Is dearer to me than available error,
Truth hath a balm for the wounds
Which she so wisely inflicts."

Another distich reads thus:

"Whether an error will harm us?
Not always! But certainly erring
Always will harm us. How much,
Friends, you will see in the end."

Hypocrisy should not be tolerated, but for that reason truth should not be outspoken or presented with rudeness. The Germans have a saying which makes the phrase "to tell the truth" identical with giving offense and being rude, and we must bear in mind the commandment "Thou shalt not lie" does not mean to speak the truth in this sense. There is the one condition that the truth must be sought with sincerity and must then be made our own; it must prove itself to be truth by agreeing with our highest moral ideals, and when found, it must be preached with tact.

The best way to teach or preach new truths is by suggestions, and wherever there is a difference of opinion we must practise charity. Those who cling to tradition need not see in the recent changes of our belief a decay of truth. Do not class yourself in the same category with the pious Cotton Mather who was grieved at the cessation of witchburning as indicating the disappearance of the glory of God. On the other hand, those who belong to the new school of theology should be liberal and broad enough to feel in sympathy with the narrowest and most old-fashioned brother.

The religious needs of mankind remain the same, but our comprehension grows. Thus the religion of the future will in all essentials remain the same so far as the needs of our heart are concerned but it must adapt itself in externalities to the intellectual demands of the times, otherwise our religion will become inefficient. Above all we need the light of truth, of genuine scientific truth, for science or, more definitely, the well-assured results of scientific research, is "the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

² *Goethe and Schiller's Xenions, Selected and Translated.* Open Court Publishing Co., pp. 144-147.

At present we pass through a period of a slow reformation. This slow reformation of to-day is of an intellectual nature. Its aim is not the abolition of abuses as was the case in the Reformation of the sixteenth century, but it endeavors to raise the level of our religious consciousness above the medievalism of our traditional beliefs.

We must consider that from the standpoint of the most radical science, religious notions as well as scientific conceptions follow in their growth a definite law of approximating the truth by first formulating it in myths, in parables, and in symbols before we can see the truth face to face. A fairy-tale may never have happened, it may even be impossible in itself, and yet it may be true; so a symbol, or a dogma (and all our dogmas are symbols) may be irrational in the letter and yet the meaning, the spirit of the dogma may contain the most significant truth.

Therefore I say, ye who are liberal have not yet attained the truth so long as your truth is merely negative, and so long as it does not embrace the truth of the past. As soon as you attain the positive aspect of your new truth you will find that the old view is only a prior stage of your own, of your new truth. It was merely the last station on the road to reach your present position.

Above all, we, conservatives as well as liberals, must be guided by an unshaken confidence in truth. If our God is not the God of truth, He is an illusion; let the illusion go. But if our God is the God of truth, let us not shrink from seeing even our conception of God change and grow and broaden. In a scientific age and in the minds of scientific men the conception of God will necessarily be more scientific and more philosophical. In the long run the truth will prevail. I quote from the Book of Esdras, and I am only sorry that this passage does not appear in a canonical text:

"As for the truth, it endureth, and is always strong; it liveth and conquereth for evermore.

"With her there is no acceptance of persons or rewards; but she doeth the things that are just, and refraineth from all unjust and wicked things; and all men do well like of her works.

"Neither in her judgment is any unrighteousness; and she is the strength, kingdom, power, and majesty, of all ages. Blessed be the God of truth."

In conclusion I may be pardoned for adding a few personal comments based upon my own experience. In my childhood I was a devout Christian, and all my highest, my noblest and dearest aspirations were based upon my faith,—everything centered there. I had

no alternative—either I accepted this Christian God-conception, this view of the soul, this belief in immortality, or nothing but a bare, empty, dreary nihilism was left to me. Such was the prevalent view of religious truth. But the crisis came and I found the old traditional beliefs untenable. I held out as long as there was any possibility or hope to doubt the arguments. Finally the faith of my childhood broke down and I have never recovered it. I became an unbeliever and for a time I was, or rather considered myself to be, an infidel and a despiser of religion. But in my attempts to overcome the negativism of my position, I constructed upon the facts of experience a positive world-conception with positive ideals and moral principles, and lo! I found again the devotional sentiment and the religious attitude of my childhood. The dogmas, however, and the literalism of the old view now no longer appeared to me quite redundant or objectionable, or even offensive. They had served a good purpose in their day and appeared now as prophecies of a truer and higher religion; they were not true in themselves but they were symbols of the truth. The religious devotion of my former days was not untrue, not erroneous, for its kernel was a seed full of life; but the husks might go so long as the grain remained.

Here are some lessons which I have learned.

1. I have learned to be charitable with views differing from my own. I have made it a rule not to condemn interpretations of creed or scripture simply because I don't agree with them, and to be patient even with zealots, be they infidels or bigoted believers.

2. I have learned not to fear the truth, for the truth will always be right and is the only possible basis of morality. I feel confident that every negative truth has a positive aspect, though it may sometimes be difficult to find it, or to appreciate it.

3. I deem it wise not to rush progress but to be patient.

The dogmatic stage of religion is, probably, an indispensable step in the development of religion. It seems that mankind *must* pass through this phase. In observing the religious sentiments of myself and of others, I have gradually come to the conclusion that every one has the religion he needs. For instance, a literal belief in hellfire, with plenty of brimstone and a suffocating smell of sulphur is good for many vulgar minds who do not know that the degradation of being vicious is worse than the worst conception of Sheol can be, worse than a Breughel would paint it. Nature does not create a man ready made. Man must pass through a regular development, from a mere cell through all forms and conditions, of a babe, a child, a youth; when going to school, he must rise

through the classes from degree to degree—he must not skip any of the successive degrees.

Nor must we teach the child what the child's ears are not yet fit to understand. There are different lessons to be taught to the girl of twelve and to the wife and to the matron. This consideration leads me to think that it might be wrong to remove the dogmatic phase of religion from the life of those who have not yet reached the higher and broader interpretation of panpathy, the All-feeling of the soul, which attunes our sentiments to the All-life of the universe.

Our soul must sound the right note, it must produce a melody which brings forth the noblest and best part of our inmost self, and though every soul should have a character of its own, it should be in harmony with the sound that comes from the lives of our fellow beings, and all must unite in a hymn of glorification of the whole in accordance with the eternal norm of life, with God, with that law which is the standard of truth in science, of goodness in morality, of beauty in art.

PAUL CARUS: THE PHILOSOPHER, THE EDITOR, THE MAN.

BY LYDIA G. ROBINSON,¹

DR. Paul Carus may be regarded as a philosopher in the real sense of the term in a period when there were few others in the field. Professors of philosophy there have been and are in increasing numbers, but they are professors first, well versed in the philosophies of the ages and of the age, but thinkers only secondarily, if at all. Many of these have made valuable original contributions to the specific and allied sciences of ontology, psychology, sociology, and the rest, but Dr. Carus dealt with the fundamentals of all sciences, the philosophy of science, the science of philosophy. His hypothesis of monism, his unitary world-conception, provided the simplest basis from which to solve the age-old problems of time and space, of God and the soul, without falling into the fallacies and crudities which some others who have followed the standard of monism have deduced from similar premises.

Because one central kernel in Buddhism, in the pure form ascribed to its founder, seemed to Dr. Carus to contain a truth over-

¹ Editorial assistant to Dr. Carus, 1905-1917.

looked by all other historical religious systems, he familiarized himself with its sacred books to such an extent that with his well-trained Western mind and sympathetic comprehension he was able to gather out from all the mass of voluble Oriental wordiness, and to set forth in classical simplicity, the traditions and tenets of this great faith as they had never been presented before. His *Gospel of Buddha*, translated into all vernaculars of Buddhist Asia, as well as the literary tongues of Europe, serves as the accepted text-book of the Buddha's life, death, and teachings in Buddhist missions and seminaries, and his *Dharma* contains the formulated dogmas of its creed. The little story *Karma*, though a pure invention derived from the inspiration which characterizes any work of art, is a moral tale of such power that Tolstoy, when charged with its authorship, regretted that he could not claim it as his own. Because of his sympathetic grasp of the fundamentals of their faith, Buddhist leaders in all parts of the world have looked upon Dr. Carus as one of their own brotherhood. They honored him with many complimentary tokens of their esteem and never ceased to urge him to visit their home lands. If he could have made the trip around the world that he contemplated before his health began to fail and communications were more or less restricted by the war, there is no man of our Western nations who would have been more cordially welcomed from Greenland's icy mountains to India's coral strand, from the Atlantic coast of England where he had been a frequent visitor, through all of familiar Europe, to the islands of Japan.

Dr. Carus's contribution to philosophy has been presented for the most part through the medium of *The Monist*, which has occupied a unique position in contemporary thought. With due regard to the unquestioned significance of this phase of his work, it is quite possible that his most lasting impress on the world will be through the influence of his fearless treatment of religious problems during the transitional quarter of a century in which most of his writing was done. He was a pioneer radical, though he lived to see the thoughtful part of the world beginning to overtake him to an encouraging extent. He always believed in and urged liberalizing the church organizations from within through education, rather than assuming a position of aloofness, and felt more real sympathy with the devoutly orthodox than with the scoffing attitude of many professed freethinkers.

Everything that was human had its special interest for Dr. Carus. *Humani nihil a se alienum putabat*. The secret of his success as an editor, by which he won so many staunch and appre-

ciative friends, was largely due to the wide scope of his own personal interest in life in all its phases. If he read of some discovery that was interesting to him he knew it would be welcome to his readers; pictures in contemporary literature or in rare and inaccessible places, or statues in the galleries of Europe, that appealed to him from some association of ideas, he knew would be of interest to other people, and they always gained in value from being presented from his own angle of vision.

The personal equation was to him a very vital factor. If a submitted manuscript had any merit in itself, or though poor was on a deserving or unusual theme, or if it had neither of these things to recommend it and yet was accompanied by a letter which bespoke a new and vivid personality behind it,—while deferring judgment, or perhaps even when rejecting the manuscript, Dr. Carus would write and ask for personal details about the author because of his own very sincere interest. He was literally acquainted personally with all his contributors, and the fact that his own business letters disclosed so much of his personality is one reason for the affectionate regard in which he was held by a large number of people who never even saw him.

In the personal contact of daily editorial routine no one ever revealed a kindlier spirit or more infinite patience, and though this may have been in part the evidence of a philosophical calm that could not be disturbed by trifles, it was above all the "fruit of the spirit," the apostolic "longsuffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance," against which there is no law.

DR. PAUL CARUS

VIR EGREGIUS ET VITA ET SCIENTIA, NOMEN SUUM VIRTUTIBUS
COMMENDAVIT POSTERITATI; NUNQUAM
ULLA DE EO OBMUTESCET VETUSTAS.

BY PAUL BRAUNS SR.

*Finis bonorum est adeptum esse omnia
e natura et animo et corpore et vita.*

EVERY life that has been lived aright approaches its end in glory and splendor, leaving a radiant afterglow of kind words and deeds. The good we do is not to be measured by the length of our days, but by our stamp of character, the sincerity of our purposes, and the grandeur of our aspirations and conceptions.

Death is a great revealer, and, in turning out some lights turns on others; it extinguishes the light of intelligence that shone from the eyes, the light of cheer that fell from the face into the lives of others, but it turns on the light of publicity and concentrates the attention of men upon the character and record of him who has gone. We are often surprised to find the man poor whom we supposed to have been rich; the man whom we thought honest, to be short in his accounts. In those lives where noise has passed for power with those who had no opportunity to weigh the facts, we are surprised, when we come to review their record, that so little of solidity is discoverable. When the record of some men is tested in the fierce furnace of post-mortem criticism, we are amazed at the small residuum, and that it is nothing but ashes.

But there are men who are not so when they die. There are some who are found entire in their characters and record when they are submitted to the flame of judgment; so indestructible that we cannot reduce or diminish them by any examination. The wonder grows on those who only had a distant knowledge that a man so solid was here, and they had not weighed him to know how heavy he was. Such a man was Dr. Paul Carus. Commemorating his life I have the impression that he seems to have grown since he is dead. And I think, there are reasons for this. One was the exceeding quietness of the man, he sounded no trumpets, made no noise, called no attention to his doings. He was a quiet man in all his activity. Not very often did I see a man doing his work with less bustle and noise. He was a quiet man in his natural shrinking from publicity or any kind of self-advertising.

Dr. Carus started in life with many advantages, among which I place a vigorous body, physical courage, a mind well balanced, enough of family history to beget healthy self-respect, a boyhood and youth not enervated by easy circumstances, but trained to labor and to wrestle with difficult affairs, and so gaining strength and the safe consciousness of its possession.

When one sees a friend whom he has known for many years depart from this life, there comes a sudden and almost peremptory vision of the long course of acquaintance and of frequent mutual converse, which has preceded. It is as if on a long journey one rises to the summit of a crest, from which he looks back with a glance over the miles traversed and notes again the chief objects of interest which have attracted attention on the way.

There are some lives which disappoint us, some impressions of character which we have to revise in later years, possibly even to

reverse. The impressions which I formed of Dr. Carus at the first have continued unchanged to the very end of his life; and in these later years my acquaintance with him has been even more close, personal, and familiar than it was in the earlier time.—I have known him in periods of tranquillity, of undisturbed progress in the work with which he was so intimately connected, and I have known him in times of strenuous and vehement controversy; and always he has been the same.

His high elevation, his pure joy, was *in home*. It was there that the soundness of his judgment, the wisdom of his counsel, the mildness of his temper, the firmness of his purpose, the affectionate tone of his manners, the unequalled tenderness of his heart, the dignity and elevation of his virtues, appeared in all their amiability and all their strength. And they only can truly estimate his worth, who saw and knew him there. There—in that birthplace of every pure affection; that soil in which the best and noblest virtues spring, and grow, and blossom, and bear the richest fruits—there he was eminently great, and good, and kind, and wise.—There, too, “he loved to love”; and the only pang he ever caused was when he ceased to love.

The life and character of Dr. Carus were such as the heart delights to contemplate. They form a consistent whole, with no irregularity of proportion. They do not exhibit the overwhelming splendor which bewilders the unsettled vision, but the harmony which attracts and fixes the constant gaze. The powers of mind which guided and formed them were strong, steady, calm, and persevering; constantly producing the warmth which comforts, and the streams which nourish. He was a man of remarkably candid and clear intelligence. He was never hurried in his mental progress toward conclusions, but was always sufficiently rapid in it; and when his conclusions had been reached they were decided, dispassionate, final. After he had fairly and largely considered a subject I never knew him to depart from the ground to which he had decisively come. Indeed, I should as soon have thought of seeing an oak-tree uproot itself from the soil in which it has been planted, and transport itself to some other locality, as to see Dr. Carus depart from a conclusion which he had carefully, deliberately reached. No urgency of external pressure could change his judgment; and unless his judgment and convictions were changed, there was nothing that could disturb the equipoise of his mind.

It is good to have known such men. It is good to have known them, when impressions upon us were immediate and most vivid.

It is good to have known them at a time and in circumstances when our knowledge of them could be more intimate than perhaps it could be amid the present conditions of life, in these days when the hurry of affairs crowds us into comparative isolation from each other and leaves scant time for converse and for friendship. It is good to have known them, to feel their influence upon us still.

The unselfishness, the generosity, the quiet, unconscious power, the purity of thought and speech and life of Dr. Carus attracted me to him and won for him, without design or effort on his part, a high place in my affections. There the best memorials are stored, and the noblest monument to any man is that which is built up day by day, patiently, in the after-life of those who loved him, and who try to reproduce in themselves what they loved in him. I suppose the artist often carries in his mind memories of beauty or of grandeur, which he has not yet the opportunity to fix on the canvas in form and color; which, perhaps, he but imperfectly fixes after all; yet still striving to realize his ideal, and be bettered by the effort. So should it be with us when we lose those whom we love. Trying to carry within us the tranquil recollections of what they were and to perpetuate in ourselves what made them worthy of love, esteem, and confidence, we will best commemorate the good spirit, the elevated tone, and the manly, brotherly kindness of him whose earthly career has closed.

He did not live in vain. His name and actions will continue to be held in remembrance. His memory will be cherished by all his friends, with enduring affection; by his personal associates with emotions strong as a brother's love, and in the domestic circle it can be forgotten only when memory itself shall perish.

THE UNIVERSITY OF
ILLINOIS AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN



ST. ANTHONY ASSAULTED BY DEMONS.
(After Martin Schongauer's copper-engraving.)

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. XXXIII (No. 10) OCTOBER, 1919

NO. 761

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ANARCHISM AND "THE LORD'S FARM."

RECORD OF A SOCIAL EXPERIMENT.

BY THEODORE SCHROEDER.

IN the old life of sin-in-the-flesh he had another name. Now he lives in the spiritual rebirth. When the divinity within him came to rule his life he was re-christened as Paul Blaudin Mnason. Some hailed him the "New Christ" and others reviled him as the Antichrist. Scoffers called him "the Boss of the Angel-dancers." At least, he was the "spiritual" boss of the "Lord's Farm," in Bergen County, N. J. When I told him that I was going to write about him under the title of "Anarchism at 'the Lord's Farm,'" he almost lost his "spiritual" poise, in protest against being identified with anarchists. And yet, he lived the life of anarchism without professing or even knowing its doctrines. When the more conscious anarchists claimed him he hated them, probably because they professed the doctrine without living the life. And yet, for twenty years he, with others, worked out an experiment at living the life of the anarchist-communist. Now I intend to tell the story of that experiment and to point out some useful lessons to be learned therefrom.

When this latter-day Paul first acknowledged the supreme authority of the "divinity" within him, he felt always under a strong compulsion to bear his testimony for "truth and right." Wherever he went, he sought opportunity to uphold both. He went among those who advertised their liberality as well as those of conspicuous orthodoxy. Everywhere he met with more or less of violent hostility. The "liberals" denied him free speech because he was a "nut." The orthodox called the police or threw him out of their places of worship, because "they could not bear the clearer purer light" from this "son of God." Once after a peculiarly hard

treatment, this new apostle of "truth and right" made a solemn promise that if God ever permitted him to have a place of his own, that then and there liberty would prevail. Later on, by virtue of the "divinity within," the latter-day Paul cured a very sick maiden of an "incurable disease." Through this miracle the way was opened, "the Lord's Farm" was established, and there "Christian liberty" reigned supreme. At the Lord's Farm unconscious anarchists, or conscious Christian communists, established Utopia, a miniature edition of heaven upon earth. Here many of the despised of the world found spiritual and economic regeneration. Others found the Lord's Farm a way-station on the road to suicide, or to the insane asylum. The fences along the road were torn down, and the doors and windows were always left unlocked in order that all might have easy access to free grace and free board. Thus they helped even the neighbor's hired man to get a comfortable lodging after a Saturday night's debauch. It also helped doctrinaire anarchists to put their theories to the test of practice.

Theory of the Lord's Farmers.

In the Kingdom of Heaven there could be no private property, nor any privileges but the privilege of service. Paul refused a deed to the Lord's Farm, because it implied too much ownership. Even a mere formal lease from sister Blandina was a bad compromise between the godly ideal and the human way of doing things. A lease was taken, however, but that did not give any one within the sacred precincts greater liberty or authority than was enjoyed by any of the rest. Blandina was not the name her parents gave her. By this new name she symbolized the fact that she had been physically and spiritually reborn. The godless called her the "beautiful little angel-dancer" of the Lord's Farm.

No books of account were kept at the Lord's Farm. In the Kingdom of God no record of material things could be preserved. If the more precious jewels of spiritual salvation were forever free to all, then of course, the lesser things of the material world must be equally free. Upon this principle, rooted in universal love, the Lord's Farm was conducted.

Persecution and Publicity.

Such lofty pretense at living the life of Christian liberty offends no one so long as it is not translated into practice. But the prevailing pharisaism will never forgive the combination of practice with profession. To combine practice with profession is a constant

reproach to those who only pretend, and these are always resentful. So friction arose between the Lord's Farmers and their materially-minded, spiritually-pretentious neighbors. Reviling was followed by persecution. Psychologically it is true that those who have in their closet the most troublesome skeletons always have the strongest urge to throw the first stone at their less fallible but erring neighbors. Woodcliff Lake, N. J., may have been an exception. Anyway, mobs cut Paul's hair and pulled out his whiskers. This was followed by arrests for Sabbath-breaking and blasphemy; conspiracy to defraud and running a disorderly house; kidnapping and raping and almost everything else in the criminal code. Convictions were actually secured against Paul for the blasphemy of allowing himself to be adored as a Son of God. Practically all the other criminal charges were dismissed, or resulted in acquittal. The Lord's Farmers thought that if God's Law is to prevail human laws must be ignored and lawyers should not be employed in the defense of God's own. Turn the other cheek was the rule. Only spiritual victories were sought and in the godless tribunals of "justice" these could be best obtained by means of non-resistance. "Direct action" is the modern phrase, I believe. In some of these prosecutions the indictment called Paul by the name of Mason T. Huntsman. Most strenuously he repudiated this name. In fact he was just as anxious to disown the name, as were his relatives and namesakes to have him do so. Some of these reside on Fifth Avenue, facing Central Park in New York City.

Free newspaper advertising followed in abundance upon prosecution. Publicity brought all those whom the world calls "cranks," all those who have theories of superiority with which to explain their status as the world's misfits. The Jew and the Chinaman, the Christian Scientist and the Papist, the Methodist and New Thoughter, the Swami and Christian clergymen, spiritualists, theosophists, atheists, anarchists, and socialists; all these came, prayed or cursed, worshiped or persecuted, soothed or quarreled, according to varying understanding and temperaments. They came and went as they pleased. Some stayed for hours, some for days, and a few stayed for years. During eighteen years the Lord's Farm fed three thousand persons. Some were cleansed of body and some in soul. Many were restored in self-respect and social usefulness. All this was done without asking any questions or imposing any conditions. Here all was free as the saving grace of God. From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs, was the only rule that each would impose upon himself, as soon as he saw the light.

A Daniel from Boston.

Among those who came was Daniel Haines. Daniel came from Boston. An overdose of Boston culturine had unhinged Daniel's reason, if we may express it in unspiritual language. Daniel came in the role of him who has the right to sit in judgment and to try the faith of the elect. He surely and sorely tried the patience of the elect, if not their faith. Daniel challenged even the righteousness of Paul. The Holy Ghost in Daniel questioned the superior wisdom of the divinity in Paul. Daniel of unhinged reason, went and unhinged also the doors so that the worldly ones outside might hear the disputes within, which he provoked and which he hoped would discredit the original inmates of the Lord's Farm, to his own credit. Daniel shouted loud. Paul tried to hold his peace and his godly supremacy. The quieter Paul became, the madder Daniel grew. Soon Daniel grabbed Paul and put him three points down on the floor. With the help of the spirit Paul rolled him over. But Paul refused to use his physical advantage to administer a beating, and instead the physical advantage was coined into a spiritual victory. Daniel was released and asked what next he had to offer. That ended the row. In youth Paul had learned that nothing was so embarrassing to the obstreperous ones as not to oppose them.

But Daniel was controlled by a turbulent Bostonian spirit of superiority that must yet vaunt itself by subordinating Paul who seemed the natural leader. Again at dinner the disputatious spirit of Daniel came to the surface. When Daniel could not dominate Paul in matters of spiritual disputation, he could at least take it out on the furniture. So Daniel proceeded to exhibit his spiritual culture by picking up the dishes from which about fifteen people had been fed, and one by one he hurled them to destruction on the floor. The molasses pot and the gravy dish were included. No one interfered. Paul got up and followed him around the table. When Daniel grew weary of spirit or muscle, Paul advised him to finish his work. There were yet too many dishes unbroken. "Go on, Brother Daniel, finish your job if you feel like it, there are plenty more dishes where these came from." And Brother Daniel went merrily on dashing and jingling dishes into pieces, until there were no more dishes to jingle.

An Arrest.

Just when the last dish had gone to destruction, there came some strangers to the house. They had a warrant for Paul and

various John Does and Jane Does for conspiracy to defraud Blaudina's father of the farm. All present were arrested. The omnipotent representatives of law and order were amazed at the bushels of broken utensils that confronted them. These worldly men did not understand the things of the spirit and so assumed they had interrupted a riot. They gathered up a lot of fragments of dishes to use as evidence. These with broken and unbroken spirits were hustled off to jail. Blaudina's father had caused the arrest of the whole group including Blaudina's brother "Titus" and their mother. Nothing came of the conspiracy charge. It existed only in the boozy brain of the old man, stimulated by his necessities, his morbid suspicions and greedy relatives. After six months in jail all were dismissed as to the conspiracy charge.

But the evidence of disorderly conduct was absolutely conclusive. Such a sight as these officers beheld could be found only in a "disorderly house." Thus a new charge was made. Paul and Phoebe and all the newly accused ones except Blaudina's mother were found guilty. Paul and Phoebe were sentenced to State Prison. The others appear to have been turned loose without sentence or on suspended sentence. Yet they protested. They wanted to share all the physical discomfiture and spiritual triumph of Paul and Phoebe. As usual in such cases, the love of law and order probably was a mere convenient pretense to be used in the vain hope of lessening the influence of Paul and Phoebe, over Blaudina, her mother and brother, so as to save the property for other relatives. Daniel, probably the only real disturber of the peace, was also released. He had not a sufficiently alluring disposition to endanger possible future legatees. In such matters judges sometimes have a very human understanding of property values, greater than their love of equality and liberty for such as Blaudina, or Paul and Phoebe. The family boycotted Herman the Cobbler, who was Blaudina's father in the flesh. He wearied of the sole supremacy on the farm. Soon he begged forgiveness, and was taken back as a soul in need of help. At times nothing is so distressing as to have one's own way.

Daniel Takes a Horse.

On the return from prison all were again united in Christian love at the Lord's Farm. Daniel was known in the spiritual rebirth as "Silas the Pure." Even he was there and great spiritual joy prevailed among the elect. However, "Silas the Pure" remained disputatious and restless. One time he hitched up the best horse

to the best phaeton, and announced that he and Brother Samuel had decided to leave the Lord's Farm for good and ever. When asked if he intended to take the horse, he said, "Yes, everything is free here and I am going to exercise my freedom by taking the horse and phaeton." No one protested then. Down the road away Daniel and Samuel stood up in the phaeton and waved their last farewell. The assembled residents of the Lord's Farm waved back a farewell with shouts of "Amen! Praise the Lord." Silas might gain a horse and phaeton but what profiteth that if thereby he lost his own soul? The spiritual victory would still be with the Lord's Farmers.

Only one person became excited about the loss of the horse and phaeton. Sister Elizabeth, a new-comer, protested vigorously. "Are you not going after the horse?" she demanded of Paul. "No! No!" said Paul. "If the Lord wants me to have that horse or another He will provide it. I will never go after that horse till I am led by the spirit." The Lord's people sold fruit at a neighboring village. A few days later word came from there that some farmer had taken in the horse and phaeton which was ambling driverless up the road. In due time both were returned to the Lord's Farm, and under the Lord's guidance, of course. "The Lord giveth and the Lord taketh away, blessed be the name of the Lord."

Charles and Louis.

Charles Hammond the infidel came to the farm out of curiosity, only to see the "modern Christ." Curiosity became interest, and he remained to work with the Lord's own. Charles always remained an opponent of Christianity, good-naturedly cursing all theology and gods. But Charles liked the Christian freedom. Like the rest he allowed his hair and beard to grow and soon the blatant infidel became a reproduction of the idealized youthful physical Jesus. Charles had a practical streak in him and was the best worker that ever came to the farm. Communism must be proven a success, he thought.

Louis Anderson had been commanded by God to give up his small store and all other work, to preach the Gospel. But the Lord did not provide well. In his hour of need Louis also turned to the Lord's Farm. Here the Lord provided food but the Lord still prohibited him from working. When not eating or expounding the Scripture he slept. This laziness riled the hard-working infidel. It was outrageously unjust that he as an infidel should help to support this lazy sky-pilot in idleness, even though he pretended to

be commanded by the voice of God. Charles took the matter up with Paul and demanded that this pious drone be ejected from the Lord's beehive. Paul was firm in his negation of such a course. If it was the voice of God to Louis, then Louis must obey. If Louis was moved to sleep all afternoon, that was a matter only between Louis and his God and not for the conscience of Charles to pass judgment upon. On the Lord's Farm complete freedom in God must prevail and Louis could not be put out. If Charles wished to spend his time sleeping he was equally free to do so. This sanctimonious non-resistance so irritated Charles that he struck Paul a hard blow in the face. Never ruffled, Paul quickly said: "Have you finished, Brother Charles? If not, don't stop. Strike on." But Charles was done and ashamed. Remorse was the reward of the assault. Paul had gained another spiritual victory over sin and selfishness. Viciousness brings its own penalties, as virtue brings its own reward: so mused Paul.

The Hoboes Came Also.

The Christian neighbors who constantly felt insulted by the life of these over-Christly people soon acted as if in an unconscious conspiracy to direct to the Lord's Farm all the "weary Willies" in need of food and shelter: none of these ever received a hand-out at the door. That would be making aristocratic distinctions, distasteful to the Lord. Without examining them as to vermin or morals all were given a seat at the common table. One "weary Willy" thought he had found a final haven of rest. He could not possibly get enough sleep before breakfast time, and wished to have a breakfast served to him in mid-forenoon. That also was a part of Christian liberty, but those who served also had a liberty to serve in their own way. One morning Paul took a tray loaded with a bounteous breakfast up to George's bed. "Good morning, George," said Paul. "I'm delighted to see that your eyes are open. I have taken the privilege of bringing you your breakfast. You know I like you to be comfortable and happy, and I want to save you the work of coming downstairs. Now, George, please remain in bed as long as nature will allow. We are here to wait upon you and make you happy if lying in bed can make you so. Now be happy, George." After that George was never known to remain in bed until the breakfast hour, and from that time on he did a fair share of the farm work.

At other times Paul would make a sly insinuation that if the Lord wanted certain work to be done he would provide four, six,

or eight hands to do it. This mere suggestion would produce the desired result while Paul was on the road selling fruit. Similar tactics were used on others. The lazy ones were commanded not to work so long as it was possible to be happy in idleness. Then they began to work. Not from books, but from the bitter experience of youth, Paul had learned some lessons of psychology. He knew how to play on the rebellious spirit. By commanding these rebellious children to be antisocial, they could be induced to be very social. The remedy for the abuses of freedom is more freedom. Thus Paul without commanding yet dominated all.

The Garden of Eden.

For a short time Mary Jane was also an important addition to the farm. She had met some of the Lord's Farm folks who had visited Scranton. There Mary Jane was a leader in the Christian Alliance. But soon this was abandoned for a trip to the Lord's Farm to find a new resting-place for the body and the spirit. Mary Jane, however, was still human and fleshly. The old Eve-spirit was still strong in her. Thus she was sometimes prompted to pursue Adam in the person of Paul, and according to the traditional manner of original Eve. But Paul had renounced all things of the flesh, and fled to a secluded den or spent his hours of sleep in the granary so that he might not serve as a temptation to Mary Jane. Of course, Paul had been so thoroughly reborn, and had so completely outgrown the limitations that hamper us mere humans, that nothing really tempted him. He withdrew for the sole sake of Mary Jane and for her soul. Perhaps in time Mary Jane would also become more spiritually minded, and then it would be no longer necessary to flee from her for her own good.

Soon, however, there came to the farm another spirit more like that of Mary Jane. Granville B. had been reborn, and in his imperious boldness there could be no sin or shame. Modesty is always but the shield of sin, the mask for self-reproach. The pure in heart can have neither. Furthermore Granville had so thoroughly subordinated the old Adam to the will of the divinity that reigned within him, that divinity which was his very self, that he could not sin. Whatever his perfect soul desired by the very fact of its being *his* desire became pure, no matter how sinful it might be in others or in the eyes of worldly humans. He had abolished all fleshly qualities that make for sin. He was a pure spirit, incapable of sins of the flesh, even though to unspiritual vision his conduct should seem to be fleshly.

Mary Jane and Granville soon discovered that they were of the same spirit. They were restored to the primitive purity of Adam and Eve before the Fall. The Lord's Farm was the place for reestablishing that Garden of Eden in all its primitive splendor and sinlessness. Here Mary Jane and Granville would set up the Kingdom of God on earth in which they would reign in the simple naturalness of their spiritual purity.

So Granville, being in a place of freedom from human restraint, wore the clothes of Paul and took Paul's seat at the head of the table. And Paul with his characteristic non-resistance proved his spiritual superiority by the meekness of his own submission. He bowed the head so as to conquer in the spirit. Granville and Mary Jane thought that now the time had arrived for the perfect ones to prove by their shamelessness that they were above sin. If the Kingdom of Heaven was ever to be established as in the original Garden of Eden, then the time was at hand for abolishing clothing and fig-leaves, the badges of sin and shame so conspicuously worn by the unregenerate. This was a place of spiritual freedom and to the spiritual all things are spiritual. It was not in the heart of Paul to restrain these courageous souls in the exercise of Adam's liberty. However, from an excessive delicacy of consideration for the weakness of the unregenerate souls of the outside world, Mary Jane and Granville reserved most of their exhibitionist tendencies for themselves, and for a few choice spirits within the sacred precincts of the Lord's Farmhouse. Granville soon grew tired and returned to Philadelphia to establish his own kingdom and to leave Paul free to resume the head of the table and of the household. Another spiritual victory had been gained by Paul through non-resistance. But the unregenerate insist that these two were not the only Adamites who took up their abode at the farm, and some "shocking" yarns are told about it.

Willson from England.

The fame of the Lord's Farm spread far and wide through persecution and the sensational newspapers. Thus came also an Englishman whom we will call Billy Willson. Brother Willson, too, was an imperious spirit, who recognized a large chunk of the infinite God to be within his own cosmos, and he proposed to act the part of omnipotence at the Lord's Farm. He came resolved in advance to dispute and to destroy all authority on the Lord's Farm except his own and to compel recognition of his own omniscient self as the sole ruler by divine right, first of the Lord's

Farm and then of the whole world. As if in proof of omnipotence he brought a son, a son that had been immaculately conceived from a virgin, at least so he said.

Somehow Paul failed to see the superior divinity in or of Willson, and so did not voluntarily abdicate. Thereupon Willson attempted to prove his own superiority by terrible tongue-lashings in which he used blasphemous expressions to denounce Paul as everything that was vile and execrable. On such occasions Paul would smile blandly and say: "That's fine, Brother Willson. But why can't you tell me something new about myself?" Thus, all the sting was taken out of Willson's reproaches, and he was made to feel his inferiority in the very effort to rise above it. He would go away, but after months would come back and repeat the experiment and experience. Sometimes these outbreaks were provoked by Willson's boasting of his miraculous cures. Always Paul had one just a little more wonderful and often the witnesses were present to corroborate. Paul quotes Jesus: "Agree with your adversary and he will flee."

The free publicity given to the communistic aspect of the Lord's Farm served as a lure for irreligious socialists and anarchist-doctrinaires. These came with their rule of thumb to prove to Paul that he was not consistent with Marx, Bakunin, or Tucker, or some one else. Paul knew nothing of these strange unscriptural doctrines, and he cared less. He was concerned only with living the divine life. He would tell these critics that they were only intellectual garbage cans peddling the dead and decaying material of other minds; fooling themselves by thinking that this rotten doctrine-stuff could upset the ways and work of God, or that God could or would descend to the ways of men. Others he would advise to hang a piece of crape on their nose in memory of their dead brains. His was a life, not a theory, but a life, moving, living, and having its being as the immanent God. However, Paul's most eloquent and spiritual sermon was his material performance. That he gave all credit to the inner spiritual voice did not keep some of these atheistic radicals from joining the Lord's Farm colony to rehabilitate themselves, physically and economically. Perhaps they even absorbed something else that Paul would call spirituality. At least, he hoped that they did absorb a little spirituality.

Holy Shouters Came Also.

The fame of the Lord's Farm had gone to the Far West and supplied a new ambition to a couple of Holy Rollers. These started

a wearying journey to New York City. Here they were joined by a few kindred spirits. Together these five traveled on foot to the Lord's Farm. Now spiritual joy was unbounded, and in this place of liberty its vocal expression was unrestrained. The holy shouters had at last been led by the Lord to a land of plenty, and they exhibited their gratitude to God by constantly shouting and singing his praises. Only physical exhaustion could restrain either the volume or the duration of their pious vociferations. And yet none of the godly ones would interfere with the mysterious divine influence that could produce such joy. Here the joys of conscience must remain unimpeded.

But all were not godly. Among the inmates at the farm was a woman with a past who still hoped for a future. She had come to be cured of locomotor-ataxia. She had only been there a short time and had not yet been able to cast out enough of the old evil spirit to make the disease depart. For this the Holy Shouters reproached her and kept her awake day and night by their audible manifestations of the spirit of God. The sick and weary Alice Page, the unconverted Alice Page, had not the infinite patience of an indwelling God. Therefore she was annoyed by the unnecessary noises. Therefore, too, she was reproached by the hyper-holy shouting jumpers. It served her right to be kept awake all night if she would remain sick simply for obstinacy; simply because she would not give herself wholly to God. There was a bit of romance behind the presence of Alice Page at the Lord's Farm. In the old world of sin and Satan, Alice and he whom the world now knows as Paul had been very intimate friends, and now Paul Blaudin Mnason found her in need of bodily and spiritual regeneration. As she had ministered to him in the world of sin, so now he would minister to her in the world of spiritual love. But Alice was sorely grieved by these impertinent pious jumpers.

In this Alice Page was not alone. The unspiritual neighbors also objected to having their slumbers disturbed even by those who thought they were singing and shouting praises to God. One of the unregenerate ones was a lawyer named Randolph Perkins. His patience having come to an end he went to the farm and demanded peace and quiet. Paul told him that was a place of gospel liberty and himself without authority to interfere even with noisy out-pourings of conscientious worshipers. Then Paul was long and vainly importuned to give his consent to interference with liberty on the Lord's Farm. Finally he said, "Here all are free, you are free to do as you please, even as they are free." Here was a new

interpretation of the rule that the abuses of liberty are to be remedied by more liberty.

Perkins now appealed to Alice Page, the poor, sick, unregenerate Alice Page. Was she, too, suffering from loss of sleep? Did she want the turbulent ones removed? She did. Poor worldly-minded soul! That was enough authority for Perkins. He ejected them, and the toe of his shoe in speedy upward motion helped to lighten the weight and assist the flight. Paul looked sympathetically at Alice and offered no interference. On the Lord's Farm all had their liberty, even Perkins. Mary Israel, one of the ejects, sent back the Lord's damnation, but the farm was free.

The Fall.

Just once the Boss Lord's Farmer fell from his pedestal of spiritual exaltation. Just once the old repressed Adam asserted itself and Paul forgot his non-resistant attitude. This caused his undoing. Among the children of the colony was a boy, the legally adopted son of Titus. Titus liked to compel others to work, including this boy. Sometimes he chastised him for laziness. This stirred the old Adam in Paul. Once when Titus struck the boy, the old suppressed "evil temper" in Paul compelled him to use a club on Titus. Blandina had died. Titus, her brother, was now the legal owner of the farm. Paul had always been a mere lessee. This quarrel between Paul and Titus gave the relatives of the latter a leverage to separate these two and so oust Paul from the farm. That end was thus accomplished. The old passions which had only been submerged and not outgrown, thus reasserted themselves, and terminated the colony of the Lord's Farmers.

In the fuller record of nearly twenty years, during which the Lord's Farm existed, there is a valuable unplanned social experiment. I wish to add some general comment to express and to emphasize the lesson that I see in it.

An Interpretation.

In Paul B. Mnason we see a man living the anarchist ideal. The Lord's Farmers followed his example but with a lesser degree of devotion and lesser consistency with the ideal. None of these religionists had any conscious anarchic theories. Neither had they any theories of social evolution or of the behavior of human energy operating in social relations. Their conduct was primitive and instinctive; that is, an impulsive effort to usher in the millennium. This impulsive reaction, precisely because it was emotional and

blind, found a formulation in terms of the "divine life," the self-imposed "law of love."

At another stage of development, where there is greater consciousness of personal desires and of social relations, and where the other aspect of an emotional conflict is being acted upon, the same impulse to play the role of omnipotence finds expression in moral codes, to be (for our benefit) imposed on others, by legalized or unlegalized violence. This is the state of mental development found among the short-time accessions to the colony and among the neighbors of the Lord's Farm and perhaps of most of society in general. The level of their desires and intelligence is evidenced by the efforts to exploit the more devoted Lord's Farmers from within the group. From their neighbors this same primitive state is shown by the many physical punishments visited upon the pious communists by lawless mobs and by those more orderly and lawful processes expressive of equally great ignorance and emotional conflict.

There is another level of development, with a much larger understanding of the relations and behavior among things, of which I will speak later. An experiment at living the anarchist ideal among a people who have reached that other stage of development remains yet to be tried. Perhaps this will become a reality in some future century when we have had more democracy in education and more education for democratization, as distinguished from an unenlightened emotional approval of mere political forms or of a static concept of democracy.

The head of the Lord's Farm worked for others and suffered from those whom he wished to help. He suffered economically and physically and found his compensations in the feeling that he was living the "divine life" far above the level of the unregenerate crowd. He *felt* himself the superior because he was living the life of love, and thus ushering in the establishment of the Kingdom of Heaven, the reign of love upon the earth. His compensation, like his superiority, was but fantasmal, largely unrelated to objective realities. His suffering was very real, because in his feelings and ideals he was too thoroughly dissociated from his environment to insure a comfortable adjustment.

He suffered much in his intercourse with general society in so far as his understanding of the relations and behavior of the human animal was not above the level of the "unregenerate barbarians" by whom he was surrounded. He succeeded in dealing efficiently with individuals in so far as his intuitive insight into

human nature was more penetrating than theirs. He held no conscious theories as to either. He achieved a partial triumph in overcoming most of the violent opposition of hostile neighbors, by his heroic though blind emotional devotion to his self-appointed task of spending his life in labors of love.

More Mature Service.

There is another kind of "self-sacrificing" labor of "love" that isn't self-sacrificing nor a labor of love at all, except when misjudged by conventional standards. Those who are living this unconventional life do not really sacrifice nor love, according to the conventional meaning of these words. They simply give intelligent cooperation toward the democratization of the human desires, as the peaceful means to the ultimate democratization of everything else. Those engaged therein avoid the pains suffered by Paul Blaudin Mnason, because they do not invite nor challenge martyrdom, or encourage exploitation, either of themselves or of others. Being more conscious of the behavior of human animals in social relations, such persons seek to educate the physically mature children so as to minimize that infantile desire for dependence upon society, as formerly they depended upon the mother or the nursing bottle. So they promote the elimination of one factor of the impulse to exploitation. Likewise, they seek to educate the "educated" toward a stage above that of the emotional conflict, which on its submerged side is simply the fear-psychology of the infant. In the conscious effort, at compensatory over-preparation against an empty nursing bottle or a "dry" mother, we see the psychology of the millionaire and generally of the woefully efficient exploiters. To overcome their own infantile fears of famine they must reassure themselves of unending plenty by the process of unnecessary accumulation, and the indulgence in ostentatious waste. If their subconscious fears are great enough the protective desire will be morbidly calloused to the suffering of all who stand in the way. Thus came in all ages the more brutal efforts at the suppression of every emancipating movement for or from the exploited classes. So also have come the past persecutions of almost every efficient agitator for the further democratization of labor, of education, and of welfare. Thus, from society's infantile fears and the compensatory infantile urge toward omnipotence, which was controlling its dominant members, it has been inevitable that every important step toward more democracy could only be achieved in bloody strife. Even after the bloodiest of wars all of us are not yet prepared to

yield peaceably our personal or national aristocratic advantage, in conscious willing readjustment to the natural processes that make for the democratization of welfare.

The Lord's Farmers sought to democratize welfare on the instinctive level of their own emotional conflicts. So far as lay in their power they attempted to democratize physical welfare. Yet in their characters they remained essentially aristocrats, playing the high and mighty role of philanthropists, who intellectualized their aristocratic feeling of superiority by the claim of being spiritually regenerated humans, having thus become the children of God. The grown-up children who constitute the bulk of our present society resented this challenge to their vanity and found abundant plausible "reasons" for avenging the insult to their own childish conceits. The Lord's Farmers tried to prove their superiority by philanthropic endeavor. The unregenerated society all around them proved their contrary claim of "moral" and "spiritual" superiority by means of physical violence.

This opposition of force and rage, of petty imposition and prison bars only symbolized in miniature the psychology of all the wars for achieving aristocratic eminence or slave-emancipation. Always the effort has been made of resisting and seeking emancipation through organized force, legalized brutality, and political forms. Never yet have we even seriously thought of democracy in education, or of education for democratization. In this matter the world war just over can be seen as but the most destructive consequence of a conflict between groups, largely yet unconsciously dominated by a lust for national aristocratic distinction and its satisfying consciousness of power. By physical combat others are proven "inferior." Then because "inferior" the conqueror is "morally" justified in exploiting them in exchange for some "culture" or other. There, as with the Lord's Farmers, moral sentimentalism, exaggeration, falsehood, and force are and were the instruments to attain a dominance. Most of this was, and is continually being done on the level of old archaic aristocratic desires and methods. No matter how they formulated their objects, the unexpressed and usually unavowed quality of it was essentially that of primitive aristocracy, even when its victims are least conscious thereof.

A Dream of the Future.

Let us try to imagine the kind of a society which might come into being through actual democracy in education, and education for actual and continuous democratization of education, of labor,

and of welfare. That would involve the outgrowing of all desire to get the consciousness of power through physical force, economic might, or ostentatious waste; or by a control over the life and death of others, either by means of war or by the legalized power to starve those who decline to do our will, or to submit to our exploitation, on our own terms. Then it would be such facts of life by which we would measure democracy, and not by the theoretic democracy of political forms through which an actual aristocratic privilege may be maintained. So humanity may be developed to a desire to serve, somewhat like unto that of the "Boss of the Angel-dancers" at the Lord's Farm. But still it would be unlike that, because based on a larger understanding of the relations and behavior among things and humans, and not conditioned on the conflicts of unsolved emotional problems.

By such highly developed persons, service would also be the dominant impulse of life. But it would be service on a basis of democratized labor, not as philanthropists to beggars. Service being rendered on a more democratic basis, if there should be any submission to being exploited by the unfortunate, it would not be accompanied by any feeling of the spiritual superiority of the philanthropist, or the feeling of inferiority of the beneficiary. It would be conditioned by so much of conscious desire for the democratization of welfare as to preclude the slightest exaltation or humiliation. There would be no need to develop democratic independence of feeling. The ultimate goal of democracy must include the democratization of all essentials of efficient living,—education, labor, and welfare. Thus only can we insure the voluntary assumption of democratic responsibility which the psychologically mature ones impose upon themselves, and which the mentally childlike who are vested with power, impose upon others. The service must not be personal nor personally reciprocal, but cooperative in the promotion of the general welfare, so general that the individual beneficiary is never recognized as its beneficiary. This can only be achieved through ob-
sessing, yet understanding devotion to the promotion of all aspects of democratization.

The Lord's Farmers suffered because the fortunate classes acknowledge no responsibility toward the mutuality of service and of protection, for the benefit of those who were in fact promoting the democratization of welfare. When, to a distressing degree, the unfortunate classes are conspicuously denied the substance of democratic welfare, and education, they are equally incapable of making an intelligent acknowledgment of the responsibility which is sup-

posedly imposed by the maintenance of democratic forms. Therefore, many of these could not "live the life" even when professing it. In the name of liberty, they too, must exploit or rob the philanthropic unconscious anarchists at the Lord's Farm. The middle class threw most of the bricks, and they hurt much. The middle class is always too near to aristocratic grandeur. Therefore, it cannot accept the resignation of despair, nor be content with having its aristocratic ambitions only one fourth satisfied. So it lives in a world of emotional conflicts. On the one hand are delusions of aristocratic grandeur, the intensified fantasies of wish-fulfilling hopes. On the other side is a half-conscious anxiety arising in part from the imminent danger of being compelled to disillusionment and to economic disaster, again involving the infantile fear-psychology. So it is that the middle class, individually dominated by conflicting emotions, will in a crisis be divided against itself. Through this lack of coherence or class-consciousness, the middle class tends to become the storm-center in all conflicts for democratization. After all, the Lord's Farmers quite unconsciously were aristocratically-minded middle-class reformers, or rather philanthropists. Just as the Lord's Farmers were ultimately defeated and crushed out as a social factor, so the middle class of Russia is now equally in danger of extinction as a class, if not as individuals. The aristocrats can largely flee from proletarian dominance, but not so their middle-class unconscious imitators. These must fight it out for their measure of the aristocratic ideal, or they must themselves become wood-cutters and water-carriers. Such are the forces that blindly make for the democratization of education, of labor, and of welfare.

Methods with Social Problems.

The Czar's Russian bureaucracy sought to prevent revolution and democratization by physical force. A Bolshevik revolution is the result. The bureaucrats were too ignorant of the psychology of repression as it works in the repressed. German Junkers sought to prevent democratization and wars by developing and using a physical force so superior as to preclude war by making hopeless all the opposition to Teuton prowess. The world war, the German defeat, and the German revolution were the result. The Junkers, too, were ignorant of the psychology of repression, as that was working at home and abroad. In their equally blind and instinctive unconscious way, the Lord's Farmers thought to force democratization of welfare upon an unprepared world, one not yet men-

tally attuned to such a degree of democracy. Their desires were too far ahead of their time, and as in the case of European aristocrats their understanding of human behavior was very inadequate. Because of this, they were excessively exploited and martyred, without making any lasting contribution to the triumph of their dominant desires, that is, of democracy, of liberty, or of their concept of religion.

Amid an outward false show of excessive independence they were enslaved by an intense conflict between aristocratic desires and the slave-virtue of excessive humility. In consequence of these conflicts, they suffered great martyrdom at the hands of their equally primitive and more antisocial neighbors. From this little experiment and the similar but larger one now going on in Russia, we may perhaps be permitted to infer that it is as fatal to force democratization upon the feudal-minded masses of the middle-classes as it is futile to use violence against the proletariat, as a means to retard the natural processes of democratization.

The Remedy.

One other method remains to be tried. Perhaps an orderly and willing submission to the natural law of democratization is the best means to universal peace. When we have sufficient understanding of the relations and behavior of humans, maybe we will begin with a retrospective study of our evolution in democratization. If so, we may conclude that the trend of that evolution is toward the ever more complete democratization of education, of labor, and of welfare. When we see that, and combine with that an intelligent willingness to adjust to this natural law, we will consciously accelerate such democratization, as fast as the people's desires and mental processes can be attuned thereto. Then we will achieve freedom from revolutions by violence, through restraining our aristocratic and autocratic tendency to use either organized or legalized violence to retard or promote democratization.

Thus, perhaps, war can be made impossible by being first made unnecessary, and so universally discredited. Even a class war is useless if we are as a whole unafraid of more democracy and intelligent enough to make that mutually understood all around. The remedy for the evils of democracy is more intelligent and more complete democracy: that is, more intelligent adjustment to the natural processes of the democratization of labor, of education, and of welfare. The use of violence to retard further democratization has made violent revolutions the *only* efficient means to attain

democratic progress. When we democratize education and freedom of speech and press, and so become unafraid of the democratization of labor and welfare, no sane man can be persuaded that revolution by violence can serve him any purpose.

THE COMING AGE.

BY ALEXANDER DEL MAR.

THREE or four thousand years ago the prevailing religion of the world was the worship of the sun, moon, and stars, as personified by Sol, Luna, Saturn, Jupiter, Venus, Mercury, Mars, all of which heavenly bodies were believed to circulate about the earth, as the center of the entire system; while their personifications governed the affairs of man.

This geocentric religion received an admonitory shock when the opening of Phœnician commerce with the Orient, about the fifteenth century B. C., led to a vague suggestion of the heliocentric theory; and to a second and more forcible shock when the Indian conquests of Darius and the voyage of Scylax brought to the West further proofs against the prevailing cosmogonical belief. These evidences, when echoed more or less publicly by Pythagoras, Thales, Anaximander, and Cœnopides, though suppressed by the temples and, in the case of Pythagoras, followed by the assassination of the philosopher, were nevertheless not extinguished.

Between the Indian expeditions of Darius and Alexander there were not a few philosophers who ventured to question the geocentric theory, upon which the religions of Greece were founded. Among them were Philolaus, Plato, Archytas, Heraclides of Pontus, Nicetas, and Aristarchus. But the information that Alexander acquired and Megasthenes brought from India was overwhelming, and the disquisitions of Aristotle, Dicæarchus, Seleucus, Timæus of Locris, Archimedes, and numerous other philosophers, though more or less cautiously disseminated, proved sufficient to effectually destroy the bulwarks of an erroneous astronomy and the fantastic creeds which grew out of or were sustained by it.

The immediate cause of their fall was, however, not due to scientific revolution, but to the degrading worship of Alexander, the Ptolemies, the Seleucidæ, and Demetrius Poliorcetes. It was revolt from this lowest form of anthropomorphism which swept

away all that remained of the ancient Greek schools and opened the way to the conquest of the heliocentric theory.

No enlarged survey of religious evolution during the past three thousand years will fail to afford similar lessons; the ever-increasing ground-swell of scientific advance and the top-wave of some immediate cause, something that aroused popular interest in public affairs after science or discovery had furnished the basis of progress.

The conquest of Europe, Asia Minor, and Northern Africa by Pompey, Cæsar and Augustus, brought to one focus of comparison the astronomical and geographical information of the principal civilized regions of the earth and resulted in that Augustan age of learning which afforded a point of departure for all scientific knowledge in the West. Later on, it was the disgust occasioned, not so much by the worship of Augustus, as of that of his imperial successors, which furnished the impetus for Christianity. It was the deadening influence of the conflict of the political and religious systems that followed, which is responsible for the Dark Ages.

As usual, the first heralds of returning light came from the East—*ex oriente lux*. In A. D. 530, Aryabhatta, a Hindu astronomer, revived and taught the heliocentric theory, and in one magnificent essay brushed aside the entire mass of false science and idiotic fables which were based upon the astrology of the Hindu temples. The knowledge of Aryabhatta's essay and of the observations upon which it was founded, was brought into Europe by the Arabians in the ninth century, the same in which the Norsemen coasted the continent of America. In A. D. 1020 Alberuni, an Arabian astronomer, in a work which became widely known in Europe, taught the heliocentric theory and accompanied it with a mass of scientific observations sufficient to afford food for cogitation to several generations of doubters. During six or seven centuries of darkness the Arabians alone held aloft the torch of science; and when it shone in Spain it lit a new and memorable light in the mind of a certain Galician navigator.

There is little risk in assigning the Protestant Reformation to the voyages of "Columbus." They smashed to pieces at once and forever the theory of a flat earth and the thousand and one delusions based upon it, in which the schools had previously indulged. They undermined the authority of the "fathers," of the saints, and of their pretended miracles. Yet the immediate cause of the Reformation was not the proofs of sphericity (for it was believed by most people that "Columbus" had landed upon the coast of India), nor the aberration of the compass, nor the art of high-sea navigation.

both of which he discovered, nor any other scientific knowledge connected with his memorable voyages; but the corruptions of Rome. Those are what Luther preached, because he knew that his hearers would understand him, while they would fail to grasp the infinitely more important consequences of the voyages to America. Yet without that achievement, Luther in the course of a few years would have been utterly forgotten, and Rome would have continued its reprehensible career unchecked.

Observe how many important discoveries were suddenly given to the world shortly after "Columbus" returned to Spain and related his marvelous story. Copernicus rediscovered the heliocentric theory, 1507; Moore published his *Utopia*, 1516; Magellan's ship circumnavigated the earth, 1522; the apogee of Melanchthon, 1540, typifies the revival of learning and rise of literature in Europe; felted paper, the father of printing, was first made in western Europe, about 1400-1450; books and newspapers appeared shortly afterward; postal systems were established in Austria, Spain, England, France, and Italy, 1496-1524; vast quantities of gold and silver coins were minted by machinery in Spain, Mexico, and Peru, thus by affording it a common denominator, greatly stimulating trade in Europe, 1500-1560; the steam-engine and steamboat were invented and worked by Blasco de Garay of Barcelona, 1543; portable clocks or watches, 1450-1550; wind- and water-driven flour and saw mills; spinning-wheels, divingbells, pistols, and breech-loading cannon; all these and many other discoveries, inventions, and improvements sprang from the fertile mind of man within fifty or sixty years from the moment that the discovery of "Columbus" released it from the thralldom of the schools.

We are now in the midst of a similar halcyon age. Steam, electricity, and chemistry offer to man renewed powers over nature. The telegraph, telephone, flying-machine, radiography, astronomical observations, and a multitude of other discoveries and inventions again admonish him that a new age has dawned, that new rivals have commenced the struggle for supremacy, and that if he would take part in it, he must cast away all impediments and gird his loins for the contest.

THE COSMIC MADNESS.

BY LAWRENCE PARMLY BROWN.

ONE of the commonest concepts of mythology is that of the fury of the storm as a manifestation of the wrath of a cosmic or celestial deity; and as the storm-god is often a war-god, we find in the raging storm the primary suggestion for many mythic battles between the forces of light (or righteousness) and those of darkness (or evil)—the latter forces being represented by the dark clouds and howling winds, with the thunderstorm supplying lightning weapons, etc. The frequent occurrence of such cosmic battles during the stormy season naturally suggested the celestial wars found in the mythologies of many peoples, including the Hindus, Egyptians, Assyrians, Babylonians, Greeks, Persians, and Jews (as in Rev. xii).

In a variant view the rage of the storm is attributed to (temporary) madness in the cosmic or celestial figure. In the Assyrio-Babylonian cosmology, the female monster Tiamat represents the primordial chaos; and in the great cosmic battle at the time of the Creation, she is described as having lost her reason when she came shrieking to the conflict in which she was defeated and slain by the solar Bel-Marduk ("Seven Tablets of Creation," Tablet IV, lines 87-99; in Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, etc.). It is said of the soli-cosmic Osiris that he took the form of a monkey (probably as a symbol of a storm-cloud) and afterward that of a crazy man (Harris Magic Papyrus, in *Records of the Past*, X, pp. 152-153). The solar Herakles, after his battle with the Minyans, was afflicted with raging madness by Hera (an earth figure), so he killed his own children by Megara and two of the children of his brother Iphicles (a wind figure); but he was finally purified and cured by Thestius (according to Apollodorus, II, 4, 12—variant accounts in the *Hercules Furens* of Euripides; Pausanias, IX, 11, 1; Hyginus, *Fab.*, 32, etc.). The solar Orestes was seized with madness after having slain his mother (for the earth) and his stepfather (for the summer), in revenge for their slaying of his own father (for the winter); and he was pursued over the earth by the avenging Erinnyes (= the Angry), finally being restored by Apollo (another solar figure—Æschylus, *Eumenides*, etc.). The solar Ædipus, toward the close of his horrible career, became mad and put out his own eyes (Sophocles, *Oed. Tyr.*, etc.). Ajax the Great is a furious

warrior in the Iliad; and in a post-Homeric story he becomes mad through chagrin at being defeated by Odysseus and at night attacks a flock of sheep (for clouds). But he recovers his sanity in the morning; sees the havoc he has wrought and slays himself (Pindar, *Nem.*, VII, 36; Soph., *Aj.*, 42, 277, 852, etc.). The lunar Io, loved by the celestial Zeus, was metamorphosed by him into a white heifer, with a view to protecting her from the jealousy of Hera; but as the goddess was not deceived she set Argos Panoptes (= "all-seeing" night) to guard Io. Then Argos was slain by Zeus, and Hera sent a gadfly, which drove Io in madness over the whole earth, giving her no rest till she reached the banks of the Nile, where she gave



MARDUK FIGHTING TIAMAT WITH THUNDERBOLTS.

(From Carus, *Story of Samson*, p. 98.)

birth to Epaphus (Apollod., III, 1, 2; Hygin., *Fab.*, 145, etc.). Io was identified with Isis, and Epaphus is the bull Apis (Herod., II, 41; III, 28).

In the later Greek mythos, Hera inflicted madness upon Dionysus, and as a madman he wandered over many lands, accompanied by a host of riotous women and satyrs—his expedition to India occupying fifty-two years (for the weeks of the year), according to some (Diod., III, 63; IV, 3). He was not only mad himself, but inspired religious frenzy in his worshipers. He is called Lyssodes and Mainoles, both words signifying "the Raging-mad" (Eurip., *Bacch.*, 980, etc.): and Lyssa is a female personification of mad-

ness in Euripides (*Herc. Fur.*, 823.—The word *λύσσα*, applied only to martial rage in the Iliad, finally came to signify “raging madness,” as in men and dogs, being also used for the Bacchantic frenzy, as is *μανία*). The earth-goddess Hera inflicted madness upon Athamas and Ino (probably for the heaven and the moon) because they had reared the solar Dionysus (*Eurip., Med.*, 1289; etc.). When Lycurgus had made prisoners of the followers of Dionysus, the former became raging mad and killed his son or cut off his own legs before he recovered (the accounts differ—*Serv. ad Aen.*, III, 14, etc.). During a Dionysiac festival Agave became mad and tore her son Pentheus to pieces (probably for the waning moon), supposing him to be a wild beast (*Apollod.*, III, 5, 2; *Ovid, Met.*, III, 725). When the Argives refused to acknowledge Dionysus as a god, he made their women mad, so they killed their infants and devoured their flesh (*Apollod., loc. cit.*). Among these women were



MARDUK SLAYING TIAMAT.

(From King, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, p. 102.)

the three daughters of Prætus, who were pursued by Melampus with a band of shouting youths and finally cured through purification—either in the well Anigrus (*Apollod.*, II, 2, 2; *Ovid, Met.*, XV, 322) or in a temple of Artemis (the moon), who was therefore called Hemerasia = Soother (*Pausan.*, VIII, 18, 3). Melampus was held to be the first physician and the first prophet, who brought the worship of Dionysus from Egypt to Greece (*Apollod., loc. cit.*); but the solar Dionysus was himself invoked against raging diseases, as a savior god (*Soph., Oed. Tyr.*, 210; *Lycoph., Cassand.*, 206).

Dionysus (Babylonio-Assyrian Dayan-nisi = Judge-of-men) was in one view a solar god of wine and “a drunken god” whom the sober Lycurgus would not tolerate in his kingdom (*Il.*, VI, 132; XVIII, 406). The mythic drunkenness appears to belong primarily to the sun-god in the west (otherwise conceived as aged, weak, or lame)

who is a falling god or one in need of assistance to keep him from falling. As the autumn (or fall) corresponds to the west, the sun-god in that season sometimes becomes the god of wine and a drunken god. Silenus, as drunk and unable to walk, is generally represented riding on an ass (for the setting sun). Orion becomes intoxicated and ravishes the daughter of Genopion, whereupon the latter blinds the former (Apollod., I, 4, 3). Indra becomes intoxicated with soma juice (*Vishnu Purana*, IV, 1), as does Odin with "poetic mead" (*Elder Edda*, "Havamal," 14); and Noah becomes dead drunk and naked in his old age (Gen. ix. 20-27—naked like the sun-god deprived of light and heat). Noah's intoxication occurs after the



THE DRUNKEN DIONYSUS.

(Antique terra-cotta of Attica. From Carus, *Story of Samson*, p. 105.)

Deluge; and in the Egyptian legend of the destruction of nearly all of mankind by the aged Ra, we find the goddess Sekhet made drunk and put to sleep by drinking of the mythic flood of beer and blood that represents the red waters of the Nile near the beginning of the inundation (Budge, *Gods*, I, pp. 394, 395).

The horse, from its swiftness, was a general wind symbol; while the storm-winds were sometimes represented by mad or madly frightened horses—or, again, by wild horses, as in the case of the mares of Diomedes in the Herakles mythos. The madness of the wind horses appears as such in the story of Glaucus, who was torn to pieces by his four horses (belonging to the cardinal points) when

they had become maddened through drinking the waters of a sacred well or eating of the herb *hippomanes*—which was supposed to make horses mad (Hygin., *Fab.*, 250, 273; Schol. ad *Eurip. Or.* 318, etc.). The winged horse Pegasus, upon which Bellerophon sought to mount to heaven, became maddened by a gadfly sent from Zeus and threw its rider to earth, thus laming him (Pindar, *Isth.*, VII, 44; Schol. ad *Pind. Ol.*, XIII, 130).

The Greek *λύσσα* and *μανία* are synonymous with the Latin *furor* and the Hebrew *chemah* (primarily "heat" and rendered "fury" in the A. V.). The Hebrew word is applied to the furious state of mind of Nebuchadnezzar in Daniel ii and iii, which apparently culminated in his madness for seven years, during which "he was driven from men, and did eat grass as (do) oxen" (iv. 16, 33—doubtless a case of zoanthropia or imaginary transformation into an animal). David's feigned insanity (for which different words are employed) is that of a driveling idiot rather than of a maniac (1 Sam. xxi. 13-15). Saul appears to have been driven at times into the madness of melancholia by an "evil spirit of the Lord," after "the (good) spirit of the Lord" had departed from him; for he asked to be provided with some one to play the harp as a remedy. "And it came to pass, when the evil spirit from God was upon Saul, that David took a harp and played with his hand; so Saul was refreshed and was well, and the evil spirit departed from him" (1 Sam. xvi. 14-23). The Septuagint has it that this evil spirit "choked" Saul; and Josephus says that "some strange and demoniacal disorders came upon him, and brought upon him such suffocations as were about to choke him"—following with statements representing Saul as possessed by a number of demons rather than by a single demon or spirit.

It was a very general belief among the ancient Orientals that persons suffering from certain diseases, especially those affecting the mind, were possessed by evil spirits—one of which was the Babylonian *Idpa* (Assyrian *Asakku*) who "acts upon the head of man" (*West. Asia. Inscript.*, IV, 29, 2; Lenormant, *Chaldean Magic*, p. 36, English ed.). The wind (or breath of the cosmic man, as of the human being) is the original spirit; and the Assyrio-Babylonian *Tiamat* is conquered by *Bel-Marduk* with the assistance of "the seven winds" created by him ("Seven Tablets of Creation," IV, lines 42-47, 95-100), which reappear as the seven rebellious storm-spirits in a Babylonian account of a war against the gods (*Records*, V, 163-166). The Assyrians held that seven evil spirits might collectively possess a man; frequent allusions to their expulsion being found on the tab-

lets, from one of which we gather that the heads, hands, and feet of the whole seven are removed from the head, hands, and feet of the victim, by means of exorcisms and talismans (*ibid.*, III, p. 140). The god who expelled them was probably Marduk as a healer of diseases, for he was sent by his father Hea to oppose evil enchantments, according to a Babylonian charm (*ibid.*, p. 143, note). In an Assyrian sacred poem we read that the god (probably Marduk) shall stand at the bedside of the possessed and expel the



PERSIAN DEVIL (AHRIMAN).



TURKISH DEVIL.

(From Didron, *Christian Iconography*, Vol. II, pp. 122 and 124.)

seven evil spirits from the latter's body, so they never return (*ibid.*, p. 147). And thus Jesus refers to "seven wicked spirits" as sometimes collectively entering into a man (Matt. xii. 45; Luke xi. 26), and is said to have cast "seven demons" out of the Magdalene (Mark xvi. 9; cf. Luke viii. 2—the allusion probably being to some lost story in which she had a lunar character).

In the Old Testament apocryphal Book of Tobit (of strong Persian coloring) it is stated that a smoke from the heart and liver

of a fish burned "before a man or a woman who is attacked by a demon or evil spirit" will drive it away immediately and forever (vi. 7). By this method of exorcism "Asmodæus the evil demon" was driven into Egypt (for the underworld), and bound there, at the time Tobias married Sara (*ibid.* viii. 2; cf. vi. 16); the demon having previously killed Sara's first seven husbands (iii. 8; vi. 13). Asmodæus is the Avesta Aeshma daeva = Demon of Wrath (and of concupiscence in Tobit, according to the Rabbis). He is the Aeshm of the *Bundahish*, where he is opposed by Serosh (XXX, 29), and where we read that "seven powers are given to Aeshm, that he may utterly destroy the creatures therewith: with those seven powers he will destroy seven of the Kayan heroes in his own time (cf. the first seven husbands of Sara), but one will remain (cf. Tobias as the surviving husband)... and the evil deeds of these Kayan heroes have been more complete through Aeshm... the impetuous assailant" (*ibid.*, XXVIII, 15-17). The Kayan heroes appear to be assimilated to "the seven chieftains of the constellations" in the *Bundahish*, where they are entirely distinct from "the seven chieftains of the planets" (V, 1), probably being identified as the rulers of the seven zodiac signs under which fell the seven months of the Iranian summer (*ibid.*, XXV, 7). Indeed, Aeshm = Wrath seems to have been recognized as the demon of the thunderstorm of summer, "his own time," in which he slew the seven constellation heroes—who in Tobit become the first seven husbands of Sara (perhaps for the earth-mother).

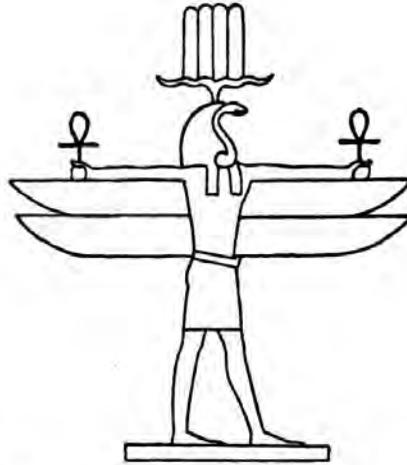
The Assyrians had a demon of the hot southwest wind that came from the Arabian desert, a winged monster with a dog's head, lion's paws, eagle's feet, and scorpion's tail. Its images were placed at doors and windows as a protection against the evil influences of the wind it represented (Lenormant, *Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, V, p. 212). In an Egyptian inscription from the burial-place of Thebes, a deceased person is made to refer to some female demon, spirit, or deity called the Western Crest, who both inflicts and cures a certain disease connected with breathing (breath or wind being the original spirit). In the inscription it is said: "Beware of the Crest, for there is a lion in her, and she strikes like a lion that bewitches, and she is on the track of all that sin against her" (Sayce, *Rel. Anc. Eg. and Bab.*, p. 210). Sayce suggests, and no doubt correctly, that the disease inflicted by her is the asthma; the acute type of which, the *orthopnoea* of the Greek physicians, is marked by frightful convulsions and suffocations, often continuing for several hours, and generally at night. It is

therefore natural enough that it should be attributed to the agency of an evil spirit; the Western Crest probably being a figure of the west wind, perhaps the Assyrian dog-headed demon of the southwest wind as adopted and modified by the Egyptians, who generally represented the west wind as a serpent-headed god with a crest of four feathers (Budge, *Gods*, II, p. 296). Be this as it may, the Western Crest evidently had something of the character of Sekhet



ASSYRIAN DEMON OF THE
SOUTHWEST WIND.

(From Lenormant, *Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, Vol. V, p. 212.)



EGYPTIAN GOD OF THE WEST
WIND.

(From Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, Vol. II, p. 296.)

= the Violent, the lion-headed goddess of heat and fire, who was sometimes assigned to the west (*ibid.*, I, p. 514).

The Egyptian Khensu (Chons in Greek) was a lunar god who controlled the evil spirits of the earth, air, sea, and sky, which were supposed to attack men in the form of diseases, causing madness and death. He represented the moon especially at the beginning of each month and the opening of spring (Budge, *Gods*, II, p. 36), and thus gave his name to the month Khensu or Pa-Khuns (= the Khuns), which became Paschons in Greek—the month of the spring

equinox in the sacred year of the Egyptians (Brugsch, *Calendrier des Egyptiens*, p. 53; *Records of the Past*, II, p. 161). In the circular planisphere of Dendera we find Khensu, with a pig in his outstretched hand, standing in the lunar disk, on the zodiac and in the house of Pisces as the sign of the spring equinox (which it became about the beginning of the Christian era); and as the sun is placed immediately below this lunar disk, there can be no doubt that a conjunction of sun and moon is represented, with Khensu in the new moon although figured in the disk. According to the celebrated stele of the Possessed Princess, an image of Khensu, "the great god, driver away of possessors," was transported from Egypt to Bekhten (supposed to be Assyria) for the purpose of curing Bent-Reshet = Daughter-of-joy, who was "in the condition of being under (the control of) a spirit." She is described as a princess of Bekhten and the "little sister" of the queen of Egypt, and is doubtless conceived as suffering from some mental disorder. The evil spirit is dispossessed by the god himself as the inhabitant of the image; and the god returns to Egypt in the form of a golden hawk, while the image is not sent back till some time later (*Records of the Past*, IV, pp. 53-56; N. S., III, pp. 217-220; Budge, *Gods*, II, pp. 38, 41). The whole story has been shown to be a fiction of the priests (A. Ermun, in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 1883, pp. 53-60); and while its notations of years may have historical connections, there can be little doubt that the months and days belong to the course of the moon through nine calendar (solar) months of thirty days each—from the first new moon after the spring equinox to the full moon after the winter solstice in the sacred calendar—these nine months corresponding to the gestational period which the ancients often associated with the moon or some lunar figure, and over which Khensu ruled (see Budge, *Gods*, II, p. 35). Thus the journey of the image (and god) begins on the first of the month Paschons or Khensu (as fixed by the new moon) and occupies one year and five months (to the 1st of Paophi); the god's stay in Bekhten is for three years and some months and days (the translations differ), and the arrival of the image at home is assigned to the 19th of Mecheir (at the full moon after the winter solstice). Leaving the years out of the reckoning and assuming that this arrival was at the beginning of Mecheir 19, we have eighteen days in excess of nine lunar months of twenty-eight days each for its absence from Egypt, or exactly nine calendar (solar) months of thirty days each—which probably accounts for the date assigned to the arrival at home. The princess is evidently cured shortly

after the 1st of Paophi, the close of which coincided with the autumn equinox in the sacred calendar (see Plutarch, *De Iside*, 52). Paophi therefore corresponds to the last month of the summer half of the year outside of Egypt; whence it would appear that the princess was possessed of the demon of the summer thunderstorm (of Western Asia, as storms are practically unknown in Egypt): and there can be little doubt that she originally represented the moon as under the control of the lunar god Khensu.

Assyria and Syria were frequently confused in ancient times, and there is a close similarity between the word Khensu (Greek Chons) and the native name of Phœnicia, Kna (Greek Chna; Hebrew Canaan); in connection with which we may notice that Origen (*Contra Cels.*, VIII, 58 and 59) preserves some of the names of Egyptian demons as known in the second century A. D., including Chnoumen (for Khnumu or Khnemu), Chna-chnoumen and Knat (apparently a feminine form of Kna). It is therefore not improbable that some supposed Bekhten to be Syria or Phœnicia or the Syro-Phœnicia of the Roman Empire, and that the legend of the Possessed Princess directly or indirectly suggested the Gospel story in which Jesus cures the possessed daughter of a woman who is a Greek Syro-Phœnician (Mark) or Canaanite (Matthew). The Gospel story appears only in Mark (vii. 24-30) and Matthew (xv. 21-28), the version in the former presumably being the earlier. Mark refers to the possessed girl as the "little daughter" of the Syro-Phœnician woman (cf. the possessed princess as the "little sister" of the queen of Egypt), and says she "had a spirit unclean." The mother asked Jesus to "cast forth the demon out of her daughter," who was at a distance, at home; and Jesus finally told the mother that it had gone forth, which of course proved true. In the Sinaitic Palimpsest (the oldest extant manuscript of the canonical Gospels) we find Mark's woman as a widow—as if for the earth-mother after the death of the father-sun in autumn or winter—and in all probability the "little daughter" was originally the moon, as in the case of the possessed princess.

A god is sometimes referred to as a demon in Homer (*Il.*, XVII, 98, 99, etc.), while in Baruch iv. 7, and in 1 Cor. x. 20, the heathen gods are demons (cf. the Sept. of Ps. xcvi. 5, where "all the gods of the heathen are demons"). Herodotus quotes a certain Greek as saying: "Ye Scythians laugh at us because we celebrate the Bacchanals, and the god (*θεός*) possesses us; but now the same demon (*οὗτος ὁ δαίμων*) has taken possession of your king, for he celebrates the Bacchanals and is made raging mad by the god"

(IV, 79). In later Greek times a demon became an intermediate being, a messenger between gods and men, like the original angel (= messenger; Heb. *malak*; Sept. and N. T. ἄγγελος); and it was held that these demons were the spirits of the dead, inhabiting the air—one class being good and another evil, the latter inflicting diseases upon men (cf. the good and evil spirits in the story of Saul). But all demons were held to be evil by Greco-Jewish writers at the beginning of the Christian era. Thus Josephus says that demons "are no other than the spirits of the wicked, which enter into men that are alive, and kill them unless they can obtain some help against them" (*Bell. Jud.*, VII, 6, 3); and he tells us that he saw a Jewish exorcist draw out demons through the nostrils (as breath-



From a MS in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. 13th century. (Didron, *Ann.*, Vol. I, p. 75.)



From Anglo-Saxon MS. Brit. Museum. Early 11th cent. (Wright, *Hist. of Car. and Grot. in Lit. and Art.*, p. 56.)

SATAN AS A DEMON.

ing-places) of possessed persons, by means of a talismanic ring: some of these demons upsetting a basin of water in proof of having left their victims (*Antiq.*, VIII, 2, 5). For the same reason a demon throws down a statue upon being expelled from a young man by Apollonius of Tyana (Philostrat., *Vit. Apollon.*, IV, 20), and this miracle-working contemporary of Jesus is said to have put an end to a plague at Ephesus by discovering the cause of it, a demon that had taken the guise of an old beggar, who was stoned to death and found to be a huge beast in the form of a dog (*ibid.*, IV, 10). The New Testament demons are always evil or "unclean"; and although the word devil (διάβολος) is there employed only as an epithet of

Satan (except in John vi. 70), nevertheless the demons finally became identified with the devils or evil angels—whence δαίμων and δαιμόνιον are rendered “devil” in the A. V. (cf. Acts x. 38, where Jesus is said to have healed “all that were being oppressed by the devil”—διάβολος).

In Is. xxxv, possessed persons are not included among those to be cured in the Messianic kingdom, nor is there anything of the expulsion of evil spirits in the Old Testament except in the case of Saul. Nevertheless, a Messiah like Jesus could hardly be conceived without including mental diseases among those cured by him. Buddha puts “all darkness to flight” at his birth, so “the blind see, the deaf hear and the demented are restored to reason” (*Lalita Vistara*, I, 76). In the presence of Apollonius, certain Brahmins wrote a threatening letter to a demon which was the spirit of a soldier killed in battle, and thus dispossessed it from a boy at a distance whom it was wont to drive into desert places (*Philostrat., Vit. Apollon.*, III, 38). Jesus cast out demons from many persons, according to Mark i. 32, 34, 39; iii. 11; Luke iv. 36, 41; vi. 18; Matt. viii. 16 and iv. 24—in the last cited text a distinction being made between those ordinarily possessed by demons (= mad persons) and epileptics or “lunatics” (σεληνιαζομένους, in accordance with the Greek belief that epileptics were moonstruck—*Lucan, Tox.*, 24, the same authority ascribing the malady to possession by demons in *Philopseud.*, 16, as do *Isidor., Orig.*, IV, 7, and *Manetho*, IV, 81, 216). Jesus also gave the twelve Apostles power to cast out demons (Mark iii. 15; vi. 7, 13; Luke ix. 1; x. 17, 20; Matt. x. 1, 8); but there is nothing of this class of cures in the Gospel of John, probably because the reputed expulsion of evil spirits had become too commonplace when and where that Gospel was written (about 125 A. D., some suppose at Ephesus, others at Alexandria). Thus, about a century later Celsus compares the miracles of Jesus to the tricks of magicians “and the feats of those who have been taught by Egyptians, who, in the middle of the market-place and for a few obols, will impart the knowledge of their most venerated arts, and will expel demons from men, and dispel diseases,” etc. (*Origen, Contra Cels.*, I, 68).

It was generally held by the Greeks, Jews, and Egyptians that at the death of a human being, whether good or bad, the spirit descended into the underworld. The Greeks conceived of no resurrection; that of the later Jews was assigned to the Messianic kingdom, and the Egyptians believed that righteous souls arose into the celestial regions like the sun, while the wicked were annihi-

lated in the underworld. Thus with the generality of Jews and Greeks the underworld ("the abyss" of Luke viii. 31) is the proper residence of demons as identified with the spirits of sinful men; and in a previous article of this series it was suggested that the underworld terra firma is represented by "the country of the Gadarenes" where Jesus cured "a man with an unclean spirit, who had his dwelling in the tombs," and who was not permitted to leave that country after being cured—according to Mark v. 1-20. This man was a raging maniac—"and not even with chains was any one able to bind him, because he often had been bound with fetters and chains, and the chains had been torn asunder, and the fetters had been shattered, and no one was able to subdue him. And continually night and day in the mountains and in the tombs he was crying and cutting himself with stones. And having seen Jesus from afar, he ran and did homage to him, and crying with a loud voice, he said, What to me and to thee, Jesus (A. V., 'What have I to do with thee, Jesus'), son of God the most high? I adjure thee, by God, not to torment me. For he (Jesus) was saying to him (or rather, to the spirit in him), Come forth, the spirit, the unclean, out of the man. And he asked him (the spirit), What is thy name? And he answered, saying, Legion is my name, because we are many. And he (the spirit) besought him (Jesus) much that he would not send them (the legion of spirits) out of the country. Now there was there, just at the mountains, a great herd of swine feeding, and all the demons besought him (Jesus), saying, Send us into the swine, that we may enter into them. And immediately Jesus permitted them (to do so). And having gone out (of the man) the unclean spirits entered into the swine, and the herd rushed down the steep into the sea—now they were about two thousand—and they were choked (i. e., drowned) in the sea." (This is quite inconsistent with the statement that the spirits had asked to be sent into the swine, of course as their future habitations.) And the man who had been "possessed by demons" is shortly found sitting with Jesus, "clothed and of sound mind."

The confused assimilation of a single demon to a legion in this story appears to have been suggested by the Assyrian concept of possession by seven such spirits simultaneously; and the two thousand swine doubtless correspond to the number of demons that entered them—each of the ten cohorts of a Roman military legion thus being recognized as composed of two hundred men, while in the *Book of Enoch* (VI, 6) the number of the fallen angels (= evil spirits or demons) is two hundred. Luke has substantially the

same story as Mark, but omits the number of the swine (viii. 28-39), while Matthew's version is much abbreviated and with two men "possessed by demons" that go into the herd of swine, the number of which is omitted (cf. the two blind men, *ibid.* ix. 27, and xx. 30, as against one in the parallel stories of Mark and Luke).

In one of the later Egyptian views of the wicked dead, the *khu* or luminous spirit returns to its original source while the soul is punished for ages between earth and heaven; at times being buffeted by the storms; again, seeking alleviation from its torments by entering the body of a man or animal, driving it to madness (Sayce, *Rel. Anc. Eg. and Bab.*, p. 69). Swine are proverbially unclean in ancient as in modern literature, and Horapollon says that among the Egyptian symbols a hog signified "a filthy man" (*Hieroglyph.*, II, 37); while on the sarcophagus of Seti I in the London Soane Museum is depicted an ape (a storm-cloud figure and one of the punitive agents of the underworld), who is "chasing away with a stick a soul fresh from the Hall of Judgment, but already turned into a swine" (Bonwick, *Eg. Bel.*, p. 64 and illustration in Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 189). In a Babylonian inscription one of the gods says: "The spirits of the earth I made grope like swine in the hollows" (*West. Asiatic Inscrip.*, II, 19, 49b). At the Greek Thesmophoria, an autumn festival in memory of Persephone's descent into the underworld, swine were thrown alive into caverns; the fable being that a herd of swine had been engulfed in the chasm through which Pluto bore Persephone (Pausan., I, 14, 2). Again, when the lunar eye of Horus was swallowed by



SCENE IN THE EGYPTIAN JUDGMENT HALL.*
(Budge, *Gods*, Vol. I, p. 189.)

*From the "Book of Pylons," Sixth Hour, as represented on the sarcophagus of Seti I.

Set, the latter had transformed himself into a black hog as a figure of the storm as well as of the night and underworld (*Book of the Dead*, CXII; the Theban Recension referring this deed to a mighty storm and "a blow of fire"—for lightning). All of which suggests that the swine of the Gospel story were originally storm-clouds, thus being appropriate habitations for "unclean spirits" who represented the raging winds of the underworld, which finally take the clouds into the underworld sea. In the view of not being permitted to leave the country after his cure, the man of the story appears to be merely one of the dead in the underworld; but in all probability he originally represented the sun—Matthew substituting two men as if for the sun and moon.

In Mark i. 23-27 and Luke iv. 33-36 (but not in Matthew), Jesus at Capernaum drives an unclean spirit out of a man who was probably an epileptic, for he was thrown into convulsions as the spirit came forth—according to Mark. In Mark ix. 17-29, Luke ix. 38-42, and Matt. xvii. 14-21, Jesus expels an unclean spirit or demon from a certain man's son who is obviously epileptic ("from childhood," according to Mark); the Disciples previously having failed to effect this cure (just as a widow's son was restored to life by Elisha after his disciple had failed in the attempt—2 Kings iv. 31-35). Matthew alone says of this boy, "...he is lunatic" (i. e., epileptic—see above), while only in the extant text of Mark is he represented as dumb and deaf, an idea that probably had no place in the original story. Nevertheless, the Assyrians and Babylonians sometimes recognized special evil spirits for the several parts of the human body (*Jastrow, Rel. Bab. and Assyr.*, p. 262, ed. 1898). And thus in Luke xi. 14-21, Jesus expels a demon "and it was dumb"; he cures "a dumb man possessed by a demon" in Matt. ix. 32-34, while *ibid.* xii. 22-28, he cures a person "possessed by a demon, blind and dumb."

In connection with the three last accounts we find Jesus accused of casting out demons by "the chief (*ἀρχων*) of the demons," who is called Beelzeboul in Matt. xii. 24 and Luke xi. 15, and who is evidently "the chief in (or 'of') the rule of the air, the spirit that now works in the sons of disobedience" in Eph. ii. 2. According to Mark iii. 21-30, the friends of Jesus said: "He is without his mind (*ἐξέστη*). And the scribes who came down from Jerusalem said, Beelzeboul he has, and (they also said), By the chief of the demons he casts out demons"—Beelzeboul here apparently being identified with Satan (verses 23, 26; cf. Matt. x. 25). In the Syriac Peshito, Vulgate, and A. V. we find "Beelzebub" instead of "Beel-

zeboul"; and the latter name, which appears nowhere outside of the Gospel texts cited, is doubtless a variant of Baal-zebub (= Baal-of-flies or Lord-of-flies), an oracular deity of the Philistines (2 Kings i. 2, 3, 16). He was perhaps so called from the flies that gathered around sacrifices offered to him; the insects being identified as demons by some (cf. the gadfly that drove Io and Pegasus to madness). According to Luke xi. 19, 20, Jesus asked: "And if I by Beelzeboul cast out the demons, by whom do your sons cast them out? . . . But if by the finger of God I cast out the demons, then is come upon you the kingdom of God." The accusation that Jesus was possessed of an evil spirit or demon is a favorite one in John (vii. 20; viii. 48-52; x. 20; the last text reading: "A demon



ANCIENT PHILISTINE SEAL

Supposed to represent Beelzebub, probably as a storm-god holding two cloud-apes. (From De Hass, *Travels in Bible Lands*, p. 424.)

he (Jesus) has and is maniacal"—*μαίβεται*). John the Baptist also is accused of having a demon (Matt. xi. 18; Luke vii. 33), and Satan is said to have entered into Judas when he betrayed Jesus (Luke xxii. 3; John xiii. 27—cf. 2 and vi. 70). Hermes Trismegistus called the Devil or Satan the ruler of the demons and identified the latter with the fallen angels, according to Lactantius (*Div. Inst.*, II, 15-16).

In Acts, many unclean spirits are cast out by the Apostles (v. 6 and 12), and by Philip (viii. 7); while Paul, in the name of Jesus Christ, expels "a spirit of Python" from a damsel who gained much for her masters by divining (xvi. 16-18; for the serpent Python killed by the oracular Apollo at Delphi finally gave its name to any demon of divination—Hesychius, s. v. *Python*, etc.). Again in Acts xix. 11-16, Paul expels "wicked spirits" in the name of Jesus, while certain Jewish exorcists fail to do likewise. Among

those exorcists were the seven sons of a high priest Skeuas (A. V. Sceva); and when all seven, or only two of them (as some manuscripts indicate) attempted to expel a spirit from a certain man in a house, the spirit not only refused to recognize their authority, but the man himself leapt upon them and overpowered them, "so that naked and wounded they escaped out of that house." (For the reading that indicates two instead of seven exorcists as thus overpowered, see Lange's *Commentary, in loc.*) It is quite probable that this story is a mere variant of some myth of the defeat of the seven planetary gods or angels by the mad cosmic man during a storm in the celestial house of the upper hemisphere; all seven planetary figures being defeated in one view, while only the sun and moon are included in another. Thus in the *Bundahish* the ringleaders of the demons in the celestial conflict are definitely said to be the seven planets (XXVIII, 43, 44); while in the *Book of Enoch* the chief leaders of the rebellious and fallen angels who were cast out of heaven (XV, 3; LXIX, 4, etc.) are the "seven stars" imprisoned in the underworld (XVIII, 13-16). And among the allusions to the cosmic battle of Chap. XVII, *Book of the Dead*, Saïte Recension, it is said of Shu (Light or Space as answering to our atmosphere) that "the rebel's sons are against him. . . . The night for the fight is when they arrive at the eastern part of the sky: then there is battle in heaven and in the whole world" (48). And again (*ibid.*, 8) we read that Shu "has annihilated the children of rebellion in the City-of-the-Eight" (Hermopolis on earth, but probably also for the upper hemisphere with eight cardinal points).

There are many cures of demoniacs in the apocryphal Gospels and Acts, some of which appear to include concepts from the nature mythos. Thus the three-year old son of an Egyptian priest was "beset by several demons," so that he raved and tore off his clothes and threw stones at people. Entering a hospital, "his usual disease having come upon him," he there found the Virgin Mary drying the cloths of the infant Jesus, after having washed them; and when the demonized boy put one of these cloths on his head, "the demons, fleeing in the shape of ravens and serpents, began to go forth out of his mouth," and he was "immediately healed at the command of the Lord Christ" (*Infancy*, 10, 11—the cloths apparently representing the infant sun-god's apparel of light that drives away the storm-winds and dark clouds, the latter often being conceived as dragons or serpents). Apollonius of Tyana cured a young man who had been bitten by a mad dog, and who was running on all fours, barking and howling; the cure being effected through the in-

strumentality of the dog, which was tamed and made to lick the young man's wound (Philostrat., *Vit. Apollon.*, VI, 43). In *Infancy* we find Judas Iscariot as a boy "tormented by Satan,"—and "as often as Satan seized him, he used to bite all who came near him; and if he found no one near him, he used to bite his own hands and other limbs. . . . And the demoniac Judas came up, and sat down at the right hand of (the child) Jesus: then, being attacked by Satan in the same manner as usual, he (Judas) wished to bite the Lord Jesus, but was not able; nevertheless he struck Jesus on the right side, whereupon he (Jesus) began to weep. And immediately Satan went forth out of that boy, fleeing like a mad dog, . . . in the shape of a dog" (*ibid.*, 35—where the weeping Jesus appears to have the character of the youthful sun-god in a rain storm, with Judas for the cosmic man whose madness is caused by Satan in form of a mad dog, probably for the Dog Star as the ruler of the "dog days" of midsummer). In ancient as in modern times the excessive heat of the "dog days" has been recognized as the cause of the midsummer canine madness (properly not including hydrophobia); and the dog days, some forty in number, were supposed to be ruled by the bright star Sirius (= Glittering or Scorching) when it rose heliacally at or about the time of the summer solstice. In all probability it was from the association of this star with the dog days that it was called the Dog Star by the Greeks and Romans and sometimes by the Babylonians and Egyptians (Allen, *Star Names*, pp. 120-129); while it is equally probable that as the Dog Star it gave the name and figure of a dog to the constellation in which it is found. Manilius refers to this constellation (Canis Major) as if it suffered from madness at the summer solstice as anciently in the zodiacal sign of Leo:

"But when the Lion's gaping jaws aspire (breathe violently)
The dog appears, and foams unruly fire.

.

To other climates beast and birds retire,
And feverish nature burns in her own fire."

And of the Dog Star itself at this time:

"His rising beams presage
Ungoverned fury and unruly rage,
A flaming anger, universal hate."
(*Astron.*, V, 12; Creech's trans.)

In Luke xiii. 11-17 (and there only) we have the cure of a possessed woman who is conceived as suffering from a forward

curvature of the spine; apparently without paralysis, but doubtless with impairment of mind. This seems to be the affliction known to the Greek physicians as *lordosis* (from *λορδός* = "bent forward or inward," as of the crescent moon, etc., and opposed to *ἰβός* = "bent outward or backward," Latin *gibbus*, as of a hunchback, etc., whence our "gibbous moon"); and the Greeks had a demon *Lordon* (from *λορδός*, apparently *in sensu obsceno*), who is mentioned as early as the fifth century B. C. by Plato Comicus and the physician Phaon (*De Salub. Vict. Rat.*, II, 17). This demon *Lordon* appears to be represented by the "spirit of infirmity" in Luke's story, which is as follows: "And behold, there was a woman having a spirit of infirmity eighteen years, and she was bent together (*συγκύπτουσα*) and unable to raise herself wholly. And seeing her, Jesus called to her, and said, Woman, thou hast been loosed from thine infirmity. And he laid his hands upon her, and immediately she was made straight, and glorified God. . . . (And Jesus said,) And this woman, being a daughter of Abraham (i. e., a Jewess), whom Satan has bound. lo, eighteen years, should not she be loosed on the sabbath day?"

A supposed prophecy of a cure of this kind was probably recognized in Ps. cxlvi. 8—"The Lord openeth the eyes of the blind: the Lord raiseth them that are bowed (or 'bent') down" (Sept. "sets up the broken down"; cf. cxlv. 14); but the cure itself as found was doubtless derived from the current nature mythos. In the *Vishnu Purana* (V, 20), it is related that Krishna, proceeding along a road with Balarama, met a young girl called Kubja (= Bent or Crooked) carrying a pot of unguent of which she gave freely to them: and after they had anointed themselves, Krishna worked on the girl with his hands and "made her straight," so she became "a most beautiful woman." (In the parallel story in the *Bhagavata Purana*, X, she is called Trivakra = Triply-deformed.) Again, in the *Ramayana* we find a hundred girls similarly bent (I, 34). They were the beautiful daughters of King Kusanabha, and were loved by the wind-god, whom they repulsed; wherefore in his "mighty rage" he sent a blast upon each of them, which "bowed and bent" them, so they were "bent double"—whence their father's city was named Kanyakubja (= Of-the-Bent-Virgins). But they were cured and restored to beauty by another king, Brahma-datta (= Given-by-Brahma), when he took their hands in his (apparently all at the same time); and finally he married all of them.

In all probability the original bent female was the crescent moon, which the sun-god restores to its perfect fulness (gradually.

in the Krishna story) by means of his rays of light conceived as arms with their hands; in fact, one of the names of the moon in Norse mythology is Skialgr = Bent, while the lunar crescent is the bow of Artemis-Diana (Homer, *Il.*, XXI, 483, etc.). Kubja, whom the solar Krishna restored, is represented as a maid-servant of the wicked Kansa (as a night figure) who is finally killed by Krishna; and the hundred girls of the *Ramayana* were probably suggested by the multiplicity of moons restored as time goes by. Regarding Luke's eighteen years for his woman's infirmity, they perhaps represent an original period of fourteen days for the crescent moon; and in all probability Luke's period, as we have it, was suggested by the Babylonian eighteen-year cycle of lunar eclipses (for which see R. Brown, *Primitive Constellations*, I, p. 323).

What appears to be an ancient Greek version of the cure of the bent lunar figure is found in connection with the fabulous account of the birth of Demaratus, King of Sparta. The name of his mother is unknown, but Herodotus tells us that she was the third wife of Ariston and deformed as an infant. Her nurse carried her every day to a temple of the goddess Helena (herself a lunar figure), who stroked the child and said that she would surpass all the Spartan women in beauty; whereupon her appearance immediately began to change. In the bloom of her womanhood she became the mother of Demaratus, not by Ariston, but by a specter which was identified as that of the hero Astrabacus (Herod., V, 61 and 69). This obscure hero or demi-god was probably a solar figure; for according to another legend he and his brother Alopecus became mad at the sight of a statue of (the lunar) Artemis Orthia which they found in a bush (Pausan., III, 16, 5).

The mythic fever belongs primarily to the hot summer season; the storms of that season (in most lands) naturally being identified with the delirium or frenzy (Greek *φρενίτις*, literally "heated-mind") that accompanies fever of the acute type in human beings. Of course, the sun was generally recognized as the cause or source of the mythic fever that affects not only the earth, but the whole cosmos; and the sun-god himself was sometimes conceived as suffering from this fever. Thus the Egyptian destruction of nearly all of mankind (corresponding to that of the Biblical Deluge) is evidently the result of the heat and drought that are brought to an end by Ra's beneficent act of pouring out the waters over the fields (referring to the Nile inundation, beginning at the summer solstice). This destruction of men is to punish them for murmuring against Ra because he has grown old and weak (at the close of the Egyptian

year); and he says, "The pain of burning heat (i. e., fever) of sickness hath come upon me. . . . For the first time my limbs have lost their power" (Budge, *Gods*, I, p. 366).

In the burning heat of summer we doubtless have the primary suggestion for the belief that the universe will be destroyed by fire, which was held by Heraclitus and the Stoics: some of the ancients supposing that a destruction by fire would alternate from time to time with one by water. Thus the Chaldean Berosus is said to have assigned the next destruction by fire to a time when a conjunction of all the planets occurs in Cancer (the sign of the summer solstice about 2000-1 B. C.), while a like conjunction in Capricorn (the sign of the winter solstice in the same precessional period) will mark the succeeding destruction by water (Seneca, *Nat. Quaest.*, III, 29). And some of the Jews and early Christians, accepting the Biblical Deluge as the last destruction of the past, believed that the next would be by fire (2 Peter iii. 10; *Sibyl. Orac.*, II, 195-198; V, 510-531; VII, 115-121; Lactant., *Div. Inst.*, VII, 18).

During the precessional period of about 4000-2000 B. C. the summer solstice fell in Leo, the original constellation of that sign doubtless having been conceived as a lion because of the fierce and murderous heat of the tropic midsummer; and after the solstice had retrograded into the house of Cancer, the constellated Lion was removed into that house, where we still have it. According to Ælian (*Nat. An.*, XII, 7), the Egyptians assigned the fore part of the lion to fire and the hind part to water (for the Nile inundation); and he also says that the lion was sacred to Vulcan (as the god of fire). The Dog Star rose heliacally at or about the time of the summer solstice, as we saw above, and Homer says that it brings "fiery heat (*πυρετός*) upon miserable mortals" (*Il.*, XXII, 31—*πυρετός* being the usual Greek word for fever, as in the New Testament); Hesiod tells us that "the season of the Dog Star's reign weakens the nerves and burns the brain of man" (*Op. et Dies*, II, 270-271), and Manilius has it that "feverish nature burns in her own fire. . . . the earth's low entrails burn" during the reign of the constellated Dog and Lion (*Astron.*, V, 12). According to Pliny the eating of a lion's heart will cure a quartan fever (*H. N.*, XXXIII, 25—probably because Regulus, the chief star of Leo, was called "the Lion's Heart," by Greeks and Romans), and Horapollo says of the Egyptians that, "when they would denote a feverish man who cures himself, they depict a lion devouring an ape, for if, when in a fever, he devours an ape, he recovers" (*Hieroglyph.*, II, 76—as probably suggested by some mythic association of the feverish solar lion with the ape

as a symbol of the storm-cloud). Various heroes and athletes are fabled to have been lion-killers, whence doubtless arose the belief that some of them cured fevers, operating through their statues after death. Thus the hero Polydamus, who killed a lion on Mt. Olympus, had a statue at Olympia that cured fever-stricken patients—according to Lucian, who adds that a statue of the athlete Theagenes in Thasos did the same (*Deor. Concil.*, 12; cf. Pausan., VI, 11, 3, where it is said that Theagenes, a son of the lion-killing Heracles, “healed men of their diseases”). Lucian also gives us (at least partially from his imagination) an account of an animated statue that cured a certain Pelichus of “a third relapse in a quotidian fever” (*Philopseud.*, 17). The Romans had a goddess Febris = Fever, who was the averter of fever (Val. Max., II, 5, 6; Cic., *De Leg.*, II, 11; *De Nat. Deor.*, III, 25, etc.). The *Ayeen Akbery* specifies *fever* as the punishment for killing an innocent person in a former life on earth (p. 445); while in Deut. xxviii. 22, among the curses to be sent by God for disobedience we find three progressive orders of fever: *qaddachath* = burning (A. V. “fever”), *dalleqeth* = fiery burning (A. V. “inflammation”), and *charchur* = intense burning (A. V. “extreme burning”).

There is no typical fever cure in the Old Testament, and no prophecy of such a cure for the Messianic kingdom; nor do the New Testament group statements of the many persons cured by Jesus include fever. Nevertheless, in all three Synoptics we find Simon Peter's mother-in-law cured of fever by Jesus, the original account presumably being that of Mark i. 29-33, where we read: “And immediately having gone forth out of the synagogue (where a demoniacal man was cured), they (apparently Jesus, Simon, and Andrew) came into the house of Simon and Andrew, with James and John. And the mother-in-law of Simon was lying in a fever. And immediately they speak to him (Jesus) about her. And having come to her, he raised her up, having taken her hand. And the fever left her immediately, and she ministered to them. And evening being come, when the sun went down, they brought to him (Jesus) all that were sick,” etc. In Luke's abbreviated account, which also follows the cure of the demoniac in the synagogue, the febrine disorder is a “great fever,” and Jesus stood over Simon's mother-in-law and “rebuked the fever, and it left her” (iv. 38, 39—the violent fever doubtless here being identified with a demon as the cause of delirium). Matthew follows Mark in a much abbreviated form; substitutes “Peter” for “Simon,” and puts the account in a different place in the Gospel narrative (viii. 14, 15).

In former articles of this series reasons were set forth for concluding that Peter (Petros), as the first Apostle and a fisherman, was recognized by some of the earliest Christians as the Opener (like the Egyptian Ptah and Petra), thence being conceived by some as a figure of Pisces (the Fishes). The Greek and Roman astrologers assigned their twelve great gods to the zodiac in pairs, with a male and female in opposite signs—of course as generally paired by marriage, etc. Thus in the scheme of the gods and the signs on some Greek monuments we find Poseidon in Pisces and Demeter in Virgo (De Clarac, *Musée*, II, Plate 171; Guignaut, Plate 68, fig. 252); the same allotments being given by Manilius to the corresponding Roman divinities, Neptune and Ceres (*Astron.* II, 26). The zodiacal Peter therefore corresponds to Poseidon or Neptune, and his wife to Demeter or Ceres; and Virgo is the only woman in the zodiac, while Peter is the only married Apostle in the New Testament (a definite mention of his wife being found in 1 Cor. ix. 5—cf. *Clementine Recognitions*, VII, 25, and Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.*, VII, 11, etc.). Thus it appears that Peter's mother-in-law is a mythic counterpart of the earth-mother Rhea, mythology making Kronos and Rhea the parents of both Poseidon and Demeter (Hesiod, *Theog.*, 452, etc.); and there can be little or no doubt that the Gospel story under consideration was suggested by the cure of the earth-mother's fever at the close of the hot season. Virgo was anciently a summer sign, into which the autumn equinox retrograded at about the beginning of the Christian era. As connected with the day and night as well as with the summer season, the mythic fever was naturally represented as cured at sunset, which in all probability suggested the Gospel allusions to the coming of the evening and the setting of the sun immediately after the cure (in Mark and Luke; only the coming of the evening reappearing in Matthew). Moreover, at the beginning of autumn, Pisces rises at sunset; or in mythical language the zodiacal Peter, with other Apostles (or signs), comes into the upper hemisphere as the house of the earth-mother, which is also that of the setting Virgo. But as Virgo immediately sets, Peter's wife is not introduced in the Gospel story, where Peter is necessarily accompanied by Jesus as the worker of the miracle, and naturally also by the Apostles already chosen.

The Greeks generally identified Demeter with the Egyptian Isis (Herod., III, 156), who was probably a lunar figure originally (as in Plutarch, *De Iside*, 52); but she was also identified with the earth-mother (Plut., *ibid.*, 56, etc.), and sometimes with Sirius.

the Dog Star, the Egyptian Sept (in Greek, Sothis—*ibid.*, 22, 61; Diod., I, 27). Thus if referred to Egyptian mythology, Peter's mother-in-law is a counterpart of Nut, the heaven-goddess (whose fever of course belongs to the hot season), while his wife is a counterpart of Isis as the moon, earth, Virgo, or Sirius—that star in one view being the cause of the summer fever. But in another view the cause or producer of the fever would be Set or Typhon, who was sometimes recognized as a figure of the summer sun—as such being “of a scorching nature” and representing “everything dry and fiery,” according to Plutarch (*De Iside*, 33, 41, etc.—cf. the fever of Peter's mother-in-law as identified with a demon in Luke).

The Capernaum nobleman's son of John iv. 47-52, appears to be the same as the paralytic servant of the centurion in Matt. viii. 5-12, and Luke vii. 1-10; the statements that the latter was “grievously tormented” (Matthew) and “about to die” (Luke, followed by John) apparently having suggested John's addition of the fever, which left the boy in the same hour, the seventh, that Jesus had pronounced him cured from a distance. In Acts vii. 8, Paul cures the father of a certain Publius of fevers and dysentery by the laying on of hands. In the *Gospel of the Infancy* (29) we find two wives of one man, each with a son suffering from fever at the same time; one of the women being named Mary, while her son is Cleopas (cf. Luke xxiv. 18; John xix. 25). Mary cures Cleopas by dressing him in a shirt made of one of the infant Christ's bandages; but the son of the other woman dies, so in her jealous hatred she first puts Cleopas in a very hot oven and afterward throws him into a well. He is found laughing and unharmed in the former, and equally unharmed in the latter, sitting on the water; the wicked woman herself finally falling into the well where she is drowned. Sike, in a note in his edition of *Infancy*, compares this to a story from Kessæus, in which the child Moses is put in an oven for safe-keeping by his mother when she leaves home, a fire being kindled under the oven by the child's sister, not knowing he is there; but he is not only unharmed, but thereby saved from the officers of Pharaoh who come seeking him. Both stories were probably suggested primarily by the concept of the summer sun in the hot oven of the upper hemisphere, with the sky as the father and the earth as the mother of the fevered solar child; the well in *Infancy* being a counterpart of the underworld sea or earth-surrounding ocean, while the boy who dies is a mere duplication of Cleopas, probably being conceived as killed by the cosmic fever at the summer solstice.

THE INTERMENT OF JESUS.

BY WM. WEBER.

THE New Testament contains five accounts of the burial of Jesus. Four of them are the well-known Joseph of Arimathæa pericope which occurs in each of the four Gospels. The fifth is found in John xix. 31-34.

The attention of scholars has always been attracted by the first four narratives, while the fifth passage has been generally overlooked. The method prevailing among laymen, by which it is expected to establish the historical truth may be described as follows. The four Gospels, it is taken for granted, contain the reports of four different eye-witnesses. These have been impressed in different degrees by different phases of the events they record. All we have to do in order to make sure of what actually happened, is to combine all the features of all the accounts of a given event into one composite picture.

But from the very beginning of Bible criticism, a very marked and close relationship of the sections common to the first three Gospels was noticed and has induced scholars since Griesbach and Neander to distinguish those Gospels from the last by the adjective "Synoptic." Their parallel passages agree to such an extent in construction as well as in vocabulary as if not three writers, but one and the same person were speaking. Moreover, the author of the third Gospel states directly (Luke i. 1-4) that he is not an eye-witness but a collector and editor of manuscripts that were in circulation when he formed the plan of composing out of them his Gospel.

Therefore, the pericopes common to the Synoptics or to all four Gospels, may be after all not independent reports of four individual narrators, but only different revisions of originally one written account. Whosoever desires to ascertain the real facts of the life of Jesus thus, has first of all to make sure of the mutual relationship of the accounts from which he derives his information.

In the case of the Joseph of Arimathæa episode the task is not very difficult. It is easy enough to remove quite a number of later

additions to the text; and the oldest versions within our reach can be proved to have read as follows:

MATT.	MARK	LUKE	JOHN
When it got late, a man, Joseph of Arimathæa by name, went to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus. And Joseph took the body and wrapped him down in a linen cloth and laid it in a linen cloth and hewn out in the rock.	When it got late, as it was "preparation," Joseph of Arimathæa went in to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus. And he took down the body of Jesus. And he took him in a sepulcher of the rock. And which had been hewn out of a rock.	A man, Joseph of Arimathæa by name, went to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus. And he took it down, wrapped it in a linen cloth and laid him in a sepulcher of the rock. And it was a day of "preparation," and the Sabbath began to shine.	Joseph of Arimathæa requested of Pilate that he might take down the body of Jesus. And he took and bound it with linen cloths. But there was in the place where he was crucified a tomb. There now on account of the "preparation," he laid Jesus.

1. The first change in Matt. is that from the received text: "There came a rich man from Arimathæa, named Joseph" to: "a man, Joseph of Arimathæa by name." According to the first version, Joseph would have come just at that moment from Arimathæa, which then must have been a place near Jerusalem. The proposed reading makes the man's name Joseph of Arimathæa in a similar way as, for instance, Jesus is called Jesus of Nazareth. That is supported by the testimony of the other three Gospels.

The adjectives "rich" before "man" (verse 57), "clean" before "linen cloth" (verse 59), and "his own new" before "tomb" (verse 60), have been dropped for the same reason, namely, because the other Gospels do not have these words. The last-mentioned addition to the text is closely connected with the first adjective. The student responsible for both glosses attempted to remove thereby the difficulty presented by the fact that Jesus was buried by Joseph of Arimathæa in a grave appropriated for that purpose without the owner's knowledge or consent. Neither Mark, Luke, nor John indicate that the tomb belonged to Joseph. From John xx. 15 we learn that Mary realized the unlawfulness of the burial of Jesus. She said to the supposed owner or manager of the garden: "Sir, if thou hast borne him hence, tell me where thou hast laid him, and I will take him away." The glossator of the Matt. text made Joseph of Arimathæa the owner of the grave and, as it was apparently a quite expensive burial-place, a rich man.

The relative clause: "who also himself was Jesus's disciple,"

Am. R. V., or as a literal translation would read: "who also himself was made a disciple by Jesus," is not vouched for by the other Synoptists. It is moreover a clumsy statement and can mean only: "who also was a personal disciple of Jesus." That indicates a rather late origin, a time when personal disciples had disappeared from the scene or, at least, had become very rare.

The reason why such an addition was made to the text is not far to seek. The early readers must have asked what induced Joseph of Arimathæa to undertake the burial of Jesus. His intention was apparently of a friendly nature. That suggested the idea of his having been a friend and disciple. After having eliminated so much of verse 57, also the words "there came" in the beginning of the verse and "this man" at the head of verse 58 have to be omitted.

The second sentence in verse 58: "Then Pilate commanded it to be given up," Am. R. V., is likewise a later insertion. Its character is revealed by the temporal adverb "then" which takes the place of the usual coordinate conjunction "and," as well as by the absence of the direct object of the infinitive. The Greek text simply says: "Then Pilate commanded to be given up." Such incomplete constructions are characteristic of glosses. As marginal, or inter-linear remarks, they are frequently abbreviated.

The next interpolation is the sentence: "And he rolled a great stone to the door of the tomb and departed." The Luke and John accounts do not contain that statement, and it is much easier to explain how that reference to the stone happened to come into the burial story than how it dropped out. The stone plays quite a part in all the resurrection narratives (Matt. xxviii. 2; xxvii. 66; Mark xvi. 3f; Luke xxiv. 2; John xx. 1). Any reader may have observed that nothing was said of that stone in the burial pericope and restored what he regarded as the original text.

The two words "and departed" have been treated as integral part of the stone incident. That assumption is based on the silence of all the parallel accounts as to the departure of Joseph. The words, however, mark clearly the end of the burial account. Hence when they were first added, the sentence: "But Mary Magdalene was there and the other Mary sitting over against the grave" cannot have been there. It must have been added afterward for the same reason as the reference to the stone. Mary Magdalene and the other Mary of verse 61 are identical with Mary Magdalene and the other Mary of xxviii. 1. They are in some way connected with Mary Magdalene and Mary, the mother of James and Joses, and the mother of the sons of Zebedee of xxvii. 56. Possibly lack of space

compelled the person responsible for the two Marys to omit the words in apposition to the second Mary as well as the third woman.

The awkward construction of the sentence betrays likewise its character. Why should the two women have been sitting opposite the grave after Joseph had left? Neither Mark nor Luke speak of such a vigil, and John does not mention any women at the burial. Another indication of verse 62 being a gloss is the Greek word for "grave." It is the same word as that used in xxviii. 1ff, while in the burial account proper a different noun is found.

2. Mark xv. 42, the clause: "that is, the day before the Sabbath" cannot have belonged to the original text. For that was written by a native of Palestine for readers of Jewish descent, who, as a matter of course, knew that "preparation" was their name for Friday, cp. Luke xxiii. 54. Also the Matt. account must have contained this word "preparation", probably in the same place where it is found in Mark, immediately after "when it got too late." For the term appears in the other Gospels and it turns up Matt. xxvii. 62.

Verse 43 the words "there came", "a councilor of honorable estate", "and he boldly" as well as the relative clause "who also himself was looking for the kingdom of God" have to be rejected as spurious. The words in apposition to Joseph of Arimathæa occur neither in Matt. nor in John. They are intended to explain why Joseph could dare to go to Pilate and ask him for the body of Jesus. But they do not belong to the common source. In the first Gospel a commentator tried to formulate the motive which induced Joseph to bury Jesus. The even more important question how a friend of Jesus could obtain his body, however, is not touched upon. The Mark commentator answers it by making of Joseph a councilor who by virtue of his position might call upon Pilate at any time and ask him for special favors.

But the Greek equivalent of "councilor" is found in the entire New Testament only here in Mark and the parallel Luke passage. It denotes a "councilor," or "senator," that is, a member of a body of lawgivers, judges, and administrators, such as that which Kleisthenes instituted at Athens, or as the senate at Rome. But we have no knowledge of a similar body of men at Jerusalem whose members are ever called "senators." The Gospels speak indeed of a "Synedrion"; but the men sitting in it are "the chief priests and the elders of the people," "the chief priests and the scribes," or "the chief priests and the Pharisees." The word "councilor," therefore, points to a Gentile, not to a Palestinian, author.

The clause: "who also himself was looking for the kingdom of

God" is clearly an attempt of establishing a strong bond of affection between Joseph and Jesus. But it is unsatisfactory because the doctrine of the kingdom of God was not a specifically Christian dogma. Jesus shared it with all the pious Jews of his age, including his mortal enemies, the Pharisees. There is indeed a difference between the Christian and the Jewish conception of the kingdom of God; yet that difference does not appear in the formula employed in our passage. Here again we are bound to discover the hand of a Gentile Christian. For a Jewish contemporary of Jesus could not have thought of explaining the devoted friendship of Joseph simply by referring to the Christian belief in the kingdom of God.

The words "there came" and "boldly" stand and fall with the appositive and the verb, just discussed. The verb was inserted to render the augmented sentence less clumsy; and "boldly," which is not supported by any of the other Gospels, confirms what has been said about the real meaning and purpose of the phrase "a councilor of honorable estate."

The passage verse 44-45 is unobjectionable in itself. The information given, while not important, fits into the situation. But, as none of the other Gospels mentions it, it must be classed as a later addition to the text. It is an attempt to enlarge and embellish the rather short account of the burial.

"And he bought a linen cloth" (verse 46) stands likewise alone in Mark. A man who wanted to inter Jesus if Pilate would grant such a request, would have had everything ready. For the lateness of the hour would not have permitted him to make any preparations after seeing the governor. I am also inclined to think that every decent family in Palestine, at that time, was always supplied with linen suitable for a shroud. Here again a tendency to enlarge on the source without any deeper purpose is to be noticed in Mark. Dropping this statement of verse 46, we are compelled to change the definite article into the indefinite one before "linen cloth" in verse 46.

The two sentences: "And he rolled a stone against the door of the tomb. And Mary Magdalene and Mary the [mother] of James beheld where he was laid" have been disposed of in discussing the parallel passage of Matt. The conclusion arrived at there, is also in Mark confirmed by lexicological evidence. Verse 46 two different Greek words for "tomb" are found. The second of them is the same as that used in the resurrection narrative (xvi. 1ff) in a similar way to what we observed in Matt. The source of verse 47 is verse 40: "Mary Magdalene, and Mary the mother of James

the less and of Joses, and Salome." But it was not taken directly from verse 40. For in that case it would be difficult to explain why Salome was not made a witness of the burial. The latter is named xvi. 1; and, therefore, this verse depends directly upon xv. 40.

The Greek words for "Mary the of James," xvi. 1, would mean in classical Greek: "Mary the daughter of James." But in our case the compiler evidently did not care to copy all the words from xv. 40; he was satisfied with only the first words that identify the second Mary there. The party who later on inserted verse 47 compared his gloss both with Matt. xxvii. 61 and Mark xv. 40 as well as xvi. 1. For he has only two women at the grave and calls the second "the of Joses," that is, the mother of the second son mentioned verse 40, so that xv. 47 and xvi. 1 together name the sons of the other Mary of xv. 40. The verbs of verse 47 have to be translated literally: "were beholding where he hath been laid." The author of the original story would hardly have written so.

3. Luke xxiii. 50f the whole passage: "who was a councilor, a good and righteous man—he had not consented to their counsel and deed—," as well as "a city of the Jews: who was looking for the kingdom of God" has to be discarded. The term "councilor" and the clause "who was looking for the kingdom of God" have been discussed in Mark. Also the appositive "a city of the Jews" needs no further explaining.

The entire first quoted passage betrays its character by the very position it is found in. It divides the name of Joseph of Arimathæa into two parts which in the nature of things form one indivisible whole. While it has to be rejected as an interpolation for that reason alone, it serves nevertheless a purpose of its own. The sepulture of Jesus involves, as we have seen, two distinct factors. It required, in the first place, a devoted friend of Jesus and, in the second place, a man who had influence with Pilate. Any author who knew what he was writing about would have brought out these two factors in their natural order. Assuming for a moment the statements now presented by our text to be an adequate expression of what he had in mind, he would have told us: "A good and righteous man, who had not consented to their counsel and deed, but who was looking for the kingdom of God, Joseph of Arimathæa, being a senator, went to Pilate and asked for the body of Jesus."

The above statements, however, not only are found in the wrong place but also fail to express the ideas they are intended to convey. Not to mention again the term for "councilor," the words "a good and righteous man" cannot be considered as synonymous with "a

Christian." At the time of the crucifixion many good and righteous men must have lived in Palestine that were not disciples of Jesus. The sentence: "He had not consented to their counsel and deed" interrupts the grammatical construction of the whole passage. Moreover, the mere fact that he was not involved as a partner in the crime of the chief priests and scribes does not stamp him as an active sympathizer of Jesus. The words in question predicate nothing but a passive, neutral attitude on his part. It would be different if we were told: "He had opposed their counsel and deed." After eliminating these insertions, we have to cross out also "this man" at the beginning of verse 52. For the subject Joseph of Arimathæa will stand again in its proper place immediately before the verb.

The assertion "where never man had yet lain" (verse 53) is not confirmed by the other Synoptists. It reminds us of the adjective "new" in Matt., although there is a difference between a new tomb and an unused tomb as appears also from John. The thought which called forth this addition to the text is probably that the Christians very early imagined the supreme miracle of the resurrection to have demanded a tomb never used before and, therefore, not defiled by the corpse of a sinner.

Verses 55f stand in the same relation to xxiv. 1 and xxiii. 49 as the two parallel passages in the preceding Gospels. The women are not named in Luke because they are nameless in xxiii. 49.

Verse 54 belongs undoubtedly to the original text. Its second half: "and the Sabbath drew on" causes some trouble in the Greek text. I should prefer to translate the latter: "and the Sabbath star began to shine." The Greek verb means "begin to shine" and may be used in that sense not only of the rising sun but also of the stars. The Old Testament day begins in the evening. Even at present, orthodox Jews may be seen watching the sky Friday night after sunset. As soon as the first star becomes visible Sabbath commences and all work stops.

4. John xix. 38, the purpose clause: "that he might take away the body of Jesus," Am. R. V., has to be rendered: "that he might take down the body of Jesus." "Take down," of course, means here "take down from the cross." The same verb is used twice in verse 38 and once in verse 31. It must in all three instances have the same meaning. The taking down of the body precedes in our narrative (John xix. 38-42) the preparing of the corpse for the burial, and is followed by the act of depositing it in the tomb. The latter was near the place of crucifixion, as we are told twice. Thus there

was no room for taking away the body of Jesus any distance to speak of in a horizontal direction from the cross. Moreover, the New Testament dictionaries assign the meaning "take down from the cross" to our verb.

The words: "being a disciple of Jesus, but secretly for fear of the Jews" have to be canceled as a gloss. The statement is apparently based upon the corresponding information found in Matt. and serves the same purpose. John improves, however, upon his model by calling Joseph directly a disciple. The modifying words are to account for the fact that no Joseph of Arimathæa is known as a companion of Jesus or of his apostles. He was and remained a disciple "in secret" and emerges from his hiding-place only to pay the last honors to his master.

In verse 41 we come upon another indication of the dependence of John upon the Synoptists in their present condition. In the phrase: "*a new tomb wherein was never man yet laid*" the italicized words have been borrowed from the first and the third Gospels.

The sentences: "And Pilate gave leave. He came therefore and took down his body," which close verse 38, must be assigned to some commentator. Both are superfluous, and the first reminds us of Matt. xxvii. 58. For in John not only the direct but also the indirect object are missing.

The Nikodemus episode (verse 39) and the words belonging to it in verse 40 are spurious. The silence of the Synoptic Gospels as to the anointing of the body of Jesus at the time of the burial, is a decisive argument against the authenticity of what John tells about the part which Nikodemus played at that occasion. That is strengthened furthermore by Mark xvi. 1 and Luke xxiii. 56-xxiv. 1. According to these two passages the women intended to embalm the body of Jesus early the next Sunday. That would have been unnecessary if he had been embalmed Friday evening. Finally, Jesus himself was certain that he would not be anointed when his body should be committed to the ground. He said (Matt. xxvi. 12f) when Mary had anointed him: "That she hath poured this ointment on my body, she did it for my burial. Verily, I say unto you, Wherever this gospel shall be preached in the whole world, there shall also this that this woman hath done be told for a memorial of her." Jesus without doubt foresaw the circumstances and conditions that were to surround his death.

There are still other indications of the spuriousness of the Nikodemus episode. The man is introduced by the words: "And

there came also." If he assisted Joseph in burying Jesus, there must have been a previous understanding between the two men. In that case they would have gone together to Pilate. For Nikodemos was a man of some consequence; "a ruler of the Jews" (John iii. 1), whatever that may be. The quantity of myrrh and aloe he is reported to have brought along is incredibly great. The prepositional phrase "with the spices" (verse 40) does not agree with the verb "bound." For the body could hardly be bound with strips of linen (dat. of means and instrument) together with the spices. If spices were used, the body was first anointed with them and then wrapped up in linen cloth or strips. The clause: "as the custom of the Jews is to bury" is clearly of Gentile origin.

It is easy enough to understand why Nikodemos could become connected with the interment of Jesus. After Joseph of Arimathæa had become a disciple, the name of Nikodemos, the only other secret disciple the fourth Gospel mentions, suggested itself to any attentive reader of our pericope.

The last words to be eliminated are "a garden and in the garden" (verse 41), and "the Jews" (verse 42). None of the other Gospels refers to that garden. It probably has been inserted on account of "the gardener" of John xx. 15. The clause: "for the tomb was nigh at hand" (verse 43) is also probably a gloss. It is superfluous in view of what we read about the location of the tomb in verse 41 and, besides, it does not fit very well into its present context.

The foregoing investigation has restored the oldest text of the four Joseph of Arimathæa pericopes as far as that is possible without possessing the very manuscripts from which our four accounts were originally copied. They have now to be compared in order to establish their mutual relationship. The four parallel passages point to one common source. They relate the burial of Jesus in almost identical terms and in the same order. The principal actor is Joseph of Arimathæa. He asked Pilate for the body of Jesus, took it down from the cross, wrapped it in linen, and laid it in a grave.

The narratives of the Synoptic Gospels, however, are much more closely related than any of them is to that of the fourth Gospel. That does not imply that the Synoptic and the Johannine versions go back to two different eye-witnesses. The variations in grammatical construction and vocabulary may point only to different translations from the same Semitic text or from different revisions of that text. For instance, the verb "take down" has its counterpart

in a synonymous verb used in Mark and Luke. There is no difference in meaning between the Synoptic wrapping up in linen cloth and the Johannine binding in linen cloths. But it ought to be admitted that the translator who furnished the Johannine pericope aimed less at a literal translation than at expressing the gist of the matter in his own way.

The three Synoptic texts show, in spite of their obvious dependence upon a common source, that the latter had undergone already different revisions. We are forced to distinguish two principal revisions and one mixed text. Matt. agrees with Mark in four instances, all of which are characteristic. The time of the burial is announced in both right at the opening of the narrative. In Luke and John, on the other hand, it is mentioned at the end. Besides, the three expressions "when it got late," "hewn out," and "rock" occur only in the first two Gospels. Matt. coincides with Luke in three cases. These are "man," rendered however by two different Greek words, "by name," Matt. genitive, Luke dative, and the phrase "went to Pilate." The slight differences suggest, however, that Matt. does not depend upon the Luke text directly. Mark and Luke have only two readings in common, namely the verb "take down" and the Greek term for "tomb."

The main feature of the Joseph of Arimathæa account is that Jesus, in spite of his disgraceful death, received an honorable burial. That same fact, however, presents also the principal difficulty. For the question has to be answered: How could Pontius Pilate allow such a burial to be given to a man who had been crucified because he had been charged with the crime of claiming to be the king of the Jews? The Gospels indeed represent the governor as having sent Jesus to the cross although he was convinced of his innocence. But one should think that just in that case Pilate should have treated him with the greatest severity the law prescribed, pretending to see in him a most dangerous man.

The Roman law provided that crucified people should not be interred, but should remain on the cross until the natural process of decomposition, aided by the birds of heaven and the beasts of the field, had destroyed the corpse. The idea was to strike terror into the hearts of all who beheld such crosses with their gruesome burden. It was not only the realization of the fearful death which should warn them not to commit crimes punishable by crucifixion, but also the knowledge that their souls could find no rest after death. For the ancients believed in the necessity of a properly performed burial. Deprived of that, the soul could not enter into Hades but

had to lead the cursed existence of a ghost. Our interment narrative furnishes no hint why Pilate granted the request of Joseph of Arimathæa. Even the earliest commentators could not explain the attitude of Pilate, although, as the examples of Mark and Luke demonstrate, they were aware of the problem.

Turning now to John xix. 31-34, we find there another account of what happened to Jesus after his death. We are informed that "the Jews" asked Pilate to have the legs of the crucified men broken and their bodies taken off the cross. Those men are not friends of Jesus. The term "Jews" is met with but rarely in the Synoptic Gospels but is used quite often in John. There it is in many cases a synonym of "the enemies of Jesus," so, to mention only a few instances, John xviii. 12, 14, 31, 36; xix. 7 (cp. 6), 12, 14 (cp. 15). "The Jews asked of Pilate" is, therefore, only another way of saying: "The chief priests asked of Pilate." The reason why they asked for the removal of the bodies, which implied, as a matter of course, some kind of a burial, is given in the statement: "that the bodies should not remain on the cross upon the Sabbath (for the day of that Sabbath was a high day)," Am. R. V. The Sabbath here referred to was the day after the death of Jesus. It belonged to the seven days of the feast of the Passover, Ex. xii. 15ff. But apart from that, no special importance belonged to that Sabbath. The Am. R. V. puts presumably for that reason the words: "for the day of that Sabbath was a high day" in parentheses, thereby indicating doubt as to their authenticity. But as we drop that clause from the text, we must likewise reject the preceding clause: "that the bodies should not remain on the cross upon the Sabbath." For there is no law which forbade the Jews to keep crucified criminals on the cross upon a Sabbath day. It seems as if the last quoted clause was inserted into the text by a person who did not understand why the Jews, the enemies of Jesus, should have asked the governor to have the bodies taken off the cross. Being ignorant of the true reason, he thought of the Sabbath. Another glossator who was not satisfied with that explanation claimed a special sanctity for the Sabbath of the Passover week.

While there exists no law applying to crucifixion and the Sabbath, the Old Testament contains a very plain and explicit commandment which regulates that old Semitic mode of capital punishment for any day of the week. Deut. xxi. 22f we read: "And if a man have committed a sin worthy of death, and he be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree; his body shall not remain all

night upon the tree, but thou shalt surely bury him the same day; for he that is hanged is accursed of God; that thou defile not thy land which Yahveh thy God giveth thee for an inheritance." Josh. viii. 29 and x. 26f two instances of crucifixion are related where the victims were treated in accordance with the just quoted commandment. In the first passage we are told: "And the king of Ai he hanged on a tree until eventide: and at the going down of the sun Joshua commanded, and they took his body down from the tree, and cast it at the entrance of the gate of the city, and raised thereon a great heap of stones." From the second passage we learn: "And afterwards Joshua smote them (the five kings), and he put them to death, and hanged them on five trees: and they were hanging upon the trees until the evening. And it came to pass at the time of the going down of the sun, that Joshua commanded and they took them down of the trees, and cast them into the cave wherein they had hidden themselves, and laid great stones on the mouth of the cave." If the enemies of Jesus went to Pilate to have the body of Jesus removed from the cross Friday evening, their only motive to do so must have been the just quoted Old Testament law; and the kind of burial they intended to give to Jesus may have been something like the interment of the king of Ai and of the five kings in the cave of Makkedah. That is to say, the body of Jesus was to be thrown into some ditch and covered with stones and loose earth or into some cave or vault that served as a charnel-house.

The proposed treatment of the crucified men, before they were committed to the ground, consisted in breaking their legs. That was to make sure of their death even if they should be taken down before they had breathed their last. That suggests rather a vault or a cave as a burial-place. For burying them in a grave and covering them with earth would also have assured their speedy death by suffocation. Still we cannot put any stress upon that circumstance. For breaking the legs may have been the regular way of treating crucified men before they were taken down by the Jews.

According to verses 33f, the bones of Jesus were not crushed like those of his two companions. The soldiers found Jesus dead and saved themselves the unpleasant task of beating his legs to pulp with mallets. Instead of that, they thrust a spear into his side and probably pierced his heart.

No mention is made of the final disposal of the three corpses. That does not imply, however, that they were not buried. Nobody would deny that of the companions of Jesus. But what has to be

taken for granted in their case, applies with equal force to Jesus. Neither are we forced to claim a lacuna between verses 34 and 35. For it is very improbable that the original narrator should have written a detailed account of the burial of the three bodies. In the first place, it would have been a revolting thing to do; in the second place, all his readers without exception knew well enough how bodies of executed criminals were disposed of if they happened to receive a burial.

We are now enabled to form a judgment as to the words "after these things" which introduce the Joseph of Arimathæa pericope verse 38. They place the Joseph episode after the burial of Jesus by the Roman soldiers. But Pilate could not have granted to Joseph of Arimathæa the privilege of burying Jesus after having ordered his soldiers to inter the three crucified men in accordance with the request of the chief priests. The two passages John xix. 31-34 and 38-42 are therefore parallel accounts of one and the same event.

Verse 35 at present forms the conclusion of the burial scene. It is, however, possible that it closes the entire Johannine account of the suffering and death of Jesus. Of course, verses 36f attempt to confine verse 35 to what we read in verse 34.

It is now to be determined whether the first Johannine burial account deserves any historical credit. The Joseph of Arimathæa pericope failed to give a satisfactory answer to the question why Pilate permitted Jesus to be buried. Whether Pilate thought in his heart Jesus innocent of the charges raised against him or not, he knew the Jews were most unwilling subjects of the emperor and ready to revolt at any time. For that very reason, the small country had been placed under a governor of its own, who had at his disposal an exceptionally large military force. Jesus on the cross would serve, therefore, whether he was guilty or not, as a warning example for all who harbored disloyal thoughts. No friend of Jesus would, under such circumstances, have dared to ask for the body of his master. For in doing so, he would have incurred the suspicion and resentment of Pilate. The commentator who added the word "boldly" (Mark xv. 43) was aware of that fact.

But why did Pilate grant the request of the enemies of Jesus? A satisfactory answer to that question is not far to seek. In the first place, the chief priests did not intend to give Jesus an honorable burial. We have learned that the Jews considered their land defiled if a corpse was left over night on the cross. Pilate, indeed, was not guided by the laws and scruples of the Jews but by the ordinances

of the Roman law and the commands of his emperor. In peaceful times he would respect as far as possible the religious prejudices of his subjects. But whenever the interests of Rome clashed with what he regarded as Jewish superstitions he would offend the Jews relentlessly just to convince them of their helplessness. Thus he would as a rule insist on keeping the corpses of crucified persons on the cross as long as anything was left of them. The Jews had to submit to that transgression of their divine law and to console themselves with the thought that their country was not defiled by an act of their own nor with their will and consent.

The case of Jesus was quite an exception. The chief priests of the Jews themselves had denounced the man from Galilee and delivered him into the hands of the governor. The latter could not doubt the loyalty of the priests; and, therefore, he would be inclined to grant them a favor provided such a favor would not run counter to the Roman interests. The chief priests had caused Jesus to be crucified by direct and overt acts of their own. They had done so with the help of Jewish assistants. When Jesus was nailed to the cross, everybody at Jerusalem, that is to say, the whole Jewish nation, knew that he had become a victim of the wrath of the priests. If, under these conditions, the body of Jesus would have been kept on the cross over night, the priests would have been charged by the people with having defiled the land. The result might have been serious disturbances of the peace and a revolt of the nation against the chief priests. Pilate must have understood the force of that argument and must have agreed to help his friends to hold their position, especially since his own interests were identical with theirs.

The first burial account in John, although it is without parallel in the first three Gospels, bears all the marks of historical truth. The Joseph of Arimathæa story, even in its oldest revision, does not tell us what actually happened. In spite of its fourfold repetition, we should have to doubt its authenticity even if we did not possess John xix. 32-34. The numerous glosses and other additions which have crept into the text alone are sufficient to prove to what a degree the early students of the Gospels were troubled by the problematical nature of their text.

The first Johannine report enables us to throw some light on the Joseph of Arimathæa episode. That man is either a purely fictitious character or he must have been the representative of the chief priests who went to Pilate to arrange for a burial of Jesus such as Jews and Gentiles might grant to the body of a criminal. He acted, of course, strictly in the interest of his employers who

were most anxious to appear, especially in the case of Jesus, as the faithful guardians of the Law of Moses. Joseph was sent very likely because he was the regular go-between and had also denounced Jesus and arranged for his arrest in the name of the priests. For it is certain that in both cases the priests did not go in a body to Pilate. At the burial Joseph was present as the official witness but took, very naturally, no active part in it. While scholars have been unable to locate Arimathæa in Palestine, it may be possible to find the place somewhere else in the Roman Empire. It may be the name of Rome itself. For Joseph was undoubtedly able to converse with Pilate in Latin. He, therefore, must have been born and raised in the Jewish diaspora, and that in the city of Rome, and his name was Joseph of Rome.

YANG MING.¹

BY HARDIN T. MCELLAND.

THE principal feature of the Yang Ming philosophy is supplied in the meaning of its name, which may be translated "positive enlightenment," and as it thus implies a growth of the rational and noetic intelligence, its natural function is to compose the fiery passions and support the soul of man on its hazardous journey through the material world. The Japanese General Nogi was a student of the Yang Ming philosophy, having attended the Grotto for several years, whence he came by that supreme poise of soul which made him worthy of the rank of general; and which showed the world why it was that no amount of Russian opposition or cruelty to prisoners could deter his set decision to advance to the capture of Port Arthur which was the pivot of the whole Russo-Japanese war. But on the later decease of his Mikado he found greater honor in *hara-kiri* than in lonely survival—better to die "the positive death" than to become a negative factor in post-mortem devotion.

A tranquil life is built, first, in the freedom from fear of externals; second, the construction arises well apart from any doubt of the capacity of one's internal powers, either of their presence or influence. A third element so often overlooked, is the clear discernment that although all existences are potentially the same, yet some are merely extentional while others are intentional. The powers of

¹The Yang Ming philosophy has now become the composite production of the school of the Yang Ming Grotto, founded in Japan in the first quarter of the sixteenth century by the famous Chinese idealist Wang Yang Ming (1472-1528); cf. *Monist*, Jan., 1914.

man, then, are sluggish and latent on the one hand, and volatile and patent on the other. By similar analysis we might say that there are but two dimensions in the universe—extention and intention—which work *outwardly* as matter, and *inwardly* as spirit; out as meaning and in as the interpretation of life. The last of each of these antitheses holds constant to its purpose, while the first of each pleasures in a variable chaos which does not seem to have any intelligible law other than the material. And yet we do the best we can under the circumstances and blandly acknowledge that the beauty of the one is complementary to the goodness of the other, and that both happily conjoin to aid in the alethial culture of the cosmos. Our only assertion seems to be the negative platitude that a mere chance-ruled concourse of atoms would make a poor, inanely dull habitation, a cheerless mode of non-instructive clay where lacks our chiefest redivivus Thought and all its accessory virtues.

That materialist, the Hindu Makkhali, gained no real philosophic advantage when he argued that all religion, art, politics, and science were but the shrewd invention of man to more easily govern his brothers. If this idea should ever prevail men would then be exiled from their native state, to be forced to lay in a store of interpretation and wisdom from an impossible external source. A spring of hope bubbles in the more vital exertions of the mind against this radical externalism, and we are consoled with the notional balm of our soul's analogy to its parent organism, God. All of us, at some time or other in our mental career, become uneasy and make a few slashes at established truth, hoping to set up, instead, our own (perhaps personally true) convictions for the rest of the world to admire and practise. And how many do we find brooding over the forlorn hope of some day proselyting the whole universe so as to traduce the sparkling fountain of others' joy! But their sad fate soon shows a derelict mind, a psychic vagabond whose only aim in life is to affirm negation and establish the doctrine of ultimate annihilation. The Yang Ming philosophy shows that we should rather disavow such proclamations by seeing the shortcomings of the materialist's psychopathic afflictions; and, better, that we should hold it a far more truly philosophical principle to *try to vindicate our search*, even though it appears to be so often a merely improvised adventure.

Poise of soul is the ultimate requisite of life. It is the foundation of every moral establishment, and brings all builders to a trust in the basic responsibility of men. With what attitude would or should we bear the absence of a friend, a relative, lover,

or any other heretofore "helpful to our cursory existence," so that the soul might preserve the calm courage of its sublime nature? That of suffering an irreparable loss or deprivation? Of thanking Atropos for a ridding service? Or, third, that of knowing it is but the absence of that which is *not* of the true nature of the person or thing departed? Both consuming love and superficial attachment would have the first; hate and selfish ambition wassail the second; while for the third, is there any means other than a love of wisdom and spiritual composure which will incline and persuade a man to claim the tranquillity of its perception? Birth or entrance, death or departure, require no more of joy or sorrow than any other of nature's incidents. The peaceful mind is not muddled with a rushing of blood as in a passion, nor does it weaken with the anemic pale of fear or other scar of ignorance. In his moral pursuits, the man of equanimity never seeks the indulgence of attaching too great an egotistic importance to each valence of his love, for he very well knows a latent vanity lurks therein, and that every foible is merely a frenzy of our selfish grasp. No, the philosophic mind will seek to enjoy nothing but calm detachment, maintaining its superposed divinity by exercising its majestic, though perfectly natural faculty of living in, going through, and finally passing beyond the universe. The very nowness of the Yang Ming instruction lends argument to its principle of "positive non-assertion," which reclaims our cursive contemplations and redeems our erstwhile pride of intelligence.

Does a man consider the highest goal of human endeavor to be the desire for a prolonged propinquity between himself and surrounding things? Misers are not disposed otherwise. The fact rather is this: To *be* is not to monopolize all the urgencies of the universe, not the materialist's defamation of divinity from a misoptic covetousness of it. But much more truly natural does it obtain when there is the cloyless alimentionation of an aspiring exertion to not only *be*, but to *become*, if only to become better or more intelligent.

Pray, then, observe closer and see if the man is free from the pathos of pride, the ignobility of ignorance, or the distress of dissembling. For, if he attends strictly to the beauty of being (whose better part is its constant and melioristic becoming), where may the legions of seeming sit that they may be his council?

This is the argument of the Yang Ming philosophy. This is a brief statement of its positive principle that the soul of strength is composure, that the soul of composure is spiritual enlightenment.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE LIVING PAST: A SKETCH OF WESTERN PROGRESS. By *F. S. Marvin*.
(Third edition.) Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. xvi, 296.

This is a short and exceedingly well-written sketch of general history from the earliest time down to quite modern times. "The clue which this little book follows is no new discovery. It first came clearly into view with Kant and the philosophers of the eighteenth century. Take Kant's theory of universal history as the growth of a world-community, reconciling the freedom of individuals and of individual states with the accomplishment of a common aim for mankind as a whole. Add to this the rising power of science as a collective and binding force which the century since Kant has made supreme. You have then one strong clear clue which, with the necessary qualifications, seems to offer in the field of history something of the guidance and system which Newtonian gravitation gave to celestial mechanics in the seventeenth century. The growth of a common humanity: this is the primary object to keep in view. But it will prove vague and inconclusive, unless we add to it a content in the growth of organized knowledge, applied to social ends" (p. iv). We have here a slight indication that the purpose and method of general history is greatly indebted to the work of Comte. We know that one of the greatest workers at general history in modern times, Paul Tannery, was a follower of Comte; and this book owes much to the inspiration of Comte's philosophy, although this fact is certainly not forced into the foreground.

"It is essential, before we speak of any definite results, to realize what is implied by this term 'philosopher' when used of Thales and the early thinkers of Greece. In later ages and often in our own day the word 'philosophy' is carefully defined to exclude precisely those parts of the thinking of the early Greeks which proved to be of most permanent value; and this definition, when carried back into the period when 'philosophy' was understood in a larger sense, has led to the presentation of a singularly mutilated picture of early Greek thought in most of the so-called 'histories of philosophy.' The crude speculations about the origin and nature of things in general, interesting as they are as evidence of the new spirit of free inquiry, and not without occasional flashes of brilliant insight, were necessarily premature and bound to be superseded by fuller knowledge. These are presented to us as the main results of the thinking of Thales or Pythagoras, while their solid achievements in the history of thought are passed over as belonging to another apartment called 'science.' The early thinker knew no such distinction, and we are bound also to treat his work as a whole—'science' and 'philosophy'—and to consider it as an integral part of the development which was going on simultaneously in all parts of the Greek domain, commerce, art, philosophy, and politics" (p. 57).

An even more obvious defect of the vicious system of dividing knowledge into water-tight compartments is illustrated by the popular view, which has been imposed on us by generations of our teachers, that "history" is simply "political history." "What popular history of Greece gives any account of the work of Archimedes, or even mentions Hipparchus? Some of the most

approved histories of England allude to Newton only as 'master of the mint.' It is high time, especially in England, for a determined effort to see and to present the facts more nearly in their true proportions and, above all, as a whole" (p. 5). Again: "It is a curious commentary on the popular view of history, that, while any schoolboy could tell you that the two years Newton refers to [1665 and 1666] were the dates of the Plague and the Fire, purely local accidents, not one person in ten thousand, children or adults, would connect them with two of the most profound and far-reaching events in the history of the world, the invention of the infinitesimal calculus and of the law of gravitation" (p. 179). Further, referring to the fact that Hegel, Beethoven, Wordsworth, and Turner were born at about the same time and are "all of the first importance in forming the modern spirit from that mass of eager, expectant life which filled the latter part of the eighteenth century," Mr. Marvin remarks that "the genius of each was proudly, even fiercely independent, and yet each combines with the others in that mysterious unity of texture of which we are aware in subsequent thought and feeling, and cannot understand without all its diverse elements" (p. 223).

"History," says Mr. Marvin on page 5, "is the account of man's achievements, and in particular of the achievements of the Western leading branch of the human family which now dominates the globe." On page 31 we read: "Many causes, largely geographical, combined to make the Mediterranean countries the scene of the most rapid advance in civilization. With our eye therefore on the sequel, we concentrate our attention at this stage mainly on the two great river-valley civilizations, in Egypt and Mesopotamia, which were nearest to the Eastern Mediterranean. From these, together with the kindred culture of the Ægean, centering in Crete, the 'classical' world arose. In thus limiting our view we are in no sense belittling the achievements of other races in other regions. In many points, more perhaps than we are yet aware of, the Further East contributed to Mediterranean culture: in some ways we have still to learn and to assimilate its spirit. But the Mediterranean current has conquered and pervades the world, and those who will follow its progress must keep their eyes fixed on the main stream, and treat all others either by way of supplement or of comparison" (cf. also pp. 266-267).

The chapters in this book are: The Childhood of the Race; The Early Empires; The Greeks; The Romans; The Middle Ages; The Renaissance and the New World; The Rise of Modern Science; The Industrial Revolution; The Revolution, Social and Political; Progress After Revolution; and "Looking Forward." A very welcome feature of this edition is that there are illustrative time-charts, showing side by side the chief events in the world of action and the world of thought. Perhaps the most interesting part will be found to be the passages on the Egyptians and Babylonians (pp. 33, 40-42); on the Greeks (pp. 55, 57, 58-60, 65); on the Renaissance (pp. 141, 144-145); on the passion for inquiry in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (pp. 169-172); on the rise and progress of astronomy (pp. 173-180); and on Descartes and his mathematical successors (pp. 180-189). ϕ

As we are going to press the sad news reaches us of the death of Mr. Philip E. B. Jourdain, our associate editor in London. Mr. Jourdain died at his home in Hampshire, England, October 2.



THE KONDO.
Chief sanctuary of the Horyuji near Nara, Japan.

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. XXXIII (No. 11) NOVEMBER, 1919

NO. 762

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NATIONAL POLITICS IN ITS PSYCHOLOGICAL ASPECT.

BY FRANKLIN A. BEECHER.

MAN'S psychical existence is made up of an unending stream of sense-perceptions and impressions, of sights, sounds, and feelings, of memories and judgments; and man is only stirred to action or reflection by these impressions when they hold his attention and are recognized by him as important for action. These impressions in the matured man do not fall upon virgin soil, but are predisposed in their interpretation to the beliefs and opinions formed in his previous experience, education, habits of mind, and his notion of personal interest. Thus, his accepted dogma, as well as his economic, political, religious, and social affinities are often obstacles that enter into the question as to his acceptance of a new view, for his beliefs, ideals, views of life and of the world largely influence his conduct. Some of our beliefs are founded upon tacit agreement, many others, on mere faith, and the reasons for most of them are never investigated or questioned by the individual, for we accept them on the "say so" of somebody else. Prof. William James wisely said: "...We all of us believe in democracy and progress, . . . and the duty of fighting for 'the doctrine of the immortal Monroe,' all for no reason worthy of the name. We see into these matters with no more inner clearness, and probably with much less, than any disbeliever in them might possess. His unconventionality would probably have some grounds to show for its conclusions, but for us, not insight, but the prestige of the opinions, is what makes the spark shoot from them and light up our sleeping magazines of faith."

These psychic elements of the individual find expression in the political conduct of the masses. The proposition may be made that

what is psychologically true of the individual is essentially psychologically true of the collective. The binding tie that holds these units together in the aggregate, or the individual in the collective, is the national consciousness, founded upon association, the result of affection, sympathy, and imitation, or from a political standpoint, the result of love of country, common interests, and the desire of likeness.

Since government, from a psychological standpoint, has its source largely in the desire and ambition of man to control his fellowmen and to have them live according to his way of thinking, it follows that politics, in a narrow sense, is the psychology of government. The old political doctrine of intellectualism, founded upon the primitive psychology of common sense, that man acts solely from self-interest is fallacious and contrary to the teaching of modern psychology, for the psychological fact is well established that a large number of his acts are done unconsciously and involuntarily, and therefore without foresight. In a social as well as in a political sense man is a custom-making animal, and there is a strong inclination in his nature to persist in repeating what he has once done, and the tendency to repeat the action increases with the number of repetitions. Furthermore, there is a strong tendency in man to make others do so, without their questioning their own interests, and, owing to this tendency in man to imitate others, little compulsion is required to make him respond to suggestion.

Suggestion, as applied to the domain of politics, may be used: (1) as stimulation by association, i. e., the suggestion is based upon the doctrine of association of ideas; (2) as the transmission of an idea by hint, intimation, or insinuation; (3) as a means of modifying and creating belief. Suggestion has been defined by Prof. Baldwin to be the abrupt entrance from without into consciousness of an idea or image which becomes a part of the stream of thought and tends to produce the muscular and volitional effects which ordinarily would follow upon its presence. Suggestion may be divided into direct and indirect. Direct suggestion is more efficacious upon a crowd already under the influence of a dominant will, while indirect suggestion is more effective between individuals. Thus the process may be described in general as follows. When the suggestion of an idea is made, it is born and falls in a network of emotions, traditions, and beliefs, of which the individual mind cannot easily divest itself. For this reason it meets with opposition and resistance at first. Then, by continued affirma-

tive repetition of the suggestion, the idea begins to be tolerated, when it spreads like contagion in the consciousness of individuals until it enters the stream of popular consciousness and seeks prestige in the popular mind through discussion, by which means it becomes transformed into popular opinion. This transformation takes effect oftentimes without discussion, which depends upon the nature of the subject-matter of the idea and the manner of its suggestion. In the formation of this opinion, reason does not always predominate, for emotional ideas are more readily spread than ideas of an intellectual nature.

Political action is seldom the result of well-reasoned conduct. In illustration of this process the instance of the Blaine-Cleveland campaign will prove interesting. This campaign was bitterly fought on personal lines as well as otherwise. Blaine was charged with being a Catholic, which he vigorously denied, vindicating himself by obtaining from his wife's priest a certificate that he was not a Catholic. He was further charged with impropriety as to financial transactions while in the service of the government. For this reason, public opinion, particularly in New York, was strongly against him. To check this trend of public opinion a counter-suggestion was made by a party of clergymen calling upon him for the purpose of showing that the pulpit had not lost confidence in his integrity. But at this meeting a minister by the name of Burchard unfortunately threw out the suggestion that Blaine was fighting rum, Romanism, and rebellion, meaning thereby that the Democratic party was the party of rum, Romanism, and rebellion. The suggestion fell upon fertile soil. The hostile press took it up and spread it broadcast. No denial could stem the tide. It contributed to Blaine's defeat.

The suggestion in itself was slanderous, but lies and slanderous statements in political campaigns are frequently successful for the purposes intended. In the Jackson-Adams campaign—the so-called campaign of lies—the suggestion of the false idea was thrown out that Henry Clay had sold his political strength for the cabinet position of Secretary of State, which was untrue. This suggestion was reenforced by John Randolph exclaiming in Congress: "Let Judas take his thirty pieces of silver." Counter-suggestions of false ideas were made, yet the campaign lies favored Jackson, who was elected.

In more recent times, it has been the policy of campaign managers to hold some false ideas or slanderous statements back, usually based upon half or distorted truths, ready for suggestion at the

closing moments of a campaign, for the purpose of forestalling any discussion or vindication of the party accused. Oftentimes discussion and arguments are futile against a suggestion of an idea, whether based upon falsehood or truth, that appeals to the natural prejudices of mankind or those of a class. Reason seldom sways the masses. It is usually a subtle suggestion or a change of temper in the masses which brings results in the political field. Discussion may offset the effects of a forcible suggestion of an idea. Thus, when Bryan, in the Democratic convention of 1896, made the suggestion of the idea of the cross of gold by exclaiming: "We will answer their demand for a gold standard by saying to them: 'You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns—you shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold,'" the immediate effect was overwhelming. It spread with increasing rapidity, and there is no question that if the election had taken place the day following this outburst, Bryan would have been elected president, in fact for some time after, but discussion after a while caused a change of sentiment. However, it is difficult to say how much is due to discussion for change of sentiment and how much due to money, for money plays an important part in political campaigns.

The suggestion was the climax of an oration. It appealed to the emotions, and therefore found fertile soil for the rapid contagion. It was sentiment, lacking logic. How the suggestion of an emotional idea may change the tide of sentiment, based upon vituperation and calumny, is demonstrated when Cleveland was first nominated for the presidency. During the session of the convention a Tammany leader delivered a tirade against Cleveland. But when General Bragg in his reply threw out the suggestion of the idea by exclaiming: "We love Cleveland for the enemies he has made," enthusiasm became contagious and spread rapidly.

The suggestion by means of advertising is well illustrated in the McKinley-Bryan campaign when the idea of the "full dinner-pail and what it meant" was diffused by large posters being placarded on billboards. The effect was convincing.

The fickleness of the popular mind is well presented in the convention that nominated Garfield. A strong effort was made to nominate Grant. The leaders representing Grant's interests had arranged to pack the galleries with the veterans of the Civil War. It was then that Conklin, who championed Grant's cause, threw out the suggestion that every delegate of the convention should bind himself to support the nominee of the convention, which was enthusiastically received by the convention. A counter-suggestion

was made by a delegate from Virginia, of the idea that he could not bind himself or his colleagues until he had consulted with his constituents. This suggestion was met with groans and hisses until Garfield in a vigorous speech full of suggestion defended the position of the delegate,—and the current of the popular mind was changed. Conklin tried to stem it by further counter-suggestions, but was hissed and forced to stop. Or take the Dewey instance. The suggestions produced by his actions in the war proclaimed him a hero. The enthusiasm aroused in the American people was so great that they would have bestowed upon him the highest office of the land, irrespective of the question whether he was fitted for it or not. But later, when the people made him a present of a home, and he transferred it to his newly-wedded wife, popular sentiment changed, and he became as unpopular as he was popular after the battle of Manila Bay.

The popular mind or consciousness is susceptible to suggestion when the ideas thrown out fall within the subject-matter agitating the popular mind. Individuals, groups, classes, communities, and nations live in a continuous stream of suggestions, emanating from various sources. But it is only those suggestions which hold the attention of the popular mind that may take effect and stimulate popular opinion, for the suggestion of ideas which run counter to the common prejudices, traditions, and customs of a people are generally ineffectual, at least momentarily. Momentarily—because if the suggestion of an idea is thrown out in advance of its age, it may lie dormant, or take root and germinate in secret, shaping the unconscious mind of a few individuals of the next generation who disseminate the idea more widely. When the hour has come, and the man, action is taken, making it expedient to modify popular opinion as to common prejudices, beliefs, traditions, customs, and governmental policies. But if the suggestion accords with, or is allied to, the subject-matter which occupies the popular mind, popular opinion may be formed instantaneously without agitation or discussion; while on the other hand, if the suggestion is incongruous with the spirit of the times, popular opinion may be formed only by agitation and discussion.

Free speech, free assemblage, and free press are the means by which the characteristics of the popular mind are changed and popular opinion is modified by creating a new spirit of the times. Popular opinion is transitory and is formed upon a concrete case, while the spirit of the times is more stable and lasting, being abstract and general in content. It is owing to this fact that the spirit

of the times during any decade in the nation's history may be isolated and investigated. The prevailing thought may be analyzed for the purpose of finding its temper and style, also the mode of discussion which caused the change of thought. It is by means of free discussion that all subjects are brought in the limelight, for nowadays there is no subject too sacred for discussion, nor is there anything of concern to human beings which may not be profitably discussed in the right spirit, by the right person at the right time. But it is not infrequent that the impulsive desire in man to control others and have them live according to what he considers the right standard of living, and his desire for them to adopt his world-views, should under the present freedom of discussion where no subject is barred, give rise to absurdities and inconsistencies in his demands which are apt to create an irrational and intolerant public opinion, one that defies the fundamental principles of our government.

A nation is made up of groups of all kinds. In general they may be classified into political, social, religious, ethical, scientific, and economic types, but all of them are pervaded, more or less, with economic considerations for the reason that economics is the basis of the order of organized society, and the principles, doctrines, and creeds they advocate or stand for, are frequently even dominated by economic considerations. Especially is this fact true of the subgroups of these types, so that their principles, doctrines, and creeds lack at times that free expression and force which is so essential to gain prestige in the popular mind. The psychic aspects of the subgroups of these types may be competitive, antagonistic, or harmonious. In some instances even the general types may be antagonistic. The views held by some of these subgroups may be antagonistic to the political organization of the government. Thus, as merely illustrative and irrespective of the merits of the controversy, the quotation from the opinion of a prominent judge rendered many years ago will be to the point: "And it is a matter to me of deep regret, to see the citizens of age, intellect, and influence, and among them moral and religious teachers, so far forget their duty as such citizens, and so far lose sight of the great value of our constituted system of government and the fundamental principles of the Christian religion, as to enter into the political contest, touching the adoption of the act in question, openly proclaiming that they did not care whether the act was constitutional or not: they were determined to support and enforce it; if it was unconstitutional, the judges would not dare to declare it so for the act could be carried at the ballot box by ten thousand majority. Such a doctrine is of

evil tendency, and treasonable in principle. It is the open inculcation of a total disregard of established government and fundamental laws, and if persisted in, must have a most pernicious influence, especially among the rising generation. Such conduct is in the highest degree reprehensible, and should ever be reprobated and condemned, and the perpetrators spurned as traitors to their government, and enemies to the best interests of their fellowmen." Another illustration of views held by individuals and some subgroups is here given by a recent occurrence where a minister publicly charged a public school teacher with improper conduct, and when called upon by the properly constituted authorities to submit the facts, he refused, under the pretext, the purport of which was, that he was only amenable to his God for what he said concerning the charges against the teacher.

Among the political types there are subgroups such as the anarchists, who are opposed to all government, and such as the socialists, who are antagonistic to the economic or industrial order or system of organized society.

Again there are those of the economic-type subgroup of organized capital who are antagonistic to organized labor in the endeavor to better its condition. Labor, in turn, opposes all efforts to further the interest of organized capital. Special interests of all sorts of social, religious, and economic subgroups are opposed to reforms and changes in their condition.

Among individuals, it has been said that there are those who hold the view as to economic reform that successful crime in the commercial world should not be condemned because it was successful, that the trader should not be scourged but only coaxed out of the temple, that peace is more desirable than purity. Others there are who believe that whatever is must continue to be, and who are constitutionally averse to all reforms because they involve changes and readjustments which are inconvenient.

Thus, an effort has been made to give a cursory psychological view of the attitude and contents of the individual and popular minds in their relation to political matters and government. In the practical carrying-out of the political schemes and policies the electors are the elemental factor. They consist of native and naturalized citizens. The naturalized citizen must usually remodel his national consciousness and his political conceptions before he can grasp the spirit of our government and become an independent elector. It is for this reason that he is more easily led during the formative period than the native-born citizen.

There are about one third of the qualified electors who exercise their elective franchise, and of these only one sixth vote intelligently. A larger number of the remaining two thirds, among whom are some of the leading and best citizens, do not exercise their rights because they are not interested, and if they vote, they do so without any consideration of the act. Again, there are quite a number of electors who are so engrossed in their businesses and making money that they have no time to attend to their political duties; while another class are so busy in providing for themselves and families that they cannot devote their time to political duties. Under these circumstances it is not to be wondered that the average voter has no clear insight into political questions, nor into the nature of our government and its political principles, and therefore he is a good subject for the suggestive treatment by unscrupulous politicians, who have no compunctions of how they attain their ends. It is clear that under such conditions the professional politicians and political bosses thrive, for the masses of the voters do not think, they are led. Ignorance of the nature of our government, indifference to it, the selfish interest of a class who have no regard for the welfare of others, and the lack of individual thinking and action, are the causes for the few controlling the many.

These factors contribute to the immoral conduct in politics. It is for this reason that money can be used so successfully in politics, and that it is the most powerful weapon by which the popular will may be thwarted, stifled, or moulded, according to the purpose for which it was intended.

Politics in practice is not as moral as it might be. Every scheme, device, trick, deception, and mendacity are usually resorted to in political campaigns. Calumny finds ready application, for the principle has its foundation upon the theory that "unquestionably the calumniator will always find a great number of persons inclined to believe him, or to side with him; it therefore follows that whenever the object of such calumnies is once lowered in credit by these means, he will soon lose the reputation and power founded on that credit, and sink under the permanent and vindictive attacks of the calumniator."

There is no reason why the standards of conduct in politics should be lower than those which apply in the ordinary walks of life. The great moral reserve force which is so essential to the existence of a free government should be exercised by the people, for if they, as individuals, do not exercise a high standard of conduct popular government is impossible. The rules of conduct which

may be deduced from the Bill of Rights should form one of the standards of our political conduct—for it is not law, nor the forced imposition, by the creation of an intolerant popular opinion, upon the masses by a few or a class of *their* ideas as to proper conduct and the right way of living, irrespective of the opinion of others, that control the conduct of men; but it is the exercise of the moral reserve force, in that the citizen must respect the rights of his fellow citizen and the rights of the collective, and above all must not ask of others what he would not ask of himself.

CONFUCIANISM, BUDDHISM, AND CHRISTIANITY.¹

BY BENOY KUMAR SARKAR.

Method of Approach.

WE propose to review briefly three great religions of mankind in their historical as well as psychological relations. Let us assume for our present consideration the fact that every religious system advances, in the first place, a set of hypotheses generally known as theological dogmas, in the second place, a body of practices and notions that in the absence of a better term may be called superstitions, and in the third place, a code of moral sanctions. As a rule, it is the higher intellectuals in a community that are interested in the doctrines of theology, while the man in the street is more attracted by the theatrical, scenic, or anecdotal aspects of God, the soul, and the other world. The morals, however, though they depend in the last analysis on the individual's status in the economic grades or classes of a people, may for ordinary purposes be taken to be the outcome of the people's general consensus of opinion and collective tradition. In a study of comparative religion we must take care to point out exactly which of these three phases of socio-religious life we have singled out for discussion, for it is clear that it would be unscientific to compare the popular superstitions and folk-beliefs of one faith with the metaphysical speculations in which high-browed Doctors of Divinity indulge, in another.

As it is always convenient to proceed from the known to the unknown, we shall begin with Christianity, or rather, use Christ-lore as the peg on which to hang Buddhism and Confucianism *cum*

¹ A lecture delivered at Amherst College.

Taoism for analytical and historical investigation. And instead of dealing with abstractions we would appraise each of these world religions in its concrete embodiments.

Christ-lore in History.

Dante, the greatest poet-saint-mystic of Roman Catholicism, was very much agitated over the "she-wolf," the moral and political muddle of his time. He used to predict the advent of a "Greyhound," a "Veltro," or deliverer, who would restore on earth the Universal Italian Empire, both temporal and spiritual. His prophecy finds expression in several eloquent passages of the *Divine Comedy*. Thus Virgil, the "master and guide" of the poet, gives the following hope in the first canto:

"This beast
At whom thou criest, her way will suffer none
To pass, and no less hindrance makes than death:
To many an animal in wedlock vile
She fastens, and shall yet to many more,
Until that Greyhound come, who shall destroy
Her with sharp pain. He will not life support
By earth nor its base metals, but by love,
Wisdom, and virtue; and his land shall be
The land 'twixt either Feltro. In his might
Shall safety to Italia's plains arise,
For whose fair realm Camilla, virgin pure,
Nisus, Euryalus, and Turnus fell."

The same apocalyptic faith in a *yoogavatara* or god incarnate in man has maintained the optimistic Hindu in all ages of national distress. The advent of Messiahs to embody each successive *Zeitgeist* is thus guaranteed in the *Geeta* by Lord Krishna himself:

"Whensoever into Order
Corruption creeps in, Bharata,
And customs bad ascendant be,
Then Myself do I embody.
For the advancement of the good
And miscreants to overthrow
And for setting up the Order
Do I appear age by age."

Medieval Christianity did not produce only one *Divine Comedy*. Each of the Gothic cathedrals of thirteenth-century Europe is a *Divine Comedy* in stone. It may be confidently asserted that the spiritual atmosphere of these noble structures with their soul-inspiring sculptures in alabaster and bronze has not been surpassed in the

architecture of the East. The pillars at Chartres with their bas-reliefs of images and flowers could be bodily transferred to the best religious edifices of Buddhist Asia. The elongated Virgin at the Paris Notre Dame is almost as conventionalized as a Korean Kwanon. The representation of virtues and vices on the Portal of the Saviour at the Amiens Cathedral suggests the moralizing in woodwork on the walls of Nikko in Japan. And scenes from the Passion on the tympanum at Strassburg or from the Last Judgment on the tympanum of the north door in the Cathedral at Paris are oriented to the same psychological background as the bas-reliefs depicting incidents in the holy career of Buddha with which the *stoupas* (mounds) of Central India make us familiar, or of the Tibetan Dalai Lama on the surface of the marble pagoda at Peking.

We shall now compare a few specimens of Christian folk customs. On Christmas and New Year days the folks of Christendom are used to forecasting their lot in the coming year according to the character of the first visitor. And what is the burden of their queries? "What will be the weather?" they ask, and "what the crops?" How, besides, are they to "fare in love and the begetting of children?" And a common superstition among the *Hausfrauen* enjoins that wealth must come in, and not be given out, on these days. Such days and such notions are not rare in Confucian-Taoist and Buddhist Asia. It is well known, further, that in southwest England as well as in parts of continental Europe there are several taboos in regard to food. Hares, rabbits, poultry, for instance, are not eaten because they are "derived from his father," as the peasant believes. There is nothing distinctively Christian in these customs and traditions. Asians can also heartily take part in the processions attending the bathing of images and other customs with which the rural population of Christian lands celebrate their May pole dances or summer festivities. And they would easily appreciate how men could be transformed into wolves through the curse of St. Natalis Cambrensis.

Would the ritualism, the rosary, the relic-worship, the hagiology, the consecrated edifices, the "eternal" lamps in churches and chapels, pilgrimages, prayers, votive offerings, self-denial during Lent, fasts and chants of Christians alienate Shintoists, Buddhists, or Taoists? By no means. Indeed, there are very few Chinese, Japanese, or Hindus who would not be inspired by the image of Mary. Nations used to the worship of Kwan-yin or Lakshmee could not find a fundamentally new mentality or view of life in the atmosphere of a Greek or Catholic church service. And the doctrine

of faith (*bhakti*, *saddha*), the worship of a personal God, and preparedness for salvation (*mookti*) are not more Christian than Buddhist or Hindu.

Men and women who do not feel safe without postulating a God would produce, if they should happen to be intellectual, almost the same philosophy of the Infinite and of the immortality of the soul wherever they may live. If they happen to be emotional or imaginative, as human beings generally are, they would create more or less the selfsame religious arts (images, pictures, basreliefs, hymns, prayers, rituals, fetishes, charms). Humanity is, in short, essentially one—in spite of physical and physiognomic diversities, and in spite of age-long historic race-prejudices. The effort to understand the nature of God or the relations between man and Deity is the least part of a person's real religion. The *élan vital* of human life has always and everywhere consisted in the desire to live and in the power to flourish by responding to the thousand and one stimuli of the universe and by utilizing the innumerable world forces.

Confucianism and Buddhism Analyzed.

But before we proceed further it is necessary to have definite connotations of the terms Confucianism and Buddhism, so that we may know precisely to what phenomena they correspond in Christianity. For the terms are really ambiguous and elastic.

In the first place, Confucianism is the name wrongly given to the cult of public sacrifices devoted to Shangti (the One Supreme Being), the Tao (or the Way), and ancestor-worship that has been obtaining among the Chinese people since time immemorial. This cult of what is really an adoration of nature forces happens to be called Confucianism simply because Confucius (B. C. 551-479), the librarian at Loo State in Shantung, compiled or edited for his countrymen the floating ancient classics, the *Yi-king* (Book of Changes), the *Shoo-king* (Book of History), the *Shih-king* (Book of Poetry), and others in which the traditional faith finds expression. The work of Confucius for China was identical with that of Ezra (B. C. 450) of Juda who edited for the Hebrews the twenty-four books of the Old Testament that were in danger of being lost. In this sense, to use the misnomer, Confucianism had existed among the Chinese long before Confucius was born, in the same manner as the Homeric poems had been in circulation in the Hellenic world ages before Pisistratus of Athens had them brought together in well-edited volumes.

In the second place, Confucianism is often considered as not being a religion at all, because it is wrongly taken to be equivalent to positivism, i. e., a godless system of mere morals, and hence necessarily inadequate to the spiritual needs of man. The fact, however, is quite otherwise. The Socratic sayings of Confucius that are preserved in the *Analects*, in the *Doctrine of the Mean*, and other treatises, have indeed no reference to the supernatural, the unseen, or the other world. The fallacy of modern sinologues consists in regarding these moralizings as the whole message of China's superman. Strictly speaking, they should be treated only as parts of a system which in its entirety has a place as much for the gods, sacrifices, prayers, astrology, demonology, tortoise worship, divination, and so forth, of Taoist China as for the purely ethical conceptions of the duty toward one's neighbor or the ideal relations between human beings.

Thirdly, this alleged positivism or atheism of Confucius, and the pre-Confucian religion of ancient China which for all practical purposes was identical with the polytheistic nature-cult of the earliest Indo-Germanic races, have to be sharply distinguished from another Confucianism. For since about the fifth century A. D. the worship of Confucius as a god has been planted firmly in the Chinese consciousness and institutions. This latter-day Confucius cult is a cult of nature forces affiliated to the primitive Shangti cult, Heaven cult, Tai (mountain) cult, etc., of the Chinese. In this Confucianism Confucius is a god among gods.

Similarly in Buddhism also we have to recognize two fundamentally different sets of phenomena. There are two Buddhisms essentially distinct from each other. The first is the religion or system of moral discipline founded by Shakya (B. C. 563-483), the son of the president or archon (*raja*) of the Sakiya republic in eastern India, who came to be called the Buddha, or the Enlightened (the Awakened). Shakya founded an order (*sangha*) of monks, and adumbrated the philosophy of the twelve *nidanas* (links between ignorance and birth) and the ethics of the Eightfold Path. In this branch of Buddhism, which should really be called Shakyaism, Buddha is of course neither a god nor a prophet of God, but only a preacher among the preachers of his time. The system is generally known as Hinayana or the Lesser Vehicle of Buddhism. Its most prominent tenet is that of Nirvana or the cessation of misery (annihilation of pain).

But there is another faith in which Buddha is *a* or rather *the* god. This Buddha cult, or Buddhism strictly so called, cannot by

any means be fathered upon Shakya, the moralist. It chanced to evolve out of the schisms among his followers. Buddha worship was formulated by Ashvaghosha and came into existence as a distinct creed about the first century A. D. in northwestern India, during the reign of Kanishka, the Indo-Tartar emperor. This faith, also called Mahayana (the Greater Vehicle), was theologically much allied to, and in ritual and mythology did not really differ from, the contemporary Jaina and Puranic Hinduisms of India. It is this Buddhism with its gods and goddesses that was introduced from Central Asia into China in A. D. 67, from China into Korea in A. D. 372, and from Korea into Japan in A. D. 552.

The contrast between Shakya the preacher and Buddha the god, or Confucius the moralist and Confucius the god, has its parallel in Christology also. Modern criticism expresses this contrast, says Bacon in *The Making of the New Testament*, in its distinction of the Gospel of Jesus from the Gospel about Jesus. The distinction between Shakyaism and Buddhism, or between Confucianism as the system of tenets in the body of literature compiled by Confucius, and Confucianism in which Confucius figures as a divinity on a footing with Shangti, is the same in essence as that between the teachings of Jesus the Jew and the teachings, say, of St. Paul about Jesus the Christ who is God in man.

The Doctrine of Avatara (Deification of Man).

The incarnation myths of the *Ramayana* and similar legends of the *Jatakas* (Birth Stories) must have developed as early as the epoch of Maurya imperialism (B. C. 322-185). While the poets of the Rama legend sang, "For Vishnu's self disdained not mortal birth, And heaven came with him as he came to earth," and Krishna proclaimed in the *Geeta* section of the *Mahabharata*, "Forsake all *dharmas* (ways, *taos*, creeds), make Me alone thy way," the sculptors of India were carving basreliefs to represent scenes in the life of Shakya deified as the Buddha. The post-Asokan but pre-Christian sculptures at Bharhut (second century B. C.) leave no doubt as to the prevalence of a faith in Buddha whose birth was believed to be supernatural and whose career was to anticipate ideologically the holy ministrations of the Syrian Messiah. Besides, the mind of India had become used to such emphatic pronouncements as the following:

"I am the Father, and the fostering Nurse,
Grandsire, and Mother of the Universe,
I am the Vedas, and the Mystic word,

The way, support, the witness, and the Lord.
The Seed am I, of deathless quickening power,
The Home of all, the mighty Refuge-tower."

The Buddha cult was thus born and nurtured in a perfectly congenial atmosphere.

The Pauline doctrine of Jesus as an *avatara*, i. e., god incarnated in man, was also quite in keeping with the spiritual milieu of the age, rife as it was with the notion of redeemer-gods. Here an Osiris, there a Mithra was commanding the devotion of the civilized world as a god who was resurrected after death to save mankind. Parallel to the development in Iran which transformed Zarathustra from the man-prophet-singer of the *Gathas* into a supernatural and semidivine figure, there was in Israel the continuous and progressive re-interpretation of traditional beliefs and symbols, as Canon Charles points out in the *Religious Development Between the Old and New Testaments*. From the third century B. C. on, as a consequence, whole histories centered round such conceptions as soul, spirit, Sheol, Paradise, Messianic Kingdom, the Messiah, the Resurrection. The idea of the Redeemer was taking definite shape, for instance, in the following verses of the *Psalms of Solomon* composed about the first century B. C. :

"Behold, O Lord, and raise up unto them
Their King, the son of David,
At the time in which thou seest, O God,
That he may reign over Israel Thy servant,
And gird him with strength that he may
Shatter unrighteous rulers
And that he may purge Jerusalem from
Nations that trample her down to destruction."

In India the rhapsodists of the Valmikian cycle were singing of the advent of the Messiah as Rama, and Shakyan monks elaborating the Buddhist stories of incarnation (*Jataka*) in the selfsame strain. Nor was China to be left without an *avatara* or a deified human personality. In the fourth century B. C., Mencius, the St. Paul of Confucianism, calls his great master *chi ta-cheng*, or "the embodiment of highest perfection." Three hundred years after his death, Confucius was made duke and earl. Sze Ma-chien, the Chinese Herodotus (first century B. C.), describes him as the "divinest of men." But by the end of the first century A. D. the birthplace of Confucius had become a goal for the pilgrim, and even emperors wended their way thither to pay their respects at his shrine. In A. D. 178, says Giles in *Confucianism and Its Rivals*, a likeness of

Confucius had been placed in his shrine as a substitute for the wooden tablet in use up to that date. In 267 an imperial decree ordered the sacrifice of a pig, a sheep, and an ox to Confucius at each of the four seasons. The first complete Confucian temple was built and dedicated in 505. About 555 it was enacted that a Confucian temple should be built in every prefectural city, for the people had come to "look upon Confucius as a god to be propitiated for the sake of worldly advantages."

This heroification and deification of Confucius was not an isolated phenomenon in the Chinese world, for China was also simultaneously transforming Lao-tze, his senior contemporary, into a divinity. The Taoist writers had begun to describe their great prophet as an incarnation of some superior being coming among men in human shape in every age. They also told the various names under which he appeared, from the highest period of fabulous antiquity down to as late a time as the sixth century, making in all seven periods.

Indeed, the spiritual experience of the entire human race was passing through almost the same climacteric. Zoroastrianism was evolving Mithraism, Chinese classics were evolving the worship of Confucius and Lao-tze, Hinduism was evolving the Buddha cult, Krishna cult, Rama cult, etc., and Judaism was in the birth-throes of the Christ cult.

Rapprochement in Religious Psychology.

How much of this common element in Confucianism, Buddhism, and Christianity was the "joint product" of the same socio-religious antecedents? How much again was autochthonous in China, India, and Asia Minor, i. e., absolutely independent of mutual influence? The question of the indebtedness of one race to another in metaphysics and religion cannot be solved satisfactorily for want of positive evidence. But the historic background was unified and internationalized enough to admit of an extraordinary fusion of cultures. One theater of such cultural intermixture was Central Asia. Here, during the early centuries of the Christian era, police notices were written in Chinese, the letters being inscribed in a form of Sanskrit. But the strings with which the wooden tablets were tied were sealed mostly with Greek seals bearing the image of Athena or Heracles. Here, then, as Laurence Binyon remarks in *Painting in the Far East*, we touch three great civilizations at once: India, Greece, China.

This race-fusion or cultural intermarriage must have been in

full swing while the incarnation-myths of the Hindus, Jews, and Chinese were in the period of gestation, i. e., during the last three centuries of the pre-Christian era. For, conscious and deliberate internationalism was the distinctively original contribution of Alexander to the civilization of Eur-Asia. The whole epoch beginning with his accession to the throne may be said to have been one in which race-boundaries were being obliterated, cultural angularities rounded off, intellectual horizons enlarged, and the sense of universal humanity generated. It was a time when Platonists, Aristotelians, Cynics, and Stoics were likely to meet apocalyptists, Zoroastrians, Confucianists, Taoists, Nirvanists, and Yogaists on a common platform, when the grammarians and logicians of Alexandria were probably comparing notes with the Hindu Paninians and Darshanists, when the Charakan Ayoorvedists (medical men) of India could hold debates with the herbalists of Asia Minor, when, in one word, culture was tending to be developed not from national angles but from one international view-point and placed as far as possible on a cosmopolitan basis.

The courses of instruction offered at the great universities of the world, e. g., those of Honanfu, Taxila, Patalipootra, the Alexandrias, and Athens, naturally comprehended the whole encyclopedia of arts and sciences known to both Asia and Europe. The literati, *bhikshoos*, *magi*, and *sanyasins* of the East could not fail to meet the mystics, sophists, gnostics, and peripatetics of the West at out-of-the-way inns or caravansaries or at the recognized academies and seats of learning. What we now describe as a "Universal Races' Congress" and international conferences of scientists may then have been matters of course; and everybody who was anybody—Hindu, Persian, Chinese, Jew, Egyptian, Greek—was necessarily a student of *Weltliteratur* and a citizen of the world. The social systems of the different races who were thrown into that whirlpool were profoundly influenced by this intellectual expansion. Interracial marriages may be believed to have been things of common occurrence, and everywhere there was a *rapprochement* in ideals of life and thought. Mankind was fast approaching a common consciousness, a common conscience, and a common standard of civilization.

One of the forms in which this uniform psychological development of the different races was manifesting itself consisted in the elaboration of "great exemplars," *avatars*, or "supermen." The types of ethical and spiritual "perfection," i. e., the highest ideals and norms in human personality that, during the preceding centuries, had been slowly acquiring prominence in India, in the

Hellenistic world, and in China, at last began to crystallize out of the solution of race-experience, and emerge as distinctly individualized entities. The world forces or nature powers of the antique world, viz., Mother Earth and the elemental energies, furnished no doubt the basic foundations and the nuclei for these types or patterns. Folk-imagination in brooding over the past and reconstructing ancient traditions had sanctified certain historic personalities, legendary heroes, or eponymous culture pioneers, and endowed their names with a halo of romance. Philosophical speculation had been groping in the dark as to the mysteries of the universe and had stumbled upon the One, the Unknown, the Eternal, the Absolute, the Infinite, the Ideal. Last, but not least, are the contributions of "the lover, the lunatic, and the poet"—the Luke, the John, the Mencius, the Valmiki, the Ashvaghosha—who came to weld together all these elements into artistic shapes, "fashioning forth" those "sons of God"—concrete human personalities to embody at once the man-in-God and the God-in-man.

The Ethical Postulates of China, India, and Christendom.

The ethical conceptions of a race are bound up so inextricably with its economic and social institutions that for all practical purposes they may be regarded as almost independent of its strictly religious thought, its theological doctrines, and the hypotheses of its prophets or thinkers regarding the nature of the Godhead, the soul, and the relation between man and the Creator. While, therefore, the "whole duty of man" is sure to differ with race and race, nay, with class and class, and also with epoch and epoch in each race and in each class, it is still remarkable that the most fundamental categories of moral life all the world over have been the same. The ethical systems of historic Confucianism, Buddhism, and Christianity are broad-based on almost identical notions of the Good and the Right.

But here it is necessary to make a few special remarks about Confucianism. In the first place, suggestive sex ideas associated with such concepts as the "immaculate conception" in Christ-lore, or "energy" (*shakti*, the female "principle") in Buddhist mythology, have absolutely no place either in the *Classics* compiled by Confucius the man, or in the religion in which Confucius is a god. From the standpoint of conventional morality, Confucianism is the most chaste and undefiled of the great world-religions.

In the second place, one must not argue from this that the Chinese mentality is what Confucius presumes it to be, for China

is not merely Confucius magnified. Every Chinese is a Confucianist, and yet something more. Like the Japanese who is at once a believer in Shinto (the "Way of the Gods," a polytheistic cult of nature forces) and a Buddhist, so the men and women of China, almost each and all, are Taoists (followers of Lao-tze's mystical cult) and Buddhists at the same time that they offer sacrifices to Confucius and Shangti. When the head of the family dies, says Wu Ting-fang, the funeral services are conducted in a most cosmopolitan way, for the Taoist priest and Buddhist monks as well as nuns are usually called in to recite prayers for the dead in addition to the performance of ceremonies in conformity with the Confucian rules of propriety. The *mores* of Chinese life, eclectic as it is, cannot thus all be found in the teachings of the *Classics* alone.

One need not be surprised, therefore, to find in the Chinese *Weltanschauung* a place for the pessimism that one meets with in the pronouncements of Jesus. "He that loveth father or mother more than me is not worthy of me," said he. And further, "If any man cometh unto me, and leaveth not his father and mother and wife and children, he cannot be my disciple." Here is the origin of the system that, backed by St. Paul's recommendation of celibacy for Christ's followers, ultimately developed into Christian monasticism and the ethics of retreat from the "world and the flesh." The selfsame doctrine of holiness by means of asceticism and self-mortification has had a long tradition in pre-Confucian China as well as in China since the age of Lao-tze and Confucius. Even in the earliest ages of Chinese history perfection, holiness, or divinity were held to be exclusively attainable by dispassion, apathy, willlessness, unconcernedness about the pleasures and pains of life, quietism, or *wu-wei*. Emperor Hwang-ti of hoary antiquity is mentioned by Chwang-tze (fourth century B.C.), the great follower of Lao-tze, as having retired for three months in order to prepare himself for receiving the Tao from an ascetic who practised freedom from mental agitation.

Along with this pessimistic strand of Christianity, Chinese moral consciousness can also display the mystical leanings of Jesus as manifest in such declarations as "The Kingdom of God is within you," or "My Kingdom is not of this world." Thus, says Chwang-tze, "Be free yourself from subjective ignorance and individual peculiarities, find the Tao in your own being, and you will be able to find it in others too, because the Tao cannot be one in one thing and another in another." And according to the *Tao Teh King*, the Bible of Taoism, "mighty is he who conquers himself." Further,

"If you keep behind, you shall be in front," or "He who is content has enough." These are the tenets of passivism and non-resistance that Jesus stood for when he advised his followers to "render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's."

We need not dwell on the ascetic or piëtistic ideals and institutions of Buddhism, as the Plotinuses, the St. Francises, the Jacopone da Todis, the Boehmes, the Ruysbroeks, and the Guyons of India are too well known. We have rather to emphasize, on the other hand, the fact that transcendentalism, idealism, or mysticism is not the only attitude or philosophy of ethical life advanced by, or associated with, the religious systems of the world. Not less is the ethics of positivism, i. e., of humanitarian energism (*viriyā*) and social service or brotherhood (*sarva-sattva-maitree*), a prominent feature in Buddhism, in Christianity, and in the moral dicta of Chinese sages like Confucius, Moh-ti, the preacher of universal love, and Mencius, the advocate of tyrannicide. There is no doubt a great difference in the manner in which the categories have been stated in the three systems, especially as regards the intellectual analysis or psychological classification of the cardinal virtues and vices. But from the view-point of moral discipline, none but a hidebound linguist or a student of formal logic can fail to notice the pragmatic identity of life governed by the "Eightfold Path" of Shakya, the "Five Duties" of Confucius, and the "Ten Commandments" of the Bible. Nay, like the Mosaic dictates, the Confucian and Shakyian principles are too elementary to have been missed by the prophets of any race.

The most important tenet in Confucius's moral creed is to be found in the idea of "reciprocity." It is thus worded in his *Doctrine of the Mean*: "What you do not wish others should do unto you, do not do unto them." In a negative form this is indeed the golden rule of Luke: "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye also to them likewise." In any treatment of fellow-beings Shakya's injunction also is "to put oneself in the place of others" (*attanam upamam katva*). We read in the *Dhammapada*:

"All men tremble at punishment, all men fear death: Putting yourself in the place of others, kill not nor cause slaughter.

All men tremble at the rod, all men love life. Doing as you would be done by, kill not nor cause to kill."

Reciprocity is thus the common golden rule of the three world-religions.

The formulation of this rule was the distinctive contribution

of Confucius to Chinese life. His catechism of moral discipline points out, further, that the duties of universal obligation are five, and the moral qualities by which they are carried out are three. The duties are those between ruler and subject, between father and son, between husband and wife, between elder brother and younger, and those in the intercourse between friends. Intelligence, moral character, and courage, these are the three universally recognized moral qualities of man. The performance of these duties is the *sine qua non* of "good manners." In the Confucian system the tenet of reciprocity leads thus to the cult of "propriety." In the Shakyian discipline also we have the same propriety in the doctrine of *secla* ("conduct"). The path leading to cessation of misery is described in the *Digha Nikaya* as consisting in right belief, right resolve, right speech, right behavior, right occupation, right effort, right contemplation, and right concentration. It is obvious that some of the conditions stated here, especially those in regard to speech, behavior, and occupation, are "other-regarding," i. e., have a social significance in the system of self-culture.

Lest the social energism of Shakyian morals be ignored, it is necessary to point out that *appamada*, or vigilance, strenuousness, and activity, is the first article in the Buddhist monk's creed of life. "By rousing himself, by earnestness, by restraint and control," says Shakyia in the *Dhammapada*, "the wise man may make for himself an island that no flood can overwhelm.... Earnest among the thoughtless, awake among the sleepers, the wise man advances like a racer leaving behind the hack.... The mendicant who delights in earnestness and looks with fear on thoughtlessness moves about like fire, burning all his fetters small and large." It is moral and intellectual gymnasts such as these, "moving about like fire," that built the first hospitals of the world for men and animals, established rest-houses and planted trees for wayfarers, popularized the trial by jury and the methods of election, voting, quorum, etc., in democratic assemblies, and founded universities, academies, and other seats of learning in India, China, and Japan.

THE FRESCOES OF THE HORYUJI.

BY HARADA JIRO.

LOVERS of old art of Japan are much concerned in the rare frescoes of the Horyuji near Nara, the oldest Buddhistic temple in Japan. Our government has taken an active interest in them and the Department of Education has recently made an appropriation

and appointed a committee of eight to investigate the ways and means for their preservation.

Hekiga, or wall-paintings,¹ are extremely rare in Japan, and those of the Horyuji are considered to be most important from



No. 1.*

both an historic and an art standpoint. The frescoes in question are on twelve walls: four large and eight smaller ones, the largest walls measuring ten feet in height and over eight feet in width,

¹ *Heki-ga* is the Japanese name for fresco, *heki* meaning "wall" and *ga* meaning "painting."

* For titles and explanatory notes see end of article.

while the others are the same in height and about five feet in width. The four large frescoes, apparently representing domains in four directions of the universe, are not located on the four sides of the hall as might naturally be expected. There are, to be exact, one on the east wall south of the eastern entrance (the building has entrances on four sides), another on the west wall south of the western entrance, and one on each side of the north entrance to the building. The eight smaller walls at the four corners of the build-



No. 2.

ing are also covered with paintings, there being only one small fresco on either extreme of the south side of the building, at the middle of which is the front entrance. Besides these, there are between the ceiling and the horizontal beams, a number of narrow parts of walls, upon which are painted flying angels and *rakan* in the mountains.²

² *Rakan* (Skt. *arhant*, Pali *arahat*) is translated "a true man," who through discipline has reached the last stage of human development and needs only one more existence to attain Buddhahood. A *rakan*, at the end of the transmigration of soul, shall not be born again to die; he has destroyed all evil thoughts in his mind, has nothing more to learn, is able to make others happy, and conforms to the truth.

These walls are on the inside of one of the main buildings of the Horyuji named Kondo, the chief sanctuary, erected for the worship of Shaka-muni.³ The Kondo stands opposite the Five-storied Pagoda. These two structures, together with the San-mon, the gate,⁴ are the oldest wooden buildings in Japan, being the remnants of the original edifices of the Horyuji, which was founded by Shotoku-Taishi, the Constantine of Japanese Buddhism, and com-



No. 3.

pleted in 607 of the Christian era. The Kondo now contains a wonderful collection of art treasures, the acme of ancient Buddhist art in Japan. Among them are the Tamamushi-no-zushi,⁵ of

³ Shakya-muni (Skt.) is called Shaka-muni in Japanese.

⁴ A *san-mon* is a big gateway, or a gatehouse, for it is generally in two stories with a roof, and in the shape of a house with big portals, which are often guarded by immense figures of *ni-o* (two deva kings), Indra and Brahma, who keep guard at the outer gate of temples to scare away demons.

⁵ A portable shrine magnificently decorated with carvings and paintings. Wings of the *tamamushi* (an insect) are held under carved metal work for decoration—hence the name. Hardly any wings now remain. *Zushi* is the Japanese name for a framework in which sacred images are kept.



No. 4.

wonderful workmanship, some hammered figures and other unrivaled works in metal, Shaka-muni, Yakushi,⁶ and several other images in bronze, and Shitenno,⁷ Kwannon, and other wooden sculptures. They all occupy a very important position among our "national treasures."⁸ Whenever I meditate among these venerable objects, I cannot help being deeply moved by the very spirit of these wondrous figures—by that precious something which seems to etherealize the hard substances of which the images are made, to a vision of truth conceived by the great spiritual teacher of the East. Here the spiritual atmosphere, with its mysterious vibration, is overpowering. Some of the figures stand as living witnesses of the universality of truth, the oneness of the light toward which all souls turn.

The fresco paintings present to us an interesting phase of foreign influence upon our art. It is apparent that Hindu and Persian influences are discernible in them, in general form and features of the images, in the quality of lines, in feeling, and in technique. Whether these influences have come direct from their sources, or through Chinese or Korean channels, is still a matter of dispute among our scholars. Not only that, but we have been unable to agree upon the period of the paintings on these walls, much less upon the artist who painted them. According to the tradition handed down at the temple, the wall-paintings were executed by a Korean priest, Doncho. So far, investigations seem to indicate that the walls and paintings are as old as the building, with traces of restoration at a later period. Only one wall is an exception, the large wall on the east, which seems to have been reconstructed and newly painted in the Kamakura period.⁹ However, this is by no means conclusive.

To add to our troubles, we are not quite clear even upon the subjects of these paintings on the walls—at least, not upon most of them. The four large walls have group subjects, while the eight others treat single figures. According to an old catalog which has

⁶ Yakushi is the Healing Buddha. He heals all kinds of diseases and is also called upon to heal in the next life the miserable condition of man's present existence.

⁷ Shi-tenno, meaning "four heavenly kings"—who guard the world against the attacks of demons, each defending one quarter of the horizon.

⁸ By a committee appointed by the government art objects in possession of Buddhist temples and Shinto shrines are examined from time to time and worthy objects are classed as "national treasure" to be taken care of by the government.

⁹ The Kamakura period begins with the year 1180 (according to the Christian era) when Yoritomo established his capital at Kamakura, and lasted about one hundred and fifty years. It was in the latter half of this period that the minute and realistic style of Buddhist paintings was first highly developed.



No. 5.

long been considered authentic, the central figures in the groups of the four big walls are: Amida (Amitayus)¹⁰ south of the west entrance, Hosho (Ratnasambhava) south of the east entrance, Yakushi (Bhaisajyaguruvaidduryaprabhasa-Tathagata) east of the north entrance, and Shaka-muni west of the north entrance, there being no mention of the minor wall-paintings. However, the description does not seem to suit some of them. The names for the single figures on the eight smaller walls have not been agreed upon either. The difficulty lies chiefly in our inability to determine the sutra in which the artist must have sought for inspiration, though it is now conceded by many—and not without reason—that the subject must have been drawn from the *Konkomyo Sutra*.¹¹ The dispute can only be settled by further study and investigation. As shown in the reproductions, the frescoes are badly cracked and partly obliterated by time, but they stand unique in our art.

An appeal is being made by certain scholars to take a radical step for a permanent protection of these irreplaceable art treasures of the East. It has been suggested that the best way would be to construct a suitable museum building on the temple grounds, to which the walls should be moved bodily and kept in a horizontal position under glass. However, the difficulty is that the paintings are not only an object of art but of worship, inseparable from the sanctuary erected some thirteen centuries ago for the worship of Shaka-muni. So it is needless to say that the temple authorities are adverse to the proposition. It has been decided for the time being that the paintings will be kept in their present position under cover.

For us it is extremely interesting to consider, in this connection, the intimate relation of art to religion, of the sense of beauty to the spirit of worship, and to ponder upon the wonderful works of art produced in ancient times when Buddhism was strong in Japan, the best examples of which are yet to be found in the temples at Nara, the ancient capital of the empire, and in those of its vicinity, such as the Horyuji, Yakushiji, and Toshodaiji.

¹⁰ Amida is the Japanese name for Skt. Amitayus or Amitabha. By combining the two names Amida was obtained, and the Japanese Amida is derived from it. Amida was originally an abstraction—the ideal of "boundless light." In some sects Amida is a powerful deity dwelling in a lovely paradise to the west.

¹¹ The *Konkomyo Sutra* is composed of four volumes with eighteen chapters. It was preached widely since the Nara period (from 709 to 784 in the Christian era, when Buddhism flourished in Japan). It contains teachings now upheld by the Tendai sect. The following are the six principal denominations of Buddhism existing to-day in Japan, classed in the order of their numerical importance: Zen, Shin or Monto, Shingon, Jodo, Nichiren or Hokke, Tendai.



No. 6.

NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS.

The Horyuji consists of a group of buildings. *Ji* at the end of the word is the Chinese pronunciation of a character which stands for "temple" in English. It is *tera* in Japanese and refers only to Buddhist temples. The term is also used for "monastery." A *tera* may be a single building, but strictly speaking it should contain the following seven structures:

San-mon—a gateway.

Butsu-den—a large building containing images of the Buddha and saints, *Butsu* meaning Buddha, and *den* a hall or building.

Ho-do—*ho* meaning the Law and *do* meaning temple or hall.

The hall in which Buddhism is expounded and preached.

So-do—*so* meaning priests. A building for the priests to live in.

Yoku-do—a bath-house.

Kuriya—kitchen.

Kawayaya—water-closet, a separate building which hundreds of worshipers may use.

Some temples have additional buildings. The Horyuji has many, such as the Go-ju-no-to ("Five-storied Pagoda"), the Yumedono (literally "Dream Hall," which was used for meditation), etc.

The Kondo ("Golden Hall," *kon* meaning gold, and *do* a hall) is the main building, the chief sanctuary, corresponding to the Butsu-den in the list of buildings given above. The name *kondo* is used only in large and important temples.

No. 1. The Kondo and the Five-storied Pagoda of the Horyuji.

No. 2. The painting—Amida and a group of Sonja (high-souled venerable disciples of the Buddha)—on the large west wall of the Kondo.

No. 3. The painting—possibly Hosho-butsu and a group of Sonja—on the large wall east of the north entrance of the Kondo.

Hosho-butsu is one of the Buddhas and controls the life of all things with a power to bestow the enjoyment of life.

No. 4. A part of the painting—possibly Ashiku-butsu and a group of Sonja—on a large space between pillars on the east wall of the Kondo.

Ashiku signifies non-movement, immovability, and non-anger. Butsu is honorific. According to a sutra, countless ages ago, Ashiku, through the influence of Dai-nichi Nyorai, turned to religion, dis-



No. 7.

ciplined himself and attained Buddhahood and built a land of purity (an imaginary region) where he still preaches.

Dai-nichi Nyorai is the personification of wisdom and of absolute purity.

No. 5. The painting—possibly a Bosatsu—on the partition on the east wall of the Kondo at the southeast corner.

A Bosatsu is a Buddhistic saint of high attainment, struggling to obtain perfect enlightenment and seeking to save the world: submitting himself to discipline with great craving for wisdom from above and for mercy to bestow upon those below him in the world.

No. 6. The painting—possibly of Sho-Kwannon—on the partition on the south wall at the southeast corner (facing the aforementioned Bosatsu) of the Kondo.

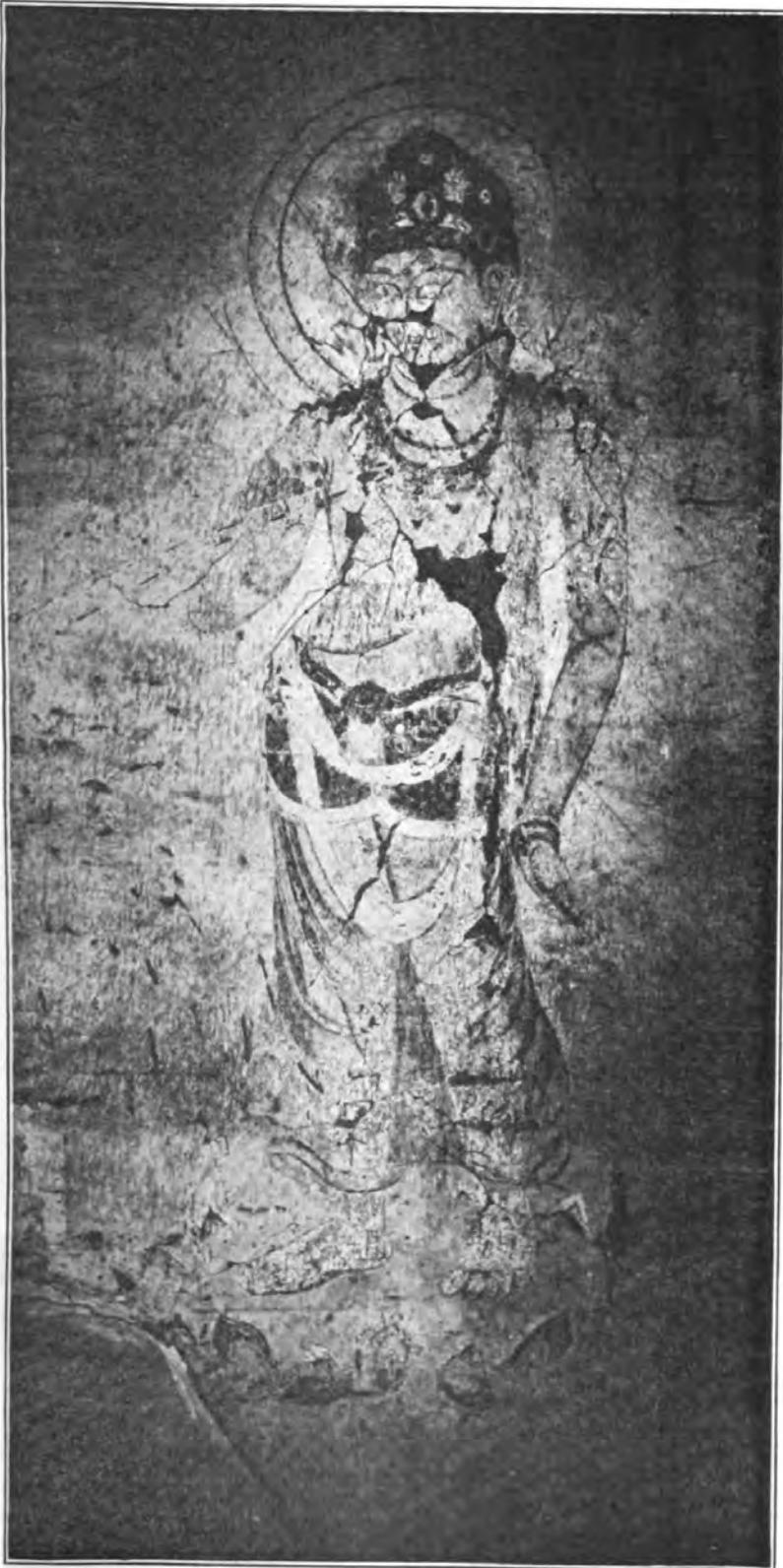
Sho-Kwannon is one of the six forms of Kwannon, goddess of mercy. Sho-Kwannon stands for wisdom and generally has a lotus bud in her left hand, and is showing the form of an opened lotus flower in her right hand. This form signifies her power to open to full blossom the hidden possibilities in men.

No. 7. The painting of Fugen Bosatsu on the partition of the north wall at the northeast corner of the Kondo.

Fugen Bosatsu is the highest among the Bosatsu and is always associated with Monju Bosatsu. Fugen stands for compassion, Monju for wisdom. Fugen rides on a white elephant, while Monju rides on a lion. The attributes of Fugen are symbolized by the elephant, which stands for the latent power that endures and accomplishes things, while Monju symbolizes the power of wisdom to destroy sham and find the truth with the keenness and force of a lion in attack. Fugen and Monju are seen attendant on either side of Shaka-muni (the Perfect One, the founder of Buddhism). Fugen also has power to prolong one's life.

No. 8. The painting—possibly Juichimen Kwannon (eleven-faced Kwannon)—on the partition of the east wall at the northeast corner (facing Fugen Bosatsu) of the Kondo.

Juichimen Kwannon is one of the six forms of Kwannon, goddess of mercy. It has ten small heads on the head of the main figure, the three front heads bearing a countenance of compassion, the three to the left one of anger, and the three to the right showing teeth. They represent the attributes of Juichimen Kwannon as rejoicing at the good and sneering and laughing at the bad. The main face is neither laughing nor sad, showing the bigness of the soul to swallow both good and bad, the pure and impure. The small head on the top shows the face of a Buddha of true enlightenment.



No. 8.



No. 9.

No. 9. The painting—possibly Miroku Bosatsu—on the partition of the north wall at the northwest corner of the Kondo.

Miroku Bosatsu stands preeminent for his compassion and wis-

dom. According to one version, Miroku began striving for perfection many years before Shaka-muni and is to appear in this world as a perfect Buddha at a time in the future to take the place of Shaka-muni in leading men to salvation.



No. 10.

No. 10. The San-mon, the gateway, and the Five-storied Pagoda of the Horyuji.

BIBLE QUOTATIONS AND CHINESE CUSTOMS.

BY JULIUS J. PRICE.

SCHLEIERMACHER has well remarked that "no religion is wholly new, as the same basic ideas reappear in all."¹ And if one considers the universality of some practices² he might believe that it points to a time when the ancestors of all nations lived together and so derived the knowledge from a common source. But in spite of this fact, each religion tries to realize that only in its respective religious consciousness can the truth be possessed.³ On the other hand, if we examine the sacred books of the three great religions of the world, it becomes evident even to the most casual observer that there are common basic ideas in all of them. It is now an accepted fact, advanced by theologians, that Christianity borrowed largely not only from Judaism but also from the pagan cults with which it came in contact.⁴ Mohammedanism in its turn borrowed from both Judaism and Christianity. And so we could continue comparisons⁵ to show that no religion alone "is wholly new, as the same basic ideas reappear in all."

In the light of such facts it is not to be wondered at, then, that on comparing the sacred writings and customs of the Chinese with those of the Old and New Testament,⁶ a similitude of thought as well as of ideas becomes evident to the student.⁷ The following few examples will illustrate this contention.⁸

In Isaiah lvii. 6, we read, "Among the smooth stones of the stream is thy portion; they, they are thy lot; even to them hast thou poured a drink offering, thou hast offered a meat offering." The worship of smooth stones⁹ is attested by many ancient writers to

¹ Stade, *Akademische Reden*, etc., Giessen, 1899, p. 57.

² Comp., e. g., Lansdell, *The Tithe in Scripture*, p. 18.

³ Hegel's *Geschichte der Religion*, Vol. I, Chap. 5.

⁴ Conybeare, *Myth, Magic, Morals* (*passim*).

⁵ Reinach, *Orpheus, a History of Religions* (*passim*).

⁶ See Bergson, *Introduction to Metaphysics*.

⁷ Baron von Hügel, *Mystical Elements of Religion*, Vol. I, Chap. 2.

⁸ Loisy, *The Religion of Israel*, p. 50.

⁹ Comp. Talmud: "R. Simon ben Yochai said, 'A precious stone was worn round the neck by our father Abraham, and every sick man who beheld it was restored to health. When our father Abraham died God suspended the stone from the sun.' Abbaye said, 'This accounts for the proverb, When the sun rises the illness decreases.'"—"Baba Bathra," 16B.

have been an outstanding feature in the character of heathen worship. Theophrastus well remarked that "passing by the anointed stones in the streets, the heathen takes out his vial of oil, pours it on them, and having fallen on his knees and made his admonition, he departs." Among the Semites¹⁰ there must have been a belief that a stone was the habitation of the deity. Herodotus¹¹ tells us that the Arab had great reverence for stones. He must worship every white and beautiful stone, and when it was impossible to find such, he was so crude as to worship a hill of sand. Before departing on a journey, the Arab would take with him four stones, three of which were to serve the purpose of a hearth, the fourth to be used as an idol. In cases where stones were not available, the Arab while on the road would worship any stones or heap of sand that he found in the neighborhood.¹² "The adoration of stones among the Ishmaelites," says Ibn Ishak, "originated in the custom of men carrying a stone from the sacred enclosure of Mecca; where they went they set it up and made circuits round about it as about the Kaaba, till at last they adored every goodly stone they saw, forgot their religion, and changed the faith of Abraham and Ishmael into the worship of stones." The Deuteronomic historian regarded the downfall of the people as due to the erecting of stones by Juda in Israel.

In China, a water-worn stone elevated upon a rude altar represented the *shayshn*, or gods of the land. Before this altar, incense sticks were constantly burned. Every village and every street of twenty-five families erected one of these altars, and in the spring and autumn worshiped the deities supposed to be enshrined upon it. These gods were held in particular veneration by the agricultural classes, who with the aid of the priests invoked a blessing upon the season at certain times, generally on the second of the second month. The priests, three or four in number, not loath to perform so joyous a ceremony, arrived dressed in robes of yellow and green, accompanied by a few musicians with their instruments. They were attended by their employers, and a servant bearing a tray filled with cakes, preserves, and meats proceeded them, followed by another carrying several small cups and a can of spirits. On approaching the altar the eatables were presented before the stones, and then the priests made a libation before and upon it of three cups of spirits.

¹⁰ Comp. Gen. xxviii; comp. also the Greek *boelutus*. The Phœnicians also worshiped stones in the temple of Melkart at Tyre, comp. Herod., II, 44.

¹¹ Comp. Herod., III, 8.

¹² Can this be a remnant of the Canaanites' custom against which the Deuteronomic Code was issued? Comp. Deut. xii. 3, also xvi. 22.

At the sound of a flourish upon a gong and trumpet, the priest mumbled over the prescribed form of blessing upon the neighboring fields, which was not understood by reason of its rapid enunciation. After the prayer, a second libation was sometimes poured out before the priest and attendants passed on to the next altar. During this ceremony, great glee was manifested by all spectators, caused no doubt by the seemingly good humor of the priest. The landlord, considering the expense incurred, did not show so jovial a countenance. One can almost imagine a similar custom to have existed in the days of Isaiah.

In Proverbs xxv. 3, we read as follows: "The heaven for height, and the earth for depth, and the heart of kings is unsearchable." In comparing the following aphorism from the *Ming-sin Paou Keen*, we seem to find the very same thought. Here we read, "The fish dwell in the bottom of the water, and the eagles in the sides of heaven; the one though high may be reached by an arrow, and the other though deep may be angled for; but the heart of man at only a cubit's distance cannot be known. Heaven can be spanned, earth can be fathomed, but the heart of man cannot be measured."

In Eccl. vii. 6, we read, "For as the crackling of thorns under a pot so is the laughter of the fool." The coarse grass which grows upon the hillsides in the islands about Macao is used by the poor Chinese as a substitute for wood, which is too expensive for cooking purposes. It consists for the most part of a species of *Andropogon*. The natives cut it in the autumn and store it in bundles for winter's use. In its unsubstantial nature it resembles the dry thorns used for fuel in Judea; and its crackling blaze and great flame and noise giving no heat in the burning or coals in the embers, reminds one of the laughter of a fool.

In Job xix. 23-24, we read, "Oh that my words were now written! oh that they were printed in a book! That they were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock forever!" Engraved rocks, to commemorate remarkable events, are seen in China, though not in such vast numbers as in Persia and India. This is explained by the fact that the literature of the Chinese obviates the necessity for such crude expressions of commendation. The smoothed surface of rocks in Asitu, when they lie in spots esteemed lucky, are engraved with characters under the direction of geomancers or *fung-shwuy* doctors. Characters of this order are supposed to exert a beneficial influence upon the surrounding country. Great skill is often displayed in the cutting of the sentences and names on the pillars and door-posts of the temples. These inscriptions are em-

ployed to commemorate distinguished and honored individuals, but often are merely used for ornament's sake. Just as the Romans anciently published their Twelve Tables, so the Chinese government also employed this mode of establishing laws and regulations. The characters are plainly and deeply engraven upon the marble, and the slab is set up in a conspicuous place, in such a manner as to shelter it from the destroying influence of climatic conditions.

If we turn to the New Testament and compare several of the customs alluded to therein, with those of the Chinese, we shall be able to find a very similitude between them and those of the early inhabitants of the Chinese Empire. The more we examine the old in a new illustration, the more we become aware of their exactitude.

In Matthew vi. 7, we read, "But when you pray, use not vain repetitions as the heathen do; for they think they shall be heard for their much speaking." The following passage from the books of the Buddhists may show why such a caution had to be given by the writers of the New Testament as well as by later Chinese authorities. It is supposed to be a canon delivered by Fuh to be repeated for the prevention of all misfortunes and for the attaining of life in the world to come. The prayer is supposed to be repeated three times. It reads as I have it before me: "Nan-mo O-me-to po-yay, to-ta-kae to-yay, to-te-yay-ta, O-me-le-too po-kwan, O-me-le-to, seeh-tan-po-kwan, O-me-le-to, kwan-kea-lan-te, O-me-le-to, kwan-kea-lan-te: kea-me-ne, kea-kea-na, chih-to-kea-le po-po-ha."

This prayer is unintelligible to the average Chinaman. It is stated on very good authority that not one out of every hundred priests in China understands it. It is composed of bare sounds of Sanskrit words expressed as nearly as possible by Chinese words. The order of procedure with regard to this prayer was as follows: while the priest would repeat the prayer very quickly another priest would beat upon a drum in order to arouse the god. This drum was always made of wood inasmuch as it was a common belief that the evil spirit could not attack a drum made of wood. The above jumbled phrases were mumbled in a miserable fashion by the Chinese priest. Translated as well as possible, they mean: "The God Ometo (Amita) rests on top of the heads of those who repeat this prayer in order to save them from their enemies, to render them safe and comfortable in life, and to confer on them any mode of future existence which they may at the hour of death desire." I have been informed, if the prayer is recited thirty myriad times, the person reciting it can have anything he desires and will be sure to be at no distance from the personal vision of the god Ometo.

Later Chinese theologians as well as the author of the above-quoted New Testament verse began to condemn those who repeated their prayers innumera-ly.

But to proceed. In Matthew xx. 3, we read, "And he went out about the third hour, and saw others standing idle in the market-place." If one was to pass through the streets of Peking or Canton, one would be impressed with the crowds of porters or coolies waiting at the most public corners in the hope of a day's labor, or of being hired for a week or more. Each individual or couple is provided with a carrying pole and a pair of rope slings; and with these they perform all the services which fall to their lot. They are divided into companies and claim to do all the portage in their districts. In such towns where the coolies are hired by the month, these men often stand idle the lifelong day, through want of employment.

In Mark vii. 11, we read, "But ye say, if a man shall say to his father or mother, it is Corban, that is to say, a gift, by whatsoever thou mightest be profited by me; he shall be free." In China, it is the custom for Buddhist priests to take an entire farewell of the parents or other relations, or as they express it, *chuh kea*, "to go out of the family," and separate themselves from the world. They no longer owe any duty to their parents, and according to their doctrine, "have aught to do for their father or mother." But this tenet is as directly opposed to the ethics of Confucius as to the Fifth Commandment, and is consequently practised by none other than the devotees of Buddha. It is among the Buddhists as it was among the Pharisees, an unnatural doctrine of the sect.

In Luke vi. 38, we read, "Good measure, pressed down and shaken together, and running over, shall men give into your bosom." The Chinese, Japanese, and Loochooan costume consists of a number of long robes similar to nightgowns, which overlap in front and are secured by a girdle at the waist. One of the gowns is fashioned and used extensively to carry articles. These capacious receptacles often hold writing-materials, tobacco, pipe, and pouch, and numerous other commodities, without inconveniencing the wearer. The ancient Greeks and Hebrews were also accustomed to carrying articles in this manner. And it is the marvel of the careful observer that they were able to appear so well in such comely garments.

In John ii. 14, we read, "...and the changers of money sitting." The practice referred to here, of persons keeping small tables where money can be changed, is more common in China, perhaps, than in any of the several Asiatic countries where it is

in vogue. Those who engage in this profession usually provide themselves with a small table about three feet long by fifteen inches wide, and establish it in any busy thoroughfare. The market, temple, and street corner prove their particular haunts, and the garrulousness of the money-lender adds to the general confusion of the street noises. The strings of copper cash, often secured to the table by a chain, are piled up on one side, and the silver together with the small ivory yard with which it is weighed is kept in drawers. Their sign is a wooden figure carved in the form of a cylinder to represent a string of cash.

THE COSMOS AND ITS MEANING.

BY FRANK R. WHITZEL.

[In the following article, Mr. Whitzel offers a philosophic interpretation of the tenets of the Psychical Research Society. While fundamentally disagreeing with him on the subject, *The Open Court* presents his paper as an able statement of what some regard as the only escape from intellectual and moral despair.—ED.]

NO one can avoid holding some idea, clear or hazy, in regard to the mechanism and the general purpose of the universe. Since the dawn of study explanatory theories ranging from crudest anthropomorphism to purest subjectivism have been advanced and, as knowledge increased, discarded or modified; but inherent weaknesses still render doubtful every possible hypothesis. The problem has been approached through three principal channels, philosophy, revelation, and science.

Philosophy.

Ancient philosophy, beginning with high confidence, was in the end unable to answer the skeptics, who denied that anything could be really proven since all our faculties were liable to error; hence, it was constrained to admit that the universe might possibly be but a mental illusion. In modern philosophy the system known as idealism, perceiving that nothing can be known save as it presents itself to consciousness, asserts that physical nature is the expression of thought, necessarily of a divine thought. Realism, more prosaic, assumes external nature to be a fact and also accepts the fundamental data of science, but it is compelled to do both practically on faith since they constitute an objective reality outside of consciousness. Pragmatism, a species of realism now in vogue, argues that,

inasmuch as man is obliged to accept some things he cannot demonstrate, he should accept those ideas that prove most useful: they are true if they work.

The weak point of all philosophy is the fact that we are connected with external phenomena through our consciousness alone; that is, judgments can be formed only through our physical senses and our reason. Now, both of these are admittedly fallible; hence no reliable criterion of truth exists, and we must fall back on the uncertain ground of probability or the common experience of mankind. Thus, both ancient and modern philosophy reach the melancholy conclusion that all knowledge, save only of the existence of consciousness, is of doubtful validity.

Revelation.

Present-day religions originated in prescientific ages and are therefore much alike in their cosmology. They display very admirably man's conceit in thinking himself the most important product of the universe and his incorrigible habit of ascribing to some one else his own fine fortune or achievements, giving credit to a god for the good of earth but excusing him for the evil. All religions adopted at their origin the current conceptions of the cosmos and very soon came to ascribe its existence to the creative act of Deity and knowledge of it to revelation; hence their horrified opposition to new ideas in science. The outer universe, so they taught, revolved around the stationary earth which itself was an oblong plain surrounded by waters and roofed by the firmament, above which dwelt the celestial spirits busied in regulating the stars and opening the windows in the firmament to let the rain fall through. Somewhere in the lower regions was the abode of fallen angels and lost human spirits, ruled by the Enemy, the rival of the King of Heaven. In the upper world a single perfect God had gradually evolved from the previous multiplicity of human-like divinities, and continual war was represented to be waging between the good and the evil angels. Man was the prize of victory as well as a combatant and was thought to have fallen from a perfection which his religion might enable him to reattain.

Buddhism.

On this basis, with individual modifications, are builded the three great religions in which we are interested. Christianity and Mohammedanism accepted it frankly, and the latter is so devoid of originality that it warrants no independent treatment. Gautama

Siddhartha knew of no kingdom of evil, whose place was taken in the system of his people by soul-transmigration. This belief, however, he reconstructed in a singular manner. He asserted that the total result of the activities of an individual, his *karma*, immediately upon his death incarnated in a new life; but he denied that there was any indwelling soul which passed from one embodiment to the next, preserving its identity throughout. Yet he further taught, that by gradually overcoming the desires of the self through life after life, the soul, whose existence he had to all intents denied, might find Nirvana and cease rebirths. The contradiction is obvious and is sufficient to render pure Buddhism repugnant to the modern world in spite of the worth of its ethical content.

Christianity.

Jesus of Nazareth, less abstruse but more practical, taught that belief and righteous action would enable man to escape Sheol and enter at one step the Kingdom of Heaven which was to be established immediately after the destruction of the world, then impending. He had nothing new to offer as to the scheme of organization of either the material or the spirit world and but deemed himself a chosen, though a human instrument to save his people. He was unsuccessful in his mission, quite unknown at his death and mistaken in four fifths of his beliefs. His successors, in winning their tremendous victory, idealized the man out of all resemblance to the Gospel portrait and added a complex body of doctrine to which, save in its ever valid ethics, he was a total stranger. The Gentile invitation and all the great Christian tenets, Atonement, the Sonship, the Virgin Birth, the Trinity, were later developments.

It is hardly necessary to outline what the Church for more than a thousand years taught to be the true organization of the unseen world since now it is all quietly disregarded. The dogmas and the childish beliefs of orthodoxy have been transformed beyond recognition or sent to oblivion, until to-day the best exemplars of Christianity mean by the word something wholly different from what Augustine or Ambrose deemed all-essential. Most of them look upon Jesus the man as an excellent but impossible example and have a hazy idea that, as a vague sort of saviour, he may in some unknown manner help in a still less understood salvation. This is not to be construed as an attack upon the historical origin or the ethical spirit of Christianity. It is merely a statement of an obvious fact, that the orthodox teachings of revelation in regard

to the order and arrangement of the spiritual universe are no longer seriously believed.

Futility and Uncertainty.

As rationalism has upset the metaphysical basis of Christianity, so have the discoveries of modern science shattered the physical foundations of our religions. Their priesthoods, after vainly struggling against the facts, have been reduced to pretending that these facts do not matter. And now we have the spectacle of all our great religious systems based wholly upon a scheme of creation that no intelligent man believes for a moment. The ancient crude ideas of the cosmos permeate all sacred writings to such an extent that removed, little is left save a lifeless system of morality, correct but commonplace and expressed in the outworn terms of a false cosmology. The orthodox God simply will not fit present-day ideas of the universe, since he must be reduced to the lordship of our pitiful little planet alone—and this raises again the suggestion of a multitude of gods—or be exalted as ruler of the entire cosmos, in which case he has duties so tremendous as to render absurd the idea that he could notice such an insignificant grain of sand as the earth.

Some perhaps irreverent people have even asked why a God at all? How comes it that one spirit is so superior to all other spirits? Why should not the celestial world have a democratic form of government such as on earth we have found most attractive, rather than conform to the Oriental despotisms which ruled mankind when orthodox cosmogony was begotten? Is political progress impossible in spirit land? This is, of course, idle speculation. All we can say certainly is that revelation, like philosophy, in an effort to supply a rational explanation of the cosmos, definitely fails.

Science. Dualism and Its Shortcomings.

Science offers two principal theories explanatory of the cosmic order, dualism and monism. Dualism contends that all reality is divided into two fields, mind and matter, God and nature, the former dominant and exhibiting moral purpose. It is supported by immemorial opinion, by the countless tales in history and legend of contact with a world of spirits, by the presence of intelligence in nature and contrivance in organisms, but chiefly by our well-nigh invincible inner conviction. The first two have little or no scientific sanction, the third is susceptible of another explanation, and the last may be quite deceptive, most of the tangible evidence

pointing that way. But it is with the great foundation theories of modern knowledge, conservation and continuity, that dualism directly collides. The exercise of volition, personal initiation of any thought, independent control of the physical by the mental processes, these would be a creation of energy, hence quite impossible under conservation. As for continuity, like results must always follow like conditions or else all certainty of conclusion, even any possibility of progress in deciphering nature is precluded. And indeed, so far as exhaustive experiment can determine, cause and effect are universal and infallible, whereas capricious or at least independent action, physical as well as mental, should be patent if, as dualism holds, nature is governed by a self-motivating mind. A God who does not rule becomes a "superfluous hypothesis."

Monism and Its Difficulties.

These considerations have led science to the general adoption of monism, which asserts that in the cosmos there is but a single substance having merely different manifestations, all being modes of motion and strictly mechanical. This is the theory in its extreme form to which its logic leads if unswervingly pursued, but the less dogmatic of its advocates favor certain reasonable modifications. In general, however, monism accepts determinism, which teaches that the whole of reality is governed by changeless mechanical laws, that all phenomena, mental or physical, including the close relation between the two, are unalterable and are due to previous fixed conditions stretching back in unbroken order to the beginning of time. It follows that life is reduced to terms of physics and chemistry and that a living body is but the harmonious union of its parts.

Objections at once arise. To say nothing of the practical impossibility of finding any single substance capable of manifesting itself at once as mind and its object, there is obviously something undefinable by science but none the less real in a living organism which is not in a non-living, something self-supporting, self-renewing, self-impelling, something which may depart never to return though the body remain undamaged. The relation of thought to action, or more precisely, of mental to the accompanying physical phenomena, is wholly inexplicable if mind is not permitted of its own choice to control. A mechanical connection not only cannot be observed but is opposed to all our ideas of the mode of this interaction. And if it be mechanical, then there is no room in the system for volition, no place for initiation, persuasion, emotion, no

meaning in achievement or renunciation—all are but inexorable results; even cause and effect quite lose their character and become mere sequence in time. But no one, not even monists, can actually live in accordance with such a theory. Forgetting or defying continuity, they yield in their daily life to the power of their own intuition and assume to be free agents, not passive automatons as the strict logic of the mechanical theory requires. In this they are no more inconsistent than dualists who must in their research work, like all true investigators, adopt the doctrine of continuity, perhaps unconsciously but as implicitly as the most uncompromising monist.

Doubtless both theories contain much truth, but as correct and complete explanations of reality both seem to succumb, dualism to the necessity and observed presence of continuity in physical nature, monism to the irresistible appeal of volition and the caprice of mental activity.

Further Enigmas.

If attention be turned to the facts of nature the problem appears equally insoluble and the mechanical theory betrays grave weaknesses. To note but a few of the perplexities. Certain stars are moving through space at a velocity ten times greater than can be accounted for by gravity, the only known source of stellar motion. Gravity itself seems to act instantaneously and at a distance without a connecting medium, an absurdity in mechanics. This same force, being wholly unresisted in space, should draw all celestial bodies toward their common center of gravity; and as past time is held to be infinite the whole stellar universe should long ago have coalesced into a single compact and stable system. Space and time defy all analysis, so much so that great thinkers have denied them objective reality and termed them mere "modes of intuition." Matter becomes unintelligibly complex. Its indispensable attribute is weight, yet it is alleged to be made wholly out of electrons which have no weight at all. It is perfectly permeable by these electrons in the form of ether; that is, a given space holds free ether to the utmost limit and in addition holds the ether of which is composed any matter that happens to be there. This ether is affirmed to be of astounding density yet unresisting, perfectly continuous yet differentiated, incompressible yet infinitely elastic, having internal motion rapid as that of light but with no impulse to initiate or maintain it. Though of all theories of matter the electronic is by far the most strongly attested, it yet contains many almost hopeless discrepancies.

Turning to conditions of life on our planet, we find evil to be

ubiquitous and unashamed. Animals cruelly destroy each other, and man destroys them all. Part of the slaughter may be wanton, but much of it seems quite unavoidable. Social institutions have developed into a system wherein the vast majority must toil that the few may enjoy, even so in our own country where the harsh conditions are somewhat softened. Viewing the horrors of natural selection with its indiscriminate and merciless butcheries, contemplating the product of society in its slums and crime schools, even looking at the middle section with its lack, and the higher with its waste, of opportunities, who has not felt that if creative power had been his he would have fashioned a far better world, or else have stayed his hand?

Final Negation.

Thus, in all theories of existence are to be found apparently fatal defects. We are encompassed by darkness and contradiction which no thought of the brightest minds has been able to illumine or reconcile. In cosmic processes results alone are to be observed, not moral design. The nature and purposes of reality have been found so ambiguous that philosophy has not seldom given them up and with the courage of despair preached morality for its own sake alone. After more than two millenniums of patient study physical reality has proved inexplicable.

Basis of Reconstruction.

Constructive criticism, though more useful, is far harder than destructive, yet surely it must be possible to find something in nature to replace the mirages of philosophy which thus so readily dissolve. On the whole life is sweet, and no man willingly concedes that the grave is its final goal. Rather does he cherish an ineradicable faith that all this living and dying has a meaning which somehow, somewhere, sometime is sure to be made plain. Otherwise life is but ashes in his mouth.

But in the face of nature's puzzling contradictions, what rational explanation of it can be imagined? Take the case of matter. If a thing absolutely inconceivable be non-existent, and if it be inconceivable that matter either was created out of nothing or has existed from all eternity, must we decide that it is all an illusion? This seems like the only conclusion left us, and it is not so absurd as at first appears. Why are octaves in a musical scale identical in tone? Simply because the human consciousness, functioning through the ear, so interprets them. Now, if every living consciousness should be so organized as to interpret the field of activity alike,

for example in the form of the physical universe, then for each one that universe would be, or at least seem, real, no matter what it might be in fact. All creatures would see the same world and their experiences would be mutually consistent. If after death our consciousness survives it may conceivably enter a state where its environment is interpreted differently; and if all minds should still function alike, there would then be for us an envioning cosmos differing from the present one but equally real.

Under this theory—a form of subjective idealism—we might perceive a different and seemingly genuine universe in each of a series of existences, nor recognize the true one until our minds were freed from all possibility of error. Two objections present themselves. Common sense refuses to consider external nature as aught save a concrete reality. And existing consciousness bears too absurdly small a ratio in both quantity and time to the whole cosmos for that cosmos to be in fact its mere appurtenance. Let us see if a more tolerable solution may not be discovered.

The mental horizon of mankind has always been too circumscribed. Ancient sages saw only the middle countries of the old world, India and the Mediterranean littoral, which they imagined to comprise all the universe that mattered. After Columbus the view broadened, and men thought similarly of the earth in its entirety, or of the solar system. With the discoveries of modern science the field again expanded, until now it embraces all the stars, seen and unseen, "that dapple vacancy." If still we find no reasonable answer to our incessant "why," perhaps it is because our view is still too narrow, and there needs another widening to take in realms as yet unguessed.

Necessary Assumption.

It is impossible to avoid making some kind of an assumption at the starting-point of any system which attempts to explain reality; the best that can be done is to choose one that is supported by the strongest inferences and restricted to the lowest reducible terms. Let us, then, make an assumption which will likely command the assent of all save the incorrigible pessimist. Though at first thought it may seem to discredit the whole of the preceding argument, it will perchance on further examination be found compatible therewith.

The universe is purposive.

Wise men have found it irrational simply because only a small part of it has been open to their inspection. Seeing one term of

the equation but not the factor that completes it, they very naturally are nonplused and inclined to pronounce it insoluble; they rightly find contradictions. But can the universe, its apparent discordances conceded, be believed an accident? Can any one contemplate the vast and wondrous firmament dotted by stars in millions, some so huge our sun might be their planet; can he reflect on the immeasurable voids that separate celestial bodies, not forgetting that our heavens form but a single galaxy, and of galaxies there may be many so unthinkably distant they appear to us mere filmy nebulas; can he turn from these to note organisms so ephemeral that sun and sun enclose a lifetime or so minute as to defy strongest lens or finest filter, known only by the disturbances they induce; or can he consider etheric vibrations ranging between those slow enough to be made visible and those whose infinite rapidity bankrupts the imagination; and after all this, bearing in mind that every element in the stupendous whole, ultra-microscopic cell no less esteemed than majestic constellation, moves in harmonious obedience to changeless law, can he entertain the fancy that it all is but a creation of blind chance, destitute of intelligent purpose?

Supporting Evidence.

As a preliminary it may be remarked that the stage of matter is adequately set. Suns are observed in every phase of development, from star mist through nebulas and planetaries to dying and even, it is believed, to dead suns, cold and dark; any conceivable quality of physical life might find a fitting domicile.

We need not ground our assumption upon an inner feeling of its truth. This, indeed, staunchly assures us that so vast a production cannot be meaningless, and inner feeling has such potency that it overbears every argument advanced against freedom of the will. But to some subjective considerations we may fairly appeal. Our consciousness tells us directly that we ourselves are actuated by purpose, and this cannot be denied without impeaching the integrity of consciousness itself, the final arbiter of valid knowledge. From this purpose, intuitively and immediately known, we can argue without hazard of refutation to the reality of a greater cosmic purpose.

The existence of what is called conscience is also evidence of telling force on the side of cosmic design. No individual is without it be he ever so ignorant or uncivilized; in fact, the savage is alleged to harken to it more obediently than his enlightened brother. But no one can live quite up to the standard of his conscience. To

every person it speaks from a plane of morality many degrees higher than his own, frequently to his distress, always to his ethical advantage. Its origin is unknown, its personal benefit doubtful. Often it approves actions that bring no selfish profit and causes anguished remorse for those that do. We stand before it dumb and naked while unerring, implacable, it reads our inmost heart. If divinity is, it is divinity; and it offers unshakable testimony in favor of a pure purpose behind reality.

Of objective evidence, strong support is afforded our assumption by the unchallenged sway of the principle of cause and effect. Dare we affirm that the sum of all is exempt from the law which governs every part and parcel? Intelligence is present in the universe. It requires a cause in intelligence just as imperatively as does the physical in the physical.

Even a stronger argument is to be found in organic evolution. Despite many stumblings and backslidings its course has ever been substantially upward. The earliest life on the planet was the simplest, and development has been at all times toward complexity and specialization, which means toward higher organisms. The line of succession was marine to terrestrial, mollusk and worm to vertebrate, fishes to batrachians to reptiles to birds to mammals.

Man, the highest, was the latest comer, but he made entry in a state little different from the more advanced ape. Untold and toilsome ages elapsed before he achieved sufficient mentality to be able to record his struggles; thenceforward his career is open to our view. We need examine but a single collection of writings, the Bible, to be impressed by the extraordinary advance in ideals and by the never failing upward tendency in morals. From human sacrifices plainly indicated by the stories of Isaac and of Jephthah's daughter, the Jews attain to Amos in the eighth century B. C., who quotes Yahweh as saying, "I hate, I despise your feast-days; burnt offerings and meat offerings I will not accept"; and to Hosea, "I desired mercy and not sacrifice." More and more strongly do the prophets urge that righteousness consists not in ceremonies but in dealing justly and showing mercy, hating evil and loving good. What an improvement over the false and bloodthirsty God of the Patriarchs!

Profane history offers equal evidence of constant, if slow, improvement in man's moral ideals and conduct. Wars of conquest, enslavement of the conquered, butchery of prisoners, assassination of political opponents, bills of attainder, torture and barbarous executions, even undue cruelty to animals, all once thought perfectly

proper, are now universally reprobated. Business and political morality has often received just censure, but great has been the change for the better within the last two decades, while the contrast is striking with the customs of the Middle Ages or with those earlier days when Jacob and Laban bilked each other and the same word meant both robber and merchant. Time was when a need of individual or nation justified any method of supplying it. But the sense of right and wrong waxed ever stronger until now, though doubtless still immature, it is so powerful that the world abhors a word-breaker and millions go cheerfully to death for an idea. Can this progressive betterment of conscience and morals, to be observed in politics and business, in diplomacy and racial intercourse, in religion, in spiritual aspirations, and in private conduct, clearly evident from the earliest times down to the present day, be purely fortuitous, unmeaning? It seems too orderly, too consistent despite occasional slips, to be without an intelligent impulse behind it.

Contingent Truths.

That the universal cosmos is to be interpreted in terms of purpose is a generalization which, like all others, has value in proportion as it leads to more specific knowledge. Certain important deductions issue necessarily therefrom and must coincidentally be accepted. Only four of the more significant can be mentioned, but many others just as inevitably though perhaps not always so obviously follow.

1. Intelligence is the most precious quality.

The brain has developed in animal structure from a mere swelling of the nerve at one end of the notochord into a large and complex organ to which every unit and function of the body subserves, while the mind, from being barely able to supply the rudest of living needs, has synchronously expanded until it can comprehend the mechanism of the universe and grapple with the deepest problems of eternity. Growth, snail-slow at the beginning, has been at a constantly accelerating rate, and the reward has been physical comfort, a bettered environment, conquest over nature, consciousness of invincible power.

2. Morality, individual character, is the highest value.

From its first dim glimmer man's moral sense has expanded, as already pointed out, until now it is the dominating force which determines the conduct not of individuals alone but also of all enlightened nations. The morality of to-day, faulty as it is, only a few centuries ago would have been deemed fantastic sentiment,

possible only to a divinity. But it finds reward in a satisfied conscience and in the respect and honor of mankind.

3. Effort is not wasted.

Only through sustained effort has mankind made progress. To this assertion of its value all will agree. But it is not so easy to see intelligent purpose in the wholesale destruction of potentially useful vital energy. Life, animal and vegetable, is produced with limitless prodigality, all but the merest remnant doomed to immediate extirpation. Some defense of the necessity for this massacre is possible, but hardly so, in the present state of our knowledge, is a real justification; and the fact must remain an argument in the mouths of those who can deny the presence of design within the cosmos. To all others it is but one of our many unsolved problems.

4. All values are preserved.

Science has fully demonstrated that no smallest mote of physical value is ever lost no matter how often or how completely it may be transformed. Bodily appetites are adapted to insure the preservation of the individual, secondarily of the race; similarly, the concept of immortality furnishes the means and the incentive for development of the higher mental qualities. As personal righteousness is the very highest of these and has advanced far beyond collective morality, so we may know that not a racial ideal or some abstract spiritual entity but the individual unit is the object of nature's solicitude. Paramount significance is given to character and intelligence; for the cosmic forces to destroy the individuals in which these qualities are personified would be to defeat the very ultimate of their own purpose, and is not to be imagined.

Since this is the most important point as it is the most nearly novel in the entire discussion, it is worthy of special emphasis. If, lying back of the cosmos, there is an intelligence at all its grand object must be to develop mental power and moral character. The strongest single force tending to foster them, particularly morality, has been the belief in a system of future rewards and punishments. Where do we now see these qualities most clearly displayed? In the nation? In the city? In the community? Not at all. The morals of a state always come far short of those of its best citizens. It has been abundantly demonstrated that men will do for their country base deeds to which they would scorn to stoop on their own account. Nay, executives of a business corporation will sanction in that company acts which for their individual profit they would shrink from in shame. And, like its morals, the intelligence of a community is invariably less than that of its wisest citizens who must yield some-

thing of their better judgment to the ignorance of their associates. Plainly the qualities of industry, scholarship, sympathy, justice, all those subsumed under the names of virtue and knowledge, find their highest expression in individuals, not in groups.

This is surely intentional. Otherwise nature, if intelligent, stands convicted of failure; or, if unintelligent, must be supposed to have wrought blindly the same result that intelligence would bring about designedly. Since both suppositions are absurd, it seems clear that the development of personality is nature's conscious method. Such being the case, is it thinkable that the cosmic mind would carelessly exterminate those personal units who, as such, are farthest on the road to accomplish its design and devote exclusive attention to a transitory society which lags far rearward? The annihilation of the individual would be an act of idiocy quite inconsistent with any intelligent cosmic purpose. Therefore, we must either deny that there is any rationality whatever behind the created universe, or else we have a sure basis for belief in the preservation, along with other and minor values, of our integral identities.

Ultimate Destiny.

Bearing in mind these necessary deductions from the purposive interpretation of the cosmos, let us endeavor to see what is the goal toward which humanity is impelled. Mathematicians can plot a curve from three given points. The straight lines in a picture, if projected, meet at a center. In like manner, viewing life as but a segment of reality, we should be able with some confidence to trace forward, perhaps also backward, the course of its journey.

Intelligence and morality have steadily increased. What can be the goal but perfect intelligence and perfect morality? These are unattainable in our physical existence. But we have already seen that physical existence is irrational, also that our personal identity is prolonged beyond the material condition; hence springs the valid inference that the goal lies in another sphere of being. Granted such a sphere, and without it there is no escape from the irrationality of creation, our problem at once becomes easier of solution. The danger lies in its being too easy and in the temptation to solve all difficulties by speculation and guesswork. But let us try to admit only those inferences which seem indubitable or at furthest to keep within the bounds of a reasonable probability.

That a spiritual realm is within such bounds is indicated by the work of those who have devoted their talents to psychical research, even if their ultimate conclusions cannot yet be universally accepted.

These investigators have collected a prodigious store of data which will bring to a careful reader, if not conviction, at least the opinion that a spiritual existence is no mere fantasy and that it may in time even be proven. Their methods are correct and their work deserves support and enlargement.

Unfortunately their conclusions, even if we accept them, do not wholly read our riddle. Rather do they indicate that the world immediately contiguous to our own is equally irrational. Evil men become evil spirits; ignorance and maliciousness abound; even the better of the alleged communicators seem subject to human limitations and imperfections. The spirits are apparently much like ourselves; and if we may believe their unanimous testimony, existence in their world involves difficulties, effort, achievement, and even so failure as it does in our own. Perhaps we have no right to expect otherwise, but the conclusion inevitably follows that if that life is also irrational, it, too, is not the final life. There must be other and higher realms beyond. In the same way there may be phases of existence prior to our own. The chief point is that the only way to find rationality in the cosmic order is to postulate several phases of existence of which ours is but one.

Objections of Science. Mallock's Paradox.

The scruples which science entertains in regard to such a theory are based upon unsupported negation, and it has been well said that no department of knowledge is competent to enter comprehensive denials. When the basic contradictions of purely physical science are considered, its summary rejection of the possibility of a supersensible existence need not disturb us. In fact, Mr. W. H. Mallock has founded upon these very contradictions a specious argument for our spiritual destiny. If, says he, we can and do believe in time and space, in mass, motion, energy, ether, directly in the face of the nullifying contraries which inhere in their very nature, we are warranted in believing in God, immortality, and moral responsibility in spite of the no worse contradictions which those conceptions involve. If we can accept the contradictions of physical nature in order to live at all, we can accept those of abstract philosophy in order to live well; that is, to progress in morality and spirituality. There seems no serious objection to this reasoning, yet it shows again the courage of despair, not of hope, unless we broaden his conception of spiritual nature until physical nature shrinks to a comparatively unimportant part of the whole, and expand his idea of the cosmos into a creation large enough to har-

monize all those phenomena which, seen only in part in our narrow region, we are deceived into regarding as irreconcilable.

The Question of Memory.

Again, the utter blank in memory touching experience in any existence previous to the present is urged against the possibility of such existence. Two replies are possible. If the totality of the existence of each individual be made up of a succession of *lifetimes*, or of distinct periods of sensibility corresponding to that now known as a lifetime, some one of these must be the first, and the series may conceivably begin with the present life. But this answer appears unconvincing. Human intelligence, it would seem, develops too rapidly, and in its best estate attains far too lofty heights for it to have been initiated with the life in which it now finds expression. A better answer is, that memory is suppressed at birth. Such an inhibition of faculty is supported by many analogies; in truth, that portion of the memory termed specifically recollection, tricky and uncertain even at normal, is exceedingly easily undone. Severe illness, physical or mental shock, violent stress of emotion, each has been known to cause interruption or complete submergence of all power of remembrance. In cases of split or multiple personality total arrest of memory between the different states of consciousness is often observed. Very evidently the crisis of birth, the necessity of beginning the human career in a body immature to the point of vacuity, the advantage of undivided attention in coping with earthly environment, perhaps, too, the will of the cosmic intelligence, very evidently these are amply sufficient to account for all amnesia. And we may legitimately presume that memory will eventually be regained in some more advanced stage of existence.

Science does not preclude the sort of organization of the cosmos which is suggested; it merely demurs that we have no valid evidence, while in general holding aloof from examination of the phenomena alleged to be evidence, largely because these phenomena do not readily lend themselves to exact experiment. But more and more the attention of competent investigators is turned toward such study, and we have reason to expect in no great while definite results from their labors.

The Cosmic Content.

The result of our inquiry may now be stated in simple terms. The cosmos is rational and purposive. But so far as our direct

examination of it can determine, it is neither rational nor purposive, as shown by the failure of philosophy, revelation, and science to offer any acceptable explanation. Hence the conclusion follows coercively that we are able to examine only a segment of the whole cosmos, and that the whole cosmos consists of a series of phases of existence leading upward through reality, of which our own phase, the material, is but one, possibly a minor one. The chief purpose of the cosmic process is the development of intelligence and character, its goal, perhaps unattainable save in infinity, being perfect knowledge and perfect morality. The intelligence behind the cosmos, proved by the presence of intelligence in material nature, is unknowable to us in this sphere of existence, and speculation on its possible personality or attributes is useless; but of its real existence we can have no doubt.

This theory seems to solve at least in a measure our most puzzling problems, such as the presence of evil and the apparent futility of effort. An enforced morality is no morality, hence is worthless. We must achieve moral character through our own exertions, and the possibility of such voluntary achievement involves the possibility of failure. Unless the cosmic intelligence keeps hands off we can win but a vicarious morality, and if it does keep hands off our failures must engender evil. It is our task to overcome this evil. As to animals, their development doubtless is left as free as our own. The horrors of nature are, therefore, a normal product and but constitute the price which all sensate creation pays for being free, not slaves of some outside power.

Our Vision Cleared.

But under this conception how greatly all these evils shrink! How trivial do our harshest troubles seem! If this life is but one of many stages on our immeasurable journey, what matter if it be cut short a few inconsequential months? Of what account our petty pains and trials? They become like the frequent stops of a train that bears us homeward, annoying perhaps but of no real moment. Life, instead of being the whole of existence, appears only as a day in our experience. It is to be improved to our very utmost, but after all it is but a day and could be omitted without appreciable loss. The worries that torment us hour by hour will be forgotten on the morrow or remembered with a smile, and ages hence in some far off higher sphere we shall look back upon this life as we do now upon the half-forgotten troubles of our childhood.

Sic transit dum crescet animula.

MISCELLANEOUS.

MR. LEONARD'S FABLES.¹

BY TRAUOGOTT BOEHME.

The Æsopian fable had lost its vitality as a full-grown type of literature with the dawn of the modern world. It continued to be taken seriously only in schools and pulpits as a vehicle for morality in educating children and simple folk. La Fontaine, Gay, Gellert, Lessing, and others endeavored to bring the primitive charm of Æsop's fables up to date. They enriched them by the complex social experiences of the age of Louis XIV; they overcharged them with the niceties of enlightened reason; they embellished them with all the polished artistry of language, diction, and meter relished during the rationalistic age of poetry. But they hardly departed from the primary purpose of the Æsopian fable, which had been no other than to teach morality, or rather *mores*, to help the youngsters grasp and mind the rules of good behavior and social wisdom which their elders had inherited in turn from their own forefathers. The Age of Reason was naturally attracted toward a type of poetry that lent itself so easily to the task of dealing out a fixed system of ethics in small doses for educational purposes. These fable-tellers had their vogue while the rationalistic standard of ethics remained intact. Nowadays they are forgotten, except for a few masterpieces which survive in readers for the elementary grades.

It is a safe prediction that the fables of *Æsop and Hyssop* will never be reduced to a similar state of literary "living death" in the schoolbooks. Teachers may and will appreciate this version of Æsop as a stimulating revelation of human nature, but it will require boldness on their part to put it into the hands of children. Pervading the entire collection there is a calm but merciless disregard of the conventional moral creeds. Some of the "morals" may appear quite harmless to the unheedful; but how "carefully formulated" they are, is often revealed if they are taken in connection with the preceding tale. Then their real, and mostly "wicked" character comes out. They are either pointed assertions of the profound amorality of man, or ironical illustrations of the futility or hypocrisy of moralistic motivation. This "ethical naturalism" is diametrically opposed to the dogmatic conceit of the rationalistic fable-tellers, but it is not entirely irreconcilable with the spirit of good old practical Æsop. In Mr. Leonard's hands, however, the homely humor of Æsop assumes an intensity, a subtle force which the original never possessed. These fables not merely expose the folly of men's conduct, but also the fallacy of their reasoning about their conduct. But the humor, if tragic, is virile; and there is a note of heroic defiance and the optimism of an ethical freedom.

It is preeminently through this novel method of "formulating the morals" that Mr. Leonard has succeeded in awakening an almost extinct type of literature to a new and vigorous life.

¹ *Æsop and Hyssop, Being Fables Adapted and Original with the Morals Carefully Formulated*, by William Ellery Leonard. Open Court Publishing Co.

In the "Original Fables," more fantastically daring in vision and words than the adaptations, still another new factor is introduced. They are used as instruments of trenchant personal confessions and invectives; a human tragedy of overshadowing magnitude looms up behind the studied playfulness of many of these side-glances into a "universe of pain and yelling."

While I have rather lengthily dwelt on the general character and tendency of the fables, I do not underrate their purely artistic qualities. There is a quaint concreteness, a friendly intimacy about the animal world of these fables which I do not recall to have found anywhere else. Those animals and birds and insects and plants are not merely pegs on which to hang a moral; they live and feel and are our brother creatures. This nearness to nature, this home-flavor of things and beings reminds me of Chaucer, who seems to have also been one of the models for the author's management of the language.

The English deserves a more detailed appreciation than I can give here. It is no castrated poet's English. There is a resourcefulness in the choice and order of words, and a versatility in the use of vocabulary and syntax that gives its peculiar atmosphere to each fable, whether it be honest rusticity or learned punctilio. The mother-tongue seems to be teased that she may betray some hidden aspects of her temperament. The fabulist plays tricks with accents and rhymes; he experiments with many meters, from classic distichs to old ballad verse and elaborate Renaissance stanzas; he "dances in chains" and enjoys his triumph over the language doubly under self-imposed severities.

Only a reader equipped with an extensive literary training will be able to recognize the finer values of such work. Mr. Leonard has sacrificed old Æsop's democratic popularity. But to speak of a sacrifice is an injustice to what he has achieved; just as it is unfair to blame Hoffmannsthal for the lack of Sophoclean simplicity and grandeur in his stirring *Elektra*. What Mr. Leonard offers in place of that primitive naïveté is of infinitely higher interest to intellectuals of the twentieth century.

[To illustrate some of Dr. Boehme's points, we wish to quote a few of the fables, though Dr. Boehme himself did not select them.—Ed.]

From "Fables Adapted from Æsop" (pp. 13, 54, and 73) :

THE DOG AND HIS IMAGE.

A Dog, who clenched between his teeth a bone,
Was crossing, as it chanced, a bridge alone,
Intent upon a thicket where he might
Unseen indulge his canine appetite;
When looking down beside the plank he spied
His image in the water magnified.
"Another Dog, and a more tempting bone;
In size," he thinks, "at least two times my own."
He makes a savage spring with opened jaws
And loses both the edibles, because:

Moral.

One must acquaint oneself with Nature's laws.

THE TREES AND THE RUSTIC.

A Rustic Fellow to the greenwood went,
 And looked about him. "What is your intent?"
 Inquired the Beech. "A stick of wood that's sound
 To serve as handle for the ax I've found."
 The Trees politely grant a piece of ash;
 Which having fitted, he begins to thrash
 And lay about him stroke by villain stroke;
 And Beech and Ash and Hickory and Oak
 He fells, the noblest of the forest there,
 And leaves a wilderness of stump and weed.

Moral.

Of all concessions unto private greed,
 Ye Forests and ye Waterways, beware.

THE GOAT AND THE GOATHERD.

A Goatherd in a fit of scorn
 Cracked with a stone a Nanny's horn.
 Unskilled to mend with paste or plaster,
 He begged her not to tell his master.
 "You're quite as silly, sir, as violent—
 The horn will speak, though I be silent."

Moral.

Man oft repents of what he did—
 For wicked deeds cannot be hid.

From "Original Fables" (pp. 123 and 146):

THE BEAR AND THE OWL.

A famished Bear, whose foot was clenched
 Within a murderous engine, wrenched
 And bounced about in fright and pain
 Around the tree that held the chain,
 Emitting many a hideous howl.
 His state was noticed by an Owl,
 Who, perched above him fat and free,
 Philosophized from out the tree:
 "Of what avail this fuss and noise?—
 The thing you need, my Bear, is poise."

Moral.

Such counsels are most sage, we know—
 But often how malapropos!

THE ASS AND THE SICK LION.

An Ass mistook the echo of his bray
 For a celestial call to preach and pray;
 And his own shadow, big upon the wall,

He deemed the everlasting Lord of All,
 Besides he had some notions how to treat
 Sinners and fetch them to the mercy seat,
 So in a broad-cloth tailored coat, combined
 With a white collar buttoned up behind,
 He got himself a parish. In his flock
 Was a sick Lion, panting on a rock.
 (It was an arrow from a huntsman's bow
 That laid this miserable Lion low.)
 Him on his pastoral rounds the Reverend Ears
 One morning thus addressed: "These groans and tears,
 How base and craven in the King of Beasts!
 You need a moral tonic! Godless feasts
 And midnight games and evil Lionesses
 Have brought you, brother, to these sad distresses;
 Think not that I will comfort or condole—
 My cure is drastic, but 'twill save your soul."
 Whereat he turned and in the Lion's face
 Planted his hoofs with more of speed than grace,
 Knocked out the teeth, and blinded both the eyes,
 And left him, dying, to the sun and flies.

Moral.

This little fable, children, is a proof
 That no profession, purpose, or disguise
 Can change the action of an Ass's hoof.

"SAVAGE LIFE AND CUSTOM."

To the Editor of The Open Court:

In the articles on "Savage Life and Custom," by Edward Lawrence, that you have published in *The Open Court*, some views are expressed which show that the author's knowledge of the race problems is very piecemeal. If your magazine represents the monistic trend of thought, of which the late Dr. Paul Carus was such an able exponent, such articles should find no place in your magazine unless the peculiar views of the articles are corrected. It was a peculiarity of the late Dr. Carus that he was inclined toward cosmopolitanism, while as the same time he was inclined to be nationalistic. This was a point where I seemed to find inconsistency in Dr. Carus, but I am convinced that if I could have stated my views to him fully, he would not have differed from me. Although Dr. Carus was an incessant student, versed in all departments of knowledge, yet I think he never studied the race problems fully.

The monistic philosophy of life, of which the late Ernst Haeckel was the chief exponent, would be in favor of eliminating and exterminating the lower races, rather than trying to civilize them and to favor their intermixture and consequent amalgamation with the white race. After an elaborate study of the race problems, it is clear to me that to assimilate the savage races is a score or more times as cruel as to eliminate them, since to intermix with and assimilate the lower races involves centuries of evil social conditions in which life

will not be fit to live for a high type of people endowed with sympathy. The root evil of our present social conditions is race intermixture. A social millennium is not possible unless we have a homogeneous race and one without class distinctions. The correct view of life is also required.

The principal ideals of the monistic philosophy of life are:

1. To work in agreement with the evolutionary creative plan of God and to favor and foster the improvement and increase of the higher grades of people; to favor the development of a race of people of high-grade intellectual, physical, esthetic, and moral qualities;

2. To eliminate the evils from life, and to bring about a state of society in which all people will be tolerably, equally well supplied with material goods.

I believe no higher realizable ideals can be stated.

The white or European race is, without doubt, superior to the non-white races on the following points:

1. Physically;

2. Intellectually;

3. Esthetically, or as regards the form and beauty of body and face;

4. In the value of life. Ernst Haeckel regards the value of the life of the lower savages of man as not much above the higher mammals. I agree with him.

As regards morality, we find numerous individuals of the white race that are low indeed. But if one regards the situation squarely, the white race stands, in general, superior to the others in regard to morality; although I have no objection if a white man wants to regard himself morally not better than the lowest savage. What is an abomination, is the high-browed and self-conceited sense of justice of the white people. The defects in morality of the white people as compared with the lower savages arise mainly from their wrong-headed view of life.

The European people are hybrids or intermixtures and have no race solidarity. The chief fault of the white race of people is that they have no race pride, no race ideals; while at the same time they have excessive national pride. The white man judges people by their citizenship rather than by biological race differences. The white man is a fiend and a traitor to his own race. This arises mainly from his wrong-headed Christian view of life with the obvious falsehood that "all men are created equal." The more I think about Christianity, the more defective it appears to me as an ethical system. I think some one wanted to put a curse on the European people, so he invented Christianity. I have always held the view that the Christian view of life would lead to race intermixture, race deterioration, and bring overpopulation and severe economic conditions, resulting in the most disastrous wars. This has been "proved to a finish" by the world war.

The author of "Savage Life and Custom" does not seem to know enough about biology and the evolution of species to know that the interests of widely different races are in irreconcilable conflict. For instance, the conflict between the Mongolian and the white races is irreconcilable. On the other hand, the interests of such closely related peoples as the Germans, English, and French run together. For them to disagree is hazardous, for them to quarrel is disastrous. War between them is a war of self-extermination. The European race has received a setback of over twenty million in number as a result of the world war. This cuts, like an exponential function into the future.

The laws of evolution of life are in constant operation. The white race has been found wanting in morality. The Slavic branch of the white race and the Mongolian race, or perhaps a hybrid of these two types, will dominate the Eastern Hemisphere in the future according to the present outlook; and in America we will develop a race of mixed breeds and mulattoes.

The interests of the American Indians and the European people were in conflict in America and the intermixture of the Indians with white people deteriorates them. I suppose the author of "Savage Life and Custom" would have left, in the name of justice, the United States eternally to be inhabited by less than one million savage Indians.

The European peoples have ascended from a barbarous or savage state and have superseded the other races in progress. The superior race is contaminated by contact and intermixture with the savages rather than the savage by the white man. But if the savage degenerates when he comes in contact with civilization, as the author of "Savage Life and Custom" argues, that only proves the inferiority of the savage. The white people degenerate morally by excessive wealth and luxury; most lower races degenerate by mere contact with civilization, that is true.

Such fundamental facts as the following should be kept in mind. The world cannot support more than twice the present population on an adequate standard of living. The United States cannot support more than 300 million on an adequate standard of living. Germany, for instance, had a population of 67,800,000 in the year 1914. I estimated, before the war, that Germany could not support more than about 45 million on her soil products on an adequate standard of living. This has been corroborated during the war. Germany had a rate of increase of 15 per cent. in excess of emigration before the war. Her economic and industrial expansion was desirable, but the fiends of the white race attempted to thwart her, with the consequent disaster. If the European countries become overpopulated, it is much better if the people expand into other countries and displace the backward peoples instead of killing each other.

The ability of population to increase exceeds all bounds of food supply and, in fact, exceeds standing room on the earth. It was shown by Lamarck, Darwin, and Haeckel that the rapid increase in numbers is an important factor in the evolution of organisms and a necessary factor in the displacement of lower grades of organisms by higher. This applies also to the races of man.

The highest ideal of life is to favor the plan of nature (God)—to favor the development of a race of people of the highest grade, till a certain degree of perfection is attained. The population may then remain stationary in number. Having also attained the correct view of life and complete knowledge of nature a millennium will be possible. The monistic philosophy points out the way.

You may print this letter if you wish. People have such an aversion to truth that they rather choose ruin than to face the bold facts. People seem to be unwilling to learn the lesson of life except by hard experience—by being chastised with diseases, wars, and death. The Creator of life must know what he is doing when he lets such scourges as the world war prevail. It takes such experiences to make people think and to drive a new idea into the recalcitrant human mind.

PETER FILO SCHULTE.

BOOK REVIEWS.

DEVILS: BIBLE VERSUS PAGAN, OR THE PROBLEM OF EVIL. By *H. R. Bender, D.D.* Illustrated. Published by the author, Harrisburg, Pa. [1918.] Pp. x + 150.

The book under review is composed of two parts, the first of which was originally published under the title *The Bible Devil*. This has been here reprinted without change, but to satisfy the questions "of Bible teachers who desired information upon many points that did not come within the compass of the first edition" (p. 71), a second part has been added under what is now the title of the whole book. There are twelve chapters under sundry headings, such as Teaching of the Old Testament, Devils or Demons, The Pagan Devil, The Problem of Evil, Prevalence of Dualism in the Days of Christ, Paul's "Thorn in the Flesh," etc.

The aim of the author is to establish the purely monotheistic character of the Christian religion, which, as he clearly perceives, is somehow punctured by the doctrine of the Devil. He claims that the traditional conception of the Devil as a "personality" is not Biblical at all but is fashioned after Milton's creation. Says he (pp. 76f):

"The dualistic teaching of the pagans seems to have come back, or to have been revived within the Church. All contrasts between the Bible and the pagan Devil disappeared; and the pagan Devil, as a fiendish, supernatural personality, clothed with the attributes of a rival Deity, became the popular faith, whose harvest was the witch mania that overran Europe like a pestilence of darkness. Under the invisible pressure of this popular conviction, our King James translation of the Scriptures appeared. Milton gave the pagan conception of the Devil respectability, and the King James translation gave it authority. Not until the Revised Version of the Scriptures appeared were these old implications of dualism taken seriously. Since then, in thought centers the old conviction of a personal, supernatural, historical Devil no longer exists."

To justify these contentions, all references in the Bible to "The Adversary," "Satan," "The Devil," etc., must be explained away. Thus we read on page 27:

"The Adversary in Job symbolizes an accusing attorney at court, in harmony with Asiatic custom. The Adversary is not the ruler of a kingdom, located in a dark underworld. He has no distinctive hideousness, nor in any sense is he a rival ruler, set against the Kingdom of God; nor is he a fallen angel. He assembles with the Sons of God; is not reprovved for being out of place, and is entirely subject to Divine authority. He acts only by Divine permission, in order that, by a severe test, the possibility of an unselfish devotion to righteousness may be made manifest."

The story of the Temptation of Christ is, of course, incapable of literal interpretation—these temptations are "visions." But we may gently remind the author that a narrative of visions of a Tempter presupposes belief in the existence of this Tempter—or else it is fiction. The same line of argument is continued in the second part of the book, where we find the first serious discussion of the New Testament stories of demons cast out by Jesus. To quote the author's words (pp. 125f): "Also, what we now call hypnotism, telepathy, and clairvoyance, as psychic forces of human life, the Old World attributed

to the action of demons, resident in the bodies of men... The wisdom of Christ is apparent in his custom of meeting the multitude on their own ground. The only method of progress was to drive the demons out of their minds, by healing them of their maladies... Accordingly, Jesus rebukes the devil or demon *as though* he were a person." (The italics are ours.)

However, a belated study of the *Avesta* leads the author, after all, "to conclude that there existed a strong disposition in the people toward dualism" after the Exile (p. 103), and he even admits that in the days of Christ the Jewish masses, "cursed by the Pharisees, and then wandering abroad as sheep without a shepherd" (p. 120), had become imbued with the spirit of dualism, in spite of the teaching of their Prophets. Now, it is a well-established fact that the religion of the ancient Jews originally knew nothing of the Devil, that *God* tempted David to do wrong, etc., etc. But the other fact is just as well established that it was the very study of the Bible, revived by the Reformation, that led the people of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as well as their spiritual leaders to that insane fear of the Devil and his servants which characterizes the private and public life of the whole age. The fact is, there *is* a Devil in the Bible, both in the Old and New Testaments, and if that doctrine is proven to be illogical, to be inconsistent with the doctrine of monotheism, this argues nothing in favor of Christian theology in general. It simply shows that the Devil is making himself so obnoxious in modern Bible interpretation that he must be got rid of at almost any price.

Finally, even if we discard all dualistic teaching of the Bible, what is thereby gained? A more logical system, to be sure, but the problem of evil, figuring in the title of Dr. Bender's book, remains as unsolved as ever, simply because theology cannot solve it. The best the author has to offer in this respect is the time-worn *theory of contrast*: "If we shrink in horror at man's capacity for brutal degradation, it is that we may better appreciate the outcome of man's redemption" (p. 130). Notice, besides, that here—unconsciously, we take it—for "the evil outside of man," the "moral evil within man" has been substituted. Such solutions of the greatest ethical problem there is will satisfy nobody who is not contented to cover up the defects of this best of all possible worlds with platitudes and sophistry.

We do not doubt that the book will be read with interest by ministers and Sunday-school teachers.



ST. VERONICA WITH THE SUDARIUM.

Illustration in a German breviary, Egerton Coll., British Museum. Beginning 15th century.

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. XXXIII (No. 12)

DECEMBER, 1919

NO. 763

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BY M. JAY FLANNERY.

THE man of to-day congratulates himself on his freedom from restraint in the expression of opinion in comparison with his brother of former ages, who was "cabined, cribb'd, confined" by restrictions of law, civil and canon, and by a public opinion steeped in ignorance and bound with the chains of priestcraft. We glory in our great material advance; our conquests in the sphere of nature; our lordship over land and sea and air; our development of the art of civil government. We are never tired of boasting of the equitable distribution of comforts among all men, so that the poorest and meanest man of to-day can live a better material life than could the proudest noble of former times. And when we are told that these things, while good in themselves and such as any civilization worthy of the name must guarantee, are not the whole of life and leave the best things to be desired, we point with what we regard a pardonable pride to our glorious liberty of thought and speech. What greater thing can man desire, after sustenance is assured, than to be free? And free not merely from any form of servile economic status, but free to think his own thoughts and to express those thoughts without fear of consequences? Surely, this freedom is ours, and no other age can justly claim anything approaching it.

That liberty such as we possess was unknown in every age previous to our own appears to be attested by all that we can learn of those times. The burden of much of our history is the struggle of men for the freedom to think and speak. Stories of persecution for conscience' sake; of wicked wars waged against dissenters, as that against the Albigenses; the burning of Huss and Servetus; the dreadful tale of the Holy Office—all these fill so large a place in our histories that they seem to us the every-day occupation of the people

of the Middle Ages. Our own history, especially the history of the early settlement of our colonies, has made us familiar with the magnitude of persecution for opinions' sake in the life of the times. Even science has her martyrs, from Roger Bacon and Galileo down. and histories of the warfare of religion and science were the familiar literature of our childhood.

This is, indeed, a severe indictment of "the good old days," and we may congratulate ourselves on our freedom. An age which has redeemed us from the nightmare of all this bloody tyranny and given us to breathe the air of freedom, is one to challenge our deepest loyalty. But before we go too far in our denunciation of the olden times it may be well to inquire whether this gloomy picture really represents the condition of life which then prevailed. It is possible that this shows but one side of the shield, or that in perspective we simply see the ordinary misunderstandings and cruelties of the life of any age, crowded together so as to seem to be the whole life of those times. Isn't it possible that we overlook the abundant peace and freedom which then prevailed—as they prevail at all times—because this peace and freedom were the every-day aspects of life; and those who enjoyed them were less blatant than were the minority, who chafed at what seemed to the majority a safe and sane restriction on license? To-day it is the unusual man, the intellectual, moral, and spiritual rebel, that attracts attention, and the literature of revolt that makes more noise than does the conventional. It does not follow that the great mass of the people feel any lack of freedom or do not feel at liberty to express themselves as they wish. The literature of rebellion not only makes a greater noise in its own time; the reverberations of its thunders reach the ears of later times as do not the quieter murmurs of the gentle breeze which is the breath of the great masses. We are apt to misjudge other times, because of a distortion of perspective, and to feel that because these struggles fill so large a place in our histories, they must have filled a correspondingly large place in the life of the people; to feel that the common people of those times must have lived in fear and have felt stifled for want of the pure air of freedom.

But very probably we are mistaken. It may be that as large a proportion of the people then felt free to express all that they wished to as does to-day. For after all, what is freedom for each of us? In matters of opinion the recognized right to give expression to that opinion without running foul of public opinion or the law. Now, in no age has there been any restriction on the ex-

pression of opinion of the conventional kind. Within limits, men have always been free to discuss to their heart's content. And these limits were never so narrow as we are disposed to think, and were never felt as irksome by the "safe and sane" of any age. As long as a man accepted certain fundamental propositions, he might spend his days in what, to him and many of his contemporaries, were interesting and important disquisitions. The literature of those times, with its wordy and windy discussions of abstruse subjects, is an eloquent testimony to the wonderful freedom of an age, supposed to be repressive of free thought. These discussions cover a wide range, much wider than we are apt to think, and debate questions of theology, church polity, government, the divine right of kings. That they debate these subjects from a "safe" standpoint and never permit liberty to degenerate into license, does not prove their proponents to be intellectual slaves or to have felt the least restraint on their liberty. These were their real opinions, and they felt that they could express them without fear or favor. They did not feel hampered or oppressed in their intellectual lives, not prevented from proclaiming views subversive of Church, family, or State. They had no such views, and so, no wish to proclaim them.

And this was the feeling of the vast majority of the people of the so-called Dark Ages. They were, as human beings go, contented and happy; lived the lives and thought the thoughts which their fathers had lived and thought. They grew up in an atmosphere of convention, as do the ordinary men of all times, and they breathed it with the feeling of perfect freedom. Their views on important matters did not differ, except in non-essentials, from that of their fellows; and they delighted to wrangle over these non-essentials—as do their descendants to-day. They accepted of God what would seem to us the tyranny of a priesthood and of overlord and king. As is the pleasant but ineffective custom of human kind, they grumbled at each and all of these, but it never entered their heads to revolt, or even criticize in any serious fashion. They accepted them as inevitable and, while incidentally evil, necessary instruments of their salvation. Whatever might be their personal habits, and however in their coarse jests they might satirize the relation, they accepted the institution of the family as something sacred and not to be lightly criticized.

But what of the exceptional man? Did not the tyrannous attitude of public opinion and of Church and State toward opinions regarded as dangerous bear harder on him than do the same on exceptional individuals of to-day? The whole teaching of our his-

ories is that they did. That the exceptional individual is better off in that he may now speak his mind freely without suffering any untoward consequences, is one of the articles of our modern faith. Now, it is true that the old instruments of torture are no longer considered proper arguments to convince the recalcitrant of the error of his ways, and that the rack and the stake have fallen into disrepute. But, though methods have changed, it remains to be proved whether law and public opinion permit a larger liberty than they did in the long ago, and whether there are not more effective arguments, not wholly logical, which are still in use.

We are told that modern society, especially in western Europe and the United States, permits the largest amount of liberty, and boggles only at license. Let us examine just what this statement means. What is the difference between liberty and license? Not what difference the dictionary makes between them, but what difference public and official opinion make in their practical application? Isn't the difference just this: Liberty is the privilege of expressing opinions upon subjects not regarded as too sacred, within limits recognized as lawful—limits somewhat vague but still existent; License anything which goes beyond this and attempts to call in question any institution regarded as too sacred to be the subject of serious discussion? In what respect do these definitions, in their practical application, differ from those back in the times we have been taught to regard as the dark ages of human freedom? In no respect whatever. Those people were as ardent believers in the freedom to express such opinions as they thought proper to be expressed as we are. They were not opposed to liberty of speech, but to license of speech—just as we are. Human nature in this respect has not changed, and we are no more liberal than were our ancestors.

But they burnt men at the stake for a different opinion from themselves on such matters as the Trinity, or Transubstantiation, or the infallibility of Church Councils, and we should not think of doing such a thing; in fact, we should recoil with horror from the thought of such an act. Yes, we no longer persecute for differences on religious questions, but that is not because we have grown more liberal, but because we no longer regard religion and the Church as matters of supreme importance. We may still pay these institutions lip worship and be in doubt whether we dare wholly give them up; but we do not believe in them in our hearts, as our forebears did. If we did, woe to him who should dare to speak against them.

Nationalism and the institution of private property have taken the place in the worship of the public which the Church held in the Middle Ages. Not just private property in the old sense of that word, but that institution as affected and, indeed, made, by modern industrialism—private property in the means of production and the exploitation of the resources of the earth. Orthodoxy and heterodoxy stand as firmly and as bitterly opposed in these to-day as they did in the Church in the sixteenth century, and any discussion which would tend to question their sacredness is license and not liberty. The whole power of organized political society and of the industrial machine is ready to crush utterly the individual who dares to be a heretic on these questions. And what the State can do and is willing to do gladly, has been abundantly shown in the treatment of pacifists, non-resistents, and conscientious objectors in all the countries lately at war. Nor has the State in its organized capacity merely shown the violence which political intolerance may possess, in measure and kind no different from the religious intolerance we so glibly condemn. The insane fury of mobs all over this country, often directed against the innocent, differs in no respect from that exhibited by similar mobs at the burning of heretics in the old autos da fé. And as in the olden time not every heretic was burned at the stake or gave up his life on the rack but dragged it out, an object of scorn and social persecution, so to-day all over this country, and, doubtless, in other countries, are men and women denied the right to make a living because they simply could not bring themselves to *furor politicus* of their neighbors. Not all victims of modern heresy-hunting are in federal prisons.

Modern industrialism is a close second to nationalism for a place in the holy of holies where no impious hand dare touch it. Indeed, it is a question whether it does not hold the first place and is not simply using nationalism as a protective covering for itself. Many of the men and women sentenced to long terms in prison during our war are looked upon as dangerous to society, that is, to society as at present industrially organized, and one may wonder whether it is not this fact, and not merely their opposition to the war, that counted most in their prosecution.

But, it may be said, the parallel between modern politico-industrial religion and the old theological religion is not complete. At least there are no modern crusades against politico-industrial heretics, such as were the crusades against the Albigenses and other heterodox Christians. Before we accept this let us ask ourselves in what respect our refusal to recognize as at least a *de facto*

government the soviet régime in Russia and our encouragement and support of white guards against red guards differ from the attitude of the Church against the Albigenses. Do we practically make war against the soviet government because we desire to free the Russian people from the tyranny of a minority, or because we fear the soviet system, or lack of system, of industrial society? It seems that every thoughtful person must answer that the latter counts for most in our purpose. The Bolsheviki are industrial heretics, and as such must be put down, in the interest and for the protection, of our modern religion.

The dividing line between liberty and license is now, as it always has been, the line between those things toward which we are comparatively indifferent and those which we regard of supreme importance. We are all in favor of liberty in non-essentials. Very few of us can look upon any opinion on what is to us the really essential as anything but damnable heresy, and its advocate as anything but a monster of iniquity for whom no punishment can be too severe.

SCIENCE AND THE MORAL WORLD.¹

BY JAKOB KUNZ.

A. THE SCIENTIFIC ASPECT OF THE WORLD.

WE shall at first consider the world as revealed by the various sciences, the oldest of which is astronomy. Astronomy has widened the horizon of man. The material heaven, in which the gods of the ancient nations lived, has disappeared. Instead of the crystalline spheres with their melodies, we find the immensity of stars, similar to the sun, which are scarcely scattered through the sky. Our earth is a small part of the solar system, the solar system like a particle of dust in the system of the Milky Way. The earth moves around the sun according to well-defined laws of mathematical precision, under the influence of gravity, a law which embraces all material bodies.

Physics and chemistry, since Galileo, Newton, and Lavoisier, teach that all material processes are governed by natural laws, which are sometimes of a simple, sometimes of a complicated mathematical form. Nature appears as a mechanism built up of small

¹ The following paper was first delivered as an address before the Philosophical Club of the University of Illinois in January, 1919.

particles which are charged with large amounts of energy, endowed with manifold motion, which act upon each other according to well-defined laws; nature looks like a gigantic clock, with an immense number of wheels, driven and driving, beating time throughout eternity and through all space. In the physical sciences of astronomy, physics, chemistry, mineralogy, physiology, there is no room for freedom, for God and heaven, for spiritual and moral forces, for conscious intentions and purposes, in short for the moral world. A mechanism without soul, nature is indifferent toward all moral and religious feelings.

Moreover, like every other clock, the clock of the universe wound up in a certain beginning, runs down until the whole mechanism comes to a standstill, the physical death, where every ordered motion and life itself vanishes. The universe has therefore no purpose, no deeper meaning; life of mankind—which is only a small part of the natural mechanism on the surface of an insignificant planet—has no content, no significance nor purpose. Moreover, the fraction of matter which is drawn in the vortex of life on the surface of the earth, is an insignificant part and has no influence on the destiny of the earth as a planet—much less on the solar system. The suns and stars, colossal systems roll down into infinite space and time, without soul or purpose, intention or design.

If we find a watch in the desert we conclude that there was somewhere a watchmaker. If we find a much more complicated mechanism such as a living cell or a plant or an animal, we would conclude—and ancient thinkers have concluded—that there was and is a supreme genius or architect who built this mechanism with infinite wisdom. But against such a consideration the theories of evolution protest with a thousand and one arguments. Here we enter the field of the second group of sciences, the biological sciences, which involve bacteriology, zoology, botany, paleontology, anatomy, embryology, etc. The various theories of evolution agree that life is unity, that the various forms of life have not been created independently of each other but that they are connected with each other, and that the more complicated forms have been evolved by natural movements and processes from the more simple forms.

At the end of this series of evolution, after endless cruelties and brutalities, appears man, still subject to the same process of evolution, which leads through an endless battlefield of life, which recognizes no moral law. Darwin's theory of evolution especially, with its struggle for existence, the natural selection, the survival of the fittest, the adaptation to the environment, is in hopeless conflict

with the moral world. Eat or be eaten—such is the law of life, my professors of biology taught; exploit or be exploited, is at the root of modern commerce and industry. And, indeed, it requires little experience in the world of animals and man and plants, to see the incessant struggle for existence, going on in contradiction to the moral requirements. The functions of the organs of plants, animals, and men are measured according to their success in the struggle for existence, a struggle which is omnipotent and absolutely pitiless, and which goes on inside the individuals of the same species, which fights for food, space, and the opportunity to propagate. The enormous overproduction due to natural propagation in geometric progression makes the struggle as cruel as possible, and weapons of all possible description are used continuously—poison, teeth, claws, horns, etc. Then there is a struggle for existence between the different species; each living being struggles constantly against the rigors of climate, the dangers of floods, storms, fires, drought, cold, heat, etc. Man has largely succeeded in this struggle for existence by a new and invisible weapon, his intelligence. He invents tricks and traps by means of which he subjugates and catches the other animals which are superior to him in many other ways. He uses a thousand crafts, clever and cunning methods, which he receives from the sciences, to fool, exploit, and kill his own neighbor. It is true that biology recognizes ameliorating and moderating factors in the different phases of the struggle for existence. Besides mutual destruction we find mutual aid in many instances—symbiosis, for example, in the largest measure between plants and animals; but here again it is essentially man who destroys this symbiosis by building enormous cities where there is no room nor thought for the fundamental life of plants, and strangely enough, by burning his body, a method recommended often by naturalists, instead of giving it back to nature and to the plants.

Other theories of evolution besides that of Darwin have been proposed, notably that of Lamarck, emphasizing the inheritance of acquired characteristics, or the theory of orthogenesis, or the theory of mutations, all of which contain some contact with facts, and none of which is in itself satisfactory or purely physico-chemical. A purely physico-chemical theory of life would be the most satisfactory from a scientific point of view. All the phenomena of life, propagation, inheritance, variation, etc., will finally be reduced to chemical properties of one or more chemical compounds. But whatever may be the final theory of evolution, the struggle for existence exists, cruel, ruthless to the bitter end, a violent and fatal compe-

tition. We seem to find the same struggle for existence among men, tribes, nations, and corporations. Indeed, the greater part of what is usually told as human history is a story of battles and most all the historic valleys have been crimsoned by human blood.

The relation between various sciences is unsatisfactory. If the biological sciences can be reduced to physics and chemistry, and if psychology and sociology can be reduced to biological sciences, then clearly we have only one science, the physical sciences with their various derived branches. But it is possible to think that the various sciences represent a progress in the sense that the physical sciences study dead matter; the biological sciences, life; and the psychological sciences, mind; and that matter, life, and mind represent three progressive units, which cannot be deduced one from the other; in this case we would have at least three, if not more, fundamental sciences, where, of course, each higher one would use the results of the previous science for her own purposes. However this may be, it seems clear that as far as psychology is behaviorism, based on observation and experiment, it is a branch of biological sciences; but many, if not the majority of the psychologists, maintain that the principal method of psychology is introspection, and the object of their science mind or consciousness. As far as psychology is a science like physics and chemistry, there is no room for the moral world. The psychologist and physiologist as scientists do not consider the origin of good and evil, justice and injustice, right and wrong, etc. The physicist, when entering a psychological laboratory, feels quite at home, but when entering upon discussion with the psychologist, feels rather bewildered.

The aim of physical sciences is the determination of the physical realities of the universe. Between our sense-experience and the physical realities we wish to establish a one-to-one correspondence. An electric current when passing through a filament produces light; when acting on a wet hand, produces a shock; when acting on the retina of the eye, produces the impression of light; when acting on the tongue, produces the sensation sour. These sensations cannot be compared with each other, they do not resemble each other in the least, and they are not similar at all to a stream of electrons passing through a wire. We observe a green leaf of a plant. We have the impression green. What is the underlying physical reality? Electric charges in vibration and electric and magnetic forces oscillating 10^{15} per second. Between this physical reality and the impression green there is no resemblance. Again, between the sensations of a symphony concert and the vibrations in the air there is

not the least resemblance. If therefore physical sciences succeed in detecting the physical realities—and physics and chemistry have so far been, with little aberrations, a triumphant and uniform approach to these physical realities—then with every step taken by physics and chemistry, the requirement of a different element in our sensations, namely mind, becomes the more urgent. The charm of the red rose resides not in the rose but in our mind.

Finally, for the purpose of logical order, we should consider sociological sciences, which, however, are in a rather embryological state. The results of this new and promising science resemble the results of physics and chemistry little in definiteness; it is even difficult in the complexity of the situation to detach well-defined problems. Nevertheless, sociology possesses already a considerable stock of definite knowledge of a statistical nature. For instance, in 1910, the income of the inhabitants of the United States amounted to thirty billion dollars for ninety-two million inhabitants, or 330 dollars for each inhabitant, and this income was distributed so that eleven million families got seven hundred dollars per year or less, which is the minimum for existence without the possibility of enjoying some of the things which raise the human existence above that of the animal. Seven hundred dollars income in 1910 represented the upper margin of poverty; a little accident or sickness would throw these people into poverty. In the same year probably five billion dollars were income from properties or investments, earned without any effort. According to an estimate of 1896, seven eighths of the families held but one eighth of the national wealth, while 1 per cent. of the families held more than 99 per cent. One eighth of the families in America receive more than one half of the aggregate income, and 1 per cent. receives a larger income than the poorest 50 per cent. In England it was concluded that four fifths of the property of England was held by one sixty-seventh of the adult population of England. The concentration of income in the hands of the very rich proceeds in recent years chiefly at the expense of the middle class which is the principal sufferer. Our whole industrial machinery tends to split human society into two classes, rich and supposedly comfortable on the one side, poor and miserable on the other. In this mad scramble to accumulate wealth 500,000 people in the United States are injured and 5000 killed in one year of industrial work, or as many as in one year of war between England and the Boers, and Russia and Japan added together.

Another fact of sociological importance is the impoverishment

of the soil in the United States where agriculture has been largely robbery. If we add to this spectacle the exhaustion of our forests and mines then we get a fair picture of the boasted progress of our civilization. As far as pure unapplied sociology is concerned, it is sufficient to state the fact that human society is going to the dogs, just as physics and chemistry state that the available energy of the universe is running down to zero. But in sociology much more than in physics and in chemistry do we feel an appeal to our moral sense, and, indeed, sociology will be of value in the ethical reconstruction of human society.

B. THE REQUIREMENTS OF ETHICS.

Ethics is not satisfied with the present condition of our life. Our thoughts, words, and deeds are good or bad, just or unjust, cruel or kind, right or wrong. Ethics is concerned not so much with the existing world of experience, described by science, as with the world which ought to be. Ethics demands duty and virtue, justice, truthfulness, severity toward ourselves, sympathy for others, faithfulness and devotion for our family, friends and relatives, our nation and mankind, generosity, self-sacrifice, and heroism in our deeds and words. The highest command of ethics is love, and the fundamental requirement of religion is humility.

If we inquire as to the historical origin of the ethical requirements, we find in the majority of cases that they arise from religion. Moses among the Israelites taught justice and gave the laws to the ancient traveling tribes. Moses with the law and the following prophets, who always insisted on justice, were the guides of the Jews through centuries of persecutions by other people. Christ expressed the religious and moral laws in the simple words: Thou shalt love God with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself; and thou shalt be perfect as our father in heaven is perfect. Socrates and Plato also based their moral commands on religion; so did Mohammed, Buddha and Krishna, the prophets of the Brahmins and of the Buddhists. All these religions have touched a vital spot in the human heart; they have directed events in human history, they have produced martyrs, heroes, saints and poets and men of the deepest sincerity, moral earnestness, and unswerving reliability and faithfulness. But since the time of the Reformation, religious feeling has become colder and colder proportionately as science has increased, and the conflict between science and religion has at times become very acute, with the result that the churches have become more and more empty. This is true in all Christian countries,

especially in France and Germany, to a lesser degree in England and America. Very often scientists, or at least professors of universities, have used most severe accusations against religion and even ethics, and many attempts have been made to find new bases for ethics. There is a group of thinkers who remind us of the old Stoa and of Confucius, who insist that a man should practice the good for its own sake, virtue for the sake of virtue, justice for the sake of justice. There is considerable dignity, bravery, and defiance of men and destiny in this philosophical ethics; but it has never warmed the hearts of any number of men, it lacks that triumphant joy and humility which have only been inspired by a consciousness of the Divine. Moreover, why not the bad for the love of the bad's sake, vice for the vice? It seems to me just as logical as the good for the love of the good. Every boy knows that stolen cherries taste better than father's cherries.

Another school of ethical theory maintains that we should follow the moral law for our private advantage; but what is the private advantage of a warrior who, deceived by his government, dies on the battlefield for the fatherland? Other men try to make happiness the basis of moral behavior, but when we go to the laboratory or to the workshop or to a lecture, we do not seek happiness for happiness's sake, we accept it if it comes, gladly, but we accept disappointments also. Who laughs for the pleasure of laughing? A very modern attempt at an explanation of the moral law makes the human society the idol for which we should live as moral beings. But the human society, with its divisions into castes, into nations into religious sects, and political parties, with its intrigues and superficialities, its deceit and hypocrisy, its diplomacy and its spies, its hatred and envy and pride and greed, its craft and contempt of nobility of the human soul, can never claim moral authority. Human society again and again degenerates to such degrees that it becomes the moral duty of men to speak and act against their own advantage and against the given society. Revolutions again and again have become necessary. Savonarola, Huss, Luther, Zwingli, Calvin, Cromwell, Massini, Schiller (in *Wilhelm Tell*), Washington, Carlyle, Tolstoy, Bebel, Jaurès, wrote and acted against the majority of their respective societies.

Some modern scientists, especially sociologists, maintain that sociology will furnish us the basis of ethics, which we as a modern and scientific generation have lost. Well, it may be that sociology discovers some human societies in the past or present which realize in their social life moral principles. Such societies, however, like

the early Christians, the Moravian Brethren, the Persian Sufis, some Hindus and Buddhists, the Quakers, the Bahaists, based their ethical life on religion. So sociology may discover religion again some day. But if sociology takes a cross-section of the present-day social life of Chicago, New York, London, or Paris, it will never be able to say with a good conscience: Thus thou shalt live—this is the highest form of life, the powerhouse of moral actions.

There is a very serious logical objection to any science as a basis of ethics. Science is based on experience of the existing world as it is conveyed through our senses and our experiments. Ethics requires a transformation of the world and of society; it projects into the present state a future vision. The future will rule and control the present. The human conscience is far deeper than the human sciences. To take an example. Men and nations have most always been fighting, yet the best human conscience requires peace among men and nations. Competition, ruthless and fatal, has ruled the actions of most men and nations, yet the prophets of the race and the human conscience require cooperation or competition for mutual help and service, not selfishness. Science is based on facts, ethics on the inspirations of the prophets. In a different way we may distinguish between science and ethics. Science is not satisfied with facts, it wants relations; indeed, a modern mathematician and philosopher of science insists with almost annoying emphasis that we only know relations, and these relations are mathematical or causal. Physical phenomena, chemical reactions, are well determined by the conditions under which they are observed. The law of causality rules supremely. There is no room for freedom in the field of the accurate sciences and if once sociology, scientific but not practical, has emerged from the present chaos, it must show an aspect like physics and chemistry; well-defined facts, their relations and fundamental principles and theories. Well, nobody would claim that ethics is based on physics and chemistry, nor can it be based on sociology, conceived as an accurate or mathematical science. Moreover, historically speaking, the moral world has been discovered by the prophets of the race at least 3000 years before sociology came into existence. And sociology is still more a hope of a science than an established science. What is right and wrong, I know independently of any sociological study. And I am convinced that the law, Love thy neighbor, is as absolutely true as the "law" of gravity, in spite of the possibility that sociology and history may show statistically that most men and nations do not observe the moral law. The moral principles do not depend on the progress of sociol-

ogy, nor do the mathematical theorems depend on physical sciences. Science rests on necessity, ethics on freedom. Unless there is a genuine choice between good and bad, justice and injustice, right and wrong, kindness and cruelty, ethics must vanish.

There seems to be a hopeless conflict between science and conscience, freedom and necessity, the material and the moral world. From the scientific aspect the world is a machine without plan or purpose, a roaring factory which produces nothing, a chain linked to nothing, a scuffle which nobody started leading to general defeat. In such a mechanical world there is not only no room for moral ideals, God, soul, immortality, freedom, there is even no room for newness, surprise, originality, individuality, genius, personality. Against such a world my conscience revolts with elementary power. In my consciousness I experience not only necessity, but freedom, and I am at least as sure of my genuine freedom as I am convinced in science of the chain of necessities, causes and effects. And the more I am restricted to myself, the more insignificant my position in public life, the greater my freedom, the purer my soul. Self-consciousness involves self-determination, activeness, free will; freedom and necessity reside in my consciousness, not in nature. The more nature as a whole is represented as a machine, the more my logic requires a universal engineer, a supreme architect, or the machine, life, and science themselves become nonsense. The genius cannot be explained scientifically by surroundings, by ancestors, etc.; he represents something new, just as a new idea of a scientist cannot be explained or deduced from his brain activities. The scientist throws the net of causality over nature in order to capture and use her for scientific and practical purposes. As I distinguish between subject and object, beginning and end, cause and effect, independent and dependent, in the same way I distinguish between free and necessary. Let the banner of freedom float over the rocks of necessity.

Without freedom no guilt and no responsibility. If the life of man and mankind is only a link in the machinery of nature, if cause and effect rule pitilessly, then nobody can be blamed or praised for any act. If the history of mankind is only a continuation of the purely mechanical evolution of life, then nobody is guilty of this or any previous war. If war is a natural phenomenon like hail in a thunderstorm, then it would be just as wise to punish the clouds as the immediate originators of the war. Freedom, justice, right, become empty words. Against such a scientific interpretation of human history my conscience protests. No, man is still about

to realize the full freedom of his soul, not only independence from Germany, but independence from every tyrant, such as capitalism, public opinion, religious, political, national, and university prejudice.

Science cannot be the basis of ethics. On the other hand, the human conscience requires that science shall be universal, just and without selfish interest. An ethical presupposition of science is open-mindedness, detachment of our personal or national selfish interest from the objects under investigation.

We declare religion as basis of the moral ideals and requirements. It is unfortunately true that the Church has not always kept alive the fire of the moral world. If, before the Civil War in America the Church of the Southern States was in favor of slavery, it was not because of, but in spite of, religion. If multimillionaires in churches in New York receive the collection, it is not because of, but against, the command of the prophet. Religion is one for the whole human race, even though the Church may be broken up in an unfortunate number of sects. Religion is longing for knowledge even though church officials may have opposed science.

We should clearly distinguish between origin and test of ethical ideals. The physical sciences presuppose mathematical principles not based on sense-experience, so for our social life we need guiding principles, moral ideals, which will be tested in the course of time. Without mathematical theorems, no accurate physical experience—without moral principles, no social progress.

The test of a moral principle may require thousands of years. "He that loseth his life for my sake shall find it." The so-called Christian world may have acted against this principle and against the law, Do not resist evil, yet the moral requirement remains the same as it ever was. Here clearly the average evidence of 2000 years of experience is against the moral laws, yet in my conscience these are stars of moral life. The human world may perish before learning to apply the moral principles, yet these principles exist as certain as many mathematical theorems remain true even though they may never have been applied. Yea, the test of mathematical theorems in physics and engineering is always only approximate, and the test of moral principles in the life of the human society is fragmentary. We are true only in solitude; public life moves over the surface.

The prophets are the discoverers of the moral law, which they receive not by long sociological experience and historical study, but by divine inspiration.

Who is judge in the moral world? It is ultimately our con-

science in communion with the divine judge, under the leadership of the prophet.

So far I have only considered pure science as an achieved and ideal work of scientists. A different question would be that of the moral world and the scientists, or the universities and ethics. Nobody will deny that there is a vast difference between the prophets of mankind and the professors of ethics and philosophy. No professor could say to his students, Follow me, and I will give you peace, that peace which passes understanding. When we take a course in ethics we feel at the end very little inspired and uplifted, because everybody knows that the professor hardly tries to realize the moral principles which he discusses with the same impersonal interest with which another professor teaches mathematics or chemistry. That science and philosophy can not, or do not, guide a people on the ethical path, is sadly shown by the Germans, who, on an average, before the war were better trained than any other nation. Yet they committed innumerable crimes, and ninety-three scientists in a public proclamation supported the government in its criminal attempt to subject the rest of the world to the German rule. Some German professors even used Darwin's theory as justification of the war. According to their writings many German scientists lived in an insane asylum before and during the war. Their science had become foolishness, their diplomacy stupidity. Yet before and in the beginning of the war German science and organization had been highly praised at least in England and America. And only a few months before the beginning of the war the German ambassador in Washington was called upon to give the Commencement address in our own university.

The bulk of science and research only requires accuracy of observation, careful experiments, logical deduction, and a rascal can perform these requirements as well as an honest man. It is perhaps to be wondered at that in the armies of professors which fill the present universities and which are drawn from the average human society there are not more rascals than there actually are. It is probably still the effect of a past civilization which was more moral and religious that among the professors there is still so much decency, good will, helpfulness and justice and even friendship. According to my feeling, the whole white race, not only the Germans, has made regress in the moral realm, man has more and more lost religion, the only basis of ethics, he has become more and more absorbed by material cares, and the spirit of materialism, pragmatism, agnosticism, utilitarianism, fills a large part of professors and students.

There is a marked difference between American and European universities, in favor of the American institutions. Manual labor is absolutely despised in the European universities, while a student in America may during his study earn his living and be respected in the same way as any other student. On the whole the universities have been visited by well-to-do people; in Europe the universities have been and still are aristocratic and exclusive institutions; they have taken little part in any progressive movement of mankind. In the Reformation and in the French Revolution the universities were onlookers. They were onlookers in Europe and in America in the increasing hostility of capitalists and laborers. In Europe, students go to the universities to become doctors of medicine, lawyers, preachers, administrators, engineers, in order to be able to enjoy the privileges of the better classes, in order to get rid of drudgery, of dull and dreary dirty labor, and to exploit their fellow-men by the knowledge acquired in the universities. The universities in Europe and America stand altogether too much under the Prussian system of organization, the administrators are autocratic, the president of the council of the Polytechnicum in Zurich was practically inaccessible to me as an assistant and private lecturer; the spirit of genuine democracy is not yet at home in the universities, the universities are not the seats of liberal and just thinking in the field of social relations. A liberal thinker is regarded with suspicion. While the professors and instructors on the whole belong to a decent middle class, many students and instructors look forward to a day when they also will be rich. Granting many exceptions, the universities are still schools of selfishness. In Germany the scientific intellect seems to be militarized; it is commercialized in the European and American universities, especially in the graduate schools. The proper scientific spirit, free from selfishness, pure joy of science for science's sake, is on a decline. If it is an aim of education to produce men of independent judgment, of freedom, generosity, and character, in the noblest sense of the word, I am afraid the universities make a poor show.

In the physical sciences a commercial spirit prevails more and more, in the social and historical sciences patriotism drives out truth; the spirit of freedom is not at home in the universities; and truth, truth in spite of all, in spite of patriotism, selfishness, and class distinctions, truth too is threatening to leave the universities. Often in recent years I have heard from university professors that they do not know what truth means. But everybody understands interest.

Pure unapplied sciences are neutral with respect to ethics. Science as such has nothing to do with ethical requirements or ideals. But let us now turn to the question of applied sciences. The present civilization consists almost entirely of applied sciences—railways, telephone, telegraph, with and without wire, steam-engines, electric engines, flying-machines, submarines, etc.; all the chemical, electrical, mechanical industries are so many applications of science. The last war owes much of its horrors and destructiveness to the most recent progress of science; the poisonous, tears- and blisters-producing gases and smokes as well as high explosives, are a recent triumph of chemistry. It was a war of science against science, and the German science lost in spite of the long thought-out scientific preparations. In the military schools there will be taught the science of war, and scientific generals will parade with military generals. This unfortunate war has given an immense impulse to applied science, so much so that the public at large, the administrators and even the professors of the universities, are tempted to consider only sciences applied to practical purposes. Science is threatened with the danger of becoming mere business, the universities, factories, if not weapons, in the hands of national governments. By progress is very often meant the increase of modern machinery. For my personal concept of life and world, this means no progress unless it involves moral progress. And a soldier fighting submarines, flying-machines, poisonous gases, shells of every caliber, will probably little appreciate these advances of modern science. Let us consider the printing-machine and the manufacture of paper as applied sciences. Now, if the press spreads good literature, true science, the simple truth about the public and political life of the world, it will be a means of moral progress. But if the newspapers become a tool in the hands of the capitalists, the imperialists, ruthless rulers and narrow professors of science, then they become a great danger to the nation and to the world at large. Outside capitalism there is no greater enemy to the American people than the present newspapers. The motto of an American newspaper of the middle West, which claims the widest circulation, is this: "Our country! In her intercourse with foreign nations may she always be in the right; but our country, right or wrong." It reminds us of "Rule Britannia" or "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles," different expressions of national selfishness and arrogance.

Railroads are a very good thing if they help us to see and enjoy the wonders of the world, to visit different people, to carry

goods from one place to another, where they are most needed. But what about the 26,000 military trains which, loaded with soldiers and artillery, crossed the Rhine in six days in the beginning of the war, bringing death and destruction to Belgium and northern France? In a word: Applied science and industry are a blessing to mankind, if they promote moral principles, and they are a curse if they act without or against the moral progress of mankind. Our schools of commerce and economics are a good thing, if they further social justice within a nation and among the various peoples, but if they become a tool in the hands of capitalists and imperialists, if the most ruthless brokers of large cities are employed as professors to teach the students all the clever tricks and traps of modern business, and to exploit the commonwealth which supports them in their study, then it would be wiser to burn those places of learning and labor.

Psychology may be a good and interesting science, and applied psychology may be very useful in schools, hospitals, and so on, but if she employs methods of mental testing by which the most shrewd salesmen win in the competition with decent men, then applied psychology becomes a very serious menace to the people. Recently, such a mental tester of a Western university told me that in a commercial examination he gave the highest mark to a university man who had a short practice as a salesman. This man passed an excellent examination in the hands of a mental tester who confessed he trembled at the thought that the salesman with the highest mark of excellency should ever pass over the threshold of his own house. The professor was afraid he might lose all his earthly goods in a few minutes for something which he did not want. He confessed at the same time that the mental testers have no methods as yet for the test of moral qualities such as sincerity, honesty, etc. On the other hand, they have such wonderful tests by means of which a fool can measure the greatest genius in a few minutes.

Many thinkers like Comte, Renan, Negri, and others in the last century expected salvation for mankind from science. But science has not saved mankind from this terrible war, nor has her science saved Germany from military and moral defeat. Applied science has made war more cruel than it ever was before, and the scientists of the opposing countries are filled with the same hatred toward each other as the general public. The old Greek philosophers and artists had an inkling of the danger of science when they endowed Pallas Athene, the deity of science and war, with the owl, sword, and serpents.

Applied sciences have increased the moral problem of mankind

enormously. The war came to an end with gas as the most efficient weapon. If one country alone can produce over 200 tons of liquids for gas warfare in one week, then in the next war large armies, cities, and whole populations will be wiped out in a few hours so completely that not an animal escapes the general death. If mankind does not stop resolutely and once for all war, then indeed the hour of the race has struck. The ax of applied science strikes at the very root of the tree of life.

Tantum possumus, quantum scimus. Applied science leads to power. The nations and corporations have accumulated enormous power through the application of science. Armies, navies, huge industries owned by capitalists, are expressions of power. Now it requires powerful men to manage these gigantic machines. These men, emperors, prime ministers, kings of industries and wealth, are under a constant temptation to misuse these powers, which drive them gradually insane. Mankind will either be at the mercy of the gamblers in human history, or it must resolutely decide to abolish war once for all, and decentralize and democratize the industries. The national war debts become by and by so colossal that life through competition becomes a continuous nightmare, in peace and war alike.

Our present life at large as compared with that of past times, perhaps only of thirty or forty years ago, seems to be so much more complicated. Life is more and more interested in material things. We have heard little of a recent great philosopher or poet in France, Italy, Germany, England, or the United States. Everywhere man is fighting for his own advantage. Mankind, especially in Europe and America, is morally sick. We live in a moral desert. Recently a class of student-soldiers told me that they would be very glad to go to France and lay down their lives for America but if they are to stay on this side of the Atlantic then they will fight and fight, make money, gain influence, reputation. Everybody for himself and the devil get the hindmost. A chemist, once a professor and Sunday-school teacher, told me in a factory, that if a certain operation yields good results, they sell the dies in the United States, and if it fails they send the goods to India or China. Cutthroat methods are used almost everywhere, and our industries are largely an object of gambling with the result of a division of society into two irreconcilable camps: the capitalists on one side, the laborers on the other; the tyranny of capital opposed by the tyranny of labor unions, arrogant wealth on one side, miserable poverty on the other. Everybody, even the professors of univer-

sities, deadly afraid of poverty which is despised everywhere. Our social condition is utterly unstable. The specter of revolution appears behind the black clouds of the war. The poor says to the rich: What belongs to you belongs to me. Again, the struggle turns about property.

In America it has so far been possible by strenuous work and thrift to arrive at a condition worth living, but in Europe this chance has vanished long ago for large groups of people. Even in America we shall gradually arrive at the same condition as in Europe; then our natural resources will largely be exhausted and colossal fortunes will have accumulated in the hands of very few men. America will then be the property of a few Wall Street tyrants. The luxuries have become inconceivable. They are shown at certain occasions, for instance, on New Year's eve in the first-class hotels of the large cities, with overwhelming bestiality. Outside the battlefield man shows nowhere his beast nature so openly as in those exhibitions of luxuries, of dress, and tables laden with the most exquisite foods, with the largest varieties of finest drinks. What a degeneration of mankind, what a waste, what a spur to revolution in the breast of servants. Life seems a festival for the fortunate, slavery for the unfortunate. If the problem of property, of capital and labor, cannot be solved by good will and intelligent council, then a bloody revolution must follow. For myself, I know no method which permits a man of moral principles to become rich. Let us suppose:

1. That a man after some search finds a block of gold. He might be given some reward for his effort in the search, the gold does not belong to him, but to human society. If he claims the block of gold, and he is legally justified, then he has taken it away from human society. In the same way a man might go and discover in the prairies of Illinois a rich university and claim it as his own. And conquerors have done just this same thing over and over again.

2. Suppose a man goes south and buys one thousand acres of fresh land at \$10.00 an acre. He will get a few scientific experts in forestry and agriculture and develop the land, and after a few years sell it at a high price, making a large fortune. But this land belonged to human society.

3. Or a man may make an invention, which should bring him some benefit, but if he earns a million or more, then again he exploits human society.

But these are efforts which have at least some personal merit; but if a man by business administration and exploitation alone be-

comes a multimillionaire, then he exploits merely a stupid community. A man who, with a family, cannot live decently on a fortune of \$100,000 is a danger to human society. We build large institutions and corporations. We say: the administrators, directors, presidents, of these institutions have a large responsibility, and this responsibility is paid or measured by large salaries. But if the ministry of the State is overthrown by change of political parties, or if a bank director is replaced by another one, he keeps his money, eventually even receives a pension, and the responsibility is evaporated. A corporation or trust company says to the director: We pay you an enormous salary but we want results, you understand, if you apply decent methods, all right, but results.

We live in a sick human world. Without revolution by fire and sword, we may hope to transform the present sick civilization of selfishness into a moral and sound humanity by various methods of national and international legislation designed to promote human welfare all over the world. As a few points of a progressive program I may mention:

1. Reduction of armaments to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.
2. Abolition of standing armies and navies.
3. An international police.
4. Freedom of the seas.
5. National ownership of all gun and ammunition factories.
6. No colonies for national exploitation.
7. International administration of tropical Africa.
8. International protection of endangered people, such as the Armenians.
9. A genuine league of nations, with a court of arbitration and an international legislature.
10. No secret diplomacy: open treaties.
11. Home rule to India.
12. Open door in international commerce; custom duties being restricted to revenue purposes, no economic war and discrimination against foreign countries.
13. Public ownership of railroads, telephone, telegraph, mines, principal industries, without throwing the burden of administration on the government.
14. Upper limit of the fortune of the individual, progressive income and inheritance tax.
15. Exchange of foodstuffs, raw materials, merchant shipping between different nations.

16. Prevention of unemployment.
17. Compulsory insurance against accidents, sickness, old age.
18. Public construction of roads and railways; the reclamation of land; the erection of schools, working-class dwellings by a working army.
19. Restoration and reparation of devastated territory by a just and open and lasting peace, in which the working class of the largest nations concerned should be represented.

To these points may be added the following of a more general character:

20. Exchange of professors and students between different nations.
21. Creation of funds in the American universities for foreign students.
22. Higher and moral education of all classes of peoples.
23. Appreciation of the best art, literature, and music of foreign countries, etc.
24. The spirit of selfishness and exploitation shall be replaced by the spirit of cooperation.
25. The autocratic administration shall give way to a more democratic system.
26. Defeat of commercialism; return to idealism and religion.
27. The spirit of freedom and truth shall be readmitted.

Much can be accomplished by such legislation and by abundant international good will.

The human heart, though harder than rock, still is not inflexible. When God's holy spirit began to breathe through the early Christians, the chains of the cruelty of Greek and Roman civilization broke. God's holy spirit will appear again in a new prophet of mankind. Christ will come back again to break the chains of modern materialism, capitalism, and commercialism. As in the volcano the hidden heat of the earth appears, so the fire of the love of God appears in the prophet who brings divine and universal healing to a sick human world, who builds a celestial civilization on our material systems, who will save man from war, hatred, and all moral defects.

A pure heart, a keen intelligence, a comprehensive insight, will dwell in the same breast. The open mind of science and the warm heart of religion will live in harmony. The power of the love of God will unite mankind.

A Persian philosopher says: "Religion and science are the two wings upon which man's intelligence can soar into the heights, with which the human soul can progress. It is not possible to fly with

one wing alone. Should a man try to fly with the wing of religion alone, he would quickly fall into the quagmire of superstition, while on the other hand, with the wing of science he would also make no progress, but fall into the despairing slough of materialism."

If in mountain regions, for instance in Switzerland, we climb a mountain in winter, the whole country is covered with thick dark impenetrable fog, which rises to a certain height and suddenly reaches a limit, so that, seen from above, it spreads out like a quiet ocean. In a given moment the body may stand in the fog, while the eye discovers the region of golden sunshine. Above the ocean of fog, crystalline castles of the high mountains rise, flooded by the rosy light of the sun, in holy majesty, in radiant purity, in eternal exultation. The material world has disappeared below us, heaven is round about us.

In this study the world seems to break up into two sides: the material world, in which science is interested, and the moral and spiritual world of religion. There is still at least one more fundamental side of the world; the esthetic world of art in the highest sense. Finally, we have with the world a direct bond of connection which is personal, every human language being an anthropomorphism on a large scale. But in spite of these different aspects of the world, a calm and quiet voice in our conscience whispers the unity of the world, the harmony of science and religion, the oneness of mankind.

THE CHARACTER AND ETHICS OF PARACELSUS.¹

BY JOHN MAXSON STILLMAN.

THE period of the late Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation is from many points of view of great human interest. Many influences were active in bringing about a re-adaptation of the spirit of man to changing conditions, a readjustment all the more violent as the bonds of tradition and authority had so long held the minds of men in the fetters of accepted dogmas. In art, literature, philosophy, politics, theology, many strong and bold thinkers arose. Men were becoming aroused to a new consciousness of their powers. Reacting from the medieval mental slavery the spirit of man became more independent and self-assertive. The

¹ [The following article contains two chapters of a book on Paracelsus which we intend to publish in the spring.—Ed.]

domain of thought latest to share in this impetus was the field of natural science. After many hundreds of years since Greek and Roman science and art had been overthrown by barbarian conquests, during which period there existed comparative intellectual sterility and all learning was confined to the clerical orders and all independent thought had been jealously censored by the medieval Church, there had gradually developed both within and without the Church a restless movement toward question and criticism of accepted dogmas and authorities. There arose an ambition to reinvestigate and to test by reason the basis of knowledge and of faith. Naturally the beginnings of this movement took place in those domains of thought most clearly related to the scholarly thought of the time, —in theology and in speculative philosophy. So long, however, as this movement was confined to the clerical classes, and its expression was confined to the medium of manuscripts in scholastic Latin, no great popular participation could occur, and the authority of the Church could in great measure control any infections of thought considered dangerously in conflict with accepted beliefs.

Nevertheless, the tendency toward independent thought could not be extinguished. It found outlet at first in other directions, in the revival of interest in the art and literature of the ancients, in the bursting forth of new forms of art, in painting, sculpture, architecture, and literature.

Two great influences had arisen during the fifteenth century to accelerate the intellectual awakening of Europe, a remarkable development of the universities, both in number and scope of teaching, and the invention of printing by movable metal types. These served to bring to a larger constituency the ideas of representative thinkers of the time.

Many other events were operative in breaking down the barriers of traditional conservatism. The discovery of America, and the exploitation of its wealth by Cortez and Pizarro, the discovery of the ocean route to India (1498), were opening new centers and currents of trade and commerce and new sources of wealth. The power of Spain was growing, the great German Empire losing coherency. The prestige of the Pope in temporal affairs was disputed. As the power of the emperor waned, the influence of the German princes increased. The German cities were gaining, the feudal barons diminishing, in authority, while the mercantile and middle classes were increasing in wealth and influence. The printing and circulation of the Bible also occasioned more wide-spread criticism of current theological thought, and was largely influential

in the development of schisms, which eventually resulted in the Protestant Reformation.



WILHELM VON BOMBAST, FATHER OF PARACELSUS.
(Oil-painting, original in Salzburg.)

Theophrastus von Hohenheim, or Paracelsus² as he came to be generally called, was a true child of this period. He illustrates

² The name Paracelsus was adopted by Hohenheim in accordance with a common custom of writers of the time of using Latinized or Hellenized names. Thus Agricola (from Bauer), Melanchthon (from Schwarzerd), Œcolampadius (from Hausschein), all German contemporaries of Hohenheim.

at once its independence, its self-confidence, its boldness of thought as well as its confusion of old and new tendencies, its dependence



PARACELSUS.*

* After a life-size oil-painting in the State Gallery at Schleissheim near Munich. Artist and date uncertain. The likeness of Paracelsus's features to those of his father are remarkable in this picture.

upon tradition and its struggle to free itself from that bondage. The lifetime of Paracelsus (1493-1541) fell in a period of the most fertile intellectual activity of the Renaissance. We may realize this if we recall that the span of his life touched the lifetimes of Michelangelo, Macchiavelli, Leonardo da Vinci, Ariosto, Rafael, Columbus, Copernicus, Thomas More, Erasmus, Luther, Melancthon, Rabelais, Vesalius, Cardanus, and others whom these names will suggest, and who have left a distinct impress upon the development of civilization. The birth of Paracelsus took place in the year following the discovery of America, an event which with its consequences had much influence toward energizing the thoughts and stimulating the imagination of the generation that followed.

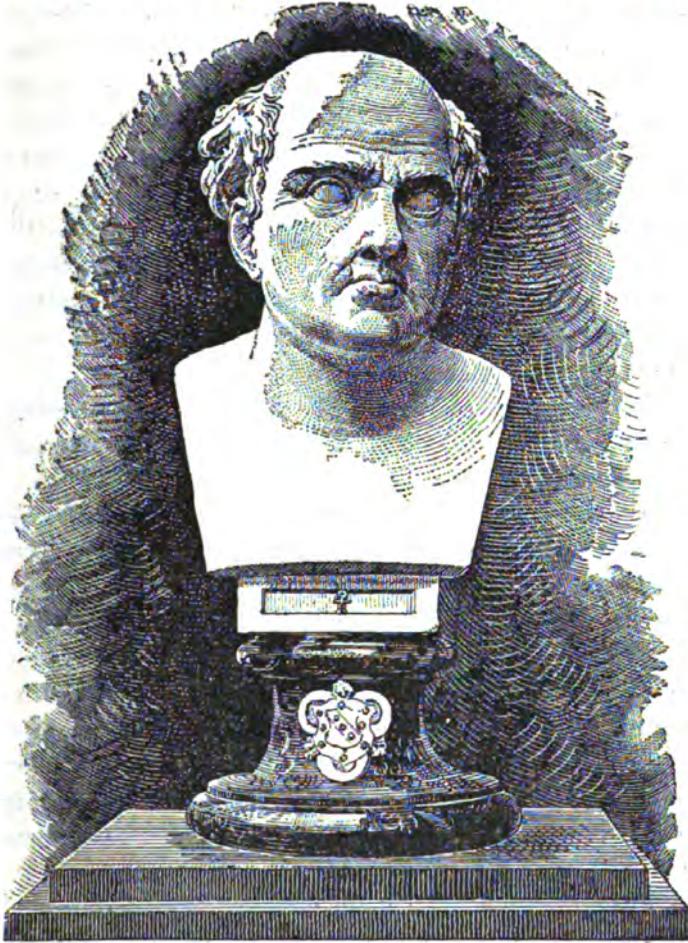
Through nearly four centuries the name and fame of Paracelsus have come down to us with something of the legendary haze that characterizes the age of fables. It is quite generally recognized that he left a distinct impress upon the theory and practice of medicine, though there have existed great differences of opinion as to the extent of that influence and whether, on the whole, it was beneficial or detrimental to the development of the science. It is admitted that he inaugurated a new era in chemical activity by diverting the attention of chemists from the vain aims of medieval alchemy to the application of chemistry to use in medicine. It is recognized that he introduced some rational ideas into the practice of surgery. Paré, sometimes called the 'father of modern surgery, a younger contemporary of Paracelsus, is said to have acknowledged his indebtedness to the earlier writer.³ Erdmann in his *History of Philosophy* credits him with having inaugurated the era of the modern development of the philosophy of nature. English readers know that his life and thought inspired the *Paracelsus* of Robert Browning. Books have been written to show that to Paracelsus we must look for the beginnings of homeopathy. Goethe scholars have attempted to find in the works of Paracelsus much of the inspiration and material of *Faust*. Modern mystics have found in him a fertile source of the revelation of the occult in nature, while students are not wanting who have found in his doctrines the earliest recognition of the necessary basis of modern scientific method. Writers, moreover, there have been who have disputed all these claims.

As with his work so with his character and personality. By many of his disciples and critics early or modern he has been extolled as a skilled physician, a wise teacher, a great reformer, a sincere and pious and unselfish man. By many of his professional

³ Cf. Stoddart, *The Life of Paracelsus*, p. 65.

opponents and by other critics he has on the other hand been characterized as an ignorant egotist, a charlatan, a drunken braggart, a superstitious visionary.

Evidently not all of this can be true. Somewhere in this confusion of contradictory estimates must lie the true Paracelsus, for



BUST OF PARACELSUS AT EINSIEDELN.

By Ildephons Kuriger.*

he was no mythical personage and could have possessed no impossible combination of qualities.

There is, indeed, no great difficulty in understanding how it came about that the German-Swiss physician become thus credited with contradictory attributes. It was his fortune or misfortune to have become the originator of a school of medical practitioners,

* Early 19th century, after drawings by Hirschvogel and Jenichen. The socle shows Paracelsus's coat of arms.

which came into influence mainly after his death and which for more than a century waged a bitter warfare with the older or Galenic school. Paracelsists and anti-Paracelsists supported or condemned the theory, practice, life, and character of the acknowledged leader of the newer school. Foolish and credulous adherents and admirers credited and spread tales and legends of his wonder-working and miraculous powers. Equally foolish but hostile or malicious antagonists invented or credited other fables to the detriment of the character and life of the founder of the despised and hated schism. For in the medical profession of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was not with the weapons of modern science—with patient and critical experimentation—that differences of opinion were settled, but with the traditional weapons borrowed from the theologians and philosophers of the time, dialectics, the citation of authorities, while ridicule, slander, and abuse were effective arguments in the hands of disputants.

From the thus accumulated mass of fable and exaggeration it is not easy to free the reputation of Paracelsus, to discover and justly estimate his real personality and influence.

The sources of reliable information are of two kinds—such unbiased contemporary records of the life and work of Paracelsus as exist—and which are none too numerous—and the internal evidence of his own published writings. While his writings as collected by his editors are of great volume, their character is such as to offer much difficulty in their interpretation. Some of them were published during his life and under his supervision. Some of them were published from manuscripts in his own handwriting or by his amanuenses or secretaries, some edited from the lecture notes of his students, others were published from manuscripts of uncertain origin, and still others were manifestly either wholly or in part fraudulent interpolations. Great differences of opinion exist among Paracelsus scholars as to the degree of authenticity and as to the criteria of authenticity of the writings attributed to Paracelsus.

There exists a letter by a certain Bartholomæus Schobinger (dated April, 1576) which bears interesting testimony to the fact that even at that time in his opinion some alleged writings of Paracelsus were not authentic. He states, "Theophrastus, whom I knew very well, and who lived twenty-seven weeks in the house of my late brother-in-law, left behind him many books upon such things, in part occult (*verporgelich*) and a part of which he truly did not himself understand. . . . There are also many books printed

under his name which Theophrastus neither saw nor made. For I knew well the style of Theophrastus and his usage in writing."⁴

No great value, to be sure, can be attached to this general and unsubstantiated assertion, but it is nevertheless interesting as supporting the judgment of Huser, the editor and publisher of the first critical edition (Basel, 1589-91), as regards some alleged writings of Paracelsus.

Were we to accept the estimate of the character of Paracelsus which had gradually come to be accepted during the eighteenth century—that he was a coarse and ignorant charlatan—it would be a contradiction in terms to consider him seriously in the role of a teacher of ideals of morality and ethics.

Fortunately, however, the investigations of a number of thorough students of the life and times of Paracelsus justify us in accepting a very different judgment of his character and personality.

Egotistic, intolerant, and rude as he often shows himself to be, no authentic incidents have been adduced affecting his essential earnestness, integrity, or morality. His former secretary and student, Oporinus, indeed, in a letter written long after the death of Paracelsus makes the accusation of drunkenness against him, but this testimony has been discredited both on grounds of the circumstances which brought out the letter during the bitter anti-Paracelsan contest, and of the general character of the writer. Had there been a solid basis for the charge it is indeed hardly to be believed that greater use of this effective weapon would not have been made by his antagonists during his lifetime. Schubert and Sudhoff quote also from a work of J. Agricola, the statement of a certain Aegidius von der Wiese, a former student of Paracelsus, in which he says: "But this is true that Paracelsus enjoyed drinking, but on the other hand, when he had undertaken anything he scarcely ate nor drank until he had completed it and then, when he had the time, he became ordinarily merry (*'gemeiniglich lustig'*)."

This statement may well stand against the similarly unsupported statement of Oporinus. The custom of his time and country would indeed have condoned a reasonable indulgence and even occasional excesses of that kind, though passages in Paracelsus's works are not few where he himself condemns drunkenness, and there is no positive evidence that his own life was inconsistent with such convictions.

Ignorance also cannot be charged against him. This charge seems to have been based largely upon the fact that he wrote and

⁴ Schubert and Sudhoff, *Paracelsusforschungen*, II, pp. 140-4.

lectured in German rather than in Latin. But those who lived in his time and country doubtless well knew that his reasons for so doing were much the same that animated Luther who had set him the example. Moreover, his use of Latin in his own works, and his many allusions to Greek and Latin authors make it evident that he commanded the language in which they were written and possessed an extensive familiarity with their doctrines, though perhaps not a scholarly interest in their writings.

Whatever, however, may have been his shortcomings and limitations, there is no reason to doubt the earnestness or sincerity of his efforts to raise the standards of medical ethics, nor the essential piety of his own convictions.

We may, therefore, be justified in accepting his consistently and constantly reiterated ideals of the mission of medicine, and of the ethical standards of the medical practitioner as the sincere and typical utterances of a devoted missionary.

The condition of medical ethics at the time, if we may judge from expressions used by Erasmus, Agrippa, and Ramus, and as the history of medicine affords ample confirmation, was such as to justify the criticisms of Paracelsus and warrant his efforts at reform. That the persecution and contempt of the profession added an element of personal resentment and bitterness to his campaign is also manifest.

The character of the appeal of Paracelsus and its probable influence upon such medical students as were not too strongly prejudiced against him—and particularly upon the lay public, already it would seem somewhat suspicious of the conventional scholastic physician—may best be understood from his own utterances.

"Ye physicians, of what use to us is the name, the title, the university, if we possess not the knowledge (of medicine)? Knowledge makes the physician, not the name or the school. What is it for us if we appear great and make great display, if we have not the knowledge? Of what use that we are considered great by lords, cities, or countries—that we are given dignities and honors, and when the time of need arises, when we should be able worthily to repay the honors bestowed and we have not the knowledge? Whom do honors, the doctor's cloak and ring really adorn but those who deserve them by reason of their knowledge? The knowledge does not grow in our heads, if we do not know the virtues contained in the herbs. The garden of knowledge is like a garden of trees; the arts are founded in experience and taught by nature. If the trees in the garden are mutilated up to the trunk, of what use is the tree?"

However tall and handsome it may be, if it lacks branches no fruits can come of it.

"I wish to admonish all physicians that they scrutinize, not me to whom they are hostile, but themselves and then they may judge



PARACELSUS WITH A BOON COMPANION.*

me accordingly. I was grown in your garden and was transplanted from it into another. That is, I was trained in that garden where

* Painted by an unknown artist, about half a century after Paracelsus's death, when the struggle between enemies and adherents of Paracelsus was at its height. The intention to stigmatize Paracelsus as a hypocrite is plain.

trees are mutilated and was no slight ornament to the University. But when the *Archeites* saw that that growth would lead me into vanity and show, it was brought about that I should be transplanted and should be planted in another garden. For just as a good fruit-tree is dug up and a linden planted in its place, so it takes place there (in the universities). For there the physician's fruitfulness is taken from him and he is made into a feast for the eyes like the linden-tree, but his fruits disappear. This transplanting was brought about for this reason that after so much mutilation I should be planted in another garden, that is that I should enter into the paths of experience and avoid that mutilation."⁵

Evidently his attacks upon the practitioners of his day brought forth from his opponents accusations of lack of professional courtesy, for he feels called upon to defend himself against this charge.

"It should not appear strange to any one that I cannot praise selfishness in medicine, because I know how harmful it is, so that the art of medicine has become falsified by it and has been led astray into a show and a bargaining, so that nothing can take place without falseness which leads to corruption in all things. The physician must not be founded on selfishness but in love. . . . I, for my part, am ashamed of medicine that it has so fallen into deception. There is no abandoned hangman, bawdy-house keeper, or dog-killer that will not sell his human or dog's fat for money and claim to cure all diseases with it, and that even when his conscience tells him that the treatment of one disease only is permitted to him. But because of their greed they take everything that comes their way. Therefore there have come into medicine all the lazy and wicked vagabonds, and they sell their remedies whether they suit the case or not. Whoever gets money in his purse has the reputation of being a good physician. . . . They do not care that it has come to them undeserved, only so that it is there.

"It is also a doctor's custom wherever the law permits it—whether rightly or not I do not know—that a visit is worth a gulden whether earned or not. . . . To have pity for another and to fulfil the law of love will not become a custom or use: they wish to have no law any more but to take—take, whether it is right or not. So they deck themselves with rings and chains of gold; so they go about in silken clothing and proclaim to all the world their open disgrace, which they consider as an honor and as proper for a physician: so ornamented like a picture they strut about—it is an abomination in the sight of God. . . . Medicine is an art which should

⁵ *Chir. Bücher* (Fol. ed., 1618), p. 309 ("Spitalbuch," Preface).

be employed with great conscientiousness and great experience and in the great fear of God, for he who does not fear God he murders



PARACELSUS BY RUBENS(?)
Brussels.*

and steals continually, and he who has no conscience has also no shame in him. . . . I trust I have defended myself from having any-

* Hardly by Rubens himself, but by one of his pupils. The portrait is a very good copy of an earlier one in the Louvre at Paris, at present supposed to have been painted by Scorel in 1517.

thing to do with the pseudo-medici, or from doing anything to please them: I would rather speed the axe to be laid at that tree. If it depended on me it would not be long delayed."⁶

In a similar vein he elsewhere says:

"They have brought things to such a pass that all men flee from medicine and hold it all as knavery and swindling. They have so deceived people with their arts that a common peasant or a Jew commands more credence than they. And, indeed, they can do more than the doctors. Is it not a crime and a shame when a city physician (*Stadtarzt*) is appointed in a city, and the sick flee from him because he cannot help them and must let them lie, and others who have not studied must assist them?"⁷

His exalted ideal of the mission of medical science and of the true physician finds frequent utterance throughout his writings, as the following examples may illustrate.

"For God wills that man be truthful and not a doubter and a liar; he has created truth and not lies, and ordained and established the physician in the truth and not in lies. The truth is then his integrity. Such is the physician's integrity that he shall be as steadfast and as truthful as the Apostles of Christ, for in God's sight he is not less."⁸

"As now it is the physician alone who can most highly prize and praise God, he must have the greatest knowledge. And why?—Who is it except the physician that can know man, what he is, and how great God has made him? He can make known the works of God, how noble the universe is, and how much nobler is man, and how one proceeds and is born from the other (i. e., the macrocosm and microcosm). He who does not know this must not boast himself a physician."⁹

His ideals of service of the physician toward the poor and needy may be illustrated by the following extract from the preface to his "Hospital-Book."

"Of what use is it if I write much about the sick and the poor and of how their health is to be secured and do not also admonish the rich? For no good can happen to the poor without the rich. Both are bound together as with a chain, and as little may any chain suffer a break as the chain which binds together the rich and the poor. Learn, ye rich, to recognize these chains. For if ye

⁶ *Op. fol.*, Strassburg, 1616-18, I, pp. 259-261, "Die fünfte Defension."

⁷ *Op. fol.*, I, p. 61, "Paramirum."

⁸ *Op. fol.*, I, p. 227, "Paragranum."

⁹ *Op. fol.*, I, p. 81, "Paramirum."

break your link, ye not only break the chain but like the broken link ye will be cast aside. Why, then, do you try to make yourselves free from the poor and to shut your help from them? Just as if you should take some links from a chain and make it too short, so, without the poor, would your path be too short to reach to the Kingdom of Heaven, and you would not attain the goal for which the chain was given you. Learn then, both rich and poor, that all your diseases on earth lie in one single hospital, and that is the hospital of God. . . .

"Do not let yourselves be discouraged because with many of the sick, neither help nor faith, nor art, nor benevolence, nor anything will help them;—it is so ordained for them for reasons elsewhere sufficiently described. . . . Forget not your truth, despair not and be not discouraged, but continue in love. Despise not your art but make yourself skilled in it, that you may not fail in the truth and understanding of medicine, but that any failure may lie with nature. Be gentle and merciful and judge of your charities as to what aim, use, and fruitfulness they may arrive, and trust nothing to unreason."¹⁰

Similar exhortations and expressions of his strong convictions upon the mission of the true physician are scattered numerously through nearly all his writings. Evidently the purification of medical ethics and practice was one of the dominant aims of his reform campaign.

THE COSMIC HEMORRHAGE.

BY LAWRENCE PARMLY BROWN.

IN mythology the red hue of the morning and evening skies is sometimes attributed to blood; and this mythic blood is sometimes conceived as mixed with the eastern and western celestial waters, which are associated occasionally with the corresponding divisions of the earth-surrounding ocean-river. The evening sky was naturally conceived as red with the blood of the slain or injured sun-god, or with that of some mythic figure connected with him; while the reddened or bloody morning sky was associated either with the death of the conquering sun-god's enemies, or with the birth of the solar child.

In the *Book of the Dead*, Horus cuts off the heads of the

¹⁰ *Chir. Bücher*, pp. 311-312, "Spitalbuch."

enemies of the deceased (at sunrise); Thoth (the moon-god) hacks them to pieces; and the deceased himself, who is identified with Horus in the solar boat, bathes in the blood of these enemies, thus making himself clean (CXXXIV—Theban, 6-9; Saïte, 4-6). Isis, as the goddess of dawn, wipes away or stops the flow of blood from the (lunar) eye of Horus after it is injured by Set as a night and storm figure (*ibid.*, XCIX, both Recensions). The Greek Cronus (in his solar character), at the instigation of Gæa (the earth), mutilated his father Uranus (the heaven), from whose blood sprang the Giants (for storm-clouds—Hesiod, *Theog.*, 180). A garment steeped in the poisoned blood of Nessus was the indirect cause of the madness and death of Heracles; for such was the suffering of that solar hero when he had put on the garment that he went alive upon his funeral pyre—which also belongs to the red sky of sunset (Apollod., II, 7, etc.).

In the Babylonio-Assyrian cosmogony, when the solar Bel-Marduk slew the monster Tiamat (a figure of the primordial universe), her blood was borne away by the north wind into "hiding-places" (in the underworld); and she was cut in twain, the roof of the heaven being made from her upper half ("Seven Tablets of Creation," Tab. IV, 32, 130-138). According to the Chaldean Berosus as preserved through Alexander Polyhistor by Eusebius (*Chron.*, V, 8) and Syncellus (*Chron.*, 28), the divine fish-man Oannes rose daily at dawn from the Erythrean or Red Sea, and returned into it when the sun set; and Berosus related that this solar figure gave the Babylonians an account of the creation in which Omorka or Thamte (= Tiamat) was cut asunder by Belus, the heaven being formed from one half, and the earth from the other half; after which Belus cut off his own head (apparently at sunrise), and had the other gods mix his blood with earth, thus forming the first men and animals. The head of the solar or solico-smic god cut off at sunrise must have been conceived by some as replaced at sunset, or *vice versa*; whence in the *Book of the Dead* the Osirified deceased is made to say, "They gave me back my head after cutting it off" (XLIII, both Recensions). As Belus (or Bel) and Oannes are both solar figures, it is quite probable that some version of the Chaldean myth supplied the primary suggestion for the decapitation of John (Greek, Ioannes) the Baptist after his being cast into prison (as if into the underworld), with Herod as the night figure and the daughter of Herodias as the dawn who takes the (solar) head to her mother (the heaven) on a dish (Mark vi. 14-28; Matt. xiv. 1-12; Luke iii. 19-20). While

the decapitation of John thus appears to belong to the morning, the death of Jesus belongs to the evening and was shortly followed by the spear thrust in his (left) side, whence issued blood and water (according to John xix. 34). Again, in his agony of the preceding night his sweat "became as great drops of blood falling down to the earth" (according to Luke xxii. 44); and in an Egyptian magical text we read that "when the sun becomes weak he lets fall the sweat of his members, and this changes to a (i. e., 'another') liquid (viz., blood); he bleeds much" (*Records of the Past*, VI, 115-116).

Some terrestrial rivers when in flood have their waters reddened from the soil they wash down; and shortly after the beginning of the annual inundation of the Nile, at about the time of the summer solstice, that river runs red for some twenty days; its red waters evidently being conceived as blood in the Egyptian legend of the Destruction of Mankind. Thus after all men had been destroyed (apparently in the dry season) because they had plotted evil things and uttered words against Ra, he declared he would complete their ruin; whereupon "during several nights there was Sechet trampling the blood under her feet." Ra then had seven thousand vessels of drink prepared from this blood mixed with fruits; came to see the drink "in three days of navigation" (for the solstice), and ordered his attendants "in the midst of the night to pour out the water of the vessels; and the fields were entirely covered with water through the majesty of the god" (*Records of the Past*, VI, pp. 105-112). In Ex. iv. 9, Jehovah says that Moses, to convince the Egyptians of his divine mission, shall take some of the Nile water and pour it upon the dry land, where it shall become blood; and while there is no account of this miracle in the extant text, we find a variant of it in the first plague, where Aaron, as commanded by Jehovah through Moses, smites the Nile with his rod and turns not only the river but all the water in Egypt into blood: and it is added that the Egyptian magicians did likewise with their enchantments (*ibid.* vii. 17-22). According to Revelation, in the last days of the present world cycle the terrestrial sea will become blood—at first a third part, and subsequently all of it, together with the rivers and springs (xvi. 4; cf. xi. 6).

According to Sanchuniatho as quoted through Philo Byblius by Eusebius (*Praep. Evang.*, I, 10), Cronus mutilated Uranus "near fountains and rivers," into which his blood flowed; and Eusebius adds that "the place where this occurred is shown even to this day." The little Syrian river called the Adonis by the Greeks

(the modern Nahr Ibrahim) annually runs red with the soil washed down in its midsummer flood; but it was fabled to be thus colored with the blood of the slain solar god Tammuz, whom the Greeks called Adonis (= Adon, "Lord"). The luni-solar festival of his death and resurrection was held at about the time of the summer solstice, with the beginning of the festival marked by the new moon of the Syrian month Tammuz. Some of the Greeks probably identified Adonis-Tammuz with Osiris, and confused the Syrian Byblus = Papyrus, at the mouth of the Adonis, with the Egyptian "Papyrus Swamps" into which the body of the slain Osiris was borne by the Nile (see Budge, *Gods*, II, p. 124). Thus Plutarch says that the body of Osiris was borne by the sea from Egypt to Byblus, where it was found by Isis (*De Iside*, 14): and according to Lucian an artificial head of papyrus was annually sent floating from Egypt to Byblus, its appearance at the latter place announcing the resurrection of Adonis (*De Dea Syra*, 6—as probably suggested by the rising of the solar head in the east, where the daily resurrection of the sun-god also belongs).

The healing by Jesus of a woman with "a flux of blood" is found in substantially the same form in Mark v. 25-34 and Luke viii. 43-48, being much abbreviated in Matt. ix. 20-22. Mark's account, presumably the earliest, is as follows: "And a certain woman, being with a flux of blood (*ousa en rhysei haimatos*) twelve years, and having suffered much under many physicians, and having spent all her means, and in no way having benefitted, but rather having come to worse, having heard concerning Jesus, having come in the crowd behind (him), touched his garment; for she said (to herself), If but his garments I shall touch, I shall be cured. And immediately was dried up the fountain of her blood, and she knew (i. e., felt) in her body that she was healed from the scourge"—what follows being to the effect that the cure was involuntary on the part of Jesus, who felt that power had gone out of him, but did not know who had touched his garment until told by the woman; whereupon he assured her that her faith had cured her. She touches "the border of his garment," in both Luke and Matthew; the former adding, "and immediately stopped the flux of her blood," while the latter defers the cure until after Jesus has spoken to the woman. There is no Old Testament prophecy of any such miracle, nor anything in the way of a close parallel in heathen mythologies. The *rhyxis haimatos* of Mark and Luke, the *haimorrhousa* of Matthew, which the A. V. renders "issue of blood," must not be confused with the *dysenteria* of Acts xxviii. 8, where the A. V. has "bloody

flux"—the latter malady being the punishment for having killed a wife in a former life, according to the *Ayeeen Akbery* (I, p. 445). Commentators uniformly refer the malady of the woman cured by Jesus to some sort of *menorrhagia* or *paramenia superflua*, such as that of Lev. xv. 25, where the Septuagint has the same term as Mark and Luke for "flux of blood." Indeed the Gospel story as extant, and taken literally, can hardly be understood to relate to anything else; but nevertheless there are reasons for concluding that the original of this story belonged to the nature mythos and related to the parturient hemorrhage of the heaven (or the earth) as the mother of the planet Venus as the morning star; this cosmic hemorrhage being *post-partum* and evidently considered of abnormal or pathological character, as well known in human experience. In Lev. xii. we have references to *post-partum* hemorrhages of a physiological character, which nevertheless might naturally appear as pathological to some; the purification period in the case of a male child being for thirty-three days after the first "unclean seven days" (making forty days in all), while for a female child it is for sixty-six days after the first "unclean two weeks" (making eighty days in all); the corresponding periods among the Greeks being of thirty and forty-two days respectively—Aristot., *Hist. An.*, VII, 3, 2; Hippocrates, I, p. 392, ed. Kuhn). And as 42 (6×7) is a typical variant of 40, so the Levitical 80 days may have been considered a variant of $12 \times 7 = 84$; which suggests that the "twelve years" of the flux in the Gospel story represents an original twelve weeks for the Levitical *post-partum* eighty days—one of several indications that the Gospel woman had been the mother of a girl. She touches only the garment of Jesus, and that by stealth, doubtless because a mother is to "touch nothing holy" during the Levitical purification periods (xii. 4, Sept.); while the reference to "the fountain of her blood" in the Septuagint of Lev. xii. 7, evidently suggested Mark's words, "And immediately was dried up the fountain of her blood."

In Mark and Luke, when the woman with the flux of blood is cured, Jesus is on his way to the house of Jairus, going with the latter to cure his daughter who is at the point of death; but she dies before they reach the house, and Jesus restores her to life. In Matthew she is introduced as already dead, and Jesus is on the way to revive her when he cures the woman with the flux. This is the only instance in the New Testament where the accounts of two miracles are combined in any such manner, and as there is no apparent reason or suggestion for combining the two accounts if they

were originally unrelated, it is entirely probable that the woman with the flux was originally represented as the wife of Jairus and the mother of his resurrected daughter. According to Mark v. 42, the daughter was twelve years old (Luke viii. 42, has "about twelve years," while Matthew omits reference to her age), just as the period of the woman's flux was twelve years; which puts the birth of the girl and the beginning of the flux at about the same time, probably at exactly the same time in the original story. And in all probability the girl represents the planet Venus; born as the morning star; dying when the sun rises, and coming to life again the following morning. In this view, Jairus (Gr. *Iaeiros*; Heb. *Jair* = Enlightener), a ruler of the synagogue (for the heaven or universe), represents the sun-god as the light-giver and the father of the planets; and Luke says that the daughter of Jairus was "an only daughter" (viii. 42), just as Venus is the only female planet in the fivefold group (exclusive of the sun and moon). Moreover, it is not improbable that the original Gospel story was derived from some version of the Syro-Phœnician mythos in which the goddess Astarte or Ashtoreth was identified with the planet Venus. As the wife of the solar Baal (= Lord), she was known as Baaltis, to whom Cronus gave the city of Byblus—according to Sanchuniatho, who also identified her with Dione (in Euseb., *Praep. Evang.*, I, 10). But in Homer (*Il.*, V, 370, etc.), Dione and Zeus (= Baal) are the parents of Aphrodite (= Astarte), who loved the solar Adonis, and who (as Astarte) had a temple at the fountainhead of the river Adonis—to which when running red the parturient hemorrhage of the mother goddess may have been transferred by some. It is also not improbable that we have a reminiscence of the Syro-Phœnician origin of the Gospel story of the flux in the early identification of two statues at Paneas (the Roman Cæsarea Philippi) as those of Jesus and the afflicted woman; the latter of whom was fabled to have been a native of that ancient Phœnician city, situated at one of the fountainheads of the Jordan (Eusebius, *H. E.*, VII, 17, 18; Sozomen, V, 21; Rufinus, VII, 14; cf. Josephus, *Antiq.*, XV, 10, 3; XVIII, 2, 2; *Bell. Jud.*, I, 21, 3; II, 9, 1). This source of the river is formed by many little streams that issue from the base of a red limestone cliff, above which "still remains a deep circular grove of ilexes—perhaps the best likeness which now exists of the ancient groves so long identified with the Canaanitish worship of Astarte" (Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, ed. 1883, p. 468). There is also a possibility that the primary suggestion for the introduction of the woman with the flux in the Christian mythos is to be found in the

ancient representation of Astarte as a cross-bearer—probably in her planetary character, with the cross as a star symbol.

The Gnostics recognized the Gospel woman with the flux as a type or counterpart of their mystic Sophia (= Wisdom), who is primarily the personified Wisdom of the Book of Wisdom. In the highly figurative language of that book, Wisdom is the mother of "all good things" and "a pure outflowing" (the margin has "stream") from the glory of the Almighty, who loves only those who dwell with her (i. e., who are figuratively wedded to her—vii. 11-12, 25, 28). According to the Valentinians, the twelfth and last of their final group among the thirty eons or divine emanations is Sophia, who is inferior to Nous (= Intelligence) and Synesis (= Understanding), and therefore represents Knowledge or Learning rather than the exalted personification of the Book of Wisdom. Some of the Valentinians taught that their Sophia suffered a mad passion, which was interpreted as a futile desire to search into the incomprehensible



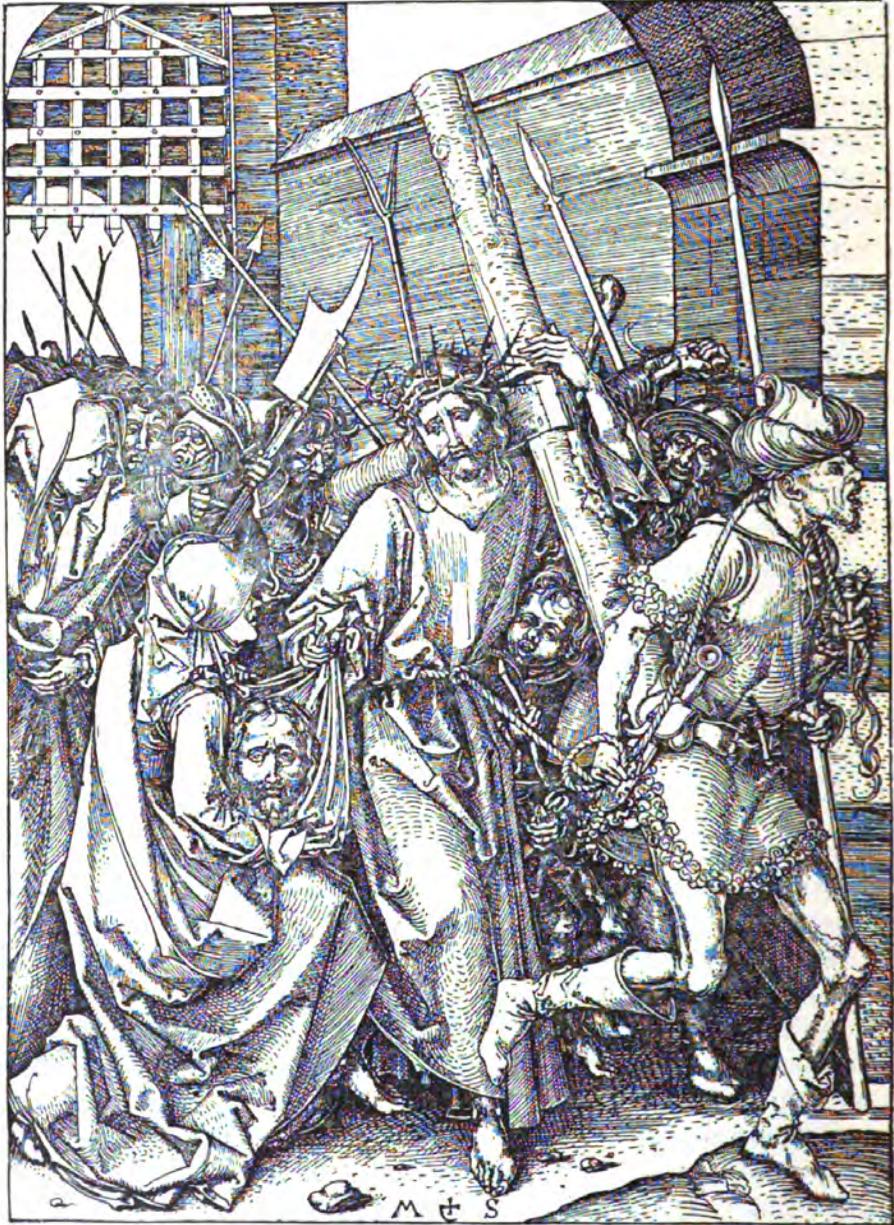
ASTARTE WITH THE CROSS.

Sidonian Coins. (From Calmet, No. 6, Plates CXL and XVL.)

nature of the Father God, whom she loved; and as she was ever stretching herself (or rather, flowing) toward him, and in danger of being absorbed by his essence, the eon Horos (= Limit) restrained and supported her, and finally purified her and restored her to reason. Others of these Gnostics taught that as a result of her passion, and independently of her consort Theletos (= Desiderated), she brought forth "a formless substance"—for the original creation of "matter without form," as it is called in Wisdom xi. 17, corresponding to the earth when yet "without form and void (of spirit)," in Gen. i. 2. This caused her such perplexity and suffering that her strength failed her and she was about to die, but was saved through the intervention of Nous (= Intelligence), assisted by other eons (Irenæus, *Adv. Haer.*, I, 2; 2-4; cf. II, 12, 3; 18, 1, and Tertullian, *Adv. Valentin.*, 9 and 10).

It was apparently the former version of this cosmogonical mystery that some of the Valentinians held to be concealed in the Gospel

story of the flux of blood as referred to a menorrhagia—"For she who had been afflicted twelve years represented that power (Sophia)



ST. VERONICA RECEIVING THE PICTURE.

Engraving by Martin Schongauer.

whose essence, as they narrate, was stretching itself forth and flowing into immensity; and unless she had touched the garment

of the Son (representing Nous), that is to say, Aletheia (= Truth), of the first tetrad (of eons), who is denoted by the hem (of the garment) mentioned, she (Sophia) would have been dissolved into the general essence. She stopped short, however, and ceased to suffer. For the power that went forth from the Son—and this power they term Horos—healed her, and separated the passion from her” (Irenæus, *ibid.*, I, 3, 3). But in connection with the latter version of this mystery, in which Sophia is the mother of formless matter, the Gospel flux appears to be recognized as a parturient hemorrhage, both *ante-partum* and *post-partum*. And thus we find that Sophia as the suffering eon was also called Prouneikos (Iren., *ibid.*, I, 29, 4; 30, 7), which is a Greek masculine word signifying “bearing burdens,” primarily of a porter. Origen (*Contra Cels.*, VI, 35) says that the Valentinians “give the name Prouneikos to a certain kind of wisdom (*sophia* as knowledge or learning), of which they would have the woman afflicted with the twelve years’ flux of blood to be the symbol; so that Celsus asserted that it (the flux) was a power flowing forth from one Prouneikos, a virgin” (as functioning independently of her consort—see above). At an early date, Prouneikos (Latin masculine, Prunicus; feminine, Prunice) became Beronike or Berenike, and Veronica, respectively traditional Greek and Roman names for the Gospel woman cured by the flux—as in some Greek manuscripts and the Latin version of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* (I, 7). The form Berenike is that of the Macedonic name of several women famous in history; the Roman variant probably having suggested to some that it was derived from the Latin *vera* = true and the Greek *eikon* = image, rather than actually having been the result of such a barbarous combination. Thus Veronica appears to have been recognized as the “True-image” of divine Wisdom or of God himself—just as the personified Wisdom of the Book of Wisdom is “a reflection of the everlasting light, and an unspotted mirror of the efficiency of God, and image of his goodness” (vii. 26). But Beronike-Veronica, still as the woman cured of the flux, was finally fabled to have obtained an imprint (or “veronica”) of the face of Jesus on her veil or handkerchief (*sudarium* = sweat-cloth) with which she wiped his face shortly before the Crucifixion (*Avenging of the Saviour; Death of Pilate*, and various medieval works—see Baring-Gould, *Lives of the Saints*, II, p. 73, etc.); and it is not improbable that the face of Jesus was originally conceived as still wet with the bloody sweat when this imprint was made. Furthermore, it is quite probable that the primary suggestion for placing

the pictured face of Jesus in the hands of the woman cured of the flux is to be sought in the mythic association of the planetary Venus-Astarte-Baal and the solar head of Adonis-Baal, otherwise Belus or Bel.

THE GOSPEL ACCOUNTS OF THE RESURRECTION.

BY WM. WEBER.

IN order to establish the facts of the resurrection of Jesus, one must ascertain first of all the composition, mutual dependence, and, if possible, the date of the accounts of the resurrection, handed down to us in the Gospels. It is, as a matter of course, also necessary to understand and appreciate the true meaning of the statements and information contained in those narratives. Our investigation may be confined to five of them. The first is the well-known story of the Roman soldiers watching the grave of Jesus. The other four are the different versions of the pericope of the women who visited the tomb on Easter morning.

There are other narratives, closely connected with the resurrection, as "The Interview on the Way to Emmaus" and "The Appearance in Jerusalem" in the third Gospel, as well as "The Appearance in Jerusalem," "The Thomas Episode," and "The Appearance at the Sea of Tiberias" in the fourth. Likewise the accounts of the ascension belong to the same group of documents. However, they are in a class by themselves and may be treated separately under the title "Manifestations of the Risen Jesus."

Properly speaking, not even the first-named accounts furnish us with a direct and complete story of the resurrection. Still, the one comes very near doing so; and the others relate events following more closely upon the resurrection than anything else found in the Gospels. We may be permitted for that reason to call them "The Resurrection Accounts."

The pericope of "The Guarded Grave" is really the only report of the resurrection the Gospels contain. It is separated at present into two parts, Matt. xxvii. 62-xxviii. 1a and 2-4, and xxviii. 11-15; and is interwoven with the pericope of "The Women at the Tomb." It occurs only in the first Gospel, whereas the visit of the women at the tomb is told in all four Gospels. Accordingly, the Guarded Grave account cannot belong to the Synoptic source nor to what we may name the Diatessaron source. Consequently, it must be

originally quite independent of the pericope of the Women at the Tomb. That is to say, the passage Matt. xxvii. 62-xxviii. 15 cannot form one integral whole, but consists of, at least, two heterogeneous parts.

The very first half of Matt. xxviii. 1 corroborates this impression. It reads in the American Revised Version: "Late on the Sabbath day, as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week." That translation is certainly wrong. As the Jewish day closed about 6 p. m., "late on the Sabbath day" near the vernal equinox can mean only "about six o'clock Saturday night." The Greek word of our text, rendered "late," is employed in the Septuagint for a Hebrew noun signifying "evening." The English clause: "as it began to dawn toward the first day of the week," can signify only "Sunday morning," or, more distinctly, "six o'clock Sunday morning." But as a matter of fact, the Greek verb, supposed to mean "begin to dawn," stands for a Hebrew verb which signifies "begin to shine" and which refers not only to the sun, but also to the moon and the stars. The Jewish day, as we have to bear in mind constantly, begins and ends in the evening; and lacking timepieces, the first star appearing in the evening sky announced to the Jews the change from one day to another. To express that idea and fact, we may translate the above-quoted temporal clause: "as the star ushered in the first day of the week." That, of course, means at the season of the Passover "about six o'clock Saturday night"; but it implies in addition the idea that the Sabbath had just become a thing of the past. The author uses both nearly synonymous expressions of time in order to emphasize that what he is about to tell came to pass immediately after the Jewish first day of the week had begun.

That, however, is not the time at which the women visited the tomb. For they went there Sunday morning at sunrise, cp. Mark xvi. 2—"at early dawn," that is, early Sunday morning, Luke xxiv. 1, "early while it was yet dark," John xx. 1. Besides, Mark xvi. 1 informs us that the women bought spices Saturday night after six o'clock, "when the Sabbath was past." So there is no room left for doubt as to the time when the women of the Synoptic or Diatessaron pericope went to the tomb of Jesus. Hence, Matt. xxviii. 1a and 1b do not agree with one another. Either the definition of time or the introduction of the two women interrupts the context, which means, either the first or second half of verse 1 is an interpolation and as such to be assigned to the editor of the Gospel or the compiler of its closing section.

Looking now at verses 2ff, forgetting for a moment what has just been said, we learn there that Mary Magdalene and her companion arrived at the tomb exactly at the moment when Jesus was raised from the dead. To be quite correct, they certainly were there when the earthquake shook the ground, when the angel of the Lord came down from Heaven, removed the stone which closed the door of the grave, and took his seat upon it. But that is not less at odds with the parallel accounts than the time. The statements of all the other Gospels are clear and unequivocal. The women came to the grave, not before but after the resurrection; they found at their arrival the stone rolled away from the opening of the tomb; and they met one angel, or two, not outside, seated on the stone, but within the chamber of the tomb. This second discrepancy between the Matthew version of the pericope of the Women at the Tomb in its present position and the testimony of all the parallel versions, confirms that Matt. xxviii. 1b interrupts the original connection existing between Matt. xxviii. 1a and 2ff. In other words, the sentence: "Mary Magdalene and the other Mary came to see the grave," is an interpolation.

A third characteristic feature which excludes the presence of the women at the events related in verses 2-4 is the fact that, according to verses 5-8, the women were not affected at all by the appearance of the angel of the Lord. If they had been present, they would have shared the fate of the watchers and become unconscious. This point, however, will be made clearer later on.

The mutual independence of the two pericopes is, furthermore, confirmed by the two different terms employed to denote the place where Jesus was buried. I have rendered them by the nouns "tomb" and "grave" respectively. Coming in verse 1b upon the term "grave" whereas we should expect the word "tomb," we are compelled to ascribe the sentence, known to stand in the wrong place, to the editor or compiler who attempted to weld two entirely different stories into one narrative. For it is absolutely impossible to consider verse 1b as the original introduction to verses 5-8. Moreover, the names of the women who visit the tomb agree in none of the four Gospels; therefore, those names were not given in the common source.

On the other hand, verses 2-4 can be united readily with verse 1a. Only the two little words "and behold" which now connect verse 2 with verse 1b have to be dropped. Thus our passage read originally: "In the evening of the Sabbath, as the evening star ushered in the first day of the week, there was a great earthquake.

For the angel of the Lord descended from heaven, and came and rolled away the stone and sat upon it. His appearance was as lightning, and his raiment white as snow. And for the fear of him the watchers did quake and became as dead men."

This passage is continued and concluded in verses 11-15. There, however, the clause "but as they were going" and the word "behold" belong to the compiler who inserted not only verse 1b but also verses 5-10 into the account of the Guarded Grave. He was forced, however, to eliminate a short statement to the effect that the guards awoke from their trance and found the grave empty. The exclamation "behold" in verse 2 is possibly part of the original text and may be intended to call attention to the suddenness and unexpectedness of the earthquake. But in verse 11 the word can hardly be accounted for. I am thus inclined to ascribe it in both instances to the editor because the narrative of the Guarded Grave is told in a plain and straightforward manner and is free from mere expletives.

One more passage requires an explanation. The account opens with the statement: "On the morrow which is after preparation." That such a paraphrase is out of place and uncalled for has been felt long ago. The text might read: "On the morrow which is the Sabbath." We cannot assume the author to have been unfamiliar with the expression "Sabbath." For he actually uses it in xxviii. 1. The strange wording can be explained in my opinion only as follows. The immediately preceding Joseph of Arimathæa pericope must have contained the word "preparation" even after the account of the Guarded Grave had been added to the first Gospel. Some commentator who was not quite certain what "preparation" really signifies, inserted the relative clause stating that the morrow is the day after "preparation." Later on, by some accident, the word "preparation" dropped out of the Joseph of Arimathæa pericope and was never replaced.

The pericope of the Guarded Grave is an exceptionally well-written story. The sentences, although abounding in participial constructions and containing subordinate clauses, are distinguished by clearness and fluency. The author was fully aware of what he wanted to tell and what he had to leave untold. He must have been tempted to relate what happened after the angel of the Lord had removed the stone and to describe how Jesus, attended by angels, came forth from the grave. But he wisely refrained from doing so, for, as he realized, the only witnesses of the resurrection were Roman soldiers, and they had fallen into a deathlike trance at the

sight of the angel of the Lord. The latter term is used very likely in its Old Testament sense and denotes a self-manifestation of Yahweh. The Old Testament teaches that no human being, whether saint or sinner, can see God and live. Even Moses could behold only the back of God (Ex. xxxiii. 18-23). The appearance of ordinary angels did not affect mortals in such a manner. That is demonstrated, for instance, also by the angel, or angels, who announced the Easter message to the women. Hence, I feel compelled to substitute "the angel of the Lord" for the usual translation "an angel of the Lord." In the Old Testament, at least "according to the general grammatical rules, the rendering 'an angel of the Lord' is inaccurate." The raising of Jesus required the presence of God Himself. That is also indicated by the earthquake.

As our pericope is found only in the first Gospel, it cannot have been derived from the sources which were at the disposal of the Synoptists or of all four Evangelists. That again implies that there cannot have existed many copies of our pericope at the time when it was embodied into the first Gospel nor does it seem that those few copies were distributed over a large area. Of course, any Evangelist may have rejected certain documents pretending to contain information concerning Jesus, because he judged them to be spurious or apocryphal. But I fail to see how any of the early Christians could take exception to our narrative. Consequently, we cannot escape the conclusion either that Matthew had got possession of the only copy in existence or that he lived in a district where alone such copies were in circulation. Our pericope must, therefore, have been of very recent origin at the time when it was added to the first Gospel.

This conclusion, suggested by general considerations, is confirmed directly by our narrative. It closes with the statement: "And this saying was spread among the Jews until this day." Unless we decide that we must regard this sentence as an interpolation, it implies that a considerable interval of time had elapsed between the event related and the writing of our account of it. The text does not betray the least trace of having been tampered with. The length of that interval cannot be determined from our pericope. It may have amounted to a hundred years or more. But it may be possible to arrive at an approximate date, provided we determine when the Jews first began to accuse the Christians of having stolen the corpse of Jesus in order to prove their claim that he had risen from the dead.

Apparently, the Jews might have begun to spread that story as

soon as the Christians commenced to preach the message of the resurrection. But, as a matter of fact, they did not do so; at least, the New Testament does not refer to that charge except in our pericope. During the apostolic age, the Jewish opponents of the religion of Jesus had no chance of calling the Christians grave-robbers. For whenever the latter bore witness to the resurrection they never mentioned the open and empty tomb. They stated simply they knew Jesus had risen from the dead because they had seen him alive after his death and burial. Moreover—and this is the most important and significant part of their testimony—they had seen him in the state and condition not of resuscitated mortality but of heavenly glory as the recognized Son of God. One must always remember that the first Christians did not merely believe that Jesus in some way became alive again after he had been buried for a while, but that Jesus, by what they called his resurrection, entered upon the life everlasting. St. Paul formulates that idea as follows: "Christ being raised from death dieth no more; death no more hath dominion over him" (Rom. vi. 9). We may quote also 1 Peter i. 21: "God raised him from the dead and gave him glory." Acts xiii. 30f likewise supports this assertion: "God raised him from the dead. And he was seen for many days of them that came up with him from Galilee to Jerusalem, who are now his witnesses unto the people." Furthermore, 1 Cor. xv. 4ff and many other passages may be compared. The Easter faith of the first disciples was not based on such an unreliable and, at the best, purely negative proof as the empty tomb might have furnished. They relied on the direct and uncontroverted testimony of their own senses. Such a faith could not be attacked and shaken by any silly explanation how the tomb chanced to be found open and empty; and evidently no attempt along that line of attack was ever made as long as the first disciples were living.

The first Christian writer who speaks of the Jewish calumny that the disciples stole the body of Jesus at night is Justin Martyr in his *Dialogue with Trypho* (108). This apologist died probably about 163 A. D. The next of the Fathers who refers to it is Tertullian, who died about 230 A. D. (*De Spec.*, 30). From these dates we may infer that the special brand of Jewish polemics mentioned in our pericope, arose during the first half of the second century of our era. Justin says among other things: "You have sent selected men over the whole earth who preach that a certain impious and lawless sect has been founded by a certain deceiver, Jesus of Galilee, and although his disciples had stolen him at night

after he had been crucified by us from the tomb where he had been laid after he had been taken off the cross, people have been deceived by them saying he had risen from the dead and ascended into heaven." Tertullian merely says: "This is he whom his disciples secretly stole away or the gardener took away that his lettuces might not be injured by the crowds of visitors." A comparison of the two quotations shows that the controversy was at its height at the time when Justin wrote his *Dialogue*. That is to say, Justin beheld the rising of the very crest of the tidal wave of Jewish calumny sweeping the earth while Tertullian lived to witness its ebbing out. The first saw the beginning, the second the end of that movement.

The question whether Justin was acquainted with the pericope of the Guarded Tomb is easily answered. He does not refer to it. To be sure, he uses the term "deceiver of the people" (69), and "deceiver" (108), which occurs also Matt. xxvii. 63. But in all these cases the term is quoted as the opprobrious epithet applied by the Jews to Jesus. The Jewish calumny is the common source of the Evangelist and the apologist.

The date at which the Jews started on their ecumenical campaign against the Christian belief in the resurrection of Jesus may also be fixed by approaching the problem from another side. The first generation of Christians, as we have learned, abstained from calling attention to the empty tomb for the purpose of demonstrating the truth of their Easter faith. That argument characterizes unmistakably the age of epigones. The living faith, based on personal and, therefore, unassailable evidence was changing rapidly into a belief in doctrines which it was deemed necessary to prop by external evidence. Such evidence in the case of the resurrection was afforded, as they imagined, by the open and empty tomb. But the eye of a bitter antagonist is sharp in detecting weak spots in the armor of his opponent. So the Jews were quick to attack and tear to pieces the external evidence offered in proof of a spiritual truth. They were indeed far from making good their specific charge; in their passionate zeal they overshot the mark. But it is to be admitted that the open and empty grave does not and cannot establish the fact of the resurrection, because it admits of other reasonable explanations.

The foregoing, seemingly far-fetched discussion is closely connected with our narrative. For the latter was doubtless written to reduce to absurdity the Jewish lie as to the clandestine removal of the body of Jesus by his disciples. It is from that view-point

a very masterpiece of apologetic literature. The author does not argue his case. He simply tells how the chief priests and Pharisees, the leading men of the Jewish nation, took effective measures to prevent the disciples from stealing the body of their master. They had the grave sealed and guarded by Roman soldiers, who would have made short shrift with any suspicious persons approaching them. But the angel of the Lord Himself rolled the stone from the door of the grave and left the soldiers like dead. When they recovered their senses and found the grave open and empty, they made haste to report their strange experience to the chief priests and elders, and these wicked men bribed them to tell the people that the disciples stole the body while they were asleep.

The pericope of the Guarded Grave must therefore have been composed in the course of the first half of the second century about the time when Justin Martyr composed his *Dialogue*. The author evidently had realized the utter futility of all attempts to overcome a wicked lie by arguing against it. He rather preferred to tell a story which, on the one hand, confirmed the Christian belief that the grave had been opened and Jesus raised from the dead by God Himself, and, on the other hand, branded the new Jewish attack upon that belief as an old lie, invented by the very murderers of Jesus.

Of course, if our pericope was not written before the middle or end of the first half of the second century, it cannot have been inserted into the first Gospel before that time. That fact would not imply by any means that everything contained in that Gospel originated at such a late date. All our Gospels hand down to us authentic material of undoubtedly apostolic origin. Eye-witnesses, able to wield the pen, recorded very early what they knew about Jesus. The number of personal disciples, however, being rather small (cp. 1 Cor. xv. 6 and Acts i. 15), there can have been only a few of such authors. So far I have discovered only two. Other sections of the Gospels go back to persons of the second generation who put down in writing what they had heard from eye-witnesses. Still other portions belong to authors who, being farther removed from the events they were interested in, wrote what they thought had occurred or ought to have occurred. These different elements were combined by and by into larger collections till, at last, the Gospels were complete in their present shape and scope, that is, till new additions, except mere glosses, by writers of the third class together with additions even from the first two classes were forever excluded.

Before closing this chapter, it may be advisable to state once more at what time the resurrection took place. According to the distinct testimony of the pericope of the Guarded Grave, Jesus was raised from the dead shortly after six o'clock Saturday night, within the first hour of the first day of the week.

Each of the four Gospels contains a version of the Women at the Tomb. In Matthew it consists only of the message of the angel (xxviii. 5-8). The latter is almost identical with the corresponding angel message in Mark (xvi. 6-7). In Westcott and Hort's edition of the New Testament in Greek, the passage comprises in both cases five lines of text. The statements given are almost literally the same. Therefore, the first two versions of the Easter message are derived without doubt from a common source. Slight verbal differences and additions prove, however, that the text of the first Gospel has not simply been copied from that of the second. From a purely literary view-point, the Mark text must be considered as superior to that of Matthew.

In the second Gospel the angel message is preceded by an introduction, occupying seven lines of Greek text (Mark xvi. 2-5). The Matthew pericope does not contain any equivalent. That strange phenomenon may be accounted for in two ways. Either the compiler who combined the story of the Women at the Tomb with that of the Guarded Grave omitted that part of his source on purpose. In that case, it must have resembled the corresponding passage in Mark in about the same degree as the angel messages are like each other. Or the manuscript which the compiler copied contained only the angel message without any introduction.

In the first case, the compiler must have regarded Matt. xxviii. 1-4 as a much better introduction than the one presented by his source. But Matt. xxviii. 1b is, as we have seen, an editorial interpolation and interrupts the narrative of the Guarded Tomb. Without that sentence, however, which was inserted by the same hand which put the angel message in its present place, it is impossible to understand how Matt. xxviii. 1a and 2-4 could ever have been supposed to introduce xxviii. 5-8. It cannot be explained why the compiler should have thrown away the first half of his manuscript only to force the remaining half into a context where it does not belong. For he could have left the story of the Guarded Grave just as he found it and added the pericope of the Women at the Tomb to it in its unabridged form. For the first narrative treats of an event which happened shortly after six o'clock Saturday

evening, whereas the second occurrence took place twelve hours later, about six o'clock Sunday morning.

The names of the women who went to the tomb are not the same in the different Gospels, as has been mentioned before. Neither do our four versions agree as to their number. Moreover, the women visit the tomb for different purposes. Matthew and evidently John send them thither simply as mourners; Mark and Luke to anoint the body of Jesus. All these observations lead to the conclusion that the source followed by the compiler of the first Gospel contained nothing but the Easter message without any introduction parallel to Mark xvi. 2-5.

That again may be explained in two ways. Either the first half of the manuscript copied by the editor had been lost or destroyed by some accident; or the angel message existed at the time when it was inserted in the first Gospel actually as a separate unit. Wright (*Synopsis of the Gospels in Greek*) prints that message both in Matthew and Mark in the form of a verse. That is in my opinion the only acceptable solution of the problem presented by the Matthew text. For one should think the compiler, if his manuscript had been mutilated, would have noticed it and might have secured a better copy. There certainly existed more than one, as the example of the second Gospel demonstrates.

As soon, however, as we accept the second alternative, the question arises how the Easter message received its poetic form. The only answer is, it must have been used by the early Christians in their Easter services. That might suggest to us psalms and hymns sung or chanted by the congregation. But the parallel account in the third Gospel has preserved a prose version of the Easter message; and in all three Synoptic Gospels it is an angel or angels, not the congregation, who proclaim the message.

For these reasons, I venture to offer the following theory. The Christians had arranged, let us say, not very long after the beginning of the second century a special Easter morning service at which the visit of the women at the tomb was enacted in dramatic form. A tomblike structure was erected in the place of worship, and the congregation beheld some women, two or more, wending their way toward that tomb. In some churches, they would carry vessels supposed to contain ointment for anointing the body of Jesus. In other places they would go simply as mourners. Those who carried spices would stop shortly before they reached the sepulcher and ask each other, "Who shall roll us away the stone from the door of the tomb?" But all when face to face with the

tomb—perhaps a curtain was raised at that moment—would behold in the rays of the rising sun the stone removed, the grave open, and within it one or two angels in white garments and with shining faces. These would announce to the amazed and frightened women the Easter message as we find it in the Synoptic Gospels.

The whole congregation knew those words by heart, hearing them every year. By and by, the scene enacted in church would assume the form of a narrative such as we possess in the second Gospel. But the complete narrative succeeded the dramatized scene produced in the churches. That is indicated, in my opinion, at least by the Matthew version which contains only the Easter message. Also the Easter verse of the first Gospel is in my judgment older than that found in Mark. For such verses, being not the product of poetical inspiration, are as a rule rather clumsy at first but become more and more polished the longer they are used. Thus, the text of the first Gospel though in several respects inferior to that of the second Gospel, or just on that account, is the older of the two.

Under these circumstances, the pericope of the Women at the Tomb would have to be regarded as a poetical rather than a historical document. If it had been written shortly after the event itself by an eye-witness or an individual intimately acquainted with the eye-witnesses, there could be no doubt as to the identity of the women. As it is, the names given in the Gospels are mere guesses. In the dramatized Easter morning scene, women were represented as visiting the tomb. That was done for obvious reasons. In the first place, no man was known to have approached the tomb. The silence of the first two Gospels as to that fact is decisive. The attempts made in the other two Gospels to have Peter, or Peter and John, visit the tomb are interpolations, as will be proved later on. In the second place, it appears to be more natural for women than for men to seek consolation in going to the graves of their beloved ones.

Of course, neither the compiler of the Gospel nor any of their fellow-Christians doubted but that the dramatic representation as well as the narrative based thereon were authentic. They were sure that everything had actually happened just as they saw it in their miracle-play or read it in their books. The first disciples had not seen the grave or place where the body of their master was interred. They had not thought of ascertaining whether or not the body had disappeared from its resting-place. They had returned to Galilee, and there they had seen their risen master. Their belief

in his resurrection was first of all belief in his life everlasting. That belief was doubt-proof because it was based upon their personal knowledge and experience.

The pericope of the Women at the Tomb marks an important turning-point in the history of the religion of Jesus. It proves that the Christians at that time had commenced to confound belief in the life eternal of the crucified Jesus, which is of a spiritual nature, with belief in his coming forth from his tomb in his body, which is a material thing. That change was perhaps unavoidable; nevertheless, it was a change for the worse. It rendered Christianity very vulnerable.

The Jewish calumny, discussed above, which charged the disciples with the theft of the body of Jesus, must have been called forth by that change of faith on the part of the Christians. For as soon as they began to advance the argument of the empty tomb, the Jewish adversaries would naturally declare the empty tomb a fraud and a hoax. As the date when such attacks upon the Christians commenced is known, we also know the time when our pericope originated. For as cause and effect, they are bound closely together. The Joseph of Arimathæa episode must first have suggested the dramatized Easter morning scene. That scene, as presented in the churches, gave birth to the pericope of the Women at the Tomb. But when that narrative became the fundamental argument of the Christian missionaries among Jews and Gentiles, it was attacked most violently by the Jews. That controversy produced among the Christians, besides other things, the pericope of the Guarded Tomb.

The passage Matt. xxviii. 9-10 presents a very interesting problem. The closing words of verse 8: "They departed quickly from the tomb with fear and great joy and ran to bring his disciples word," are evidently the end of our story; and verse 16, where we are informed: "But the eleven disciples went to Galilee," is a perfectly satisfactory continuation of verse 8. For the angel had told the women (verse 7): "Lo, he goeth before you into Galilee; there ye shall see him." We cannot understand why Jesus should appear to the women while they were on their way to carry the Easter message to the disciples as directed. For he only repeats the command of the angel in the rather insignificant words: "Fear not: go tell my brethren that they depart into Galilee, and there shall they see me." Moreover, the words spoken by the angel leave no room for a special revelation of Jesus to the women in the neighborhood of the grave. Besides, the word "then" at the beginning of verse 10, instead of the usual coordinate conjunction "and," is

suspicious and indicates that verse 9 and verse 10 do not really belong to each other. Therefore, I prefer to consider Matt. xxviii. 9-10 as a parallel account to Matt. xxviii. 5-8, changed to some extent by the editor who put the two together. The principal difference is that in the one passage Jesus himself delivers the Easter message, while in the other an angel acts as his spokesman. Also the speech of the angel is more elaborate than the words uttered by Jesus. For that reason, Matt. xxviii. 9-10 represents an older tradition than Matt. xxviii. 5-8. Evidently, when the idea of the empty tomb first took hold upon the Christian mind, it was the risen Jesus himself who directed his disciples to go to Galilee. When the churches introduced the scene into their Easter services, they substituted one or two angels for Jesus. They may have had scruples as to the propriety of showing the risen Christ on the stage and judged an angel message to be just as convincing as the words of Jesus himself.

The Luke version of our pericope demands special attention. As far as the outline is concerned, it is closely related to the Mark version. But as soon as we enter upon details, the Luke account is found to be in a class by itself. The narrative consists of three parts. The introduction (xxiv. 1-5a) brings the women to the open tomb in which they find two angels. The main part (xxiv. 5b-7) contains the angel message. The conclusion (xxiv. 8-9 and 11) tells how the message was received by the disciples. It is superfluous to prove laboriously why verse 10 must be a gloss, for verse 11 is the direct and original continuation of verse 9. Verse 12 has been marked as an interpolation already by Westcott and Hort.

The main divergence between our pericope in the third and the first two Gospels is found in the angel message. The Luke message is innocent of any poetic aspirations whatever. As far as its contents are concerned, it has nothing in common with that of Matthew and Mark except the single word "seek." Only the first sentence: "Why seek ye the living among the dead?" betrays anything like a spark of originality such as we should expect from the mouth of angels, speaking about an absolutely unique event. The main part of the message consists only of words spoken by Jesus before his journey to Jerusalem.

Luke clearly has preserved for us the most primitive and, consequently, oldest form of the angel message. A comparison of the three Synoptic versions shows how that message has been improved gradually. Just because there existed no authentic account of the Easter morning scene and of the words spoken at that occasion, the Christians were satisfied at first with using words that Jesus

himself had pronounced at a former occasion. By and by, the Easter message was changed and improved until it became what we find in Mark. The men who had charge of the Easter play must have felt very early how little such words as used in Luke fitted into the situation. Luke, Matthew, and Mark stand therefore for three distinct stages of that development. Those three stages succeeded each other in the order named. Matthew adds to his account a most interesting specimen of a still older and more primitive attempt to describe the scene at the tomb.

The Johannine version is the most accomplished narrative of what happened on Easter morning which we possess. It is a story pure and simple of great artistic merit. It is no longer a groping attempt of transforming a dramatic scene into a narrative. It is, moreover, a story based upon a painstaking study of the material with which the Synoptic writers and other predecessors furnished the author. With a masterful hand, the latter disposed of the unhewn blocks he found just as he saw fit and proper. In other words, John xx. 1-18 is not another and independent version of the visit to the tomb but combines all the prominent features of his principal source, the first Gospel, in its present condition although he changes and modifies his prototype just as it suited his own ideas.

His work, however, has been disfigured by one extensive interpolation, namely, the passage xx. 2-10 which treats of a visit of the disciples Peter and John to the tomb. It has a curious parallel in Luke xxiv. 12 which is evidently based on the Johannine passage. Perhaps also the words "and Peter" (Mark xvi. 7), which are not supported by the Matthew text, are related to this Johannine interpolation.

The true character of John xx. 2-10 is readily recognized. Verse 2 Mary Magdalene is said to have run away from the open tomb in order to inform Peter and the disciple whom Jesus loved of what she had discovered. Nothing is mentioned about her return to the tomb. Nevertheless, we find her in verse 11 standing at the tomb and weeping as if verse 2-10 did not exist. Another point of difference between the Mary Magdalene pericope and John xx. 2-10 consists in the fact that the two disciples saw no angel in the tomb when they entered it, whereas Mary Magdalene beheld two angels sitting there, "one at the head and one at the feet where the body of Jesus had lain" (verse 12). One might try to remove this discrepancy by claiming that angels could become visible and invisible at will. Peter and John did not see the angels because the latter

did not want to be seen by those men. They preferred to appear only to Mary Magdalene. But then, the two disciples noticed the linen cloths and the napkin in which the body of Jesus had been wrapped (John xx. 5-7); Mary Magdalene, on the other hand, did not see those things.

The outline of the Johannine story is traced easily. Mary Magdalene comes to the tomb of Jesus early Easter morning. She finds it open; the stone had been removed. After a while she stooped and looked into the tomb where she beheld two angels. After exchanging a few words with them, she meets Jesus himself.

The author introduces only Mary Magdalene because her name is the only one that is mentioned in all the other accounts. He may also have preferred one woman to more because the interview, as he describes it, excludes a larger number of witnesses. The open and empty tomb is common to all accounts. That Mary Magdalene speaks first with the angels and afterward with Jesus is a feature adopted from the first Gospel. But the Johannine writer has taken good care to avoid all the difficulties we observed in the Matthew passage. Of course, it might be said the number of angels pointed to Luke. But I believe the number of angels depended rather upon the locality where the author lived than upon documentary evidence. Where the angel was considered principally as the messenger, there would appear only one angel upon the scene. Where they were looked upon rather as attendants of the risen Jesus, two angels were preferred. The two angels in Luke are a kind of compromise or else indicate a stage of transition inasmuch as they are heralds and attendants at the same time. In John the angels have ceased to act as messengers. They guard simply the place where Jesus had lain and address the weeping Mary only with the sympathetic inquiry: "Woman, why weepest thou?"

The immediately following interview with Jesus is characterized likewise by the absence of everything which is out of place and superfluous. Neither the angels nor Jesus himself announces his resurrection. That message was the most important part of the Easter play. But it hardly fits into a written story. For the reader realizes at once that the mere fact of Jesus talking to Mary Magdalene while angels are present proves his resurrection and his heavenly life. However, after all the author follows in this respect only the precedent set by Matt. xxviii. 9-10.

The words "Touch me not!" (verse 17) refer in all probability directly to Matt. xxviii. 9 where we read: "And they came and took hold of his feet and worshiped him." The Johannine writer

very probably cherished a less materialistic conception of the body of the risen Jesus than the one he found expressed in his source. Thus he deemed it necessary to record his protest. The message which Jesus sends to his disciples deals, not with his resurrection, but with his ascension. "Go unto my brethren (cp. Matt. xxviii. 10), and say to them, I ascend to my Father and your Father, and my God and your God." The meaning of these words, of course, is: I am going to share the heavenly glory of God.

The whole narrative, as separated from its later addition, contains only a single textual flaw, and that a slight one. The very last word should read "me" for "her." The Am. R. V. tries to smoothe away the uncalled-for transition from direct to indirect discourse by inserting the conjunction "that" and translating the simple past tense in Greek as if it were a pluperfect. A literal translation of the sentence under discussion would read: "I have seen the Lord, and this he said to her." The personal pronoun of the third person singular is too well attested to consider it as a corruption of the text. I am therefore inclined to see in the whole closing clause "and this he said to her" a gloss. The author avoids, as we have seen, all unnecessary words and statements. Mary Magdalene would report, as is self-evident, to the disciples every word Jesus had spoken. But some reader missed a direct statement to that effect. He added the final clause; but lacking imagination, he used the third instead of the first person of the personal pronoun.

This completes our examination of the parallel accounts which relate what took place at the tomb early Easter morning. The five accounts, found in the four Gospels, may be arranged according to their age in the following order: Matt. xxviii. 9-10; Luke xxiv. 1-9 and 11; Matt. xxviii. 5-8; Mark xvi. 2-8; and John xx. 1 and 11-18. In the oldest as well as in the youngest of them, Jesus appears in person; in the two others, angels act as his harbingers.

The statement that the tomb of Jesus had been found empty on the morning of the third day after his death, aroused violent resentment among the Jews about one hundred years after the death of Jesus. We must conclude from that fact that the story of the Women at the Tomb had just become known to the world at that time. The pericope of the Guarded Grave represents an excellent attempt to meet the storm of Jewish calumny. Since it was called forth thereby, it must have been written after its outbreak.

If these conclusions have to be accepted, all the passages discussed would be, at least, a whole century younger than the events they describe. For that reason, they could no longer be regarded

as authentic sources of the history of Jesus. They rather reflect the ideas of the Christians of the second century as to what might have occurred when Jesus was raised from the dead.

Still, these passages may contain some features and remarks which are derived from sound and authentic traditions. Perhaps that Jesus appeared to his disciples in Galilee, not at Jerusalem, as is stated expressly in the first two Gospels, may be a historical fact. Luke and John, including Acts, locate the appearance of Jesus at Jerusalem. Yet their versions of the pericope of the Women at the Tomb do not mention the Jewish capital. In so far, they do not contradict Matthew and Mark. However, anything beyond the mere mention of this problem exceeds the limits of the present investigation which reached its goal as soon as the different accounts of the resurrection preserved in the Gospels were clearly defined, explained, and dated.

MISCELLANEOUS.

"ARIMATHÆA."

To the Editor of The Open Court:

In "The Interment of Jesus" (*Open Court*, October, 1919) Mr. Wm. Weber says that scholars have been unable to locate Arimathæa in Palestine. As far as I know, scholars have quite unanimously identified the Greek *Arimathæa* of the Gospels with the *Armathaim* of the Septuaginta (1 Sam. i. 1, and repeatedly in 1 Sam.), for the Hebrew *Ramathaim*, with *ha*, the article, preceding (the *h* hardly sounded). The Syriac translation of the New Testament has *Remathea*. A *Ramathem* occurs also in 1 Macc. xi. 34.

The only question is whether the *Ramathaim* (a dual form for *Ramah*) in 1 Sam. is the same as *Ramah* (height) occurring otherwise in 1 Sam., mostly preceded by the article *ha*, as also the *Ramathem* in Macc. The Septuaginta in 1 Sam., by having *Armathaim* where the Hebrew has *Ramah*, identifies these two. Besides this, even if different towns were meant by *Armathaim* in the Septuaginta for the Hebrew *Ramathaim* in 1. Sam. i. 1; by *Ramah* in other places of 1 Sam.; and by the *Ramathem* in 1 Macc. xi. 34; all of them were either near Jerusalem, or in the hill country of Ephraim, and on the northern border of Judea, as the context in 1 Sam. and 1 Macc. xi. 34 shows.

After having written the above, I find that Josephus in *Ant.*, V, 342; VI, 47, 293 (Ed. Naber, 1895) has *Armatha* for the birthplace and home of Samuel, thus like the Septuaginta identifying it with *Ramah*.

A. KAMPMEIER.

IOWA CITY, IA.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE UPANISHADS, TRANSLATED AND COMMENTATED. By *Swami Paramānanda*,
From the original Sanskrit text. Vol. I. [Isa, Katha, and Kena Upani-
shads.] Published by the Vedānta Centre, Boston, Mass. 1919. Pp.
116. Price, \$1.50.

Max Müller wrote, when publishing the second volume of his translation of the Upanishads (*Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XV): "Whatever other scholars may think of the difficulty of translating the Upanishads... I know of few Sanskrit texts presenting more formidable problems to the translator... I believe that a small advance, at all events, has now been made toward a truer understanding of these ancient texts. But I know full well how much still remains to be done, both in restoring the correct text and in discovering the original meaning of the Upanishads." This was in 1884, but the lack of an adequate translation of these treatises, which contain the essentials of all Vedic philosophy, is still felt by students of Eastern thought.

Swami Paramānanda's book, which is intended as the first volume of a series, undertakes to fill this gap as far as the Isa, Katha, and Kena Upanishads are concerned, but apart from this, its main purpose is interpretation. The spirit in which this purpose has been carried out, is characterized by the editor of *The Message of the East*, in the words of the Preface (page 8):

"So far as was consistent with a faithful rendering of the Sanskrit text, the Swami throughout his translation has sought to eliminate all that might seem obscure and confusing to the modern mind. While retaining in remarkable measure the rhythm and archaic force of the lines, he has tried not to sacrifice directness and simplicity of style... everything has been done to remove the sense of strangeness in order that the Occidental reader may not feel himself an alien in the new regions of thought opened to him."

We do not want to quarrel with the distinguished editor about his claim (*ibid.*) that "any scripture is only secondarily an historical document"—it depends entirely on the point of view and the importance to be attached to the document. But it will be admitted that the Upanishads, if any of the ancient writings, deserve to be regarded in the light of a spiritual message, at any rate just as much as the Dialogues of Plato or the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle. This is why we heartily recommend this new translation, for Swami Paramānanda, after teaching in this country for thirteen years, and as his English rendering of the *Bhagavadgita* (1913) has amply proven, is probably as well equipped for building the bridge between East and West as any available scholar.

Besides the translation, there is an Introduction of eight or nine pages, giving pertinent matter regarding Vedic literature. What pleases particularly is the arrangement of the Commentary, which is presented in notes inserted between the verses of the text in the form of paragraphs in smaller type. Thus, valuable explanations are conveniently given without impairing the artistic appearance of the page.

The little volume, pocket size, is attractively bound in flexible cloth. We hope the rest of the series will appear soon.

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE TO WAR. By *C. J. Cadoux, M.A., D.D.*, with a foreword by the *Rev. W. E. Orchard*. London: Headley Bros., Ltd., 1919. Pp. xxxii, 272. Price, 10s. 6d. net.

The argument as to the Christian sanction of war has been conducted during the years of war in an atmosphere in which the truth has had little chance of emerging. The subject was treated polemically rather than historically. Dr. Cadoux's work, which is a remarkably fair presentment of the mind of the Church during the first three centuries, is a monument of exact and patient scholarship. He has collected all the available material in the original authorities in pre-Constantinian Christian literature, and this is the more valuable as Dr. P. T. Forsyth in his *Christian Ethic of War* scarcely touches on the early Christian view. It is admitted that with the accession of Constantine the Church as a whole gave up its antimilitary leanings, adopted the imperial point of view, and treated the ethical problems as a closed question. "The sign of the Cross of Jesus was now an imperial military emblem; the supposed nails of the cross which the Emperor's mother sent him were made into bridle-bits and a helmet which he used on his military expeditions." Official Christianity committed itself to the sanction of war, not only to any "righteous" war, but for any cause, good, bad or indifferent, for which the secular ruler might decide to fight. Dr. Cadoux considers that the Church took a false step by so abandoning her earlier principles (p. 263), but his personal convictions have not invalidated his statement of the evidence upon this point of Christian ethics.

Dr. Cadoux's work is more conveniently arranged than Harnack's *Militia Christi*, which has not been translated into English, and will in many respects fill its place.

E. F.

LONDON.

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VOL. XXXIII (No. 12)

DECEMBER, 1919

NO. 763

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