

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Editor: DR. PAUL CARUS.

Associates: { E. C. HEGELER.
MARY CARUS.

VOL. XXII. (No. 1.) JANUARY, 1908.

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THE MONIST

A QUARTERLY MAGAZINE

Devoted to the Philosophy of Science

DR. PAUL CARUS
EDITOR



ASSOCIATES { E. C. HEGELER
MARY CARUS

"The Monist" also Discusses the Fundamental Problems of Philosophy in their Relations to all the Practical Religious, Ethical, and Sociological Questions of the day.

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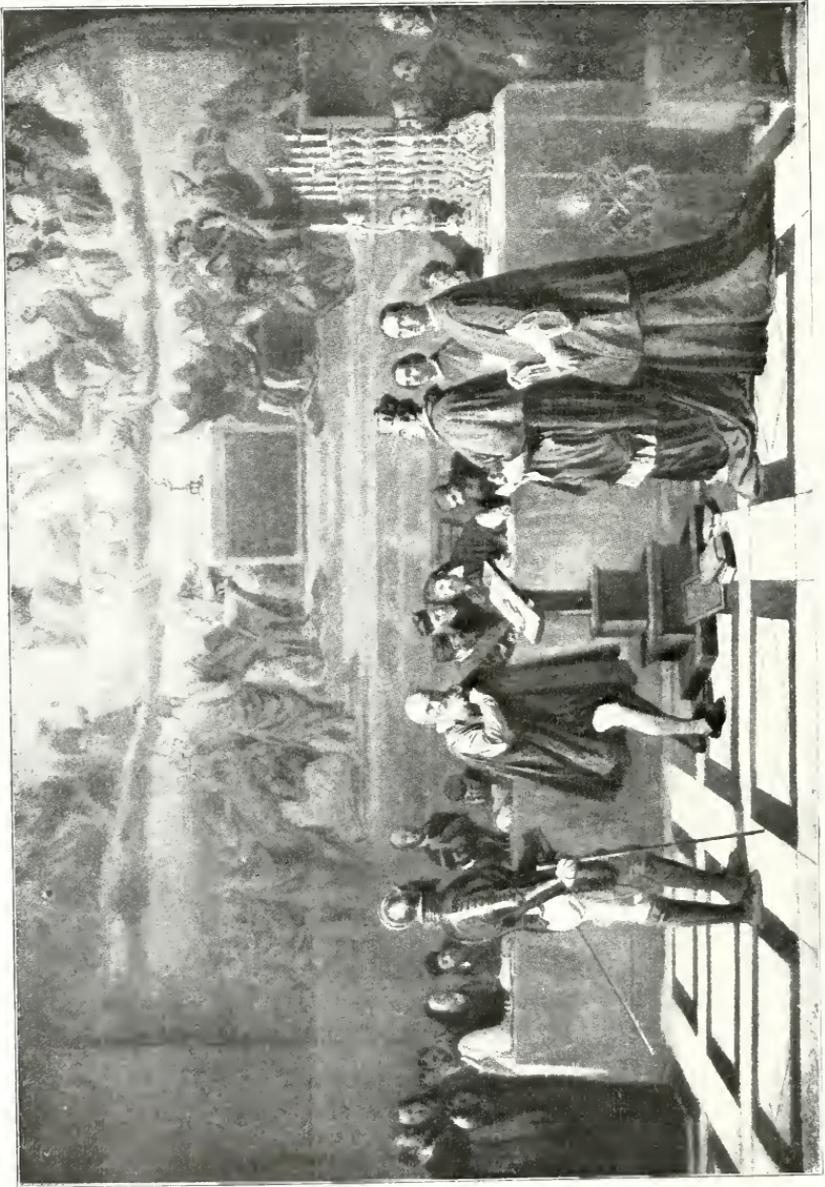
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THE TRIAL OF GALILEO GALILEI.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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GALILEO GALILEI.

BY THE EDITOR.

GALILEO Galilei was unquestionably the greatest son of Italy. He was born at Pisa, February 15, 1564. His father, Vincenzo Galilei, was a prominent mathematician who had distinguished himself especially through his writings on the theory of music.

As a youth Galileo Galilei attended the University of Pisa from 1581 to 1585, where he studied medicine, mathematics, and especially physics. In 1589 he was appointed professor of physics at the same institution. Soon afterwards he began his investigation of the laws of falling bodies, the formulation of which still bears his name. He wrote down his results in a pamphlet entitled *Sermones de motu gravium* which, however, gave offense to Giovanni de Medici, because it upset a pet theory of his, and to escape an unpleasant situation Galileo saw himself compelled to resign his professorship in 1591. But he had scarcely withdrawn to Florence when in 1592 he was called as professor of mathematics to the University of Padua.

Galilei's lectures became so famous that students from all countries of Europe flocked to him. He invented the thermoscope (not the thermometer) which created quite a sensation, and in 1604 he discovered a new star in Ophiuchus, which served him as an argument against the Aristotelian doctrine of the unchangeableness of the fixed stars. In 1609 he learned of an instrument invented by a Dutchman (it was Hans Lippersheym of Middelburgh) by which objects at a distance could be seen as if they were close by, and without knowing any further details Galilei invented the telescope which he at once put to use by watching the starry heavens.

With the telescope in his hand one discovery rapidly followed another. He discovered the mountains in the moon and resolved part of the Milky Way into clusters of little stars. In Orion he

saw five hundred smaller bodies in addition to the seven stars; the Pleiades, which had also been deemed to be seven, were augmented to thirty-six in number; and observations of Jupiter revealed the presence of four satellites, which he called the Medicean stars. The rotation of the satellites around their main body in the center was another strong evidence in favor of the Copernican system. In 1610 Duke Cosimo II called the famous naturalist to Florence in the capacity of first ducal mathematician and philosopher, and here he lived in the villa at Arcetri, a suburb of Florence. In that year he observed the phases of Venus and of Mars,—still further evidence in favor of the Copernican system. He saw also the rings of Saturn, whose curious forms were a puzzle even to the most advanced astronomers of that age. In January 1611 he proclaimed for the first time the theory that the planets were not self-luminous, but received their light from the sun.

Galilei was a contemporary of Kepler, and the letters which these two men exchanged sufficiently characterized the difference of their natures. Galilei admired the vigorous German astronomer, but did not dare to imitate him. Kepler tried to encourage Galilei, writing to him in 1611:

“Have confidence, Galileo, and go forward! If I am not mistaken, only a few of the more eminent mathematicians of Europe will forsake us; so great is the power of truth.”

Galilei was a naturalist, an investigator, a thinker. He did not care to fight the battles of free thought. He was not a leader, not a partisan, yet he was too earnest to simply ignore the religious question and leave to others the problem of harmonizing the facts of experience with the Bible, and it was exactly this attitude of conciliation which led him into grievous entanglements.

The higher the fame of Galilei rose, the more bitter grew the spite of his enemies among the defenders of the Ptolemaic system. Galilei saw in nature the handiwork of God, and he insisted that it ought to be read and studied; and that while the Bible should be regarded as the word of God, it was adapted to the times, circumstances, and the people for whom it was written.

Galilei explained these views in a letter addressed to Pater Castelli, a Benedictine and one of his most ardent admirers.

To call Galilei's views conciliatory would be wrong, for he yields absolutely everything to theology. He would to-day pass as orthodox and even Catholic. Galilei writes:

“The Bible in itself can neither lie nor err, but the same is not true of its interpreters who are so much the more exposed to mis-

understanding as the Holy Scriptures use figurative expressions in many places, which may be understood differently. . . . Since Holy Scripture in many places not merely allows, but actually demands another interpretation than is apparently shown by the tenor of its words, it seems to me that in mathematical discussions the last place should be conceded to it. For both Book and Nature proceed from the divine word, the former as inspired by the Holy Ghost, the latter as the carrying out of divine command. In Holy Scripture it was necessary, in order that it be adapted to the understanding of the majority, to say much that is apparently different from its exact meaning; Nature, on the contrary, is inexorable and immutable, unconcerned whether her hidden principles and means of operation are comprehensible or not by human understanding, for which she never deviates from her previously sketched laws. Hence it seems to me that no work of Nature, either which experience brings before our eyes, or which necessarily follows as a consequence of demonstration, should have doubt cast upon it on account of passages of Scripture. For the Bible contains thousands of words of several meanings, and not every sentence in Holy Scripture is subject to so strict a law as every work in nature."

Though it was not printed, Galilei's letter to Pater Castelli became known and excited the wrath of Father Caccini, a Dominican, who in 1614, on the Sunday before Christmas, preached a vigorous sermon against him, and on February 15, 1615, Father Lorini denounced him to the Roman Inquisition for heresy. The Inquisition took note of this charge and investigated the case on the basis of Caccini's statement, declaring it to be a heresy (1) to regard the sun as the center of the universe and to deem it immovable, and (2) to deny that the earth is the center of the universe and to deem it movable. The inquisitors rejected the view that the earth could turn daily about itself, as absurd from a philosophical standpoint, and also as heretical because in contradiction to the Holy Scriptures. Galilei was not directly mentioned in the verdict, but Pope Paul V requested Cardinal Bellarmine to exhort him to drop the Copernican doctrine, and in case he should refuse, to threaten him with imprisonment. On March the fifth, the Copernican doctrine and all books defending it were placed on the Index, among them the book of Copernicus himself "until it be corrected."

Now the enemies of Galilei grew bolder. Grassi, a Jesuit father, tried to ridicule him in a pamphlet entitled *The Astronomical and Philosophical Scales*. Galilei answered his critic in 1623 by simply refuting the error and without committing himself. He

stated that all observations by telescope and otherwise were in perfect agreement with the Copernican doctrine, yet a pious Catholic should reject it, because it could not be harmonized with the Holy Scriptures according to the best exegetics.

Galilei's answer to Father Grassi was very favorably received and was even praised and recommended by Pope Urban VIII, to whom the pamphlet had been dedicated.

Galilei, encouraged through his success, worked diligently at a compendious work, *The Dialogue*,* in which he proposed to sum up the new world-conception and prove it by new arguments. He finished his book within six years, in April, 1630; and in February, 1632, it appeared in print. After the fashion of the age it was written in the form of dialogues in which the Copernican and the old Ptolemaic systems were discussed, and even here Galilei made a concession to his adversaries by treating the Copernican system as a mere hypothesis. The book proposed the arguments of both sides as offered by the disputants, without venturing a verdict of the author himself, the representative of the Ptolemaic system bearing the suggestive name Simplicius. With much hesitation Galilei's *Dialogue* finally received the *imprimatur* of both the Roman and Florentine Inquisition, but solely on the condition that in a concluding dialogue the other disputants should emphatically confess their errors and express their gratitude to Simplicius for his condescension in having benefited them by his sublime and instructive views.

Nevertheless his arguments were so crushing that it may be regarded as the last blow which gave the *coup de grâce* to the old antiquated view, and his enemies chafed under the defeat.

We can not doubt that the significant title Simplicius was intended to describe Galilei's enemy, Father Grassi. But a friend of Grassi had the ear of Urban VIII, and he made the Pope believe that Galilei had impersonated the Pope himself under that name. There is no probability, however, that Galilei in his dangerous position would so unnecessarily have risked losing the Pope's favor while he had every reason to empty the vial of his wrath on Father Grassi.

In August, 1632, the sale of Galilei's book was forbidden. The Grand Duke of Tuscany inquired through his ambassador at Rome how a book that had been approved of a few months before could

* Dialogo di Galileo Galilei, Linceo, Matematico supraordinario dello studio di Pisa e filosofo e matematico primario del Serenissimo Gr. Duca di Toscana.

be prohibited now, and he was told that a record had been found in the archives of the Holy Office according to which Galilei had promised Cardinal Belarmin never again to discuss the Copernican doctrine. This fact Galilei had withheld from the censors and so had procured the *imprimatur* under false pretenses.

The mooted record is dated February 25, 1616, and is on file among the transactions of the Inquisition anent Galilei's case in 1633. It reads that Cardinal Belarmin should request him "not to teach, defend, or discuss such a doctrine in speaking or in writing, and if he did not keep his peace he should be imprisoned." But Galilei denied having any knowledge of it, and since an entry of March, 1616, in the records of the Holy Office, which is a report of Cardinal Belarmin's message to Galilei to surrender his heresy, knows nothing of the record of February 25 and makes no mention of a promise to be enacted from Galilei, historians are inclined to regard the record in question to be a fraud, fabricated for the purpose of incriminating Galilei.*

On September 23 he was summoned to Rome to make his defence. February 13, 1633, the aged naturalist arrived and presented himself before the Holy Office. Between April 12 and June 21 he was cross-examined repeatedly and during all this time and until June 24 he was kept a prisoner by the Inquisition. The documents of the Inquisition are no longer complete; some pages have been torn out, and so it can no longer be either proved or disproved that torture was applied. It is only sure that on June 22, 1633, Galilei was compelled to adjure the Copernican doctrine. The verdict of the Inquisition condemns him for an indefinite period in jail in the Holy Office, but Urban VIII commuted the sentence into detention in the Villa of the Grand-duke of Tuscany on the Trinita del Monte in Rome. Later on Galilei was permitted to withdraw to Siena, and finally to his villa in Arcetri near Florence.

Though Galilei had suffered much during his imprisonment and must have been conscious of the danger to which he was exposed (for it was only in 1600 that Giordano Bruno had been burned alive for heresy in the Forum at Rome), he still continued his scientific work and even made new important discoveries. In 1637 he discovered the libration of the moon; in 1638 he laid the foundation of mechanical physics by his discovery of the doctrine of cohesion; in 1641 he perfected the clock by adding the pendulum to it as a regulator, and he accomplished all this in spite of the

* Silvestro Gherardi, *Il processo Galilei*, and Emil Wohlwill, *Der Inquisitionsprozess des Galileo Galilei*.

fact that his eyes gave out, leaving him blind from 1637 until the end of his life.

On January 8, 1642, Galilei died in his villa at Arcetri. His body was first buried in the chapel of the Novitiate at Florence, but finally, in 1737, was removed to the Church of the Holy Cross (Santa Croce) where a beautiful monument has been erected in his honor. The books of Galilei remained on the Index for over two centuries and were struck out only in 1835 in silent recognition that his condemnation should henceforth be regarded as an error.

An English translation of the Verdict as well as the abjuration imposed upon Galilei by the Inquisition reads as follows:

THE VERDICT.

We, Gaspar, of the title of Holy Cross of Jerusalem, Borgia, brother Felix Certinus of the title of St. Anastatia, surnamed of Ascalum.

Guidus, of the title of St. Mary of the People, Bentivolus, brother Desiderius Scaglia, of the title of St. Charles, surnamed of Cremona.

Brother Antonius Barbarinus, surnamed of St. Onuphrius, Laudivius Zacchia, of the title of St. Peter in vinculis, surnamed of St. Sixtus.

Berlingerius, of the title of St. Augustin Gyposius.

Fabricius of St. Lawrence.

Francis of St. Lawrence.

Martin, of the new St. Mary and Ginethis, Deacons, by the mercy of God, Cardinals of the Holy Roman Catholic Church, and specially deputed by the Holy Apostolical seat as Inquisitors General against heretical perverseness throughout the whole Christian commonwealth.

Whereas you, Galileo, son of the late Vincent Galileo of Florence, being 70 years of age, had a charge brought against you in the year 1615, in this Holy Office, that you held as true, an erroneous opinion held by many; namely, that the Sun is the center of the World, and immovable, and that the Earth moves even with a diurnal motion: also that you had certain scholars into whom you instilled the same doctrine: also that you maintained a correspondence on this point, with certain mathematicians of Germany: also that you published certain Epistles, treating of the solar spots, in which you explained the same doctrine, as true, because you answered to the objections, which from time to time were brought against you, taken from the Holy Scripture, by glossing over the said

Scripture according to your own sense; and that afterwards when a copy of a writing in the form of an Epistle, written by you to a certain late scholar of yours, was presented to you, (it following the hypothesis of Copernicus) you stood up for, and defended certain propositions in it, which are against the true sense, and authority of Holy Scripture.

This Holy Tribunal, desiring, therefore, to provide against the inconveniences and mischiefs which have issued hence, and increased to the danger of our Holy Faith; agreeably to the mandate of Lord N—— and the very eminent Doctors, Cardinals of this supreme and universal inquisition; two propositions respecting the immobility of the Sun, and the motion of the Earth, have been adopted and pronounced, as under.

That the Sun is the center of the World, and immovable, in respect of local motion, is an absurd proposition, false in philosophy, and formally heretical: seeing it is expressly contrary to Holy Scripture.

That the Earth is not the center of the World, nor immovable, but moves even with a diurnal motion, is also an absurd proposition, false in philosophy, and considered theologically, is at least an error in Faith.

But whereas we have thought fit in the interim to proceed gently with you, it has been agreed upon in the Holy Congregation held before D. N. on the 25th day of February, 1616, that the most eminent Lord Cardinal Bellarmin should enjoin you entirely to recede from the aforesaid false doctrine; and, on your refusal, it was commanded by the Commissary of the Holy Office, that you should recant the said false doctrine, and should not teach it to others, nor defend it, nor dispute concerning it: to which command if you would not submit, that you should be cast into prison: and in order to put in execution the same decree, on the following day you were gently admonished in the Palace before the above-said most eminent Lord Cardinal Bellarmin, and afterwards by the same Lord Cardinal: and by the Commissary of the Holy Office, a notary and witnesses being present, entirely to desist from the said erroneous opinion; and that thereafter it should not be permitted you to defend it, or teach it in any manner, either by speaking, or writing; and whereas you promised obedience, you were at that time dismissed.

And to the end, such a pernicious doctrine may be entirely extirpated away, and spread no farther, to the grievous detriment of the Catholic verity, a decree was issued by the Holy Congregation

indicis, prohibiting the printing of books which treat of such sort of doctrine, which was therein pronounced false, and altogether contrary to Holy and Divine Scripture. And the same book has since appeared at Florence, published in the year last past, the inscription of which showed that you were its author, as the title was, "*A Dialogue of Galileo Galilei*," concerning the two principal systems of the World, the Ptolemaic and the Copernican, as the Holy Congregation, recognizing from the expression of the aforesaid book, that the false opinion concerning the motion of the Earth, and the immobility of the Sun prevailed daily more and more; the aforesaid book was diligently examined, when we openly discovered the transgression of the aforesaid command, before enjoined you; seeing that in the same book you had resumed and defended the aforesaid opinion already condemned, and in your presence declared to be erroneous, because in the said book by various circumlocutions, you earnestly endeavor to persuade, that it is left by you undecided, and at the least probable which must necessarily be a grievous error, since an opinion can by no means be probable, which hath already been declared and adjudged contrary to divine Scripture.

Wherefore you have by our authority been summoned to this our Holy Office, in which being examined you have on oath acknowledged the said book was written and printed by you. And have also confessed, that about ten or twelve years ago, after the injunction had been given you as above, that the said book was begun to be written by you. Also that you petitioned for licence to publish it, but without signifying to those who gave you such licence, that it had been prohibited you, not by any means to maintain, defend, or teach such doctrine.

You likewise confessed, that the writing of the aforesaid book was so composed in many places, that the reader might think, that arguments adduced on the false part, calculated rather to perplex the understanding by their weight, than be easily resolved; excusing yourself by saying you had fallen into an error so foreign from your intention, (as you declared) because you had handled the subject in the form of a dialogue, and because of the natural complacence which every one hath in maintaining his own arguments, and in showing himself more acute than others in defending even false propositions by ingenious deductions, and of apparent probability.

And, when a time was assigned you for making your defence, you produced a certificate under the hand-writing of the most eminent Lord Cardinal Bellarmin, procured as you said, in order to defend yourself against the calumnies of your enemies, who every-

where gave it out, that you had abjured, and had been punished by the Holy Office: in which certificate it is said, that you had not abjured, nor had been punished, but only that a declaration had been filed against you, drawn up by the said Lord, and formally issued by the Holy Congregation *Indicis*, in which it is declared that the doctrine concerning the motion of the Earth, and the immobility of the Sun, is contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and therefore can neither be defended or maintained. Wherefore seeing no mention was then made of two particulars of the mandate: namely (*docere & quorvis modo,*) teaching, and by any means, we judge that in the course of fourteen or sixteen years they had slipped out of your memory, and for the same reason you were silent respecting the mandate, when you petitioned for a licence to print your book, and yet this was said by you not to maintain, or obstinately persist in your error, but as proceeding from vain ambition, and not perverseness. But this very certificate produced in your defence, rather tends to make your excuse look worse, because in it is declared, that the aforesaid opinion is contrary to the Holy Scripture, and yet you have dared to treat of it as a matter of dispute, and defend, and teach it as probable: nor does the licence itself favor you, seeing it was deceitfully and artfully extorted by you, as you did not produce the mandate imposed upon you.

And whereas it appeared to us, that the whole truth was not expressed by you, respecting your intention: we have judged it necessary to come to a more accurate examination of the business, in which (without prejudice to those things which you have confessed, and which have been brought against you as above, respecting your said intention) you have answered as a penitent, and good Catholic. Wherefore we having maturely considered the merits of your cause, together with your abovesaid confessions, and defence, and are come to the underwritten definitive sentence against you.

Having invoked the most holy name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of his most glorious mother the ever blessed Virgin Mary, we, by this our definitive sentence, by the advice and judgment of the most Reverend Masters of Holy Theology, and the Doctors of both Laws, our Counsellors respecting the cause and causes controverted before us, between the magnificent Charles Sincerus, Dr. of both Laws, Fiscal Procurator of this Holy Office on the one part, and you, Galileo Galilei defendant, question examined, and having confessed, as above on the other part. we say, judge and declare, by the present processional writing, you, the abovesaid Galileo, on account of those things, which have been adduced in the written process,

and which you have confessed, as above, that you have rendered yourself liable to the suspicion of heresy by this office, that is, you have believed and maintained a false doctrine, and contrary to the Holy and Divine Scriptures, namely, that the Sun is the center of the orb of the Earth, and does not move from the East to the West, and that the Earth moves and is not the center of the World; and that this position may be held and defended as a probable opinion, after it had been declared and defined to be contrary to Holy Scriptures, and consequently that you have incurred all the censures and penalties of the Holy Canons, and other Constitutions general and particular, enacted and promulgated against such delinquents from which it is our pleasure to absolve you, on condition that first, with sincere heart and faith unfeigned, you abjure, execrate and detest the above errors and heresies, and every other error and heresy, contrary to the Catholic and Apostolical Roman Church, in our presence, in that formula which is hereby exhibited to you.

But that your grievous and pernicious error and transgression may not remain altogether unpunished, and that you may hereafter be more cautious, serving as an example to others, that they may abstain from the like offences, we decree, that the book of the Dialogue of Galileo, be prohibited by public edict, *and we condemn yourself to the prison of this Holy Office, to a time to be limited by our discretion; and we enjoin under the title of salutary penitence, that during three years to come you recite once a week the seven penitential Psalms*, reserving to ourselves the power of moderating, changing, or taking away entirely, or in part, the aforesaid penalties and penitences.

And so we say, pronounce, and by our sentence declare, enact, condemn, and reserve, by this and every other better mode or formula, by which of right we can and ought.

So we, the underwritten Cardinals pronounce,

F. Cardinal de Asculo,
 G. Cardinal Bentivolus,
 F. Cardinal de Cremona,
 Fr. Antony Cardinal S. Onuphrii,
 B. Cardinal Gypsius,
 F. Cardinal Verospius,
 M. Cardinal Ginettus.

THE ABJURATION OF GALILEO.

I Galileo Galilei, son of the late Vincent Galileo, a Florentine, of the age of 70, appearing personally in judgment, and being on my

knees in the presence of you, most eminent and most reverend Lords Cardinals of the Universal Christian Commonwealth, Inquisitors



TOMB OF GALILEO IN FIRENZE.

From a photograph.

General against heretical depravity, having before my eyes the holy Gospels, on which I now lay my hands, swear that I have al-

ways believed, and now believe, and God helping, that I shall for the future always believe, whatever the Holy Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church holds, preaches, and teaches. But because this Holy Office had enjoined me by precept, entirely to relinquish the false dogma which maintains that the Earth is the center of the world, and immovable, and that the Earth is not the center, and moves; not to hold, defend, or teach by any means, or by writing, the aforesaid false doctrine; and after it had been notified to me that the aforesaid doctrine is repugnant to the Holy Scripture, I have written and printed a book, in which I treat of the same doctrine already condemned, and adduce reasons with great efficacy in favor of it, not offering any solution of them; therefore I have been adjudged and vehemently suspected of heresy, namely, that I maintained and believed that the Sun is the center of the world, and immovable, and that the Earth is not the center, and moves.

Therefore, being willing to take out of the minds of your eminences, and of every Catholic Christian, this vehement suspicion of right conceived against me, I with sincere heart, and faith unfeigned, abjure, execrate, and detest the aforesaid errors and heresies, and generally every other sect contrary to the above-said Holy Church; and I swear that I will never any more hereafter say or assert, by speech or writing, any thing through which the like suspicion may be had of me; but if I shall know any one heretical, or suspected of heresy, I will denounce him to this Holy Office, or to the Inquisitor, and Ordinary of the place in which I shall be. I moreover swear and promise, that I will fulfil and observe entirely all the penitences which have been imposed upon me, or which shall be imposed by this Holy Office. But if it shall happen that I shall go contrary (which God avert) to any of my words, promises, protestations and oaths, I subject myself to all the penalties and punishments, which, by the Holy Canons, and other Constitutions, general and particular, have been enacted and promulgated against such delinquents: So help me God, and his Holy Gospels, on which I now lay my hands.

I, the aforesaid Galileo Galilei, have abjured, sworn, promise, and have bound myself as above, and in the fidelity of those with my own hands, and have subscribed to this present writing of my abjuration, which I have recited word by word. At Rome, in the Convent of Minerva, this 22d of June, of the year 1633.

I, Galileo Galilei, have abjured as above, with my own hand.

Our frontispiece represents the scene of Galilei's abjuration in a hall of the Vatican which is ornamented with Raphael's beautiful picture known as the "Disputa." In the center we see the grand old naturalist humiliated by his enemies. He is as stately in body, though broken in health, as his mind is imposing, and how foolish is the part played by his proud judges! The armed soldier behind Galilei is an evidence of the fact that the performance is in bitter earnest and not merely a theatrical scene. The arguments offered in behalf of the antiquated error,—torture on the rack and a prospective heretic's death among burning fagots—seem convincing, for Galilei reads the abjuration as prescribed by the Holy Office. A popular tradition relates that Galilei murmured to himself the words: "*Eppur si muove*," i. e., "and yet it [the earth] moves!" Though this is unproved, we can not doubt that he thought something like it. The sentence has become proverbial to denote the conviction that the verdicts of science can not be overturned by any tribunal, secular or ecclesiastical.

THE PRESENT RELIGIOUS CRISIS.

AS REVIEWED BY COUNT GOBLET D'ALVIELLA.

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION.

RELIGION is at present in a state of transition. The old views are rapidly changing and a new world-conception based upon a more correct and truer comprehension of nature is rapidly spreading. Science and the results of science have become the common property of the people, and begin gradually to affect the traditional interpretation of religion. In this country we do not notice the change so much as in the Old World because the constitution of our churches, which are supported by the people in absolute independence of the government, is different from that of European State churches. In Europe religion is to a great extent officially forced upon the people in schools as well as through State institutions which compel people to belong to any of the religions sanctioned by the State. Here religion is an affair which concerns the individual personally and privately, and our government has nothing to do with it except that in general it favors religion as such and would assist all those religious aspirations which are animated by the right moral spirit. In Europe the salaries of the clergymen are paid by the State, and the State taxes all its people alike, whether or not they belong to any church or synagogue. Infidels and Jews as well as Christians must contribute to the support of both Protestant and Catholic churches, and if non-conformists wish to keep up a religious service of their own they must pay for it from their own pockets.

It is a matter of course that under these conditions the clergy with very few exceptions have to preach a religion that the government deems best for the people, and the result is that dogmatism prevails. In this country congregations pay their own minister, and in consequence our clergymen are the exponents of the belief of their congregations. If a congregation becomes liberal, they will engage

liberal clergymen; if they are orthodox they will retain the old orthodox ministers. At any rate religion is not imposed upon the people, nor is any dogmatism prescribed except in conservative churches which do so on their own account; there is perfect freedom.

As a result of this state of things, conditions have greatly changed, and our churches are therefore very different from European ones. This is especially true of liberal congregations, for we count quite a number not only of non-sectarian churches but even of churches proclaiming a universal religion. Even the Catholic churches, though they preach the same dogmas as in Europe, are very different in their constitution, and although it is constantly denied in Europe and also here by orthodox representatives of the Roman Catholic church, that there is such a thing as Americanism, the truth is that the spirit of American Catholic churches is widely different from the one that prevails in Italy, France and Spain. There is not the same blind submission to authority, but for that very reason the congregations are stronger here and also more serious in their religion. Thus it happens that the earthquake that shakes up the churches of Europe is felt less in this country.

We are in receipt of an extract from the *Revue de Belgique* in which Count Goblet d'Alviella has collected from a French magazine, *Mercure de France*, a symposium of opinions on the religious situation. The *Mercure* requested a number of leading men of various convictions and persuasions to give their opinion concerning the present religious crisis, and the answers are very profuse and detailed. They cover a series of articles of many hundreds of pages, published in several consecutive numbers of the *Mercure*, but Count d'Alviella has boiled down these interesting documents, and reduced them to a reasonable shape which faithfully sums up the opinions now prevalent in Europe.

The circular sent out by the *Mercure de France* on the 20th of February, 1907, reads as follows:

"The religious idea, religion or religions, the influence of this or that religious form on the development of morals, have for several years formed the subject of an increasing number of works. On the other hand we see that everywhere conflicts are entered into against religious doctrines, against a religion or in the name of a religion: in France, the separation of the Church from the State; in England, debates on the subject of education; in Germany, the quarrel between the government and the Catholic center; in Italy and in Spain, the anti-clerical demonstrations; in Russia, the hostility of autoeratic orthodoxy against liberalism; throughout the Orient, race conflicts which usually become conflicts between religions; in the far East, the victory won by Japanese civilization over a Christian nation. In the face of this situation it seems to us that it will be of great interest to gather together and publish

in the *Mercur de France* the opinions of our most authoritative contemporaries upon the following question: *Are we now witnessing a dissolution or an evolution of the religious idea and religious sentiment?*"

Here we present Count d'Alviella's condensation of the answers as follows:

COUNT D'ALVIELLA'S REPORT.*

Leaving aside those correspondents who refuse to declare their position either "because the life of a Christian is too short to answer such trivial questions," or because they do not believe in the possibility of foretelling the future, the answers as a whole may be subdivided into three groups: (1) Neither dissolution nor evolution, (2) dissolution, (3) evolution. But in this connection we ought to repeat once more how very necessary and difficult it is to come to an agreement on the meaning of words. He who predicts the dissolution of every religious idea aims only against dogma or creed. Another proclaims the perpetuity of religious sentiment but reduces it to scientific curiosity or to an altruistic instinct. Some who affirm the evolution of religion recognize that this evolution as they conceive it is really equivalent to a destruction. Others imagine that they are describing the progressive dissolution of religion while they really show the elements of an actual religious reconstruction. . . . Accordingly in a classification based on these terms we shall have to take into account ideas rather than words.

I. NEITHER DISSOLUTION NOR EVOLUTION.

A. Because Religion has reached Its Final Form.

Those who contend against the possibility of a religious evolution come from two opposite camps; on the one hand those who consider religion perfect and final in the form in which they profess it; and on the other hand those who consider it too imperfect in itself or too absurd to be capable of any progress whatever.

The first idea is found especially among Catholic writers. M. François Coppée writes, "*Credo in sanctum Ecclesiam catholicam.* I believe in the Holy Catholic Church. That single word *Credo*, if you please, will be my answer to the inquiry of the *Mercur de France.*"

The same simple faith—the faith of a poet—appears in the answers of M. Vincent d'Indy who proclaims in retaliation, "the dissolution of that vain science, philosophy"; of M. François Jammé who declares that "we are witnessing the dissolution of all that is

* Translated from the French by Lydia Gillingham Robinson.

not Catholicism"; of M. René Bazin, of Prof. G. Dumesnil, of M. J. Besse, of M. Maurice Denis, of the Abbot Lemire and of the Abbot Wetterlé, formerly an Alsacian deputy.

M. Charles Woeste, a former Belgian minister, formulates the thesis with a conciseness which leaves nothing to be desired:

"The religious idea implies the existence of a religious truth; now if there is a religious truth it is not susceptible of evolution; it either is or it is not. If it were variable it would cease to be the truth."

However, it is not only the Catholics but there are even some Protestants who occupy the same ground.

M. Kuiper, the Calvinist Woeste of the Netherlands, does not deny that the state of mind is not "for the moment unfavorable to the development of religious receptivity," but he adds as well:

"After this time of weakness there will follow a period of renewed religious receptivity which will surpass in intensity the religious receptivity of the past."

From Geneva, the venerable M. Ernest Neville protests against the abuse of the term "evolution." He admits that religious minds tend rather to busy themselves with actualizing even in this world the will of the Heavenly Father; but if social Christianity is desired it is "on condition that the adjective shall not devour the substantive!"

M. Wildeboer, professor of theology at the University of Groningen, declares that we do not need a religious evolution.

M. Siegfried Wagner, heir to a great name, limits himself to stating that "the truth of the Gospel is eternal." He apologizes for not speaking at greater length since he is "on the point of departing for the south."

B. Because Religion Rests on Habit or Ineradicable Illusions.

From quite another point of view M. Maurice Vernes, after having stated that "men of science work and teach to-day outside of the dogmatic System," adds:

"There can be no question at this time of the dissolution of the religious idea or sentiment, nor the slightest symptom of its evolution. The rationalism which triumphs in the substance of historical and scientific study is at bottom only a method of work destined to renew successively the various domains of research; to see in it the catapult which from one day to the next is about to overturn religion, is to be sorely deceived or to be satisfied with words."

A similar view is expressed by M. Felix de Dantec:

"A general decline of religious sentiment is certain, although it is less advanced in some cases; but it has not resulted in a complete disappearance of the organ even in the case of atheists....It would be illusory to wish to awaken religious sentiment on behalf of a religion in a decline. Only a new and living religion would profit by the restoration. To-day science holds the leading string; whither will it lead us?"

M. Urbain Gohier answers this last question ironically:

"The religious idea and religious sentiment will not disappear. Their evolution, like our political evolutions, will consist in a change of terms. Already red curés are replaced by black curés; there are pontiffs, gospels, catechisms, councils and excommunications among freemasons and socialists; there are lay baptisms, humanitarian communions, civic Easters and Christmases, banquets on Good Friday, processions of Saint Etienne Dolet in place of the novena of Saint Etienne du Mont, a cult of Saint Zola in place of the Cult of Saint Labre."

The same note is sounded by MM. Paul Adam, Georges Brandès, and Maurice Barrès, this last considering that "the best religion is still the one which we have"; likewise in somewhat more measured phrases by MM. Jules Soury, Jules Sageret, Arno Holz of Berlin; G. Sergi, professor of anthropology at the University of Rome, and Cesare Lombroso. The last named admits that all religions adapt themselves little by little to the culture of the people who profess them, but he adds disconsolately:

"If it is possible for an institution founded on error to evolve, it always ends by falling into another error."

Finally let us cite one of the executors of Auguste Comte, M. Antoine Baumann, who, faithful to the teaching of his master, thinks that Catholicism, the heir of preceding religions, may still be called to play an important part "under new forms otherwise impossible to specify."

II. DISSOLUTION.

Among those who affirm a more or less early dissolution of religious sentiment or the religious idea, the greater part understand religion exclusively in the sense of anthropomorphism (M. Emile Verhaeren); of revelation (M. Domela Nieuwenhuis); of dogma, rite, and preaching (M. Yves Guyot); of belief in spiritual beings (M. Plekhanoff); of a hackneyed clericalism (M. Théophile Braga of Lisbon); of the worship of a God apart from the universe (M. André Niemojewski of Warsaw); or of piety understood in its traditional acceptation (Mr. Edmund Gosse of London).

M. Leopoldo Lugones, inspector general of the University of the Argentine Republic, formulates this aphorism:

"Since the days of Greece our society has been established under the concept of obedience to the principle of authority, the two supports of which are religion for the soul and government for the body....To-day disobedience reigns."

M. E. Humperdinck, a composer of Berlin, modestly contents himself with treating the question from a musical point of view:

"We may conclude from the well-known dissolution of the religious spirit in the music of to-day that the religious idea of our own time has become totally barren, and that it is vain to attempt an artificial rebirth as long as new transcendental ideas are not prolific."

Viewing the problem in a more complete fashion, an Italian sociologist, M. Francesco Cosentini, maintains that of the two fundamentals of religion, dogma is destroyed by science and ethics tends to detach itself entirely from every vestige of religious garb.

I include here, but not without some hesitation, the group of those who while insisting on the permanence of the evolution of religious sentiment conceive religion as a purely humanitarian bond exclusive of any notion, collective or individual, of relations with a transcendent power. As Mr. Israel Zangwill of London regards it in his statement, there comes a point where "the transformation is so great that it might equally well be called a destruction."

M. Eugène de Roberty:

"On the whole (with apologies to the materialists of history) the religious question seems destined to remain for a long time the social question *par excellence*. For under the problem of divinity which I consider a temporary one, is hidden the problem of humanity which I deem eternal."

M. Maxime Gorki:

"The dissolution of the idea of a personal God seems to me inevitable among intellectual circles as well as with the masses....I believe that we are witnessing the formation of a new psychological type. In order that this formation may take place, a broad and free intercourse is necessary between men of equal positions, and the problem is solved by socialism. Religious sentiment as I conceive it, accordingly, must exist, develop and bring about the perfection of man."

M. Lucien Descaves believes in the future of a mystical socialism. A French painter, M. E. Grasset, is convinced that Christianity continues and will continue for a long time to come in its principle and in its new form, socialism."

M. Is. Querido, a Dutch man of letters, predicts the creation of first a socialistic society followed by an anarchistic:

"But in order to attain moral perfection we must have the psychical support of a faith: this will be the confluence of the best affections of the spirit and in both strength and depth will replace for future humanity that which is now the faith in God of the devout."

Analogous opinions have reached us from two other political writers from the same country, MM. Albert Verwey and Nico van Suchtelen. From the first, "there is but one cult, and that is to live." In the opinion of the second all religion and all fetishism are actually vanquished in favor of "faith in the power of intelligence."

Mr. P. Schiel, a literary man of London, thinks that ethics is destined to replace religion. Michel Revon is not far from sharing the same opinion, at least so far as Japan is concerned where he has particularly studied the religious situation.

The Russian sociologist M. Novicow writes:

"From the viewpoint of dogmas it seems to me that religions are undergoing an incontestable dissolution. This is not true of worship. Worship is necessarily allied to dogma, but only slightly. Doubtless a day will come when religious dogma will cast off all pagan stain, all belief in any divinity whatever. Then man will practice the true religion without God. This religion will be able to develop forever without ever dying, if in its cult it finds more and more perfect methods of giving to men the sentiment of the infinite and of elevating them into regions of purity and of idealism."

Does M. Novicow reject the idea of God and still permit that of divinity to remain? If so his thesis would deserve rather to have a place in the third category by the side of M. Hébert's reply and several others.

III. EVOLUTION.

A. Within the Limits of Catholicism.

Belief in the perpetuity of the Church belongs to the very essence of Catholicism. But there has been growing for some time among the laity,—and as for that among a fraction of the clergy,—the belief in the possibility and even in the necessity of a Catholic evolution in the intellectual and social domains. M. Marcel Rifaux recently addressed to a certain number of his coreligionists a questionnaire containing the following inquiries relating to the present crisis in the Church: "Is this intellectual crisis simply a crisis of laborious adaptation or is it indeed a crisis of exhaustion? In the first hypothesis, what are the means to be employed in order to clear up this crisis and to hasten a return to Catholicism? In the second hypothesis, what is it which keeps us from Catholicism and by what equivalent shall we be able to replace it?" The replies published by M. Rifaux in a large volume entitled "Conditions of a Return to Catholicism," have excited cries of indignation from those organs which devote themselves to contending against novelty in the bosom of the Church. At the same time this opposition has

not prevented M. Rifaux from affirming his convictions anew in the symposium of the *Mercur*:

"Some Catholic authorities are thoroughly convinced that they are remaining faithful to the spirit of the Church while engaged in disburdening the divine tree of all the parasitic vegetation which hinders its growth. A gross, scholastic, archaic, and antiquated anthropomorphism, legends sometimes ridiculous, puerile devotions, unauthentic texts, fraudulent relics, a shameless commercialism in certain sanctuaries, hero worship, a fetish respect paid to decorations and episcopal dignity, abuse of titles and distinctions, a spirit not of authority but of autocracy,—such, in short, are the points on which the progressive Catholics make their claim."

It is noteworthy that a French bishop, Mgr. Lacroix, does not hesitate to write in the *Mercur*, "I share almost all the conclusions of Dr. Rifaux."

The same feeling is courageously expressed in the response of a group of distinguished writers, both laity and ecclesiastics, nearly all of whom are contributors to the "Annals of Christian Philosophy" of Abbot L. Laberthonnière: Says M. Georges Fonsegrive, "What appears hostile to religion restores it"; Abbot Klein, "It is important to notice that peace is no longer sought in unity but in the demarcation of domains"; M. Albert Leclère, professor at the University of Bern, "The religious future of the world seems in the face of a science and a philosophy equally independent, to be a Catholicism more and more in accord with the age"; M. Maurice Blondel, professor in the University of Aix, "The present crisis is a purification of the religious sense and an integration of the Catholic faith"; the Abbot Brémont, who admits the suggestive fact that a renewal of religious sentiment has taken place but that this does not apply to the masses, says: "The latter, far from returning to a religious sentiment, seem to me to be withdrawing from it more and more every day"; M. Antonio Fogazzaro does not hesitate to draw the conclusion that would naturally be expected from the author of *Il Santo*:

"We are advancing toward a religious conception in which dogma will hold a very great place, but in which the relations between human intelligence and dogma will be the relations of a living faith exceeding formulas, plunging into mystery and thence drawing love, strength, and life to be interpreted into action."

The Rev. Father Tyrrel, whose dispute with the ecclesiastical authorities of the English Church may be recalled, believes that "notwithstanding the dissolution of many religious institutions caused precisely by the growth of a more religious and more pro-

found sentiment," we are advancing towards an awakening of the religious idea.

M. Marc Sanguier, the manager of the *Sillon*, writes:

"The new generation of Catholics, and especially the young clergy, are trending towards democracy."

Abbot Romolo Minri thinks that the gravity, the universality and even the violence of the "enormous want of equilibrium between the religious thought of the different Christian communities and modern scientific culture," show that there is here "a period of anxious investigation for a new balance between religion and life."

The Rev. Father Allo says:

"No movement, however 'magnificent,' is able to extinguish any of the lights of consciousness. They can only be freed from their shadows by a clear illumination of free thought."

We can only regret not being able to include here the appreciations of the Abbots Loisy and Houtin.

Will all this movement towards emancipation be stopped by the recent syllabus of Pius X? I dare not say. If so it will be so much the worse for the Church; but if not, what will become of the Papal authority which is presented more and more as the cornerstone of Catholicism? Is a third result possible?

B. Within the Limits of Christianity.

M. Frank Puaux, formerly director of the *Revue chrétienne*, states that, far from weakening, the Christian churches are on the high road to evolution and progress:

"Scientific evolution prepared by the gigantic work of religious criticism which, studying the problem of the origin of religion, has maintained its principle; and social evolution tending to definitely separate religion from politics and concentrating its action on moral and religious development by the struggle against all social iniquities in the name of Christ."

On the other hand, a Dutch political writer, M. Vanden Bergh van Eysinga, while declaring that "just as Beethoven established a limit in a certain class of music which could not be passed, so Christianity is the perfect religion," adds that its evolution will no doubt be accompanied by a dissolution of the Church.

M. Baldassaré Labanca, professor of religious history at the University of Rome, formulates his opinion as follows:

"On one side the dogmatic, liturgical, and ecclesiastical past may to a great extent be seen to dissolve in religion, because science and criticism, philosophy and historical and political research, contend against the theology, dogma, and ritual of the Church. . . . But on the side of the parties who are

dissolving there exists in religion, especially the Christian religion, a current of moral and social idealism which constitutes its admirable, intrinsic foundation and evolution."

Similar conclusions have been formulated by the Count of Romanonès, formerly a member of the Liberal Cabinet of Spain; Baron Hans von Wolzogen, manager of the *Bayreuter Blätter*; the composer Bourgault-Ducoudray; MM. Robert Saleilles, professor of the faculty of law at Paris; Bonet-Maury, professor in the faculty of Protestant theology at Paris; Paul Seippel, professor at the Polytechnic at Zurich; and finally M. Charles Gide, who writes:

"We can positively prove an evolution in the religious idea and religious sentiment, or rather the idea tends to develop into sentiment. The religious idea tends to evade the dogmatic formulas in which it formerly sought to fortify itself. . . . But at the same time there is a tendency to replace the individualistic desire for salvation and heaven by a desire for the salvation of all. An entire school of ardent young pastors repeats the prayer 'Thy kingdom come,' declaring that this phrase must be understood in the sense 'Thy kingdom on earth,' and does not admit that Christianity can be anything else than a social Christianity."

C. Outside of All Denominational Limits.

Among the correspondents who view the question from an exclusively objective point of view whether or not they belong to any confession or definite school, a great number positively affirm their belief in the progressive evolution of religious sentiment but without pretending to decide what the religion of the future shall be.

M. H. Bergson:

"Only compound things can be dissolved. Now in its very essence the religious sentiment is a simple thing, *sui generis*, which does not resemble any other emotion of the soul. . . . Further investigation of the idea accordingly may throw light on the sentiment more and more but not modify it in any essential point, still less cause it to disappear."

M. Gabriel Monod:

"For two centuries both traditional Catholicism and traditional Protestantism have been in sight of dissolution; but it is only an evolution in religion. As long as men are ignorant of whence they come and whither they are going, the wherefore of life and of the universe; as long as they throw glances of curiosity, of hope and fear towards the infinite which surrounds and engulfs them; that is to say, as long as they are men, religion will be renewed in their hearts from age to age under ceaselessly changing forms."

M. Emile Vandervelde, the head of parliamentary socialism in Belgium:

"In socialist society, as in society in general, the problems of death and life, the mystery of our destinies and our beginnings continue to produce

metaphysical hypotheses or, if you prefer, religious beliefs. But they will never be more than hypotheses. People will no longer dream of imposing them as absolute truths in the name of a pretended revelation. In all probability there will still be religious associations, but there will not be autocratic, intolerant, despotic churches, except as archaic survivals."

These ideas appear in various degrees in the answers formulated by MM. Camille Flammarion, who says: "Religions and religion are two different things. The first will perish, but the latter will remain"; E. Menegoz, "The indestructible foundation of religion is the sentiment of moral responsibility"; Charles Morice, "When Spirit will have profoundly taken possession of Nature, the gods will be born again"; Sir Charles Dilke, "The religious idea is independent of churches"; Saloman Reinach, "The magical element tends to disappear. The opinion that religions approach their end has had its time. Religion which in its primitive forms is identical with human society can and must be constantly transformed"; Edmond Picard, "As long as men are not able to penetrate the mystery of death, of future life, of the immortality of the soul, of the force which presides over universal morphology, there will be religions to solve these unquieting problems either childishly or suitably"; Camille Lemonnier, "The religious idea may be displaced and modified but never extinguished"; G. Wells, "The religious idea and religious sentiment form an integral part of the intellectual and moral processes of humanity"; Napoleone Colajanni, "Religion does not die; religions become transformed"; Paul Sabatier, "Far from entering upon a religious dissolution we are approaching a glorious restoration"; Havelock Ellis, "Churches have but a temporary existence; the religious instinct is an element of human nature almost as much as the sexual instinct"; MM. A Mézière, Frédéric Mistral, Richard Dehmel; Miguel de Unamuno, rector of the University of Salamanca; A. D. Xénopol, rector of the University of Jassy; Louis Gumplowicz, professor at the University of Gratz; Béla Földès, professor at the University of Budapest; R. Moesary, and the Marquis Pietro Misciattelli, express a similar opinion.

Finally there are those who exert themselves to specify more or less exactly in what the evolution will consist. M. Alfred Fouillée:

"Dissolution (extremely slow and interrupted) of positive religions. Evolution (how slow and with how winding a course!) in the sense of philosophy and ethics.... What is certain is that positive science will never suffice for a humanity which has other vital needs besides material ones."

Nevertheless the majority of replies advance a little farther in their attempts to lift the veil of the religion of the future. M. Charles Wagner, pastor of the Evangelical Liberal Church writes:

"The more I consider these times of disturbance, the more also do I see appearing from the shadows a religion which is the religion of to-morrow; it is human piety in its powerful simplicity, it is the sacred regard of life, of grief, of labor, of all which constitutes humanity."

M. Sully-Prudhomme :

"The religious idea submitted by the progress of Protestant science to a criticism more and more enlightened, tends to exclude anthropomorphism of the divine essence and consequently to be transformed; but since religious sentiment is as inextinguishable as moral needs, this transformation will never result in the annihilation of the idea of divinity."

M. Marcel Hébert, who refers to the thesis which he has recently upheld in his work on *Le Divin* :

"Once past the period of contention the religious problem will reappear with the moral problem in which it is inherent."

Dr. J. Grasset, professor at the University of Montpellier :

"The religious idea proceeds, first, from the need of knowing about that which science cannot teach us, and, secondly, from the need of full and complete justice which our present life does not realize. . . . The present phase of religious evolution is characterized by the emancipation respectively of religion and science."

M. Giuseppe Rensi, editor in chief of the *Canobium* :

"The religious spirit will once more destroy religion, and perhaps will establish another; but the conflict will be renewed and will continue until all religious construction will be transformed into metaphysical consciousness without leaving any residuum."

M. Björnstjerne Björnson :

"Some Dogmas which are henceforth insufferable are falling and at the same stroke are diminishing the distance which separates religions from reality. This transformation acts slowly but it will not cease until all religions and all religious sects renouncing to some extent almost all that distinguishes them from each other will unite in one common adoration of an eternal and benevolent power."

Rabbi Louis Germain Levy :

"A religious idea is being worked out which will eliminate the irrational, miracles, external revelation, the petty devotion of fear and calculation."

M. Vilfredo Pareto, professor at the University of Lausanne :

"In an environment imbued with autocratic principles a religion of free inquiry may be useful; in an environment with a tendency to anarchy a religion of authority is indispensable in order to prevent the dissolution of society. . . . The trusts might provide us with a new religious form which despite its anarchistic appearance is at bottom, thanks to its worship of force, a religion of authority. . . . A reflex movement may arise on behalf of the ancient religions. . . . On the other hand it is far from demonstrated, for instance, that the rôle of Catholicism in the world is ended."

In the opinion of M. Istrati, formerly a minister of Roumania, the religion of the future, based like science on observation and experiment, will be spiritism. Thus "science and faith will be forever remitted."

To M. Minsky, a Russian political writer, this religion will be "Meonism,"* in which God is conceived as "the absolute Unity which from love for the multiple world dies voluntarily, is sacrificed continually for the universe, and lives again in the aspiration of the universe toward absolute unity." However, the author recognizes that hitherto this conception has formed "the patrimony of but few people."

Another Russian political writer, M. Dmitry Merejkowski, prophesies the religion of the Spirit which will be the religion of God in humanity. A third political writer of the same race, M. Nicolas Berdaieff, thinks that:

"History will end in a mysterious route towards a universal Church containing the entire truth not only of divine and celestial matters but equally of that which is human and terrestrial; towards a Church arising out of orthodoxy, Catholicism and Protestantism—a free theocracy."

In the eyes of M. Auguste Strindberg, a literary man of Stockholm, the religious evolution advances towards its end which is "a monistic confession without dogmas or theology."

M. Gian Pietro Lucini, an Italian author, says that the movement of to-day is an anti-clerical demonstration not for the dissolution of a religious idea but for the integration of a scientific religious dogma."

M. Scipio Sighele, an Italian sociologist, believes that the only religion of the future will be nothing else than a philosophy; that is, a branch of science which while confessing its powerlessness to explain the mystery which surrounds us, will permit what Spencer calls the Unknowable to be called by the name of God."

More reserved in his conjectures, M. Emile Durckheim, professor of sociology at the University of Paris, concludes in these terms:

"All that can be presumed is that the religious forms of the future will be still more permeated with rationalism than even the most rational religions of to-day, and that the social sense which has always been the soul of religions will be declared more directly and more distinctly than in the past without veiling itself in myths and symbols."

Finally, if I may be allowed to quote myself, I expressed in the *Mercure* the idea that the crisis will come to an end when the

* From $\mu\eta\ \delta\upsilon\varsigma$, non-existent; illusion?

new conceptions of the universe and of man will be sufficiently impressed upon religious sentiment, and especially when a genial thinker will have found the means of conciliating the two contradictory principles of actual philosophy: on the one hand the notion of continuity and consequently of fatality which dominates the law of evolution in the scientific domain; on the other hand the liberty and spontaneity of conscience without which there could neither be any sentiment of moral responsibility nor an open field for religious activity.

* * *

The conviction that religions are not artificial and arbitrary becomes more and more widespread; that they have their source in the depths of human nature; that they possess characteristics in common; that they are susceptible of progress; that their essential element and their practical side is the diffusion of altruism combined with their conception of the divine; and finally that there remains to them under these circumstances an important rôle to play in social evolution. This current of opinion would appear with even more accuracy if this inquiry had not left out a noteworthy proportion of the territory where Protestantism is predominant, notably the United States, where it has been shown at what point and with what rapidity the churches can be transformed into instruments of humanitarian reform, leaving theological differences in the background.

THE RELIGION OF HUMANITY AND ITS HIGH PRIESTESS.

BY JOHANNÈS GROS.*

“SHE will be your Egeria, your Beatrice, your Laura; attribute to her memory the new developments of your doctrine; consecrate her memory; inscribe it in the front of your books; entwine her name with yours.” And this indeed has he done for her whom he called “his eternal companion.” Their names are indissolubly joined in the adoration of the faithful. They are alike first high priest and first priestess. Without considering how much of generous illusion there was in this posthumous beatification, this modern Egeria was so intimately associated with the growing destinies of the new religion that to-day, fifty years after the death of its founder, when we wish to evoke the memory of Auguste Comte, it is the image of Clotilde de Vaux which is recalled to our memory.

One day in the month of October, 1844, when Comte had been separated from his wife for two years, he saw “at the home of her parents for the first time a young lady who was as irreproachable as she was charming.” We do not know certainly to what chance he owes this meeting; probably the introduction was given by a brother of Clotilde with whom Comte was acquainted at that time. Mlle. Marie de Ficquelmont† married about 1838 (but against her own will) a certain M. de Vaux, employed, I believe, in a bank. Soon afterwards he became a defaulter and was condemned to hard labor. The young wife was at once affected by the injustice of a law which would not permit her to repudiate a name thus branded with fire, and was obliged to withdraw into a retreat to which she was further compelled by her slender resources. Her family lived in the Rue Pavée, so she took her meals with them and in the

* Translated from the French manuscript by Lydia Gillingham Robinson.

† The family name of her father was Marie, but she usually used it in connection with her mother's name, de Ficquelmont.

evening returned home to a very modest lodging nearby in the Rue Payenne.

Born at Paris on April 3, 1815, Clotilde had completed her twenty-ninth year when Comte made her acquaintance. Has she preserved that eighteenth century grace which we see in an earlier portrait? All the features of that perfectly oval face possess great delicacy and recall the manner of Greuze. There is the same freshness in the brilliancy of the skin, the same outline in the lips, the broad forehead shaded by bands of hair which are drawn into a knot on her graceful neck prolonged in the sloping lines of her shoulders. Her eyes are slightly almond-shaped, her glance is calm and though somewhat melancholy seems to veil a smile. The expression of the face is a combination of seriousness and gentleness in which both the naive abandon of the child and the ingenuousness of the maiden are apparent. Already Clotilde felt the stroke of the disease which was to close her life. However, it is the characteristic of certain illnesses that they seem to enhance the charm of the face by giving it a sort of transparency so that the soul seemed to radiate from the skin. Thus the misfortune which had broken the health of a body naturally frail, could not alter a beauty whose brilliancy was but the radiance of a serene soul.

It is natural that Clotilde should have been more capable than another woman of appreciating the devotion of a distinguished thinker because she also undertook to provide for herself by the aid of literature. For his part Comte had never ceased to deplore his unfortunate marriage, and was quite ready to form a union with a woman who could reanimate in him "the play of tender affections," necessary, he said, both for his personal happiness and for the accomplishment of his social well-being. Chance assigned him Madame de Vaux.

The ensuing relations between them hardly commenced until April, 1845, but from that time they were of practically daily occurrence. Comte who was very precise and systematic about everything had from the first taken Mondays and Fridays as the days for calling at the home of the Marie de Ficquelmonts. Meanwhile Clotilde would sometimes gratify him by another visit at his home in the Rue Monsieur-le-Prince,—and the post took charge of the rest. Within the single year during which this idyl lasted, 181 letters were exchanged, which were published by the philosopher's request after his death.

An idyl! It was no fault of Comte's that this sudden and violent affection, by which he was seized from the very first, was not shared

by Madame de Vaux, for he could not take up his pen without giving expression to his feelings. "Since, alas! I do not know how to be-



AUGUSTE COMTE.

come younger, would that you, oh Madame, were less beautiful and

less lovable!" Once when speaking to her of his relatives he ventured farther: "I was about to say *our* relatives." Clotilde became



CLOTILDE DE VAUX.

alarmed and pleaded her inexperience in such matters. They laid

down no strict limitations for themselves; it was only arranged between them that they should "rule out embarrassing conversation." "Let us only talk about our heads," she added. Thus two weeks passed, until one day Clotilde published in the *National* a novelette entitled "Lucie." Comte recognized that the pitiful lot of the heroine of this little romance was none other than that of his friend who up to this time had told him almost nothing of her past. His love for Madame de Vaux became more intense and he dedicated to her the rest of his life. Clotilde warded him off, and was even somewhat angry: "I will be your friend always if you wish, but never anything more," but it made no difference. Notwithstanding her attitude Comte had already established a domestic worship of which Clotilde was the goddess. He arranged the arm chair in which she sat when she visited him, as an altar, and knelt before it night and morning invoking her with ardent prayers as the one to whom he owed his moral regeneration.

One more bond occurred, however, to cement their friendship. On August 28 they both stood at the baptismal font as sponsors for a child born in the de Ficquelmont family. In the eyes of Comte this ceremony sealed his "spiritual marriage" with his "angelic Clotilde." It was to be his lot, however, to approach still nearer to happiness. Some days afterward, September 5 in fact, Clotilde wrote him: "Since my misfortunes my one dream has been that of motherhood, but I have always promised myself never to unite in this step with any man who was not exceptionally worthy to comprehend its significance. If you think that you can accept all the responsibilities belonging to family life let me know, and I will consider it on my part." "It was with the greatest effort, my Clotilde, that I was able to control myself yesterday from answering your divine letter as soon as I had reread it upon my knees before your altar." The answer continues in this vein. Alas, his joy was short lived! Two days afterward Clotilde retracted her promise. "Pardon my imprudence," she wrote to the unhappy philosopher, "I still feel that I am powerless to exceed the limits of affection." It is in vain that he insists,—oh, not at all with the tenderness and cajoleries of the usual lover, but with an unyielding and precise logic clad severely in the abstract and colorless style which was so characteristic of Comte. She has but one reply: "I am not capable of giving myself without love. This is a demand which you ought not to make of me."

This crisis did not change the feelings of Comte. He assumed his rôle of a hopeless lover and continued to love; and to love with the secret hope that one day, perhaps a day yet far distant (but let

him keep at least the hope of this happiness!) she would consent to a union based upon pure friendship. When he positively knew that he must renounce this hope, this was his cry, not very lyrical to be sure, but listen: "This memorable episode has nevertheless made me feel bitterly how much the chasm which yawns between us is due to my want of youth and beauty." It is true that he was forty-eight years old and had never been either handsome or even attractive.

Existence then resumed its monotonous trend. The difficulties which arose within the family, the hard work of an author's profession when Clotilde tried it without success, bruised the last bit of strength which still sustained this delicate creature. Winter came and Clotilde's cough grew worse and worse. The new year opened with a springlike day. "The beautiful sunshine will make me well," she writes on January 2; "if you would like I will come to see you to-morrow, my dear friend, instead of receiving you here." Her visits became less and less frequent. She was often confined to her bed, and in the intervals of rest which her illness granted her she worked upon a long novel which she was never to finish. Her last letter is dated Sunday, March 8. Foreseeing, perhaps, the decree which destiny had pronounced upon her she says: "I wonder if some day you will not call me to account for these violent interruptions of your public life." Four weeks later to the very day, on Sunday, April 5, at half past three in the afternoon, she passed away, with Comte present to the last.

The intimate code of worship which the founder of positivism dedicated to her whom he henceforth referred to only as his "noble and tender wife," is generally known. From the second day after her funeral, that is to say on Good Friday, April 10, 1846, he established for his personal use daily prayers for morning, mid-day and evening, intended to commemorate an eternal and everlasting love. These prayers were said before the "altar" of Clotilde where reposed her "relics," the letters of his beloved, a lock of her hair and a bouquet of artificial flowers which she had made,—relics which received from the devotees of the new faith a veneration equal to that of Christians for relics of the Holy Cross. On Wednesday of each week with only one exception Comte knelt in the Père Lachaise cemetery at the tomb of his beloved. Finally every year along about St. Clotilde's day he wrote long "Confessions" in which he related the principal events of his public and private life for the past twelve months; then he would read these at the grave stone.

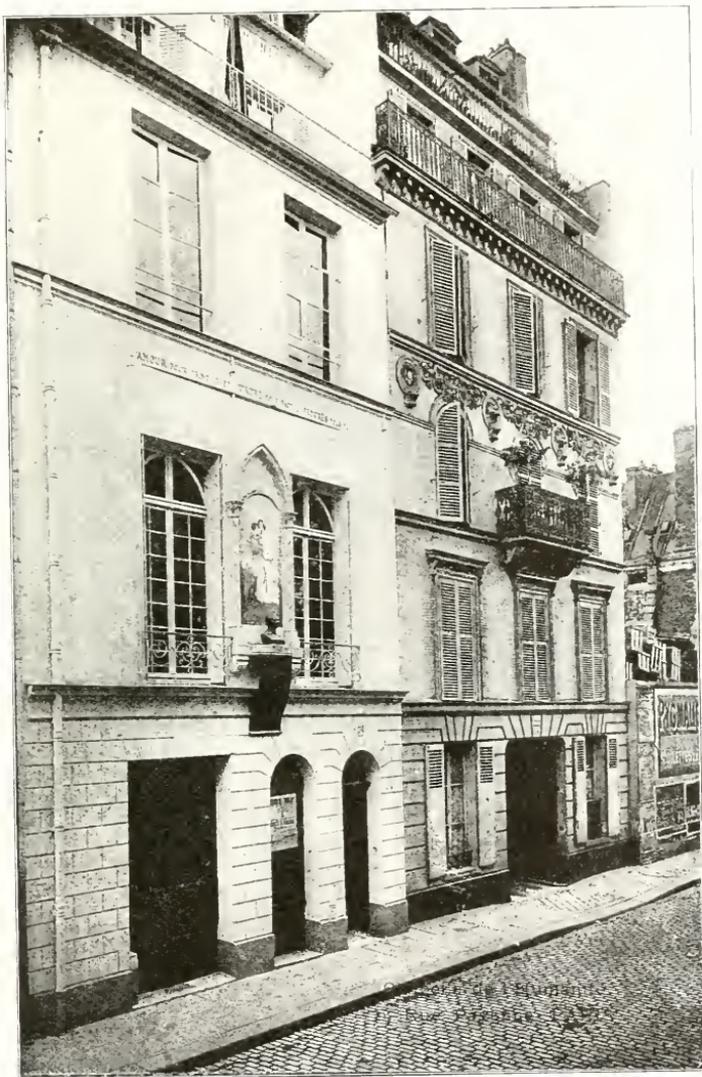
In Comte's opinion these annual confessions formed a progressive systematization of public worship which he wished to consecrate to

his Clotilde. I can do no better here than to quote: "Since the third anniversary of thy death I have thus been able to celebrate at the same time both thine unalterable rebirth and my final purification. Our expansion in the future from year to year will specially consecrate our full identification with the result of the religious foundation in which thou hast rendered me such great assistance. Under these positive auspices I have solemnly systematized during the last year thine irrevocable incorporation into the true 'Grand-Being' (Humanity). These successive preparations have brought me today to the point of finally establishing thine actual worship. To be henceforth inseparable from universal religion." On the seventh St. Clotilde's day he inaugurated "her universal adoration"; on the tenth, "her regular festival," etc. Faithful to their master's will, the disciples continued to honor in her the first priestess of the religion of Humanity of which Comte had been anointed high priest, and in her image to adore the positivist Virgin. The symbol of Humanity likewise was represented with the features of Clotilde.

Although Paris was the birthplace of the new religion sixty-three years ago, it has only possessed one temple of Humanity until very recently. We know that during his lifetime Comte had asked that the Pantheon should be appropriated for the cult which he had founded. As yet his last residence at No. 10 Rue Monsieur-le-Prince has been the only spot where the positivists of Paris gathered together for their rituals and ceremonies, but about two years ago a group of Brazilians acquired possession of the house where Clotilde de Vaux died and established there, while awaiting a higher destiny, a modest positivist temple which has not yet been opened for services.

At No. 5 Rue Payenne in the Marais quarter of Paris, there stands a little house of a somewhat distinguished appearance, which by a very distinctive style of decoration of its façade can not fail to attract the attention of the passerby. Framed in an archway between the two windows of the first floor there stands a picture where an artist evidently but little familiar with the customs of symbolism has painted a woman holding in her arms a child,—Humanity extending her guardianship over each of us. At the side the following inscription may be read: "Virgin Madre, figlia del tuo figlio." Between the first and second stories there is this inscription: "L'amour pour principe, l'ordre pour base, et le progrès pour but" (Love for principle, order for foundation, and progress for our aim). Above the entrance stands a bronze bust of Auguste Comte and a commemorative placque to "Charlotte Clotilde Joséphine, fille de Hen-

riette-Joséphine de Ficquelmont, et de Joseph Marie, née à Paris le 3 Avril 1815, est morte le 5 Avril 1846, au 3me étage de cette maison.” (Charlotte Clotilde Josephine, daughter of Henriette Josephine de



TEMPLE OF HUMANITY.

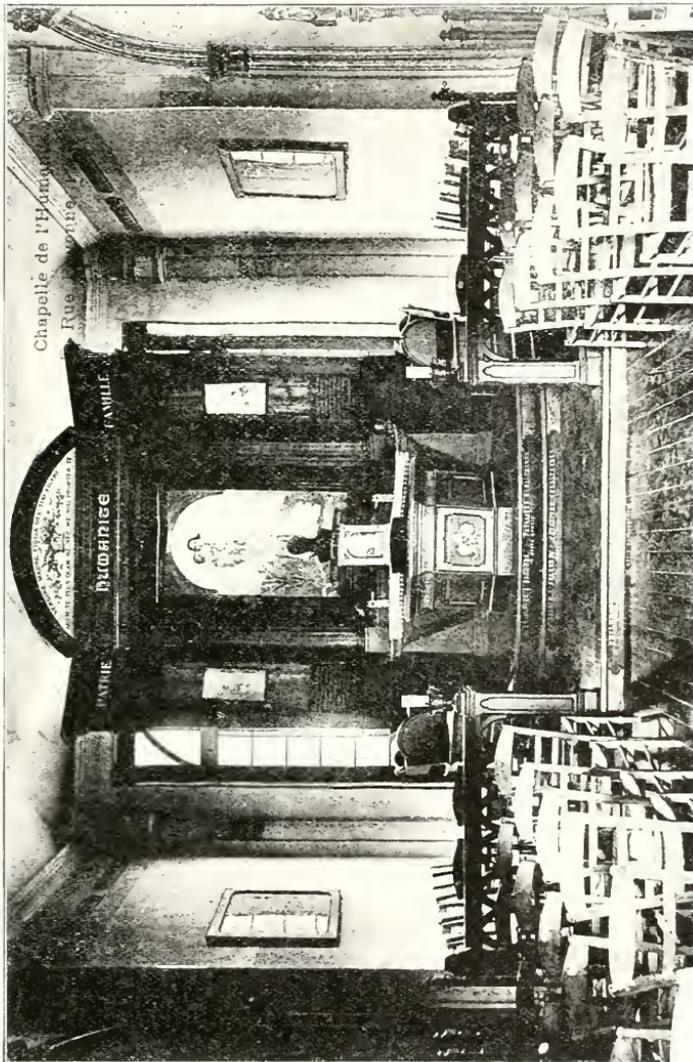
Ficquelmont and of Joseph Marie, born at Paris April 3, 1815, died April 5, 1846, on the third floor of this house). Finally a large

green flag floating from the top floor bears these words: "Ordre et progrès."

Advancing through a narrow passageway the traveler comes to a little interior court from which a stairway leads to the first floor. Here is the chapel,—a tiny room with a wooden floor and differing but little from Catholic chapels in its general effect with its rows of chairs and its altar. At the end of the room stands the altar of polished walnut and traditional in form; nothing is lacking but cross and candles. Some stalls intended no doubt for the officiating priests are arranged around the sides. In place of the tabernacle stands the bust of Comte and below the altar are three panels; in the center the portrait of Clotilde symbolizing Humanity; at the left Comte's mother dedicating her son to Humanity; the panel on the right has not yet been placed but is to represent Comte on his death-bed. The mural paintings are portraits of thirteen types of humanity, whose names have been given to the months of the positivist calendar and who are, respectively, Moses, Homer, Aristotle, Archimedes, Cæsar, St. Paul, Charlemagne, Dante, Gutenberg, Shakespeare, Descartes, Frederick, Bichat. The daily commemoration of great men constitutes in some sort the concrete part of the new cult which is well enough known so that we may limit ourselves to a short survey.

A careful distinction must be made between the private and public worship. The private worship is personal and domestic. In its personal aspect it is characterized by the institution of guardian angels, which positivism has adopted from Catholicism but somewhat transformed. The guardian angel of the positivist is more nearly analogous to the domestic gods of antiquity. He ceases to be a temporary protector common to all people and impersonal, in order to be particularly chosen as the faithful guardian in the center of the family. Prayer is the form which this part of the worship takes. The private worship is domestic inasmuch as it is nothing but the consecration of the principal phases of every-day life. Nine social sacraments suffice to characterize all these phases; first, the sacrament of Presentation, or baptism; then the Initiation administered in the fourteenth year (when the education is transferred from the mother to the systematic education of the priest); Admission, at the age of twenty-one when the studies are finished and the young man must think of entering into the actual service of Humanity; seven years afterward the sacrament of Destination confirms him in a career which is to some extent irrevocable. At this point, but never before, he may think of receiving the sacrament of Marriage (Positivist marriage is characterized by the obligation never to

marry again); at forty-two years of age the positivist receives the sacrament of Maturity; at sixty years that of Retreat; upon his deathbed that of Transformation, and finally seven years after death that of Incorporation. After this length of time it is possible for society



INTERIOR OF THE TEMPLE OF HUMANITY.

with equity to pass a judgment which will decide irrevocably the dead man's fate. "After the priest has pronounced the Incorporation he presides over the ceremonial transportation of the sanctified relics which, placed hitherto in the civic field, are now to occupy

their everlasting resting-place which surrounds the temple of Humanity. Each tomb is adorned with a simple inscription, a bust, or a statue, according to the degree of glorification obtained. As to exceptional cases of unworthiness, the stigma is manifest by bearing the funeral burden to the desert of reprobates, among beggars, suicides and dualists."

The public worship is much more abstract and in eighty-one annual festivals reviews the universal adoration of Humanity. It is intended first to consecrate "the fundamental ties" of our existence in social relationships: humanity, marriage, parenthood, sonship, brotherhood and domesticity; then the preparatory states which have characterized our evolution, that is, fetishism, polytheism and monotheism; finally "the normal functions" of regenerated society as positivism conceives it. These are Woman or Moral Providence, Priest or Intellectual Providence, Patrician or Material Providence, Proletariat or Providence in general.

Public worship assumes a more concrete form in the symbol of the positivist trinity, "the eternal and definite object of its highest adoration." This trinity is composed of the Grand Being or Humanity, the Grand Fetish or Earth, and the Grand Environment or Space.

It is part of this religion to strive to maintain the systematic commemoration of the past and to point out the successful development which the historical spirit and the feeling of continuity owe to it. From the intellectual point of view (independently of what we still owe to positive philosophy with regard to method) the influence of the cult organized by Auguste Comte is very great, but from the ethical point of view its doctrine cannot have more than an ephemeral success. For a long time yet positivism will be able to dwell within a chapel; it will never be transformed into a Church. Apostles have lived; their age is past; they are the result of a certain moral atmosphere in which faith is supreme. To-day there is no longer enough faith to bring forth an apostle, much less a religion. Because of heredity and the education which still continues along its line, the Christian religion has thrust its roots so deeply into the races of Europe and other countries where Europeans can become acclimated, that it has survived the faith which gave it birth. This is only one case where custom has survived the original motive. But fortified cities and courts of assize have yielded on all sides, and the walls which still stand by the force of inertia will not be able to conceal the approaching ruin of the entire edifice, and the builders of the first hour, those who knew the secret of the cathedral, will not be there to raise it from its ruins.

Christian thought has not been able to realize the perpetuity of dogma, and the laity to-day will have still less chance. Wherever we touch, ideas themselves advance; if we resist them they will bear us with them. No creed will be able to stop their progress. This was Comte's mistake; it was also the mistake of the entire philosophy of the nineteenth century that it should pretend to determine the ultimate term which would rally together the minds of all and would establish them forever in the narrow formula of a scientific dogma.

Nevertheless we must take into account our curiosity and our need of literary emotions. I know some who would never have entered into the religion of Humanity except through Clotilde de Vaux. So great is the power of sentiment and of legend!

CRYPTIC LEGENDS AND THEIR SIGNIFICANCE.

BY C. A. BROWNE.

“Now all these tales and ten thousand others which are even more wonderful originate in a common emotion of the mind.”

Plato, *Politicus*, § 269.

THE discussion in the March number of *The Open Court* upon Mr. Kampmeier's article on “Pious Frauds,”—more particularly the fraud concerning the finding of the ancient “Book of Law” in the temple by the high priest Hilkiah— and the more recent article in the August number by Mr. Lewis upon Joseph Smith, bring up a number of interesting parallels in the religious history of ancient and modern nations. Most truly, as Mr. Lewis observes, “there is a similarity in the announcements of the prophets of new revelations.” The purported discovery of a sacred record which had remained hidden for hundreds of years, was the trick perpetrated by the high priest upon the young and credulous king Josiah, and this same deception we will find has always been one of the strongest devices of the priestly craft, whenever it is desired either to enforce some new law or dispensation or simply to give laws and rites already in existence a more ancient and divine significance.

Plato in the second book of his Republic very plainly alludes to deceptions of this kind when he speaks of “mendicant prophets who go to the doors of the rich and persuade them that they have the power of expiating any crime which they or their fathers had committed.” As evidence of this “they produce a host of books by Musæus and Orpheus, born as they say of the moon and the Muses, according to which they perform their mystic rites, persuading not only private persons, but cities likewise, that there are absolutions and purgations from iniquities by means of sacrifices, and this for the benefit both of the living and of the dead; these rites they call the Mysteries which absolve us from evils in the

other world, but dreadful things they say await those who do not offer sacrifice."

It is especially around these ancient mysteries, whether Grecian, Roman, or Egyptian, that we find such a wealth of what we will term cryptic legends, and this perhaps is not surprising since the leading motive of all these cults consisted in the search and discovery by the novitiate of some hidden law or truth. One of the most interesting and typical of such legends is told by Pausanias in his "Description of Greece," and relates to the re-establishment of the mysteries of the "Great Goddesses" at the refounding of Messene. According to Pausanias (Messinics, chap. 20) the Messenian hero and leader Aristomenes, in the course of the war with Sparta, was persuaded by the oracle that the time for the destruction of Messene was at hand. It happened that "the Messenians possessed something belonging to their secret mysteries which if destroyed would be the eternal ruin of Messene, but if preserved would according to the oracles of Lycus, son of Pandion, be the means of restoring Messene in some future period to her pristine condition. This arcanum Aristomenes carried away as soon as it was night and buried it in the most solitary part of the mountain Ithome, as he was of the opinion that Zeus Ithomatus and the other divinities who had preserved Messene up to that time, would carefully guard the sacred deposit and not suffer the Lacedemonians to take away their only hope of possessing Messene again in some after period of time."

Pausanias was a born romancer and keeps his reader in suspense as to the nature of this sacred deposit through five long chapters in which he describes the destruction of Messene by the Spartans and the scattering of its inhabitants through the cities of Greece and Sicily. At length in Chapter 26 he tells of the restoration of the descendents of the Messenian exiles to their ancient home after an interval of 287 years, and there describes the manner in which the buried arcanum was recovered and what its nature was.

"Epiteles, the son of Aeschynes, whom the Argives chose for their general and the restorer of Messene, was commanded in a dream to dig up that part of the earth on Mount Ithome, which was situated between a yew-tree and a myrtle and take out of a brazen chamber which he would find there, an old woman worn out with her confinement and almost dead. Epiteles, therefore, as soon as it was day went to the place which had been described to him in the dream and dug up a brazen urn. This he immediately took to Epaminondas who, when he had heard the dream, ordered him to

remove the cover and see what it contained. Epiteles, therefore, as soon as he had sacrificed and prayed to the god who had given the dream, opened the urn and found in it thin plates of tin rolled up like a book and in which the mysteries of the "Great Goddesses" were written; and this was the secret which Aristomenes had buried in that place."

Pausanias tells this tale with his characteristic piety; and without suspicion of guile states as his authority for the finding of the buried plates that "it is asserted by certain persons of the family of the priests as may be seen in their writings." It is scarcely necessary to add that the entire tale was fabricated by these priests to give their newly established ceremonials and laws a semblance of greater antiquity and authority.

A most remarkable parallel, even in the minutest details, to the above tale by Pausanias is found in the present age right in our own country in the accounts of the Morman Church concerning the Book of Mormon. The records of this book state that Mormon and his son Moroni, when the remnant of true believers upon this continent, the Nephites, were on the point of being exterminated by the barbarous Lamanites (as the Messinians were in danger from the Spartans), collected the 16 books of records kept by successive kings and priests into one volume, adding a few personal reminiscences of their own. These records were buried by Moroni on the hill Cumorah (as Aristomenes did on Mount Ithome) in the year 420 A. D., he being divinely assured (as was Aristomenes) that the hidden tablets would one day be rediscovered. This great event happened as we know in 1823 A. D., when on the night of September 21 the angel Moroni appeared three times to Joseph Smith and told him where the buried plates were deposited. (As was the case with Epiteles, son of Aeschynes). Smith went to this place four years later, when after a period of probation (compare the sacrifices and prayers of Epiteles) an angel delivered into his charge a stone box in which was a volume of gold plates fastened together with rings (compare the old woman in her underground chamber in the story of Pausanias). These golden plates were inscribed with small writing in "reformed Egyptian," which Smith was enabled to translate by means of the marvelous crystals Urin and Thummim, and which translation now constitutes the Book of Mormon.

A comparison of the stories of the burial and recovery of the mysteries of the "Great Goddesses" and of the Book of Mormon might seem almost to justify one in saying that the founder of the Morman Church had been guilty of plagiarism. Yet we are not

warranted in making this assumption. Smith probably never heard of Pausanias. The priestly mind in all ages has shown itself to be intensely human in its operations and the laws which influence the workings of the human mind, we may say, are as fixed as those which govern the operations of inanimate nature. Under a given set of conditions we may always expect a definite result, so that if the necessities which govern the establishment or existence of a form of religion among an ignorant race of men ever demand it, we may always look for the discovery by the priesthood of a hidden Book of Law, and usually under peculiarly miraculous and mystifying circumstances.

An interesting legend in Roman history, belonging to this class of religious forgeries, relates to the finding of the sacred books of Numa Pompilius. This story is told by Livy, Piso, Varro, Plutarch, Pliny, and other ancient historians, each with minor variations of its own, though in the essential facts all these writers are in complete agreement. The substance of the legend as narrated by Pliny (*Nat. Hist.* XIII. 27) is as follows: "Cassius Hemina, a writer of great antiquity, states in his fourth Book of Annals that Cneius Terentius, the scribe, while engaged in digging on his land on Mount Janiculum came to a coffer in which Numa, the former king of Rome, had been buried, and that in this coffer were found some books of his. This happened in the consulship of Cornelius and Baebius, the interval between whose consulship and the reign of Numa was 535 years. These books were made of paper and a thing most remarkable is the fact that they lasted so many years buried in the ground. Terentius stated that in nearly the middle of the coffer there lay a square stone bound on every side with cords enveloped in wax: upon this stone the books had been placed, and it was through this precaution he thought that they had not rotted. The books too were carefully covered with citrus leaves, and it was through this in his belief that they had been protected from the attack of worms. In these books were written certain doctrines relative to the Pythagorean philosophy. They were burned by Petilius, the prætor, because they treated of philosophical subjects."

Livy gives nearly the same account and states that the books were burned because they were hostile to the religious views of that time. Most of the other ancient historians, however, state that the books were of two kinds, one set in Greek upon the Pythagorean philosophy and the other in Latin upon the decrees of Numa concerning pontifical rights and religious ceremonials. While the Greek

books were burned, the decrees of Numa upon sacerdotal matters were carefully preserved by the pontifices and were the final resort in all matters pertaining to the religious life of ancient Rome.

This story of the finding of Numa's books was credited by all ancient writers, yet it is now recognized to be as mythical as the stories of old Numa himself,—a pious king who held converse with the gods and whose reign of two score years fell in a golden age when the earth was filled with peace and plenty. The decrees ascribed to Numa, excellent treatises as they may have been, were purely a fabrication and may with safety be placed upon the "Index of Pious Frauds."

It is interesting to compare with this story of Numa a cryptic legend which has made its way into the complex ritual of the higher degrees of Freemasonry. This is the so-called "Legend of Enoch," which appears in the thirteenth degree of the Scottish Rite and was introduced early in the eighteenth century by Chevalier Ramsay, who by means of his brilliant scholarship and fertile imagination embellished the symbolism of Masonry in a manner hitherto unknown. The legend is partly made up of material found in the Talmud and in Josephus, and is in substance as follows:

The Patriarch Enoch, who like Numa lived a most peaceful and pious life,—holding communion with angels, teaching men the knowledge of the arts and sciences, and establishing rites of religious worship, became impressed with the wickedness of the world and retired to Mount Moriah, where he was told by the Sacred Presence of the coming deluge and commanded to preserve the knowledge which he had gained to those who should survive the flood. Enoch accordingly built a subterranean temple of nine vaults, in the lowest of which he placed a triangular plate of gold containing in ineffable characters the true name of the Deity. The uppermost arch was closed with a door of stone and so covered that all traces of the opening were concealed. After the deluge all knowledge of this temple and its contents was lost until it was accidentally uncovered during the course of the erection of King Solomon's Temple and the buried secret revealed. (Mackey's *Encyclopædia of Freemasonry*, 1898, p. 254.)

While such a story as the above has but little historical value as a legend, it has an interest in showing how the human mind, whenever it wishes to create an atmosphere of sanctity or mystery, runs inevitably in the same channel.

The search by the newly initiated candidate for some lost truth and its discovery constitute the central point upon which the air

of mystery surrounding the workings of the modern lodge depends, and we find the same running back through the Middle Ages to the mysteries of the ancients. The legend, always of a cryptic character, under guise of which the search is made may be recited or dramatized with the novitiate as a silent or active member of the *dramatis personæ*. This method of instruction, when properly conducted, is a most forcible one and impresses the mind of the neophyte to a far greater degree than could be done by the simple statement of the truth itself. As the Overseer of the Great Institution in Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister* well observes, "when you tell a man at once and straightforward, the purpose of an object, he fancies there is nothing in it. Certain secrets, even if known to every one, men find that they must still reverence by concealment and silence; for this works on modesty and good morals."

Good examples of this method may be seen in the mystery and morality plays of the mediæval age, such for example as "Everyman." "Good Dedes," the only means of salvation which Everyman possesses has long been buried in the ground and her very existence forgotten. At length Everyman discovers her after a painful search and she exclaims,

"Here I lye colde in the grounde
Thy sins hath me sore bounde
That I cannot stere."

The effort of Everyman to uncover Good-Dedes from her place of bondage is the chief episode in this weird yet most tragic piece of early dramatic art.

The same use of the cryptic legend is found in all the ancient mysteries. The exact manner of presenting the legend is unknown to us, yet enough has been written by the Greek historians to show the general plan of its structure. There was always some deity or hero, possessed of attributes most beneficial to the race of men,—as Persephone, Bacchus or Osiris; then there was the disappearance or murder of this personage brought about by some enemy—as Pluto, the Titans, or Typhon. This event was followed by the despairing search for the lost one by some relative or friend—as Demeter or Isis—until finally the drama is brought to a triumphant close by the restoration of the departed to the anxious searchers.

In the case of the legends of these mysteries we have typical examples of solar myths, as was well known to Plutarch and Diodorus who have given us an explanation of their meaning. The loss of the life-giving heat of the sun during the months of winter and its reappearance in spring to the expectant earth are well exem-

plified in each of these legends. But while an astronomical explanation of the myth may have constituted a part of the truths inculcated in the ancient mysteries, the principal lesson which the initiated drew from them was not that of the renovating power of nature but the hope of immortality after death,—a hope which Cicero tells us was truly strengthened among those who had partaken of these mystic rites.

The search for the body of Osiris in the Egyptian mysteries has its parallel in the search for the body of Hiram in Freemasonry. The origin of this legend of Hiram, unlike that of Enoch, is shrouded in mystery; but it is probably only another form of the same archetypal solar myth.¹ The same idea crops up among the Rosicrucians in the story of Christian Rosenkreuz,² whose body was lost and found again after 120 years in a state of perfect preservation.

The discovery of a hidden body to the searchers in the mysteries brings up a number of interesting mediæval legends, which narrate how the bodies of young maidens long buried were uncovered and found free from taint of corruption. The finding of the body of St. Cecilia, whose resting-place in the catacombs of Calixtus was revealed to Pope Paschal in a dream, is an instance of this type of legend. But most interesting of all such myths is the discovery of the body of Julia, daughter of Claudius, which is thus told by Symonds:³

“On the 18th of April 1485 a report circulated in Rome that some Lombard workmen had discovered a Roman sarcophagus while digging in the Appian Way. It was a marble tomb, engraved with the inscription, ‘Julia, Daughter of Claudius,’ and inside the coffer lay the body of a most beautiful girl of 15 years preserved by precious unguents from corruption and the injury of time. The bloom of youth was still upon her cheeks and lips; her eyes and mouth were half open; her long hair floated around her shoulder. She was instantly removed, so goes the legend, to the Capitol, and then began a procession of pilgrims from all the quarters of Rome to gaze upon this saint of the old Pagan world. In the eyes of those enthusiastic worshipers her beauty was beyond imagination or description: she was far fairer than any woman of the modern age could hope to be. At last Innocent VIII feared lest the orthodox faith should suffer by this new cult of a heathen corpse. Julia was

¹ See also article by H. R. Evans, “Egyptian Mysteries and Modern Freemasonry,” *Open Court*, XVII, p. 437.

² Told by J. V. Andreã in his *Fama Fraternalitatis des Ordens des Rosenkreuzcs*, printed in Cassel in 1614.

³ J. A. Symonds. *Renaissance in Italy*, Vol. I, 17.

buried secretly and at night by his direction, and naught remained in the Capitol but her empty marble coffin.

"The tale is told by several writers with slight variations. One says that the girl's hair was yellow, another that it was the glossiest black. What foundation for the legend may really have existed need not here be questioned. Let us rather use the mythus as a parable of the ecstatic devotion which prompted the men of that age to discover a form of unimaginable beauty in the tomb of the classic world."

Many other types of cryptic legends might be enumerated, but enough have been cited to show their peculiar character and significance. They fill the treasure houses of fable in which the minds of men delight to wander and whether it be the story of Gyges and his ring which Plato tells, or that of Aladdin and his lamp in the "Thousand Nights," they are all one and the same,—the discovery of some miraculous object long hidden which brings great good fortune to the finder.

There is nothing which will sooner or more easily enlist our sympathies than the story of some loss and the search for its recovery: and there is no more powerful method of impressing a truth or moral than by a tale of this description. Thus it is that the parables which are loved the most and told oftenest are those of the "Lost Piece of Silver," the "Lost Sheep," and the "Prodigal Son."

And if no more powerful method of impressing a truth or moral exists than this, there is also no more powerful method of promulgating an untruth or a fraud. Stories of the finding of the hidden relics of saints fill the annals of the Christian Church, and the tales of their wonder-working cures have enabled a deceitful priesthood to exert a most pernicious influence over the minds of the ignorant.

We may therefore commend the rule which Plato lays down for the guardians of his Republic when he says: "We must first of all preside over the fable-makers, that the legends which are beautiful and good may be chosen, and those that are otherwise, rejected."

NAPOLEON AND THE POPE.

BY F. W. FITZPATRICK.

LIBERAL, agnostic, almost atheist as Napoleon showed himself, some of his acts proved most conclusively that religion, at least in some of its outer forms, had a strong hold upon him. In that, as in so many other things, he was indeed original and paradoxical. Perhaps his coronation by the Pope at Paris is the best illustration of this. To me, and I believe most people have been similarly impressed in reading that phase of history, it always seemed as if the great Emperor's insistence upon this coronation ceremony was purely to secure its political and spectacular effects. None of the Bourbons had ever been so crowned. The ceremony would be as incense to his vanity and would impress all Christendom. It came to me in the nature of a discovery, a very great surprise that he really attached other importance to that ceremony. I have lately been rummaging among some old papers, copies of state records of France, personal memoirs of Talleyrand, letters of Consalvi, the Papal Secretary of State, and find indubitable evidence that Napoleon believed at heart that the benediction of the Pope and the other forms of ceremony actually rendered his person sacred, an hallucination that he even indulged in at Elba and St. Helena. Without hope of impressing anybody by the statement, for it was made to his own secretary, he expressed great relief when the consecration was over and felt that now would he surely be invincible, for he was truly "an anointed of the Lord."

Spite of these remains of "religious fervor" and the significance he attached to the religious part of the ceremony, his supreme egotism and arrogance did not permit him, however, to treat the Pope's person with even a decent degree of reverence or respect. Pius VII had allowed himself to be persuaded by Cardinal Fesch—that uncle of Napoleon's who had given up the priesthood to become a war department officer and later resumed the frock and

became a cardinal and the Emperor's tool at Rome—that spite of his own convictions, and the opinions of the majority of the Sacred College, his voyage to Paris and part in the coronation ceremonies would be a sound political move and serve to restore peace in those troublous times. But Napoleon's requests that he lend himself to that function were so peremptory, so unfilial that even at the last moment the Pope almost refused to undertake the journey. Consalvi says that these letters were "more in the nature of an imperial order issued to the monarch's chaplain, than a humble prayer addressed by the son of the Church, begging a favor from the Holy Father." None of these letters at all accord with the suggestion made by the Papal Secretary of State that "if it was necessary that the Holy Father should leave Rome to go to Paris, it was absolutely indispensable that the letter of invitation, written by the Emperor, should not merely state that being desirous of receiving his crown at the Holy Father's hands and finding it impossible to go to Rome for the ceremony, His Majesty begged His Holiness to come to Paris for that purpose. It was necessary to add to this reason a religious motive and that motive ought to be placed as of prime importance in the letter and couched in such terms as to appear at least as important a reason as the other. It is essential to find the means of coloring this proposed voyage so as to make it appear good in the eyes of the public and of the other courts." The final summons, nevertheless, merely stated that it was impossible for the Emperor to go to Rome, therefore he "desired" the Pope to proceed at once to Paris.

Naturally, Rome insisted, however, that the form of the ceremony should be the same as that the Church had always used on such occasions, that the Pope should receive proper homage and take precedence in all things, that the Church should receive certain benefices and recognition, etc., etc., to all of which Napoleon acquiesced but not one of which did he finally accord.

Certain traits of smallness about the great Emperor are really most incomprehensible, and he did such things, not carelessly or through ignorance as to what ought to be, but with masterly malice, a studied manner that one would hardly believe possible to a man capable of such flights of fancy, such grand aspirations and who could accomplish great deeds. For instance, instead of coming to the border of his state to meet the Pope and to there render him the homage due his high office and his venerable personality, he arranged the meeting at St. Herem, near Fontainebleau. Every move and effect had been planned. The Emperor was booted and

spurred, in hunting costume, surrounded by huntsmen and dogs, and met the Pontifical cortège as if by accident. Though it was raining and the road was muddy Napoleon permitted the Pope to alight from his carriage and make several steps toward him before he even offered to advance, and then instead of a low obeisance, he merely clasped the pontiff's hand and embraced him as was the custom among relatives and close friends. They drove back together in the Imperial carriage but even the getting into that carriage had been carefully planned. It was of vital importance as to which should get in first. Courtesy was one thing, but precedence, in Napoleon's eyes created something that would thereafter be followed with all monarchs, temporal and spiritual. The driver cleverly manipulated what appeared to be restive horses so that he backed the carriage between these two, and it of course so happened that the Emperor was on the right and the Pope on the left. So were they seated and in that relation did things remain ever after!

The Pontiff from that very first moment realized fully what he surmised to be the case before leaving Rome, but Pius VII was a meek, holy and tactful man and accepted the situation uncomplainingly, still hoping, in his own words, that it would eventually work out to the greater glory of God and the peace among men.

He had so little confidence in the assurance made him by the representatives of France, that before leaving Rome he had even signed his abdication to take effect should the Emperor, for ulterior purposes, seize his person and seek by that means to dictate the policy of Rome. Telling of this act to one of the officers of the Imperial Court he made the impressive statement, "Should the Emperor attempt to control Rome and seize the Shepherd of the flock, Christ's vicar on earth, he would find in his hands only a humble monk, named Barnaby Chiaramonti!"

In conversation, in the every act of their relations, Napoleon showed himself childishly jealous of the Pope. The latter, of course, was immensely popular with the multitude. When he passed through the streets, they knelt and shouted his name and clamored for a benediction. So the Emperor finally arranged that whenever any travel was to be undertaken it should be at night, or in closed carriages that as little was seen of the Pope as possible. It had been arranged that he should say a grand Pontifical mass at Notre Dame on Christmas Day, but that, too, was changed, so that he but officiated in a minor chapel near the palace, and later a stop was made in a journey at Macon rather than at Lyons on Easter, for fear that

the very devout people of the latter city might give him a greater ovation than would be accorded the Emperor.

Only upon one point was the aged Pontiff absolutely set. Napoleon and Josephine had never been married canonically. Theirs was merely a civil marriage. The Pope may have known this but ignored it until Josephine, the day before the coronation, confessed to him and implored him to see to it that they were married properly by the Holy Church. Napoleon stormed, for even then was he lending an attentive ear to his brothers and the other enemies of Josephine, and it is quite certain that he had some idea that sooner or later it would be wise, or pleasant, or necessary to sever the connection. His actions and speech were so vehement even that his own people placed themselves between him and the Pope, fearing he would do the latter bodily injury! But on that one point Pius VII was adamant and, spite of the general impression to the contrary Napoleon and Josephine *were* married the night preceding the coronation, secretly, by Cardinal Fesch, in the chapel of the Tuileries, with Talleyrand and Berthier as witnesses.

Napoleon's retaliation was as spectacular as it was an unprecedented affront. It had been arranged that, as in all similar ceremonies, the Pope should place the crown upon the Emperor's head as the latter knelt before the Grand Altar. This is taken to represent the supremacy of the Church, even in things terrestrial. At the last moment Napoleon stood, not knelt, and suddenly taking the crown from out of the hands of the Pontiff's, turned his back to the latter and to the Altar, faced the multitude, and placed the crown upon his head *himself*!

NAPOLEON AND HENRY IV.

BY THE EDITOR.

CHURCH politics have become of great interest of late on account of several ecclesiastical defeats which, however, the Church stands much better than the secular government of any nation, and bethinking himself of another low ebb of ecclesiastical power, our contributor and friend, Mr. F. W. Fitzpatrick, writes in his usual pointed style most interestingly concerning the relation of Napoleon I to the Pope and the Roman Catholic Church in general. Mr. Fitzpatrick thinks that Napoleon actually possessed in his character a tendency to believe "at heart that the benediction of the Pope and other forms of the coronation actually rendered his person sacred." But it seems that his actions, especially his brutal treatment of the Pope himself, go far to prove the contrary, and (at least so far as I can see) it is quite sufficient to assume that Napoleon wanted the people to believe in the efficacy of religious ceremonies. In order to impress this view upon the imagination of the general public, he frequently and ostentatiously made comments that would make the people think that he himself believed in them.

Who will deny that Napoleon's method was quite effective? He was an upstart without tradition or history, but he was always anxious to make up for it in every way he could. He married the daughter of the oldest dynasty of Europe, a princess of the imperial house of Habsburg-Lothringen, whose reigning emperor had just abdicated the dignity of emperor of the Holy Roman Empire and changed his title to that of Emperor of Austria.

Napoleon wished to pose as the renewer of a universal empire and appear as a successor of both Cæsar and Charlemagne, and for this reason he laid so much stress on an official coronation in which the Pope's benediction should not be missing, but his practical instinct made him avoid the mistakes of the German kings who had been crowned Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire. They had

recognized papacy as the highest spiritual office, and in spite of many quarrels with the popes had always treated them with the respect due to their pontifical dignity which went even so far as the humiliation of Henry IV, who did penance at Mathilda's castle of Canossa before Gregory the Great, and thus humbled himself before the spiritual authority of the Church.

Napoleon endeavored to avoid in the very principle any possible interpretation of the Pope's position as superior, and he used the methods of Petrucchio in "Taming of the Shrew." He applied brutal force and showed an open disrespect which rendered the



HENRY IV AT CANOSSA.

Pope meek and frequently made him actually tremble at the threat of violence. Howsoever we may blame Napoleon for ungentlemanly behavior in this respect, we must confess that the result justified his method. He had all the advantages of the sanction of the Church, and yet no one could say that he received his crown at the hands of the Pope. In the ceremony he had remained master of the situation, and the Pope had appeared in it merely as one of his officials who did his bidding.

The coronation of Napoleon, as painted by Napoleon's famous contemporary, Jacques Louis David, forms a contrast to Henry IV's

submission at Canossa. The ancient dynasty of the Holy Roman Empire of German nationality had received its crown from the hand of the Pope, and it had finally to submit to papal authority, while



J. L. DAVID'S CORONATION OF NAPOLEON.

Napoleon crowned himself and compelled the Pope to give him with his blessing, all the religious sanction the Church could lend him; but in all this he remained the master, and the Pope simply obeyed him.

It is both interesting and instructive to watch the contentions of these two powers, the secular government and the authority of a strong religious institution which sways the consciences of many millions of people. It seems as if we had solved the problem by the principle of an absolute separation of Church and State, as well as religion and politics, but our solution is by no means perfect, and we are now and then confronted with milder and less virulent relapses into the old difficulties.

THE CHANGING CONTENT OF SIN.

BY EDWIN A. RUMBALL.

AS this paper does not design to be a contribution specially to Christian ethics it will be necessary for us at the very outset to say what we mean by the word sin. The definition given by Christian theology is hardly broad enough if, as we intend, consideration is given not only to pre-Christian days, but to times and lands far removed from the divine revelation essential to that theology. True to this theology, Ullman in his *Sinlessness of Jesus*, says that "the idea of sin can only exist where a divine rule of life, and a highest aim of human existence resulting therefrom are recognized."

The primitive consciousness akin to our modern sense of sin very seldom if ever possessed an ethical content, therefore the simple yet broad definition, much in vogue of late, that "sin is selfishness," is excluded. This primitive consciousness is constantly found in connection with animistic notions, particularly tabu; therefore when we speak of sin we must not exclude from our definition these non-ethical elements. The following suggests itself as broad enough for the needs of our subject, Sin is that which is conceived of as tending to sunder man from his ideals. From our modern standpoint many of these ideals may seem unworthy of the name, in some cases they mean nothing more than positive existence, but as to the possessor they form something to be realized, we shall do well to recognize them as such.

A fixed standard whereby to judge the acts of man, however, will prove a barrier to a just appreciation of the primitive sense of sin, and its changing content down the ages. He who maintains that sin is a violation of God's law as given in the Bible must be reminded that there are a few books which reveal the changing content more. The hopelessness of making the Bible our standard of morality often leads us to reduce the sphere of the revelation of

such a standard to Jesus. We are told as Dr. Fairbairn tells us that "the supreme act of revelation is the Incarnation." It is becoming however more and more obvious to us that the portrait of the Gospels partakes of the ideals of ardent admirers and that while Jesus may have been a grand test for morality in A. D. 30, and even to-day becomes in his idealized form a test that yet allows some of us to say, "We test our lives by Thine," we do not see reason for thinking that his life shall always decide whether we are sinners or not in certain acts and dispositions. "The man has never lived who can feed us ever."

The failure of the so-called standards of morality to give us the key to the consciousness of sin imposes on us the task of showing some justification for thinking that the sense or consciousness of sin does not arise from objective standards but from subjective notions of right and wrong. We shall find that because of this subjective estimation sin has had a varying content in different periods, different lands and different individuals. In the estimation of character we shall see that sin must be judged as such, more from the consciousness of the sinner in regard to it, than by its appearance to society. Writing of this distinction between the subjective and objective value of life, we are reminded that Professor Deussen in his recently translated *Philosophy of the Upanishads* has hinted that this distinction is not only ethical but geographical. In contrast with the Hindus, he tells us that "Europeans, practical and shrewd as they are, are wont to estimate the merits of an action above all by its objective worth. . . . He who has obtained the greatest results by this standard passes for the greatest man of his time, and the widow's mite is never anything more than a mite." Judging otherwise, we hold that a man is a sinner not because *we* think he sins, but because *he* knows that his life is sinful.

As we have already hinted, the primitive consciousness of sin was devoid of all morality in our modern use of this term. Most writers on early religions and primitive culture recognize this fact. Professor Smith in his *Religion of the Semites*, says that "while it is not easy to fix the exact idea of holiness in ancient Semitic religion, it is quite certain that it had nothing to do with morality or purity of life." In another place he adds, that there was no "abiding sense of sin or unworthiness, or acts of worship expressing the struggle after an unattained righteousness, the longing for uncertain forgiveness. . . . Men were satisfied with the gods and they felt the gods were satisfied with them."

The mistake must not be made, which is yet sometimes made

by those unacquainted with primitive religious ideas, that the awful sacrifices and asceticism of primitive devotees form a witness to the existence of our modern sense of sin. These horrors were seldom conceived of as appeasing the god but most often were used as a means of establishing the blood-bond of communion with the god; even fasting was only a physical preparation for eating the sacred flesh. De la Saussaye in his *Manual of the Science of Religion*, has said that not only in "Israelitic and Christian but in Indian, Persian and Assyrian prayers the consciousness of sin is expressed." These early prayers like the sacrifices have often been appealed to as providing evidence of the sense of sin. It is true it is there, but the content is something very different from what we understand by it to-day. For instance in the Vedic hymns we have the following:

"Through want of strength, Thou Strong, Bright God have I gone astray."

and

"Agni, drive away from us, sin, which leads us astray."

When we read, however, the following:

"From the sins which knowingly and *unknowingly* we have committed,
Do ye, all Gods, of one accord, release us."

we suspect at once that we are dealing with a non-ethical stage in the evolution of the idea of sin.

Tabu seems to have been intimately connected with the primitive sense of sin. It was so non-ethical that from our modern point of view it could be both holy and unclean. That which to us now forms a strong contrast then existed in a mysterious unity. The Greek *αγ* and the Latin *sacer* provide us with words meaning holiness and also pollution. The dictionaries of such languages as that of New Zealand or Polynesia define *tabu* or *tapu* quite in harmony with the equivocal nature of the Greek and Latin roots. The words are defined as meaning "spiritual, sacred, consecrated, wonderful, incomprehensible, mysterious, uncanny, weird." They are applied by the savage equally to a woman in child-birth and to the missionary and his Bible. The primitive sinner may be either the murderer, his victim, the man who buries the victim or even those who mourn for him, they are all "tabu." It is as Dr. Fraser has expressed it in his *Golden Bough*, "The odor of sanctity and the stench of corruption alike provide the savage with sin."

Another instance is seen in the Hebrew root¹ of the words

¹ קדש (cf. *kadesh* and *kadosh*) W. R. Smith *Prophets of Israel*, p. 225, also *Enc. Biblica*, vol. i, col. 836. See also an instructive article on "Chastity and Phallic Worship," which touches on this subject—*Open Court*, Vol. XVII, p. 614.

signifying "holy" and "harlot." This root according to Robertson Smith stood for "every distinctive character of Godhead." He adds in another place that "if the Arabic commentaries on the Koran are to be believed, the etymological idea is that of distance or separation." In other words, it is but another instance of *tabu*.

It may be felt by some that the penalties for such imaginary transgressions not appearing, the consciousness in regard to them would soon pass away. The evidence however is overwhelming to show to the savage that the penalties do appear. The fear and horror of having contracted the mysterious indignation of spirits and being tabued, works so powerfully on the imagination of the victims that as one New Zealand writer expresses it, "the victims die under it as though their strength ran out like water."

While it is true that the sundering element between man and his ideal in the past was tabu, its non-ethical mysterious content invested it with those powers necessary for atonement. Blood, which above all else was tabued, could bring defilement and also cleanse. Instances are too numerous to quote, survivals of the idea yet exist in the terminology of systems that have long discarded the original significance.

It will not be out of place to notice at this point the nature of Paul's consciousness of the content of sin. It is impossible to ignore it because it seems to possess elements of the animistic period we have just noticed. The writer is indebted to Pfeleiderer's *Primitive Christianity*, for the pointing out of this fact. Paul conceives of sin as having its home in the flesh; the flesh is "the seat of an active God-opposing principle." This is the source of sinful acts. At times this principle seems to receive personification, it is thought of as an independent entity, "an active subject to which all manner of predicates can be attached." It came into the world, it is a tyrant to whom man is sold, it gives its slaves the wages of death; it is a demon spirit. The deadly miasma of this demon within Paul gives him his justification for such phrases as "the body of death," "the flesh lusteth against the spirit," "walking after the flesh." Like Seneca and Epictetus, Paul inherits the popular animistic notions of his age and thus it is natural for him like others to reckon "the contempt of the body" to be "the soul's true freedom."

As a logical consequence of these notions sin became something we could transfer to another. Having very little to do with the will it could fulfil its own pleasure or do the bidding of another. To these beliefs belong the scapegoat custom and the "catching" of sin by physical contact. Sin was contagious. In the Zendavesta, touch-

ing a corpse is called sin. Among the Narringeri of South Australia, the sorcerer lays his charm in the bosom of a dead body in order that it may derive a deadly potency by contact with corruption. To this stage also belong accidental sins, the sins which the book of Leviticus says are done "unwittingly"; and doubtless, the origin of that early Christian dogma of the perpetuation of sin through physical connection with Adam, could be traced to ideas that we have already mentioned.

The passing from the animistic to the ethical ideas of sin can seldom if ever be clearly traced. The higher concept only comes gradually, and often we find the old and the new existing side by side in the minds of men. Dr. Farnell in his Hibbert Lectures has drawn attention at one point to the fact that while Mazdaism is full of ritualism the spiritual concept of a pure heart has an important place. God says to the prophet, "Purity is for man, next to life, the highest good: that purity, O Zarathustra, that is in the religion of Mazda for him who cleanses himself with good thoughts, words and deeds." Darneester has thrown some doubt on the ethical content of these words, but, while not granting the truth of the doubt, it can be seen at least how they provide a natural transition from ritualism to spiritual life. An instance of the confusion of both notions may be the following from the Vasishtha-Darmasastra, "The body is purified by water, the internal organ by truth, the soul by sacred learning and austerities, the understanding by knowledge." Delitzsch tells of a Babylonian magus, who, having been called in to a patient, seeks to know what sins have thus thrown him on a sick-bed. He does not stop short at such sins as theft and murder, but asks, "Have you failed to clothe a naked person or to cause a prisoner to see the light?" Here side by side we perceive the old notion that sickness is the result of sin and the high ethical concepts of certain sins of omission.

Somewhat akin to the double consciousness of sin that we have just noticed as characteristic of the transitional periods, is the Oriental sense of sin so prominent in Hinduism. In this consciousness sin and evil are synonymous. This may be best illustrated by giving the following list of sins from the Upanishads: "Theft, drinking of spirits, adultery, killing a Brahmin" (Khand. 5. 10 9.); "miserliness, ignorance" (Kh. 10. 7); "lying, disrespect for parents and friends, bewilderment, fear, grief, sleep, sloth, carelessness, decay, sorrow, hunger, thirst, niggardliness, wrath, infidelity, envy, cruelty, folly, shamelessness, meanness, pride, changeability" (Tait. 1. 11. 2). Here it is evident that the evils of existence form the

content of the Hindu consciousness of sin. There the sense of sin is the sense of this life; necessarily therefore, salvation, which is the losing of sin and consciousness of it, with them means the negation of all sensuous experience. "Man," says Hegel, "so long as he persists in remaining in his own consciousness, is according to the Hindu idea, ungodly."

The content of the consciousness of sin often in the past changed for geographical reasons. Goodness and sinfulness were dependent on tribal boundaries. It was possible for a man to be a saint in one land but a sinner in another. Baudhâyana (I. 2. 1-8) speaks of certain customs which while legitimate in the South of India, make a person a sinner if practiced in the North. Robertson Smith has also pointed out that among the Semites, "a man is held answerable to his god for wrong done to a member of his own kindred or political community, but he may deceive, rob or kill an alien without offence to religion." It would seem that the present more cosmopolitan sense of sin is the result of the division which has taken place in the minds of men, between religion and the nation. As soon as the multitude of priests, which each nation kept to deal with its sins, were thrown into each other's company, by the breaking down of tribal and national barriers, they found their work confusing, so confusing that only the coming of prophets to take their place, gave any hope of understanding clearly again the meaning of right and wrong.

The sense of sin is, as Mr. A. C. Benson has hinted in one of his best essays, "in a certain degree an artificial sense." It changes as man changes, he was a sinner once who cared for the sick and dying, now he is a saint. Only a madman would have done Father Damien's work in the days of early man. It changes as custom changes, a prostitute was once a sacred person, with holy work, now one hesitates to write the word for the sad dark sin for which it stands.

That which we have observed to be true of the past will be true of the future. Much that we are conscious of as sin now, will then produce an opposite consciousness; much that we now do without reproach will then produce a condemning conscience. H. G. Wells in his essay on "The New Republic" promises us a scientific reconstruction of our ethics, and says that "the most loathsome of all conceivable sins" in the future will be the encouraging of the survival of the unfit. He anticipates that a certain portion of the population will exist only on sufferance on the understanding that they do not propagate themselves. He adds, "I do not foresee any reason to

suppose that they will hesitate to kill when that sufferance is abused." In those days the criminal who pleads insanity as a reason for mercy, will find it judged as only an added reason for death. This may provide some future writer on the changing content of sin with a good illustration that whereas in the twentieth century it was a sin to kill "a poor fellow" who was not responsible for the blood he had shed, now it is a sin to let him live.

This paper may well be closed with "the eternal years which are ours for growth." The seers of mankind have assured us that in those eternal years "there will be no more sin"; and every one of us who have the least conviction of the reality of the Unseen, agree that the former things will pass away, and with them what we *now* call sin. Growth however is inconceivable without a passing on to something as yet not realized and away from that which is realized. If a Heraclitus taught there is no Being without Becoming, the sinner then as now will be he who tries to evade this law, who, instead of passing on with the moving All to the perfection which is not Being but Becoming, lives for Being, for the present, for self.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

OUTLINES OF MAHĀYĀNA BUDDHISM. By *Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki*. London: Luzac & Co., 1907. Pp. xii, 420. Price, 8s. 6d.

"The object of this book," the author says in his preface, "is twofold: (1) To refute the many wrong opinions which are entertained by Western critics concerning the fundamental teachings of Mahāyāna Buddhism, (2) To awaken interest among scholars of comparative religion in the development of the religious sentiment and faith as exemplified by the growth of one of the most powerful spiritual forces in the world."

From this it is apparent that the author does not intend to treat the subject as a dead faith whose existence is in history. According to him, the Mahāyāna Buddhism is a system of living faith governing millions of souls in the far East. And he tries in these *Outlines* to explain its leading tenets through numerous quotations culled from various Mahāyāna texts, which mostly exist in Chinese translations and are therefore more or less inaccessible to Western scholars of Buddhism.

Mr. Suzuki is not, however, polemic in his protest against the Western interpretation of Mahāyānism. His method is historical, and this is what makes his book the more valuable to students who are interested in Buddhism, not only as a religion most powerful in the East, but as throwing considerable light on the development of our religious consciousness.

While full of significance and inspiring thoughts, Mahāyānism has been considered by some scholars rather a degenerated form of primitive Buddhism, and, therefore, not worth so much laborious investigation as the latter. But our author vigorously protests against this, for he says that Mahāyānism "is an ever-growing faith and ready in all times to cast off its old garments as soon as they are worn out." (P. 15.) He insists on having this school of Buddhism treated as an organism endowed with considerable vitality and power of assimilation. He does not wish to see Mahāyānism shelved in an obscure corner of the general Buddhist library as hitherto done by European scholars. Mr. Suzuki is not satisfied with the work done by Edkins, Beal, Wassiljew, Nanjo, etc.

The book is divided into three main parts: (1) Introductory, (2) Speculative Mahāyānism, (3) Practical Mahāyānism.

In the introductory part, Mr. Suzuki treats of the two principal schools of Buddhism: Mahāyānism and Hinayānism, and characterizes in general what constitutes the essentials of Buddhism and then specifically and historically those of Mahāyānism as distinguished from the other school or schools.

In this last chapter, the Mahâyâna Buddhism as conceived by Sthiramati, and Asanga, and the Yogacârin is expounded.

Speculative Mahâyânism is considered in Chapter III, Practice and Speculation; IV, Classification of Knowledge; V, Bhûtatahâtâ (Suchness); VI, The Tathâgata-Garbha and the Alaya-vijñâna; VII, The Theory of Non-ego; VIII, Karma. From Chapters IX to XIII, the Dharmakâya, the Doctrine of Trikaya, the Bodhisattva, the Ten Stages of Bodhisattvahood, and Nirvana are more or less systematically treated.

The book has an appendix consisting of Mahâyâna hymns taken from various texts in Chinese translation, among which there are many striking ones, deeply religious and yet quite philosophic.

According to Mr. Suzuki, the central idea of Mahâyâna Buddhism is the Dharmakâya as constituting the essence, life, truth, and goodness of this universe. The conception of Dharmakâya is highly pantheistic, but the Mahâyânists believe in the progressive realization of ethical ideas, which saves them from nihilism as well as from the doctrine of *laissez faire* or non-resistance.

Mahâyâna Buddhism has developed chiefly with Nâgârjuna and Asanga in India. In China it branched off into many minor schools among which we may mention T'ien Tai (Tendai in Japanese), Hua Yuen (Kegon), San Lun (sanlon), etc. In Japan it has produced a sect called Shin Shu whose teachings remind us in many respects of the Christian doctrine of salvation. Every one of them is full of interest when systematically studied, showing how similarly develops religious consciousness under similar conditions all the world over. It is most desirable that our author with his extensive knowledge of Chinese Buddhist lore will some day give us a systematic survey of all those Mahâyâna sects.

It goes without saying that this book on Mahâyânism being the first of the kind is most valuable to students of Eastern religions and scholars of human thought in general. Especially to those who have known Buddhism only through Western writers, this book is indispensable, as throwing light on the Mahâyâna Buddhist thoughts not yet quite known to them and on the spiritual nourishment of Oriental peoples whose inner life is supposed to be hidden from Occidentals.

DIE RELIGION. Einführung in ihre Entwicklungsgeschichte. Von C. Schaarschmidt. Leipsic: Dürr, 1907. Pp. 252. Price, 4.40 m.

Professor Schaarschmidt of Bonn is well known for his critical work on Descartes, Spinoza, and Leibnitz, and writes this new book on the history and philosophy of religion from the point of view of a liberal Protestant Christian who is well versed in historical facts and scientific methods. The book is divided into two parts: the first or preparatory part in which the author deals with the origin and concept of religion, giving a valuable anthropological and ethnographical introduction. Part II treats of the development of religions from naturalism to spiritualism, and, in the latter, from polytheism and a limited monotheism to the universal monotheism of Christianity. The Appendix gives a comparison of many tenets of Christianity and Buddhism, pointing out with care in each case, however, the supremacy of Christianity in the author's opinion.

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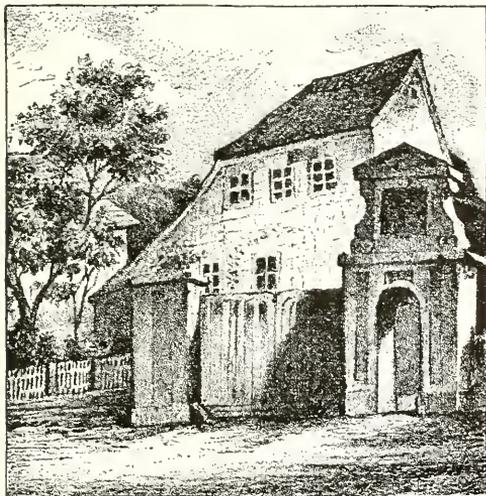
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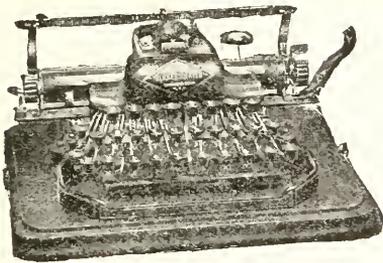
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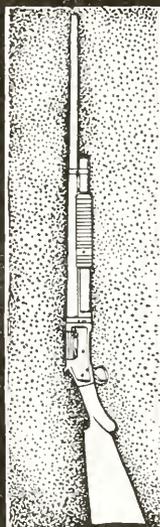
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Any reader who possesses a slight knowledge of mathematics may derive from these essays a very adequate idea of the abstruse yet important researches of meta-geometry.

The Vocation of Man. By Johann Gottlieb Fichte. Translated by William Smith, LL. D. Reprint Edition. With biographical introduction by E. Ritchie, Ph. D. 1906. Pp. 185. Cloth, 75c net. Paper, 25c; mailed, 31c. (1s. 6d.)

Everyone familiar with the history of German Philosophy recognizes the importance of Fichte's position in its development. His idealism was the best exposition of the logical outcome of Kant's system in one of its principal aspects, while it was also the natural precursor of Hegel's philosophy. But the intrinsic value of Fichte's writings have too often been overlooked. His lofty ethical tone, the keenness of his mental vision and the purity of his style render his works a stimulus and a source of satisfaction to every intelligent reader. Of all his many books, that best adapted to excite an interest in his philosophic thought is the *Vocation of Man*, which contains many of his most fruitful ideas and is an excellent example of the spirit and method of his teaching.

The Rise of Man. A Sketch of the Origin of the Human Race.

By Paul Carus. Illustrated. 1906. Pp. 100. Boards, cloth back, 75c net. (3s. 6d. net.)

Paul Carus, the author of *The Rise of Man*, a new book along anthropological lines, upholds the divinity of man from the standpoint of evolution. He discusses the anthropoid apes, the relics of primitive man, especially the Neanderthal man and the ape-man of DuBois, and concludes with a protest against Huxley, claiming that man has risen to a higher level not by cunning and ferocity, but on the contrary by virtue of his nobler qualities.

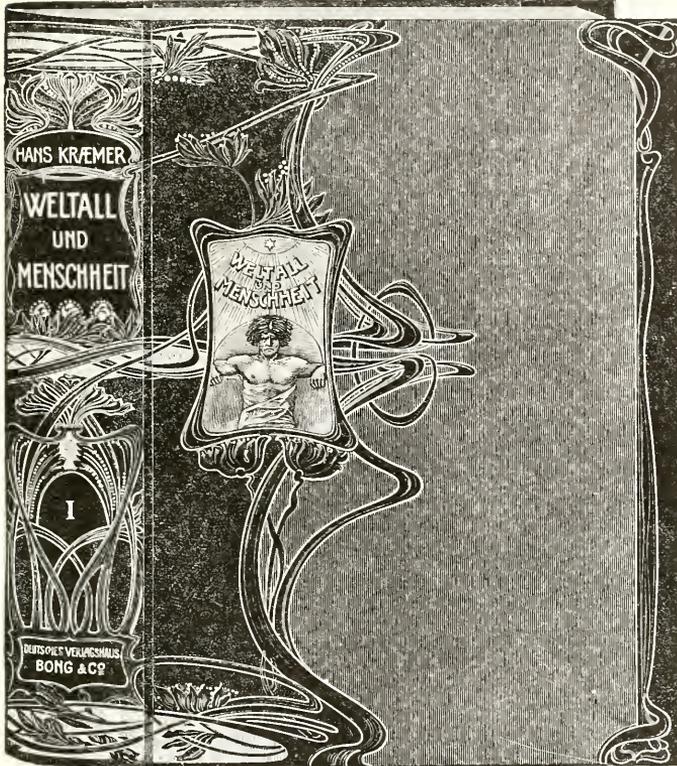
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"The Avesta in no sense depends upon the Jewish Greeks. On the contrary, it was Philo who was in debt to it. He drank in his Iranian lore from the pages of his exilic Bible, or from the Bible-books which were then as yet detached, and which not only recorded Iranian edicts by Persian Kings, but were themselves half made up of Jewish-Persian history. Surely it is singular that so many of us who 'search the scriptures' should be unwilling to see the first facts which stare at us from its lines. The religion of those Persians, which saved our own from an absorption (in the Babylonian), is portrayed in full and brilliant colors in the Books of the Avesta, because the Avesta is only the expansion of the Religion of the sculptured edicts as modified. The very by-words, as we shall later see, are strikingly the same, and these inscriptions are those of the very men who wrote the Bible passages. This religion of the Restorers was beyond all question historically the first consistent form in which our own Eschatology appeared" (pt. i. pp. 206-207).

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