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FRANCESCO CRISPI

1819–1901

Frontispiece to The Open Court

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CARNERI, THE ETHICIST OF DARWINISM.

BY THE EDITOR.

AUSTRIA is a land of political dissensions, and its factions are divided by national not less than religious strifes. There are not only the Germans, the Hungarians, the Chechs, the Siebenbürgen Saxons, the Poles, the Servians, the Italians, but also the Roman Catholics, the Protestants, the Jews, the Greek Catholics, the unchurched, and large numbers of religiously indifferent or even fanatically antireligious and irreligious people. No one knows what the final destiny of the empire will be, and its history since the days of the Austro-Prussian war has been the most intricate play of contrary contentions, rendering it almost impossible to outsiders to form any opinion on the merits of the aims and aspirations of the contending parties. Among all this hopeless confusion of political turmoil Chevalier Carneri lived and did his best to fight the battle of justice without expectation of personal gain or party interest, but solely on behalf of a conservative progress along the lines of a scientific and rational conception of life; and now, approaching as he is on the third day of the present month his eightieth birthday, his countrymen and the friends of liberal thought have united in doing him honor by making the anniversary of the psalmist's four score years as man's greatest share of life, a day of rejoicing and congratulation. We join them in extending our sympathies to the noble octogenarian and in wishing that the evening of his life may be bright and cloudless like a glorious sunset, or like a harvest festival after the completion of a fruitful and prosperous year.

Bartholomew von Carneri, the descendent of an Italian aristocratic family with the title Chevalier or *Ritter*, is one of the pioneers

of the new world conception which dawned upon mankind when the comprehension of the law of evolution spread and affected both religion and philosophy. Carneri was one of the very first authors who grasped at once the moral significance of Darwinism, giving a clear and prophetic expression to his faith in his first great work *Sittlichkeit und Darwinismus, drei Bücher Ethik*, which continued to form the programme of his literary and political career. Prior

BARTHOLOMÄUS VON CARNERI.

publications (such as *Modernes Faustrecht, Neu-Oesterreich, Demokratie, Nationalität und Napoleonismus, Pflug und Schwert*) breathe the same spirit and find their explanation and philosophical basis in his greater work, where he attacks the problem of ethics for the first time in its general and broadest significance. He followed up the solution of the moral problem in subsequent books discussing some of its phases and considerations, all of which received

due attention in the philosophical and scientific circles of Germany, bringing him into intimate relation with the foremost spirits of the age, all of whom cherish a high regard for the ethical teacher of the new world-conception which is based upon the unprecedented progress of the natural sciences. Carneri's later writings are *Gefühl, Bewusstsein und Wille; Der Mensch als Selbstzweck; Grundlegung der Ethik; Entwickelung und Glückseligkeit; Der moderne Mensch*; *Empfindung und Bewusstsein, monistische Bedenken*, and finally *Sechs Gesänge aus Dante's göttlicher Comödie*. To produce a good translation of the famous Italian poet, free from the harshness of the old versions, has been Carneri's ambition in his later years, and he is still engaged in the work.

Carneri's writings are serene and pervaded by a sentiment of harmony which is apt to make one believe that his lot in life must have been an extraordinarily happy one; and so it was. His spirit is as clear as a bright autumn morning; yet the materials out of which he built his life are not at all those of a man that has been favored by birth, talents, health, and other good conditions. Carneri's lot is wanting in the most essential element needed for happiness and serenity—viz., health. He was born a cripple and most of his days have been passed in great sufferings caused through physical pain. He had no joyous childhood, and the favors sometimes bestowed upon mortals by Fortune were in his case scanty enough, his inherited title being of little use to him under the circumstances; in fact he was not the man to take any pride in such externalities.

Carneri's life is a moral lesson worthy to be noted and appreciated. Having given up his belief in a heaven above us, he grasped the ideals of the living present and insisted upon man's moral duty of building a heaven here upon earth, in seeking a happiness based upon moral endeavor. And he clung to his conviction in spite of the continued and increased sufferings of his fate. He was married and then the sunshine of a paradise was a real presence with him for a few years when death separated him from his wife and left him a lonely widower with the care of his children and nothing else save the sweet recollection of the happy past and the melancholy contemplation of what his life might have been. Carneri bore his fate with fortitude and succeeded in his active career in setting an example to others; proving to them that in spite of great accidents and sufferings we can be happy, and it is our duty to spread the sunshine of happiness.

Carneri took an active part in the political life of his country,

and here, too, he remained faithful to his convictions, and though his struggles sometimes seemed hopeless, the figure of the courageous Chevalier with a strong mind but a weak and disabled body is one of the redeeming features of modern Austrian politics.

When the writer last year while on a tour through Europe passed through Austria he could not forbear visiting the venerable Chevalier in his home at Marburg on the Dur in the mountains of Styria. He found the hermit philosopher, though weak in body, in comparatively good health and cheerful—more so than many who have better reasons to be so.

[1] The photograph which accompanies this sketch is the only portrait that can be obtained, was taken about twenty years ago when Carneri was still in the prime of life.

FRANCESCO CRISPI.

BY THE EDITOR.

FRANCESCO CRISPI, one of the greatest Italian statesmen and an important factor in the unification of his country, would have completed in the present month, viz., on October 4th, his 82nd year; but he died almost two months ago, on August 11th. He was born at Ribera de Girgenti, Sicily, and thus it is probable that he was of Greek extraction. He studied law in Palermo and Naples, and became a lawyer. In Naples he belonged to the revolutionary committee, and took an active part in the revolution of 1848. He was a frequent contributor to the ultra-radical magazine, *L'Apostolato*. When in 1849 the revolution was suppressed, many of the revolutionists were granted an amnesty; he, however, was excluded and had to flee for his life, taking up his residence successively in Marseilles, Turin, Malta, Paris, and London. Being an ardent adherent of Mazzini, he opposed the policy of the government of Turin, and was in consequence banished by Cavour.

In 1859, Crispi returned to Sicily, and became the leader of the party of action, in which rôle he succeeded in inducing Garibaldi to carry out in company with Bixio and Bertani his famous raid in May, 1860. Having taken possession of the island, Crispi was made dictator, and now he surprised the world by issuing a plebiscite in favor of uniting Sicily to the kingdom of Italy. Crispi had learned to see the difficulties of establishing a democratic government, and being convinced above all of the necessity of national unity, he saw the realisation of his favorite plans in supporting a constitutional government, which on the one hand would procure national unity and on the other guarantee sufficient liberty for the citizens by a liberal constitution.

Crispi was chosen deputy in 1861, and his oratory, readiness, and grasp of the situation soon made him a prominent member of

the left wing of the House. In 1865, he justified the change in his political convictions in a pamphlet entitled: *Repubblica e Monarchia*, in which he insisted upon the necessity of national unity, and claimed that republican principles of government tend to division, but a monarchy will unite. In this way, he became the leader of the constitutional party, and when this faction grew in adherents Crispi became president of the House of Deputies. In 1877, he travelled through Europe, meeting Prince Bismarck in Gastein and visiting him again in Berlin. Thenceforth, he remained an admirer and supporter of Bismarck's policy, being convinced of the advisability of Italy's joining Germany and Austria in their efforts to maintain the peace of Europe. In 1877, he was made a member of the ministry Depretis, which position he gave up temporarily when implicated in an accusation of bigamy; but after his justification, he was re-established.

When Depretis died, Crispi was deemed his worthy successor. An attack on his life, which failed, only served to make him extremely popular all over Italy. In 1891, his adversaries succeeded in passing a vote of censure; he resigned and Rudini took his place; but the latter was soon succeeded by Giolitti. When in 1893 Giolitti too appeared incapable of holding the reins of government, the hope of all rested on Crispi as the only one capable of restoring civil peace. In December, 1893, he formed the new ministry, reformed the finances, suppressed socialistic revolts in Sicily and in Massa e Carrara. He escaped another attack on his life, which again served to show the strength of the sympathy of the people; and when his adversaries accused him of being implicated in bribery cases and corruption, he was not only exonerated, but received a vote of confidence in the House of Deputies, June 25, 1895. His ship of state foundered, however, when General Baratieri was beaten by Adua. He resigned, never again to become the leader of the destiny of his nation. He remained, however, a member of the Chamber of Deputies to the end of his life.

It is true that some of his enemies never ceased to suspect his integrity, but we ought to bear in mind that Italian politicians are bitter toward their antagonists, and the truth remains that Crispi has been one of the greatest, most influential, and sincerest of modern Italians.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF CRISPI.

BY SIGNOR RAQUENI.[1]

FRANCESCO CRISPI, who has just disappeared forever from this world's stage, I knew in Florence, in 1867, at the moment when the cry, "Rome or death," was echoing from one end of the peninsula to the other, and was the devise of the aggressive Garibaldian party, which had taken a solemn oath to free Rome from papal domination. Crispi was then member of our committee at Florence, for the moment the temporary capital of Italy, which committee was made up of revolutionists collected from all Italian parties and eager to fight under the orders of Garibaldi. It was Crispi himself who brought me into the service and sent me to Terni where was being organised the brigade of the Hungarian Frigyesi, which participated in the fights at Monterando and Mentona. At the latter place our four thousand Garibaldians were crushed by the twelve thousand French whom Napoleon III. had sent to the succor of the Pope. From that moment Crispi never ceased to hate France and the Vatican.

When, at the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war, Victor Emmanuel wished, in return for what France did for Italy at Magenta and Solferino, to send one hundred thousand men to the aid of Napoleon III., Crispi convinced the king that by so doing he would endanger his crown, for, he declared, Italy would rise to a man against such a policy. I have this historic fact from the very highest authority.

It was also Crispi who, after the Sedan disaster, pushed the then Italian ministry, to occupy Rome by force, in spite of the expressed disapproval of the crumbling Second Empire. Crispi was

[1] Signor Raqueni is a well-known Italian publicist residing in Paris, where he is the founder and Honorary Secretary of the Franco-Italian League, whose chief aim is to draw more closely together France and Italy. During the long struggle for Italian unity Signor Raqueni was an ardent "Garibaldian," and risked his life in the patriotic cause more than once.—ED.

then a brilliant journalist and in his powerful organ, *La Riforma*, carried on a violent editorial campaign against the policy of the moderate Italian party who hesitated to take advantage of the circumstances to complete the unification of Italy, and thus crown the work of Cavour, Victor Emmanuel, Garibaldi, and Mazzini. At that time the whole Italian democracy shared Crispi's feelings.

But when the Napoleonic Empire had fallen and the Third Republic had risen on its ruins, the democracy of Italy became Francophile, while Crispi remained Francophobe. Garibaldi offered his own life and that of his sons in defence of France against the invading Germans, generously forgetting Mentona. But Crispi could not and would not forget.

I had a long conversation with Crispi on this point in 1871 at Rome where I found him living in a plain hotel. Referring to Garibaldi's taking of arms for France at this moment, he said to me: "He would have done better if he remained at Caprera. I am not an enemy of France. I regret her misfortunes, but she brought them upon her own head. She should not have interfered in German affairs. They did not concern her. The fall of the Empire was a benefit to France and Italy. If Napoleon had won, Italy would not have obtained her historic capital and France would have fallen under the yoke of a despot. Italy has been free and independent only since the disaster of 1870. Until then, she was little else than a French Department. All our ministers had to be acceptable to the Tuilleries. Nothing was done without the consent of the Emperor who was our real master. The French Republicans ought to thank Prussia for having rid them of the Empire. Unfortunately they are *chauvins*. They will not abandon the *revanche* which is their dream. If, after Sedan, republican France had proposed a general disarmament, she would have rendered a good service to the cause of peace and civilisation."

Signor Bovio, the distinguished professor of Naples University, Deputy and one of the leaders of the Republican Party in Italy, told me recently how the threatened war was prevented between France and Italy, while Crispi was Prime Minister, apropos of a violation of the French Consulate at Florence. It well illustrates Crispi's tendency to exaggerate the importance of the Triple Alliance by giving it an aggressive character. Bovio said to me:

"As was his custom, Crispi, on this occasion, consulted Bismarck, of whose friendship he was so proud. The Iron Chancellor who at bottom did not like the ex-revolutionist, although the latter had become more conservative than he himself, sent him these

words by telegraph: '*Non est casus fœderis*,' which meant that this was not a case in which the treaty of the Triple Alliance called for German support of Italy. This caused Crispi to pull in his horns, and the trivial matter was arranged in a friendly manner."

In 1895 I had another interview with Crispi who said to me:

"I do not hate France as I am wrongfully represented as doing. I have always regarded a war between France and Italy as fratricide, but I wish Italy to be held in esteem and the treaties between us strictly observed. Furthermore, Italy, backed by her allies, can compel the keeping of the peace. I have been," he continued, "the friend of Gambetta and other French Republican leaders."

But he forgot to add that when he went over to Bismarck bag and baggage, he ceased to be their friend, and from that moment to the day of his death was rightfully classed among the enemies of France.

The terrible Italian defeat in Abyssinia a few years ago drove Crispi from power, and he never afterwards succeeded in becoming Prime Minister. General Baratieri who died just a few days before Crispi, and who was one of the bravest and most brilliant of Garibaldi's officers, commanding the Italian forces on that lamentable occasion, said to me on this subject, when he came to Paris last year to visit the Exposition:

"Crispi expected me to bring him to Rome as prisoner Menelik. If my orders had been obeyed, I would have won the day at Adana notwithstanding the inadequate strength of my army. Rest assured that history will severely condemn Crispi for the unjust accusations and absurd calumnies which he has heaped on my head apropos of this disaster. He always sought to make me the scapegoat of his political shortcomings."

Francesco Crispi, who did so much harm to his country during the last years of his political career, would have left a fine mark on history if he had died after the success of the Sicilian uprising, of which he was one of the heroes and which had such a powerful influence on Italian unity; or after Victor Emmanuel had entered Rome, to the accomplishment of which he had so powerfully contributed.

THE LEGENDS OF GENESIS.

BY H. GUNKEL.

[CONCLUDED.]

V. JAHVIST, ELOHIST, JEHOVIST, THE LATER COLLECTIONS.

THE collecting of legends began even in the state of oral tradition. In the preceding pages (*Open Court* for September, p. 526) we have shown how individual stories first attracted one another and greater complexes of legends were formed. Connecting portions were also composed by these collectors, such, notably, as the story of the birth of the sons of Jacob, which is not at all a popular legend but the invention of older story-tellers, and must have been in existence even before the work of J and E. And there are further additions, such as the note that Jacob bought a field at Shechem, and other similar matters. Those who first wrote down the legends continued this process of collection. The writing down of the popular traditions probably took place at a period which was generally disposed to authorship and when there was a fear that the oral traditions might die out if they were not reduced to writing. We may venture to conjecture that the guild of story-tellers had ceased to exist at that time, for reasons unknown to us. And in its turn the reduction to writing probably contributed to kill out the remaining remnants of oral tradition, just as the written law destroyed the institution of the priestly Thora, and the New Testament canon the primitive Christian Pneumatics.

The collection of the legends in writing was not done by one hand or at one period, but in the course of a very long process by several or many hands. We distinguish two stages in this process: the older, to which we owe the collections of the Jahvist designated by (J) and the Elohist designated by (E), and then a

later, thorough revision in what is known as the Priestly Codex (P). In the preceding pages as a rule only those legends have been used which we attribute to J and E. All these books of legends contain not only the primitive legends, of which we have been speaking, but also tell at the same time their additional stories; we may (with Wildeboer) characterise their theme as "the choice of Israel to be the People of Jahveh"; in the following remarks, however, they will be treated in general only so far as they have to do with Genesis.

"JAHVIST" AND "ELOHIST" COLLECTORS, NOT AUTHORS.

Previous writers have in large measure treated J and E as personal authors, assuming as a matter of course that their writings constitute at least to some extent units and originate in all essential features with their respective writers, and attempting to derive from the various data of these writings consistent pictures of their authors. But in a final phase criticism has recognised that these two collections do not constitute complete unities, and pursuing this line of knowledge still further has distinguished within these sources still other subordinate sources.[1]

But in doing this there has been a neglect to raise with perfect clearness the primary question, how far these two groups of writings may be understood as literary unities in any sense or whether, on the contrary, they are not collections, codifications of oral traditions, and whether their composers are not to be called collectors rather than authors.

That the latter view is the correct one is shown (1) by the fact that they have adopted such heterogeneous materials. J contains separate legends and legend cycles, condensed and detailed stories, delicate and coarse elements, primitive and modern elements in morals and religion, stories with vivid antique colors along with those quite faded out. It is much the same with E, who has, for instance, the touching story of the sacrifice of Isaac and at the same time a variant of the very ancient legend of Jacob's wrestling with the angel. This variety shows that the legends of E, and still more decidedly those of J, do not bear the stamp of a single definite time and still less of a single personality, but that they were adopted by their collectors essentially as they were found.

Secondly, the same conclusion is suggested by an examination of the variants of J and of E. On the one hand they often agree

[1] Such is the outcome especially in Budde's *Urgeschichte*.

most characteristically: both, for instance, employ the most condensed style in the story of Penuel, and in the story of Joseph the most detailed. For this very reason, because they are so similar, it was possible for a later hand to combine them in such a way that they are often merged to a degree, such that it is impossible for us to distinguish them. On the other hand, they frequently differ, in which case J very often has the elder version, but often the reverse.

Thus the robust primitive version of the Hagar story in J (chap. xvi.) is older than the lachrymose version of E (xxi.); the story of Jacob and Laban is told more laconically and more naïvely by J than by E; in the narrative of the birth of the children of Jacob J speaks with perfect frankness of the magic effect of the mandrakes (xxx. 14 ff.), instead of which E substitutes the operations of divine favor (xxx. 17); in the story of Dinah, J, who depicts Jacob's horror at the act of his sons, is more just and more vigorous in his judgment that E, where God himself is compelled to protect Jacob's sons (xxxv. 5, see variant reading of RV); in the story of Joseph the Ishmaelites of J (xxxvii. 25) are older than the Midianites of E (xxxvii. 28) who afterwards vanish from the account; in the testament of Jacob his wish, according to E (xlviii. 7), to be buried beside his best loved wife is more tender and more sentimental than his request in J (xlvii. 29 ff.) to rest in the tomb with his ancestors; and other similar cases might be cited.

On the other hand, E does not yet know of the Philistines in Gerar of whom J speaks (xxi. 26); the deception of Jacob by means of the garb of skins in E is more naïve than that by means of the scent of the garments in J; the many divine beings whom, according to E, Jacob sees at Bethel are an older conception than that of the one Jahveh in the version of J; only in J, but not yet in E, do we suddenly meet a belated Israelitising of the legend of the covenant of Gilead (xxxi. 52); in the story of Joseph, Reuben, who had disappeared in historical times, occupies the same position as does in J the much better known Judah of later times; the vocabulary of E whereby he avoids the name of Jahveh throughout Genesis, is based, as shown above (in *The Open Court* for September, p. 533), upon an early reminiscence which is lacking in J; on the other hand, one cannot deny that this absolutely consistent avoidance of the name of Jahveh before the appearance of Moses shows the reflexion of theological influence, which is wholly absent in J.

These observations, which could easily be extended, show also that there is no literary connexion between J and E; J has not

copied from E, nor E from J. If both sources occasionally agree verbally the fact is to be explained on the basis of a common original source.

But, thirdly, the principal point is that we can see in the manner in which the legends are brought together in these books the evidence that we are dealing with collections which cannot have been completed at one given time, but developed in the course of history. The recognition of this fact can be derived especially from a careful observation of the manner of J, since J furnishes us the greatest amount of material in Genesis. The observation of the younger critics that several sources can be distinguished in J, and especially in the story of the beginnings, approves itself to us also; but we must push these investigations further and deeper by substituting for a predominantly critical examination which deals chiefly with individual books, an historical study based upon the examination of the literary method of J and aiming to give a history of the entire literary species.

THE JAHVIST'S SOURCES.

In J's story of the beginnings we distinguish three sources, two of which present what were originally independent parallel threads. It is particularly clear that J contained originally two parallel pedigrees of the race: beside the traditional Cainite genealogy, a Sethite line, of which v. 29 is a fragment. In combining the two earlier sources a third one was also introduced, from which comes the legend of Cain and Abel, which cannot originally belong to a primitive time. In the story of Abraham also we can recognise three hands: into a cycle of legends treating the destinies of Abraham and Lot have been introduced other elements, such as the legend of Abraham in Egypt and the flight of Hagar, probably from another book of legends; still a third hand has added certain details, such as the appeal of Abraham for Sodom. More complicated is the composition of the stories of Jacob: into the cycle of Jacob, Esau and Laban have been injected certain legends of worship; afterwards there were added legends of the various sons of Jacob; we are able to survey this process as a whole very well, but are no longer able to detect the individual hands.

While the individual stories of the creation merely stand in loose juxtaposition, some of the Abraham stories and especially the Jacob-Esau-Laban legends are woven into a closer unity. This union is still closer in the legend of Joseph. Here the legends of Joseph's experiences in Egypt and with his brothers constitute a

well constructed composition; but here too the passage on Joseph's agrarian policy (xlvii. 13 ff.), which interrupts the connexion, shows that several different hands have been at work. Furthermore, it is quite plain that the legend of Tamar, which has no connexion with Joseph, and the "blessing of Jacob," which is a poem, not a legend, were not introduced until later.

From this survey we perceive that J is not a primary and definitive collection, but is based upon older collections and is the result of the collaboration of several hands.

The same condition is to be recognised in E, though only by slight evidences so far as Genesis is concerned, as in the present separation by the story of Ishmael (xxi. 8 ff.) of the two legends of Gerar (xx. xxi. 25 ff.) which belong together, or in the derivation of Beersheba from Abraham (xxi. 25 ff.) by the one line of narrative, from Isaac (xlvi. 1–3) by the other.

THE PROCESS OF COLLECTION.

The history of the literary collection presents, then, a very complex picture, and we may be sure that we are able to take in but a small portion of it. In olden times there may have been a whole literature of such collections, of which those preserved to us are but the fragments, just as the three synoptic gospels represent the remains of a whole gospel literature. The correctness of this view is supported by a reconstruction of the source of P, which is related to J in many respects (both containing, for instance, a story of the beginnings), but also corresponds with E at times (as in the name Paddan, attached to the characterisation of Laban as "the Aramæan"; cp. the *Commentary*, p. 349), and also contributes in details entirely new traditions (such as the item that Abraham set out from Ur-Kasdim, the narrative of the purchase of the cave of Machpelah, and other matters).

But for the complete picture of the history of the formation of the collection the most important observation is that with which this section began: the whole process began in the stage of oral tradition. The first hands which wrote down legends probably recorded such connected stories; others then added new legends, and thus the whole body of material gradually accumulated. And thus, along with others, our collections J and E arose. J and E, then, are not individual authors, nor are they editors of older and consistent single writings, but rather they are schools of narrators. From this point of view it is a matter of comparative indifference what the individual hands contributed to the whole, because they

have very little distinction and individuality, and we shall probably never ascertain with certainty. Hence we feel constrained to abstain as a matter of principle from constructing a hypothesis on the subject.

RELATION OF THE COLLECTORS TO THEIR SOURCES.

These collectors, then, are not masters, but rather servants of their subjects. We may imagine them, filled with reverence for the beautiful ancient stories and endeavoring to reproduce them as well and faithfully as they could. Fidelity was their prime quality. This explains why they accepted so many things which they but half understood and which were alien to their own taste and feeling; and why they faithfully preserved many peculiarities of individual narratives,—thus the narrative of the wooing of Rebekah does not give the name of the city of Haran, while other passages in J are familiar with it (xxvii. 43; xxviii. 10; xxix. 4). On the other hand, we may imagine that they were secretly offended by many things in the tradition, here and there combined different versions (*Commentary*, p. 428), smoothing away the contradictions between them a little (*Commentary*, p. 332) and leaving out some older feature in order to introduce something new and different, perhaps the piece of a variant familiar to them (*Commentary*, p. 59); that they developed more clearly this motive and that, which happened to please them particularly, and even occasionally reshaped a sort of history by the combination of various traditions (*Commentary*, p. 343), and furthermore that they were influenced by the religious, ethical, and æsthetic opinions of their time to make changes here and there.

The process of remodeling the legends, which had been under way for so long, went farther in their hands. As to details, it is difficult, and for the most part impossible, to say what portion of these alterations belongs to the period of oral tradition and what portion to the collectors or to a later time. In the preceding pages many alterations have been discussed which belong to the period of written tradition. In general we are disposed to say that the oral tradition is responsible for a certain artistic inner modification, and the collectors for a more superficial alteration consisting merely of omissions and additions. Moreover, the chief point of interest is not found in this question; it will always remain the capital matter to understand the inner reasons for the modifications.

It is also probable that some portions of considerable size were

omitted or severely altered under the hands of the collectors; thus the legend of Hebron, as the promise (xviii. 10) clearly shows, presumes a continuation; some portions have been omitted from the tradition as we have it, probably by a collector; other considerable portions have been added after the whole was reduced to writing, for instance, those genealogies which are not remnants of legends, but mere outlines of ethnographic relationships; furthermore a piece such as the conversation of Abraham with God before Sodom, which by its style is of the very latest origin, and other cases of this sort. Moreover a great, primitive poem was added to the legends after they were complete (Genesis xlix).

We cannot get a complete general view of the changes made by these collections, but despite the fidelity of the collectors in details we may assume that the whole impression made by the legends has been very considerably altered by the collection and redaction they have undergone. Especially probable is it that the brilliant colors of the individual legends have been dulled in the process: what were originally prominent features of the legends lose their importance in the combination with other stories (*Commentary*, p. 161); the varying moods of the separate legends are reconciled and harmonised when they come into juxtaposition; jests, perhaps, now filled in with touches of emotion (p. 331), or combined with serious stories (*Commentary*, p. 158), cease to be recognised as mirthful; the ecclesiastical tone of certain legends becomes the all-pervading tone of the whole to the feeling of later times. Thus the legends now make the impression of an old and originally many-colored painting that has been many times retouched and has grown dark with age. Finally, it must be emphasised that this fidelity of the collectors is especially evident in Genesis; in the later legends, which had not such a firm hold upon the popular taste, the revision may have been more thorough-going.

RELATION OF JAHVIST TO ELOHIST.

The two schools of J and E are very closely related; their whole attitude marks them as belonging to essentially the same period. From the material which they have transmitted it is natural that the collectors should have treated with especial sympathy the latest elements, that is, particularly those which were nearest to their own time and taste. The difference between them is found first in their use of language, the most significant feature of which is that J says Jahveh before the time of Moses, while E says Elohim. Besides this there are other elements: the tribal patriarch

is called "Israel" by J after the episode of Penuel, but "Jacob" by E; J calls the maid-servant "sipha," E calls her "'ama," J calls the grainsack "saq," E calls it "'amtahat," and so on. But, as is often the case, such a use of language is not here an evidence of a single author, but rather the mark of a district or region.

In very many cases we are unable to distinguish the two sources by the vocabulary; then the only guide is, that the variants from the two sources present essentially the same stories which show individual differences in their contents. Thus in J Isaac is deceived by Jacob by means of the smell of Esau's garments, in E by the skins, a difference which runs through a great portion of both stories. Or we observe that different stories have certain pervading marks, such as, that Joseph is sold in J by Ishmaelites to an Egyptian householder, but in E is sold by Midianites to the eunuch Potiphar. Often evidences of this sort are far from conclusive; consequently we can give in such cases nothing but conjectures as to the separation of the sources. And where even such indications are lacking there is an end of all safe distinction.

In the account of the beginnings we cannot recognise the hand of E at all; it is probable that he did not undertake to give it, but began his book with the patriarch Abraham. Perhaps there is in this an expression of the opinion of the school that the history of the beginnings was too heathenish to deserve preservation. Often but not always the version of J has an older form than that of E. J has the most lively, objective narratives, while E, on the other hand, has a series of sentimental, tearful stories such as the sacrifice of Isaac, the expulsion of Ishmael, and Jacob's tenderness for his grandchildren.

Their difference is especially striking in their conceptions of the theophany: J is characterised by the most primitive theophanies, E, on the other hand, by dreams and the calling of an angel out of heaven, in a word by the least sensual sorts of revelation. The thought of divine Providence, which makes even sin contribute to good ends is expressly put forth by E in the story of Joseph, but not by J. Accordingly there is reason for regarding J as older than E, as is now frequently done. Their relation to the Prophetic authors is to be treated in subsequent pages.

Inasmuch as J in the story of Joseph puts Judah in the place of Reuben, since he gives a specifically Judean version in the case of the legend of Tamar, and because he has so much to say of Abraham, who, it seems, has his real seats in Hebron and in Negeb (southward of Judah), we may agree with many recent critics in

placing the home of this collection in Judah. It has been conjectured on the contrary that E has its home in Northern Israel; in fact this source speaks a great deal of Northern Israelitic localities, but yet, at the same time, much of Beersheba; furthermore, in the story of Joseph E hints once incidentally at the reign of Joseph (xxxvii. 8), though this too may be derived from the tradition. Certainly it cannot be claimed that the two collections have any strong partizan tendency in favor of the north and south kingdoms respectively.

Other characteristics of the collectors than these can scarcely be derived from Genesis. Of course, it would be easy to paint a concrete picture of J and E, if we venture to attribute to them whatever is to be found in their books. But this is forbidden by the very character of these men as collectors.[1]

THE AGE OF THE JAHVIST AND ELOHIST SCHOOLS.

The question of the absolute age of J and E is exceedingly difficult. We, who believe that we have here to deal with a gradual codification of ancient traditions, are constrained to resolve this question into a number of subordinate questions: When did these traditions arise? When did they become known in Israel? When did they receive essentially their present form? When were they written down? That is to say, our task is not to fix a single definite date, but we are to make a chronological scale for a long process. But this is a very difficult problem, for intellectual processes are very difficult in general to fix chronologically; and there is the further difficulty that blocks us in general with all such questions about the Old Testament, that we know too little about ancient Israel in order to warrant positive conclusions in the present case. Very many of the chronological conjectures of literary criticism, in so far as they are based only upon the study of the history of religion, are more or less unsafe.

The origin of many of the legends lies in what is for Israel a prehistoric age. Even the laconic style of the legends is primitive; the stories of the "Judges" are already in a more detailed style. After the entrance of Israel into Canaan foreign themes come in in streams. Very many of the legends presuppose the possession of the land and a knowledge of its localities. Among the Israelitish subjects, the genealogy of the twelve sons of Jacob

[1] If the reader cannot be satisfied with the little that we have given, he must at least be very much more cautious than, for instance, such a writer as Holzinger on the Hexateuch.

does not correspond with the seats of the tribes in Canaan, and must, therefore, represent older relations. The latest of the Israelitish legends of Genesis that we know treat the retirement of Reuben, the origin of the families of Judah and the assault upon Shechem, that is, events from the earlier portion of the period of the "Judges." In the later portion of this period the poetic treatment of races as individuals was no longer current: by this time new legends of the patriarchs had ceased to be formed.

The period of the formation of legends of the patriarchs is, then, closed with this date (about 1200). The correctness of this estimate is confirmed by other considerations: the sanctuary at Jerusalem, so famous in the time of the kings, is not referred to in the legends of the patriarchs; on the contrary the establishment of this sanctuary is placed by the legends of worship in the time of David (2 Sam. xxiv). The reign of Saul, the conflict of Saul with David, the united kingdom under David and Solomon, the separation of the two kingdoms and the war between them,—we hear no echoes of all this in the older legends: a clear proof that no new legends of the patriarchs were being formed at that time. At what time the legends of Moses, Joshua and others originated is a question for discussion elsewhere.

RE-MODELING OF THE LEGENDS.

The period of the formation of the legends is followed by one of re-modeling. This is essentially the age of the earlier kings. That is probably the time, when Israel was again gathered together from its separation into different tribes and districts to one united people, the time when the various distinct traditions grew together into a common body of national legends. The great growth which Israel experienced under the first kings probably yielded it the moral force to lay claim to the foreign tales and give them a national application. At this time the Jacob-Esau legend received its interpretation referring to Israel and Edom: Israel has in the meantime subjected Edom, the event occurring under David, and Judah retaining her possession until about 840. Meanwhile Ephraim has outstripped Manasseh, probably in the beginning of the period of the kings. In the legend of Joseph there occurs an allusion to the dominion of Joseph (xxxvii. 8, E), which, however, found its way into the legend at some later time. The dreadful Syrian wars, which begin about the year 900, are not yet mentioned in the Jacob-Laban legend, but only occasional border forays. The city of Asshur, which was the capital until 1300, is passed from

the memory of the Hebrew tradition; but Nineveh (x. 11), the capital from about 1000 on, seems to be known to it. Accordingly we may at least assume that by 900 B. C. the legends were essentially, as far as the course of the narrative goes, as we now read them.

As for allusions to political occurrences later than 900, we have only a reference to the rebellion of Edom (about 840), which, however, is plainly an addition to the legend (xxvii. 40*b*). The other cases that are cited are inconclusive: the reference to the Assyrian cities (x. 11 ff.) does not prove that these passages come from the "Assyrian" period, for Assyria had certainly been known to the Israelites for a long time; just as little does the mention of Kelah warrant a conclusion, for the city was restored in 870, though it had been the capital since about 1300 (in both of these points I differ from the conclusions of Cornill, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*,[3] p. 46). According to Lagarde, *Mitteilungen*, III., p. 226 ff., the Egyptian names in Genesis xli. bring us down into the seventh century; but this is by no means positive, for the names which were frequently heard at that time had certainly been known in earlier times.

But even though no new political references crept into the legends after about 900, and though they have remained unchanged in their essentials from this time on, they may nevertheless have undergone many interior alterations. This suggests a comparison with a piece like Genesis xlix.: this piece, coming from the time of David, harmonises in tone with the oldest legends. Hence we may assume another considerable period during which the religious and moral changes in the legends above mentioned were taking place. This period lasts over into that of the collection of the legends and is closed by it.

RELATION OF THE COLLECTIONS TO THE PROPHETS.

When did the collection of the legends take place? This question is particularly difficult, for we have only internal data for its solution, and we can establish these in their turn only after establishing the date of the sources. So unfortunately we are moving here in the familiar circle, and with no present prospect of getting out of it. Investigators must consider this before making unqualified declarations on the subject. Furthermore it is to be borne in mind that not even these collections were completed all at once, but grew into shape through a process which lasted no one can say how many decades or centuries. The real question in

fixing the date of the sources is the relation of the two to the authors of the "Prophets." Now there are to be sure many things in Genesis that suggest a relation with these Prophets, but the assumption of many modern critics that this relation must be due to some direct influence of the Prophetic writers is very doubtful in many cases; we do not know the religion of Israel sufficiently well to be able to declare that certain thoughts and sentiments were first brought to light by the very Prophets whose writings we possess (all later than Amos): the earnestness with which the legend of the Deluge speaks of the universal sinfulness of mankind, and the glorification of the faith of Abraham are not specifically "Prophetic." The hostility of the collectors to the images of Jahveh and to the Asherim (sacred poles), of which they never speak, to the Massëbâh (groves), which J passes over but E still mentions, to the "golden calf" which is regarded by the legend according to E (Exodus xxxii.) as sinful, as well as to the teraphim, which the Jacob-Laban legend wittily ridicules (xxxi. 30 f.),—all of this may easily be independent of "Prophetic" influence. Sentiments of this nature may well have existed in Israel long before the "Prophets," indeed we must assume their existence in order to account for the appearance of the "Prophets."

True, E calls Abraham a "nabi" (prophet), xx. 7; that is to say, he lived at a time when "Prophet" and "man of God" were identical; but the guild of the N^{e}biim was flourishing long before the time of Amos, and in Hosea also, xii. 14, Moses is called a "Prophet." Accordingly there is nothing in the way of regarding E and J both as on the whole "pre-Prophetic." This conclusion is supported by a number of considerations: the Prophetic authors are characterised by their predictions of the destruction of Israel, by their polemic against alien gods and against the high places of Israel, and by their rejection of sacrifices and ceremonials. These very characteristic features of the "Prophets" are absent in J and E: in Genesis J has no notion of other gods at all except Jahveh, and Jacob's abolition of alien gods for the sake of a sacred ceremony in honor of Jahveh, xxxv. 4 in the tradition of E, does not sound like a "Prophetic" utterance. Of an opposition to strange gods there is never any talk, at least not in Genesis.

And while these collections contain nothing that is characteristically Prophetic, they have on the other hand much that must needs have been exceedingly offensive to the Prophets: they have, for instance, an especially favorable attitude toward the sacred places which the Prophets assail so bitterly; they maintain toward

the primitive religion and morality an ingenuous leniency which is the very opposite of the fearful accusations of the Prophets.

We can see from the Prophetic redaction of the historical books what was the attitude of the legitimate pupils of the Prophets to ancient tradition: they would certainly not have cultivated the popular legends, which contained so much that was heathen, but rather have obliterated them.

In view of these considerations we must conclude that the collections took shape in all essentials before the period of great Prophetic writings, and that the touches of the spirit of this movement in J and E but show that the thoughts of the Prophets were in many a man's mind long before the time of Amos. This conclusion is supported by a number of other considerations: the legend of the exodus of Abraham, which glorifies his faith, presumes on the other hand the most flourishing prosperity of Israel, and accordingly comes most surely from the time before the great incursion of the Assyrians. And pieces which from the point of view of the history of legends are so late as chapter 15, or as the story of the birth of the sons of Jacob, contain, on the other hand, very ancient religious motives.

But this does not exclude the possibility that certain of the very latest portions of the collections are in the true sense "Prophetic." Thus Abraham's conversation with God before Sodom is in its content the treatment of a religious problem, but in form it is an imitation of the Prophetic "expostulation" with God. Joshua's farewell (Joshua xxiv.) with its unconcealed distrust of Israel's fidelity is also in form an imitation of the Prophetic sermon. In the succeeding books, especially the portions due to E, there is probably more of the same character, but in Genesis the instances are rare.

Accordingly we may locate both collections before the appearance of the great Prophets, J perhaps in the ninth century and E in the first half of the eighth; but it must be emphasised that such dates are after all very uncertain.

THE JEHOVIST REDACTOR.

The two collections were united later by an editor designated as R^{JE}, whom, following Wellhausen's example, we shall call the "Jehovist." This union of the two older sources took place before the addition of the later book of legends to be referred to as P. We may place this collector somewhere near the end of the kingdom of Judah. R^{JE} manifests in Genesis the most extraordinary

conservatism and reverence; he has expended a great amount of keenness in trying to retain both sources so far as possible and to establish the utmost possible harmony between them. In general he probably took the more detailed source for his basis, in the story of Abraham J. He himself appears with his own language very little in Genesis. We recognise his pen with certainty in a few brief additions which are intended to harmonise the variants of J and E, but of which there are relatively few: xvi. 9 f.; xxviii. 21_b, and further in xxxi. 49 ff.; xxxix. 1; xli. 50; xlv. 19; xlvi. 1; l. 11; and several points in xxxiv; but the most of these instances are trifles.

Furthermore, there are certain, mostly rather brief, additions, which we may locate in this period and probably attribute to this redactor or to his contemporaries. Some of them merely run over and deepen the delicate lines of the original text: xviii. 17–19; xx. 18; xxii. 15–18; some are priestly elaborations of profane narratives: xiii. 14–17; xxxii. 10–13; the most of them are speeches attributed to God: xiii. 14–17; xvi. 9 and 10; xviii. 17–19; xxii. 15–18; xxvi. 3_{b-5}, 24, $25a$; xxviii. 14; xlvi. $3b\beta$ (xxxii. 10–13; l. 24γ); which is characteristic for these latest additions, which profess only to give thoughts and not stories, speeches containing especially solemn promises for Israel: that it was to become a mighty nation and take possession of "all these lands." Incidentally all the people are enumerated which Israel is to conquer: xv. 19–21; x. 16–18. These additions come from the period when the great world crises were threatening the existence of Israel, and when the faith of the people was clinging to these promises, that is to say, probably from the Chaldæan period. Here and there we meet a trace of "Deuteronomistic" style: xviii. 17–19; xxvi. 3_{b-5}.

VI. PRIESTLY CODEX AND FINAL REDACTION.

Besides those already treated we find evidence of another separate stream of tradition. This source is so distinct from the other sources both in style and spirit that in the great majority of cases it can be separated from them to the very letter. This collection also is not limited to Genesis, on the contrary, the legends of the beginnings and of the patriarchs are to it merely a brief preparation for the capital matter, which is the legislation of Moses. The Priestly Codex is of special importance for us because the entire discussion of the Old Testament has hitherto turned essentially upon its data. It is Wellhausen's immortal merit (*Prolegomena*[4],

p. 299 ff.) to have recognised the true character of this source, which had previously been considered the oldest, to have demonstrated thus the incorrectness of the entire general view of the Old Testament, and thus to have prepared the field for a living and truly historical understanding of the history of the religion of Israel.

The style of P is extremely peculiar, exceedingly detailed and aiming at legal clearness and minuteness, having always the same expressions and formulæ, with precise definitions and monotonous set phrases, with consistently employed outlines which lack substance, with genealogies and with titles over every chapter. It is the tone of prosaic pedantry, often indeed the very style of the legal document (for instance xi. 11; and xxiii. 17, 18); occasionally, however, it is not without a certain solemn dignity (especially in Genesis i. and elsewhere also, cp. the scene xlvii. 7–11). One must really read the whole material of P consecutively in order to appreciate the dryness and monotony of this remarkable book. The author is evidently painfully exact and exemplary in his love of order, but appreciation of poetry was denied him as to many another scholar.

The selection of material both in large and in small matters is highly characteristic in P. The only stories of any length which he gives us are those of the Creation and the Deluge, of God's appearance to Abraham and of the purchase of the cave at Machpelah; all else is details and genealogies. From by far the greatest number of narratives he found use only for separate and disconnected observations. One has only to compare the ancient variegated and poetic legends and the scanty reports which P gives of them, in order to learn where his interests lie: he does not purpose to furnish a poetic narrative, as those of old had done, but only to arrive at the facts. This is why he was unable to use the many individual traits contained in the old legends, but merely took from them a very few facts. He ignored the sentiments of the legends, he did not see the personal life of the patriarchs; their figures once so concrete have become mere pale types when seen through his medium. In times of old many of these legends had been located in definite places, thereby gaining life and color; P has forgotten all but two places: the cave of Machpelah, where the patriarchs dwelt and lie buried, and Bethel, where God revealed himself to Jacob. On the other hand, he has a great predilection for genealogies, which, as we have seen, were the latest elements to be contributed to the accumulation of the legend, and which are

in their very nature unconcrete and unpoetical. A very large portion of P's share in Genesis is genealogy and nothing more.

Even those narratives which are told by P at length manifest this same lack of color. They are narratives that are not really stories. The account of the purchase of the cave of Machpelah might have been nothing but an incidental remark in one of the older story tellers; P has spun it out at length because he wanted to establish as beyond all doubt the fact that the cave really belonged to the patriarchs and was an ancestral sepulcher. But he had not the poetic power necessary to shape the account into a story. In the great affairs of state which P gives instead of the old stories, story-telling has ceased, there is only talking and negotiating (Wellhausen). Even the accounts of the Creation, the Deluge and the Covenant with Abraham manifest a wide contrast with the vivid colors of the older legends; they lack greatly in the concrete elements of a story. Instead of this P gives in them something else, something altogether alien to the spirit of the early legend, to wit, legal ordinances, and these in circumstantial detail. Another characteristic of P is his pronounced liking for outlines; this order loving man has ensnared the gay legends of the olden time in his gray outlines, and there they have lost all their poetic freshness: take as an illustration the genealogy of Adam and Seth. Even the stories of the patriarchs have been caged by P in an outline.

IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO CHRONOLOGY.

Furthermore P attaches to the legends a detailed chronology, which plays a great rôle in his account, but is absolutely out of keeping with the simplicity of the old legends. Chronology belongs by its very nature to history, not to legend. Where historical narrative and legend exist as living literary species, they are recognised as distinct, even though unconsciously. This confusion of the two species in P shows that in his time the natural appreciation for both history and legend had been lost. Accordingly it is not strange that the chronology of P displays everywhere the most absurd oddities when injected into the old legends: as a result, Sarah is still at sixty-five a beautiful woman whom the Egyptians seek to capture, and Ishmael is carried on his mother's shoulder after he is a youth of sixteen.

There has been added a great division of the world's history into periods, which P forces upon the whole matter of his account. He recognises four periods: from the creation to Noah, from Noah

to Abraham, from Abraham to Moses, and from Moses on. Each of these periods begins with a theophany, and twice a new name for God is introduced. He who is Elohim at the creation is El Shaddai in connexion with Abraham and Jahveh to Moses. At the establishment of the Covenant certain divine ordinances are proclaimed: first, that men and beasts are to eat only herbs, and then, after the Deluge that flesh may be eaten but no men be slain, and then, especially for Abraham, that he and his descendants shall circumcise themselves; finally, the Mosaic law.

In connexion with these, certain definite divine promises are made and signs of the Covenant given. What we find in this is the product of a great and universal mind, the beginning of a universal history in the grand style, and indeed P shows a genuinely scientific mind in other points: consider, for instance, his precision in the order of creation in Genesis i. and his definitions there. But the material of the legends which this grandiose universal history uses stands in very strong contrast with the history itself: the signs of the Covenant are a rainbow, circumcision and the Sabbath, a very remarkable list! And how remote is this spirit of universal history, which even undertakes to estimate the duration of the entire age of the world, from the spirit of the old legend, which originally consists of only a single story and is never able to rise to the height of such general observations: in J, for instance, we hear nothing of the relation of Abraham's religion to that of his fathers and his tribal kinsmen.

THE RELIGIOUS VIEWS OF THE PRIESTLY CODEX.

Furthermore, we cannot deny that this reflexion of P's, that Jahveh first revealed himself in quite a general form as "God," and then in a concreter form as El Shaddai, and only at the last under his real name, is after all very childish: the real history of religion does not begin with the general and then pass to the concrete, but on the contrary, it begins with the very most concrete conceptions, and only slowly and gradually do men learn to comprehend what is abstract.

It is characteristic of the religion of the author P that he says almost nothing about the personal piety of the patriarchs; he regards only the objective as important in religion. For instance, he says nothing about Abraham's obedience on faith; indeed does not hesitate to report that Abraham laughed at God's promise (xvii. 17). The religion that he knows consists in the prescription of ceremonies; he regards it of importance that the Sabbath shall

be observed, that circumcision shall be practised, that certain things shall be eaten and others not. In such matters he is very scrupulous. He abstains, evidently with deliberation, from telling that the patriarchs offered sacrifice in any certain place, and this evidently for the reason that these places were regarded as heathenish in his time. Similarly, in his account of the Deluge he does not distinguish the clean and the unclean beasts. It is his opinion that established worship and the distinction of clean and unclean were not introduced until the time of Moses.

But in this we hear the voice of a priest of Jerusalem, whose theory is that the worship at his sanctuary is the only legitimate worship and the continuation of the worship instituted by Moses. The Israelitish theocracy—this, in modern phrase, is the foundation thought of his work—is the purpose of the world. God created the world in order that his ordinances and commandments might be observed in the temple at Jerusalem.

The theophanies of P are characterised by their inconcreteness: he tells only that God appeared, spoke, and again ascended, and leaves out everything else. In this then he follows the style of the latest additions to JE, which also contain such speeches attributed to God without any introduction. It is evident that in this there is expressed a religious hesitation on the part of P to involve the supermundane God with the things of this world; it seems as though he suspected the heathen origin of these theophanies. At the same time we perceive what his positive interest is: he cares for the content of the divine revelation, but not for its "How." Moreover, it is no accident that he conceives of these speeches of God as "covenant-making": evidently he has in mind this originally legal form. This union of the priest, the scholar, and the distinctive lawyer, which seems to us perhaps remarkable at first, is after all quite natural: among many ancient races the priesthood was the guardian of learning and especially of the law. And thus it surely was in Israel too, where from primitive times the priests were accustomed to settle difficult disputes. P developed his style in the writing of contracts—this is quite evident in many places.

But it is especially characteristic of P that he no longer refers to the sacred symbols, which had once possessed such great importance for the ancient religion, as may be seen particularly in the legends of the patriarchs; in him we no longer find a reference to the monuments, the trees and groves, and the springs at which, according to the ancient legends, the divinity appeared. P has

expunged all such matter from the legend, evidently because he considered it heathenish. Here we see plainly the after-effects of the fearful polemics of the Prophets: it is the same spirit which branded the ancient sacred place of Bethel as heathen (in the "reform" of Josiah) and which here rejects from the ancient legends everything that smacks of heathenism to these children of a later time.

This much, then, is certain, that the conceptions of God in P are loftier and more advanced than those of the old legends; and yet P is far below these older authors, who had not made the acquaintance of the sacerdotalism of Jerusalem, but who did know what piety is. Just as P purified the religion of the patriarchs, so did he also purge their morality. Here too P adds the last word to a development which we have followed up in J and E. The old legends of the patriarchs, being an expression of the most primitive life of the people, contained a great deal that those of a later time could not but regard as wrong and sinful, if they were quite honest about it.

And yet, the belief of the time was that the patriarchs were models of piety and virtue. What pains had been taken to eliminate at least the most offensive things in this line so far as possible! When it comes to P at last, he makes a clean sweep: he simply omits altogether what is offensive (for instance, the quarrel of the shepherds of Abraham and Lot, Lot's selfishness, the exile of Ishmael, Jacob's deceptions); he even goes to the length of maintaining the precise contrary of the tradition: Ishmael and Isaac together peacefully buried their father (xxv. 9), and so did Jacob and Esau (xxxv. 29). Facts which cannot be obliterated receive a different motivation: thus he explains Isaac's blessing of Jacob as a result of Esau's sinful mixed marriages (xxvi. 34 f.; xxviii. 1 ff.), and he lays the crime against Joseph at the door of the sons of Bilhah and Zilpah (xxxvii. 2).

From all of this it appears clear that P dealt very arbitrarily with the tradition as it came down to him. He dropped old versions or changed them at pleasure; mere incidents he spun out to complete stories, and from whole stories he adopted only incidents; he mingled the motives of various legends, declaring, for instance, that the blessing received by Jacob from Isaac was the blessing of Abraham, which had been entirely foreign to the thought of the old story tellers (xxviii. 4; other instances may be found pp. 237, 247, 350 of the *Commentary*); from the stories of the old tradition, which stood in loose juxtaposition, he formed a continuous narra-

tive with close connexion,—this, too, a mark of the latest period. In place of the legends he placed his chapters with regular headings!

This narrator, then, has no conception of the fidelity of the older authors; he probably had an impression that it was necessary to lay to vigorously in order to erect a structure worthy of God. The older authors, J and E, were really not authors, but merely collectors, while P is a genuine author; the former merely accumulated the stone left to them in a loose heap; but P erected a symmetrical structure in accordance with his own taste. And yet we should be wrong if we should assume that he deliberately invented his allegations in Genesis; tradition was too strong to permit even him to do this. On the contrary, he simply worked over the material, though very vigorously indeed; we can often recognise by details how he followed his source in the general outline of events when no personal interest of his own was involved (see p. 139 of the *Commentary*). But this source, at least for Genesis, was neither J nor E, but one related to them.

THE AGE OF THE PRIESTLY CODEX.

After this portrayal of the situation the age of P is evident. It belongs by every evidence at the close of the whole history of the tradition, and certainly separated by a great gap from J and E: the living stream of legend from which J and E the old collectors had dipped, must by that time have run dry, if it had become possible for P to abuse it in this fashion for the construction of his history. And in the meanwhile a great intellectual revolution must have taken place,—a revolution which had created something altogether new in the place of the old nationality represented in the legends.

P is the documentary witness of a time which was consciously moving away from the old traditions, and which believed it necessary to lay the foundations of religion in a way differing from that of the fathers. And in P we have revealed the nature of this new element which had then assumed sway,—it is the spirit of the learned priest that we here find expressed. Furthermore, this also is clear to us from the whole manner of P, and particularly from his formal language, that we have not here the work of an individual with a special tendency, but of a whole group whose convictions he expresses. P's work is nothing more nor less than an official utterance.

It is the priesthood of Jerusalem in which the document P originated. Hence the applicableness of the designation "Priestly

Codex." Wellhausen has revealed to us the time to which this spirit belonged. This is the epoch following the great catastrophe to the people and the state of Judah, when the people, overwhelmed by the tremendous impression of their measureless misfortune, recognised that their fathers had sinned, and that a great religious reformation was necessary. Only in connexion with this period can we comprehend P, with his grandiose want of respect for what had been the most sacred traditions of his people. We know also well enough that it was the priesthood alone in that day which held its own and kept the people together after all other authorities had worn themselves out or perished: after its restoration the congregation of Judah was under the dominion of priests.

In keeping with this period also is the remarkably developed historical scholarship of P. The older epoch had produced excellent story tellers, but no learned historians, while in this period of exile Judæan historiography had lost its naïve innocence. Under the powerful influence of the superior Babylonian civilisation Judaism also had acquired a taste for precise records of numbers and measures. It now grew accustomed to employ great care in statistical records: genealogical tables were copied, archives were searched for authentic documents, chronological computations were undertaken, and even universal history was cultivated after the Babylonian model. In Ezra and Nehemiah and Chronicles we see the same historical scholarship as in P, and in Ezekiel, Haggai, and Zechariah the same high value placed upon exact chronology. The reckoning of the months also, which is found in P, was learned by the Jews at this time, and probably from Babylonia. The progress represented by this learned spirit as compared with the simplicity of former times is undeniable, even though the products of this learning often fail to appeal to us. It is probably characteristic of the beginnings of "universal history" that such first great historical constructions as we have in P deal largely with mythical or legendary materials, and are consequently inadequate according to our modern notions. In this respect P may be compared to Berosus.

The emphasis laid by P upon the Sabbath, the prohibition of bloodshed, and circumcision, is also comprehensible to us in the light of this period: the epoch in which everything depended on the willingness of the individual emphasised the religious commandments which applied to the individual. Indeed it may be said, that the piety of the patriarchs, who are always represented as "gerim" (strangers), and who have to get along without sac-

rifices and formal ceremonies, is a reflexion of the piety of the exile, when those who lived in the foreign land had neither temples nor sacrifices.

P's religious criticism of mixed marriages also, especially those with Canaanitish women, whereby the blessing of Abraham was forfeited (xxviii. 1–9) connect with the same time, when the Jews, living in the Dispersion, had no more zealous desire than to keep their blood and their religion pure.

Much more characteristic than these evidences taken from Genesis are the others derived from the legal sections of the following books. Finally there is to be added to all these arguments the late origin of the style of P.[1] And in accordance with this the fixing of the date of P as coming from the time of the exile is one of the surest results of criticism.

We need not attempt to determine here in just what century P wrote; but this much may be said, that the Law-book of Ezra, in the opinion of many scholars, upon which the congregation took the oath in 444, and in the composition of which Ezra was in some way involved, was P. Hence we may place the composition of the book in the period from 500 to 444. P too was not completed all at once, though this is hardly a matter of importance so far as Genesis goes.

THE FINAL REDACTOR.

The final redactor, who combined the older work of JE and P, and designated as $R^{JE\,P}$, probably belongs, therefore, to the time after Ezra, and surely before the time of the separation of the Samaritan congregation, which carried the complete Pentateuch along with it—though we are unable, indeed, to give the exact date of this event. The fact that such a combination of the older and the later collections was necessary shows us that the old legends had been planted too deep in the popular heart to be supplanted by the new spirit.

Great historical storms had in the meantime desecrated the old sacred places; the whole past seemed to the men of the new time to be sinful. And yet the old legends which glorified these places and which gave such a naïve reflexion of the olden time, could not be destroyed. The attempt of P to supplant the older tradition had proven a failure; accordingly a reverent hand produced a combination of JE and P.

1 Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, p. 393 ff. Ryssel, *De elohistae pentateuchici sermone*, 1878. Giesebrecht, *ZAW*, 1881, p. 177 ff. Driver, *Journal of Philology*, 1882, p. 201 ff.

This last collection was prepared with extraordinary fidelity, especially toward P; its author aimed if possible not to lose a single grain of P's work. We shall not blame him for preferring P to JE, for P never ceased to dominate Jewish taste. Especially notable is the fact that the redactor applied the chronology of P as a framework for the narratives of J and E. In Genesis there are a very few features which we can trace with more or less certainty to his hand: such are a few harmonising comments or elaborations like x. 24; xv. 7, 8, 15; xxvii. 46; xxxv. 13, 14; and further some retouching in vi. 7; vii. 7, 22, 23; and also vii. 3_b, 8, 9; and finally the distinction between Abram and Abraham, Sarai and Sarah, which is also found in J and E, and some other matters.

With this we have covered the activities of all the various redactors of Genesis. But in smaller details the work on the text (Diaskeuase) continues for a long time. Smaller alterations are to be found in xxxiv. and in the numbers of the genealogies, in which the Jewish and the Samaritan text, and the Greek translation differ. More considerable alterations were made in xxxvi. and xlvi. 8–27; while the last large interpolation is the narrative of Abraham's victory over the four kings, a legend from very late times, and of "midrash" character.

SUMMARY.

Thus Genesis has been compounded from very many sources. And in the last state we have described it has remained. In this form the old legends have exercised an incalculable influence upon all succeeding generations. We may perhaps regret that the last great genius who might have created out of the separate stories a great whole, a real "Israelitic national epic," never came. Israel produced no Homer. But this is fortunate for our investigation; for just because the individual portions have been left side by side and in the main unblended is it possible for us to make out the history of the entire process. For this reason students of the legend should apply themselves to the investigation of Genesis, which has not been customary hitherto; while theologians should learn that Genesis is not to be understood without the aid of the methods for the study of legends.

HOW GENESIS CAME TO BE ATTRIBUTED TO MOSES

One word more, in closing, as to how Genesis has obtained the undeserved honor of being regarded as a work of Moses. From primitive times there existed a tradition in Israel that the divine

ordinances regarding worship, law and morality, as proclaimed by the mouth of the priests, were derived from Moses. When, then, these ordinances, which had originally circulated orally, were written down in larger or smaller works, it was natural that they passed under the name of Moses. Now our Pentateuch consists, in addition to the collections of legends, of such books of law from various periods and of very diverse spirit. And because the legends also, from the time of the Exodus, have to do chiefly with Moses, it was very easy to combine both legends and laws in one single book. Thus it happened that Genesis has become the first part of a work whose following parts tell chiefly of Moses and contain many laws that claim to come from Moses. But in its contents Genesis has no connexion with Moses. These narratives, among them so many of a humorous, an artistic or a sentimental character, are very remote from the spirit of such a strenuous and wrathful Titan as Moses, according to the tradition, must have been.

THE TAI-PING REBELLION.

[We reproduce here Prof. S. Wells Williams's report of the Tai-Ping rebellion from his voluminous work *The Middle Kingdom*, Vol. II, p. 581 ff. Professor Williams is one of the greatest authorities in the field of sinology and we have good reason to believe that he is impartial as a historian. He shows, however, a certain bias against Hung Siu-tsuen's Christianity as not being genuine, stating that "he (Hung Siu-tsuen) never called in the aid of foreign missionaries to teach his followers the truth as it is in Christ Jesus" (Vol. II., p. 592): he "entertained no new principle of government, for he knew nothing of other lands" (*ib.*, p. 623); and again: "Nor did they [the Tai-Ping Christians] ever take any practical measures to call in foreign aid to assist in developing even the Christianity they professed" (Vol. II, p. 622). All this proves that Hung Siu-tsuen, though he professed faith in Jesus Christ, was not Europeanised, but remained a Chinese at the bottom of his heart.]

IN giving an account of the rise and overthrow of the Tai-ping Rebellion, it will be necessary to limit the narrative to the most important religious, political, and military events connected with it up to its suppression in 1867. The phrase "Tai-ping Rebellion" is wholly of foreign manufacture; at Peking and everywhere among those loyal to the government the insurgents were styled *Chang-fah tseh*, or "Long-haired rebels," while on their side, by a whimsical resemblance to English slang, the imperialists were dubbed *imps*. When the chiefs assumed to be aiming at independence in 1850, in order to identify their followers with their cause they took the term *Ping Chao*, or "Peace Dynasty," as the style of their sway, to distinguish it from the *Tsing Chao*, or "Pure Dynasty," of the Manchus. Each of them prefixed the adjective *Ta* (or *Tai*, in Cantonese), "Great," as is the Chinese custom with regard to dynasties and nations: thus the name *Tai-ping* became known to foreigners. The leader took the style *Tien-teh*, "Heavenly Virtue," for his reign, thereby indicating his aim in seeking the throne. His own personal name, Hung Siu-tsuen, was regarded as too sacred to be used by his followers. The banners and edicts used at Nanking and in his army bore the inscription, *Tien-fu*, *Tien-hiung*, *Tien-wang*

Tai-ping Tien-kwoh, or "Heavenly Father, Heavenly Elder Brother, Heavenly King of the Great Peace [Dynasty] of the Heavenly Kingdom" (i. e., China).

HUNG SIU-TSUEN, THE LEADER OF THE TAI-PING.[1]

Hung Siu-tsuen[2] was the youngest son of Hung Jang, a well-to-do farmer living in Hwa hien, a district situated on the North River, about thirty miles from Canton city, in a small village of which he was the headman. The family was from the Kia-ying prefecture, on the borders of Kiang-sí, and the whole village was regarded as belonging to the Hakkas, or Squatters, and had little intercourse with the Pun-tis, or Indigenes, on that account.

Siu-tsuen was born in 1813, and at the usual age of seven entered school, where he showed remarkable aptitude for study. His family being too poor to spare his services long, he had to struggle and deny himself, as many a poor aspirant for fame in all lands has done, in order to fit himself to enter the regular examinations. In 1826 his name appeared on the list of candidates in Hwa hien, but Hung Jin says: "Though his name was always among the first upon the board at the district examinations, yet he never succeeded in attaining the degree of Siu-tsai."

In 1833 he was at Canton at the triennial examination, when he met with the native evangelist Liang A-fah, who was distributing and selling a number of his own writings near the Kung yuen to the candidates as they went in and out of the hall. Attracted by the venerable aspect of this man, he accepted a set of his tracts called *Kiuen Shi Liang Yen*, or "Good Words to Exhort the Age." He took them home with him, but threw them aside when he found that they advocated Christianity, then a proscribed doctrine.

In 1837 he was again in the provincial tripos, where his repeated disappointment and discontent aggravated an illness that seized him. On reaching his home he took to his bed and prepared for death, having had several visions fortokening his decease.

He called his parents to his bedside and thus addressed them: "My days are counted and my life will soon be closed. O my parents! how badly have I returned the favor of your love to me; I

[1] This account of the life of the great leader of the Tai-Ping is based upon the report given by Hung Jin, a relative of Hung Siu-tsuen to the Rev. Theodore Hamberg. Cf. *Visions of Hung Siu-tsuen and Origin of the Kwang-si Insurrection*, Hongkong, 1854. Mr. W. Sargent in the *North American Review* for July, 1854, Vol. LXXIX., p. 158.

[2] Hung Tiu-tsuen is the proper name of the leader of the rebellion. He aspired to found a new Christian dynasty which he called Ping-Chao, the Peace Dynasty. He assumed the title Tien-Wang, i. e., Heavenly King.

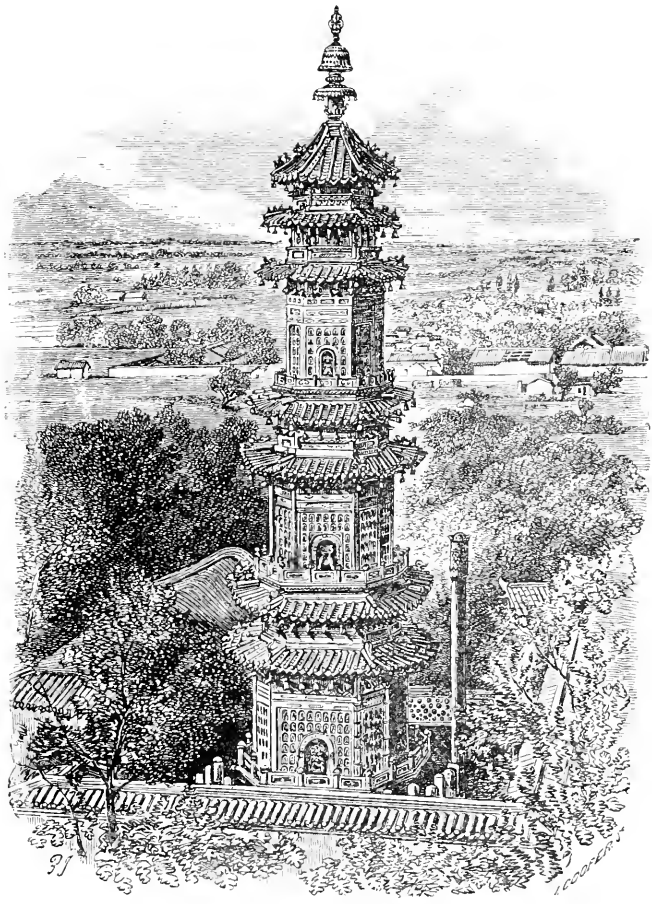
shall never attain a name that shall reflect lustre on you." After uttering these words he shut his eyes and lost all strength and command over his body, and became unconscious of what was going on around him. His outward senses were inactive, his body ap-

PAVILION OF THE IMPERIAL PALACE AT PEKING.
(From Fergusson's *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II., p. 320.)

peared as dead, but his soul was acted upon by a peculiar energy, seeing and remembering things of a very extraordinary nature.

At first, when his eyes were closed he saw a dragon, a tiger, and a cock enter the room; a great number of men playing upon

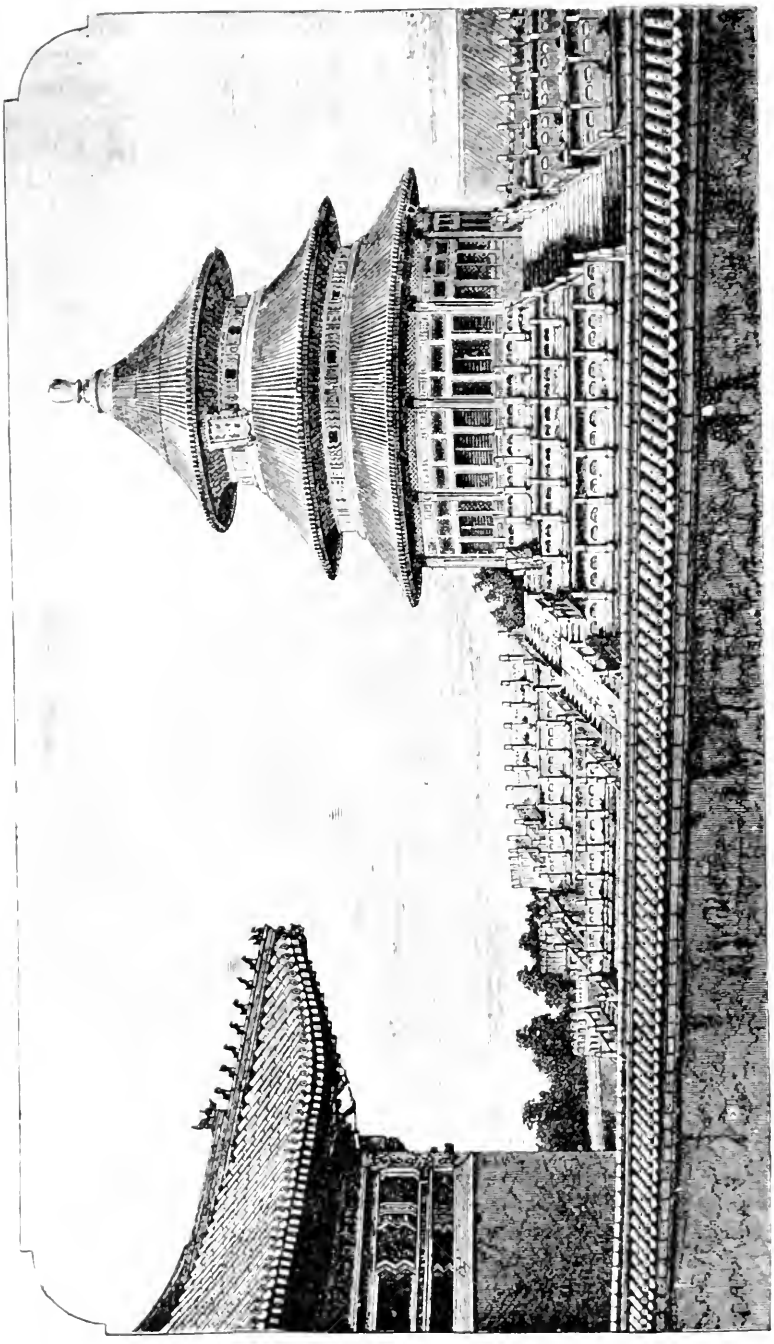
instruments then approached, bearing a beautiful sedan-chair in which they invited him to be seated. Not knowing what to make of this honor, he was carried away to a luminous and beautiful place wherein a multitude of fine men and women saluted him on arrival with expressions of joy. On leaving the sedan an old wo-



PAGODA IN THE IMPERIAL SUMMER PALACE, PEKING.
(Fergusson, p. 311.)

man took him down to a river, saying: "Thou dirty man, why hast thou kept company with yonder people and defiled thyself? I must now wash thee clean."

After the washing was over he entered a large building in company with a crowd of old and virtuous men, some of whom were the ancient sages. Here they opened his body, took out the heart



THE TEMPLE OF HEAVEN, PEKING. (For description see footnote on next page.)

and other organs, and replaced them by new ones of a red color; this done, the wound closed without leaving a scar.

The whole assembly then went on to another larger hall, whose splendor was beyond description, in which an aged man, with a golden beard and dressed in black robes, sat on the highest place. Seeing Siu-tsuen, he began to shed tears and said: "All human beings in the world are produced and sustained by me; they eat my food and wear my clothing, but not one among them has a heart to remember and venerate me; what is worse, they take my gifts and therewith worship demons; they purposely rebel against me and arouse my anger. Do thou not imitate them." Hereupon he gave him a sword to destroy the demons, a seal to overcome the evil spirits, and a sweet yellow fruit to eat. Siu-tsuen received them, and straightway began to exhort his venerable companions to perform their duties to their master. After doing so even to tears, the high personage led him to a spot whence he could behold the world below, and discern the horrible depravity and vice of its inhabitants. The sight was too awful to be endured, and words were inadequate to describe it. So he awoke from his trance, and had vigor enough to rise and dress himself and go to his father.

Making a bow, Siu-tsuen said: "The venerable old man above has commanded that all men shalt turn to me, and that all treasures shall flow to me."

This sickness continued about forty days, and the visions were multiplied. He often met with a man in them whom he called his elder brother, who instructed him how to act and assisted him in going after and killing evil spirits. He became more and more possessed with the idea, as his health returned, that he had been commissioned to be Emperor of China; and one day his father found a slip on which was written "The Heavenly King of Great Reason, the Sovereign King Tsuen."

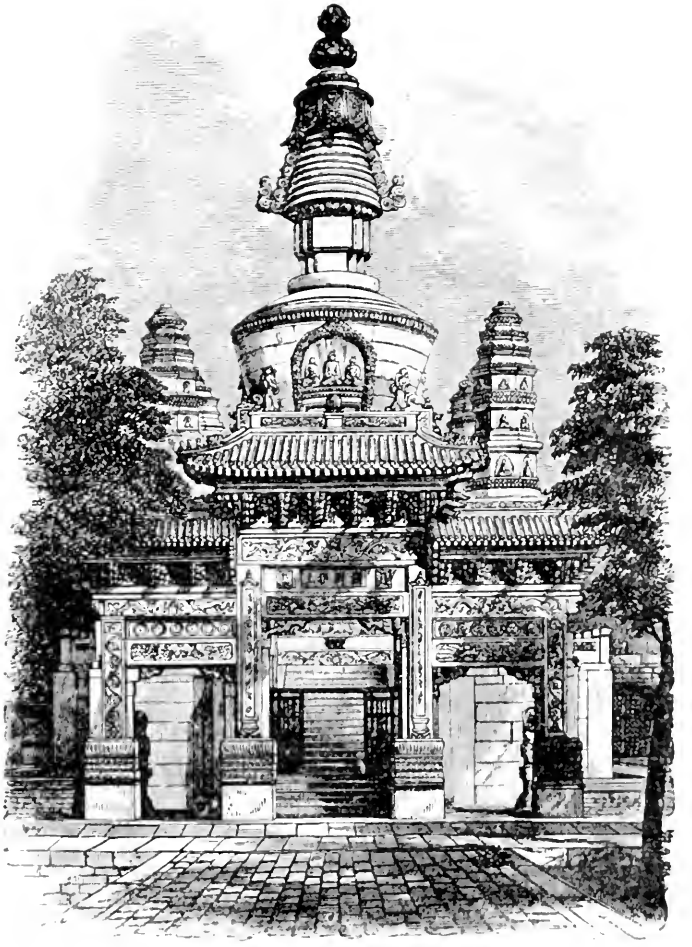
[1] Fergusson, from whom the cut on page 678 is taken, describes the temple thus: "It is situated close to the southern wall of the city in a square enclosure about a mile each way. From the outer gate a raised causeway leads to the temple, on either side of which are numerous buildings for the accommodation of the priests, which are approached by frequent flights of steps leading down to a park beautifully planted. At its inner extremity stands the temple itself, a circular building, three stories in height, with broad projecting roofs, the upper terminating in a gilt ball, directly under which stands the altar.

"The temple is raised on a circular pyramid, the three terraces of which are seen in the woodcut. There are several handsome gateways at intervals across the causeway, so arranged that from the entrance the circular temple itself can be seen through the long vista, framed as it were by them; and as the whole of the upper part is covered with blue tiles and gilding, the effect is said to be very pleasing.

"In the same enclosure is another temple called that of the Earth, where sacrifices of animals are annually offered to the gods, whoever they may be, to whom this temple is dedicated.

"These temples are said to have been erected about the year 1420, and, if so old, seem to be in a very fair state of preservation, considering the manner in which they are now neglected."

As time wore on, this lofty idea seems to have more and more developed his mind to a soberness and purity which overawed and attracted him. Nothing is said about his utterances while the war with England was progressing, but he must have known its progress and results. His cataleptic fits and visions seem not to have



GATEWAY OF BUDDHIST MONASTERY, PEKING
(Fergusson, p. 308.)

returned, and he pursued his vocation as a school-teacher until about 1843, having meanwhile failed in another trial to obtain his degree at Canton. In that year his wife's brother asked to take away the nine tracts of Liang A-fah to see what they contained;

when he returned them to Siu-tsuen he urged him to read them too.

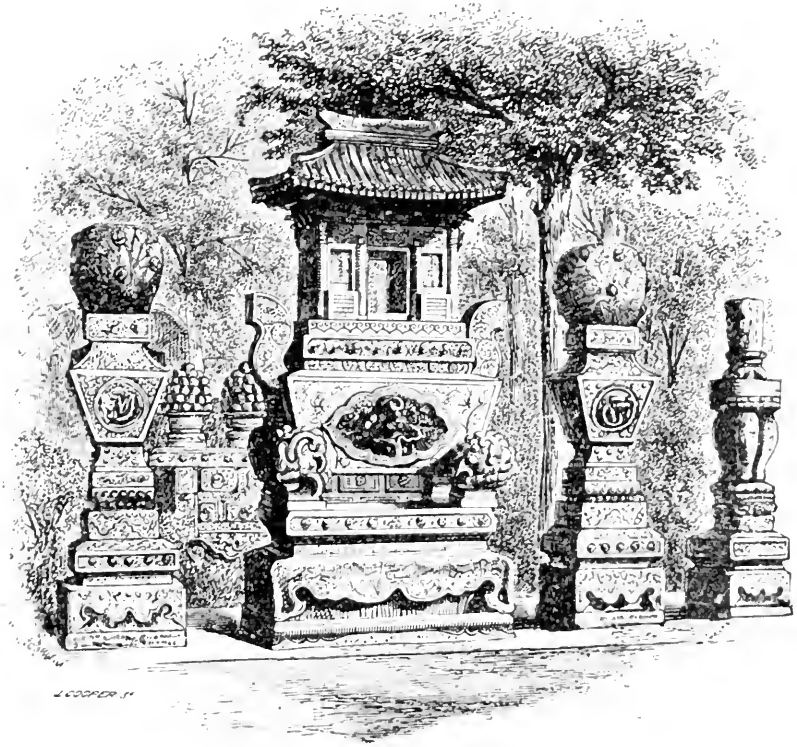
They consisted of sixty-eight short chapters upon common topics, selected from the Bible, and not exactly fitted to give him, in his excited state and total ignorance of Western books and religion, a fair notion of Christianity. As he read them he saw, as he thought, the true meaning of his visions. The venerable old man was no other than God the Father, and his guide was Jesus Christ, who had assisted him in slaying the demons. "These books are certainly sent purposely by heaven to me to confirm the truth of my former experience. If I had received them without having gone through the sickness, I should not have dared to believe in them, and by myself to oppose the customs of the whole world. If I had merely been sick, but not also received the books, I should have had no further evidence as to the truth of my visions, which might also have been considered as mere products of a diseased imagination."

This sounds reasonable, and commends itself as wholly unlike the ravings of a madman. Nevertheless, while it would be unwise for us to closely criticise this narrative in its details, and assert that Siu-tsuen's pretensions were all hypocritical, we must bear in mind the fact that he had certainly, neither at this time nor ever afterward, a clear conception of the true nature of Christianity, judging from his writings and edicts. The nature of sin, and the dominion of God's law upon the sinner; the need of atonement from the stain and effects of sin; Christ's mediatorial sacrifice; were subjects on which he could not possibly have received full instruction from these fragmentary essays.

In after days his conviction of his own divine calling to rule over China, seems to have blinded his understanding to the spiritual nature of the Christian Church. His individual penchant was insufficient to resist or mould the subordinates who accepted his mission for their own ends. But he was not a tool in their hands at any time, and his personal influence permeated the ignorant mass of reckless men around him to an extraordinary degree, while his skill in turning some of the doctrines and requirements of the Bible as the ground and proofs of his own authority indicated original genius, since the results were far beyond the reach of a cunning imposter. From first to last, beginning with poverty, obscurity, and weakness in Hwa, continuing with distinction, power, and royalty at Nanking and throughout its five adjacent provinces, and ending with defeat, desertion, and death in his own palace,

Hung never wavered or abated one jot of his claim to supreme rule on earth.

When his end was reported at Peking in August, 1864, thirty-one years after his receiving Liang A-fah's tracts, the imperial rescript sadly said: "Words cannot convey any idea of the misery and desolation he caused; the measure of his iniquity was full, and the wrath of both gods and men was roused against him."



TOMBS IN A CEMETERY NEAR PEKING.
(Fergusson, p 315)

A career so full of exceptional interest and notable incidents cannot, of course, be minutely described in this sketch. After Hung's examination of the tracts which had lain unnoticed in his hands for ten years, followed by his conviction of the real meaning of his visions in 1837, he began to proclaim his mission and exhort those around him to accept Christianity. Hung Jin (who furnished Mr. Hamberg with his statements) and a fellow-student, Fung Yun-shan, were his first converts; they agreed to put away all idols and the Confucian tablet out of their schools, and then baptised or

washed themselves in a brook near by, as a sign of their purification and faith in Jesus. As they had no portion of the Sacred Scriptures to guide them, they were at a loss to understand many things spoken of by Liang A-fah, but his expositions of the events and doctrines occurring in them were deeply pondered and accepted. The Mosaic account of creation and the flood, destruction of Sodom, sermon on the Mount, and nature of the final judgment, were given in them, as well as a full relation of Christ's life and death; and these prepared the neophytes to receive the Bible when they got it.

But the same desire to find proof of his own calling led Siu-tsuen to fix on fanciful renderings of certain texts, and, after the

PAILOO AT AMOI.
A monument of reverence to ancestors. (From Fergusson, p. 317.)

manner of commentators in other lands, to extract meanings never intended. A favorite conceit, among others, was to assume that wherever the character *tsuen*, meaning "whole," "altogether," occurred in a verse, it meant himself, and as it forms a part of the Chinese phrase for *almighty*, he thus had strong reasons (as he thought) for his course. The phrase *Tien kwoh*, denoting the "Kingdom of Heaven" in Christ's preaching, they applied to China. With such preconceived views it is not wonderful that the brethren were all able to fortify themselves in their opinions by the strongest

arguments. All those discourses in the series relating to repentance, faith, and man's depravity were apparently entirely overlooked by them.

The strange notions, unaffected earnestness, moral conduct, and new ideas about God and happiness of these men soon began to attract people to them, some to dispute and cavil, others to accept and worship with them. Their scholars, one and all, deserted them as soon as the Confucian tablet was removed from the schoolroom, and they were left penniless and unemployed, sometimes subjected to beatings and obloquy for embracing an outlandish religion, and at other times ridiculed for forsaking their ancestral halls.

The number of their adherents was too few to detain them at home, and in May, 1844, Siu-tseun, Yun-shan, and two associates resolved to visit a distant relative who lived near the Miaotsz' in Kwangsí, and get their living along the road by peddling ink-stones and pencils. They reached the adjoining district, Tsingyuen, where they preached two months and baptised several persons; some time after Hung Jin took a school there, and remained several years, baptising over fifty converts. Siu-tsuen and Yun-shan came to the confines of the Miaotsz' in Sinchau fu in three months, preaching the existence of the true God and of redemption by his Son, and after many vicissitudes reached their relative's house in Kwei hien among the mountains. Here they tarried all summer, and their earnest zeal in spreading the doctrines which they evidently had found so cheering to their own hearts, arrested the attention of these rude mountaineers, and many of them professed their faith in Christ.

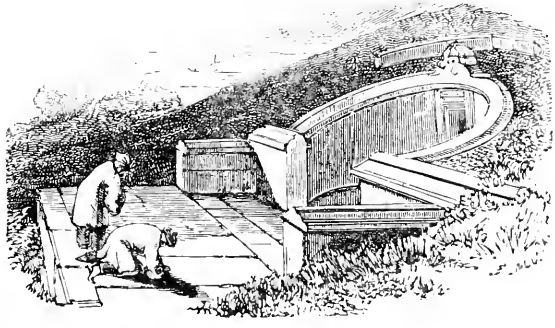
Siu-tsuen returned home in the winter, and was disappointed at not finding his colleague Yun-shan there as well as the other two, nor could he give any account of his course. It appeared afterward that Yun shan had met some acquaintances on his road, and became so much interested in preaching to them at Thistlemount that he remained there two years, teaching school and establishing churches.

Siu-tsuen continued to teach and preach the truth as he had learned it from the books in his hands. In 1846 he heard of I. J. Roberts, the American missionary, living at Canton, and the next spring received an invitation to come there and study. He and Hung Jin did so; the former remained with Mr. Roberts about two months, giving him a narrative of his own visions, conversion, and preaching, at the same time learning the nature and extent of

foreign mission work in that city. He made a visit home with two native Christians, who had been sent to Hwa to learn more about him. They seem to have obtained good reports of his character; but others in Mr. Roberts's employ were afraid of his influence if he should enter their church, and therefore intrigued to have him refused admission just then. Mr. Roberts appears to have acted

ANCESTRAL WORSHIP IN CHINA.
A conical mound. (Fergusson, p. 314.)

discreetly according to the light he had respecting the applicant's integrity, and would no doubt have baptised him had not the latter soon after left Canton, where he had no means of support.

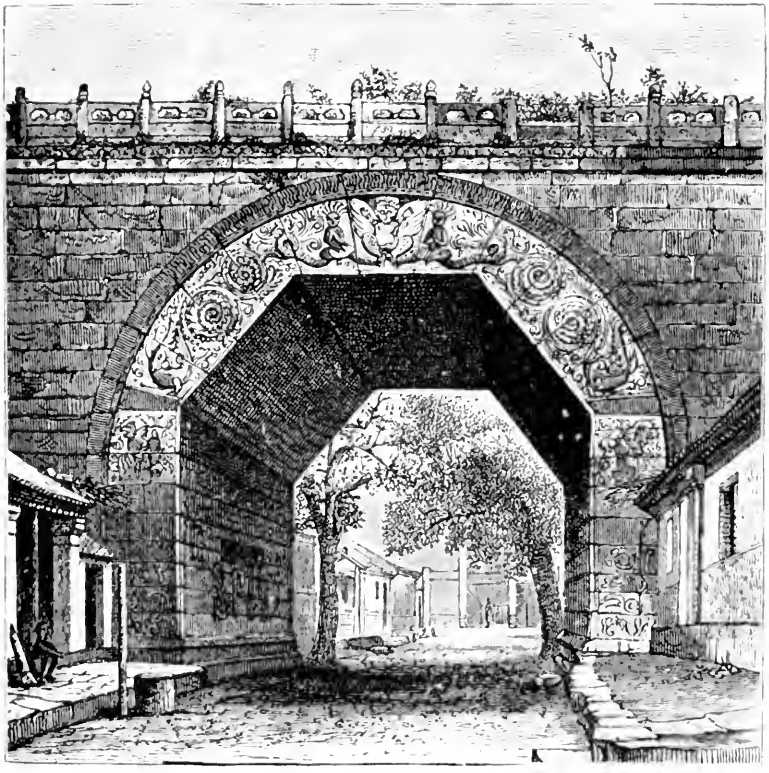


ANCESTRAL WORSHIP IN CHINA.
Grave with a horseshoe-shaped platform. (Fergusson, p. 314.)

At this time the political disturbances in Kwangtung seem to have greatly influenced Siu-tsuen's course, and when he reached home he made a second visit to his relative, and thence went to Thistle-mount to rejoin Fung Yun-shan. Hung Jin states that before this date he had expressed disloyal sentiments against the Manchus, but these are so common among the Cantonese that they

attracted no notice. On seeing Yun-shan and meeting the two thousand converts he had gathered, it is pretty certain that hopes of a successful resistance must have revived in his breast. A woman among them also began to relate some visions she had seen ten years before, foretelling the advent of a man who should teach them how to worship God.

The number of converts rapidly increased in three prefectures



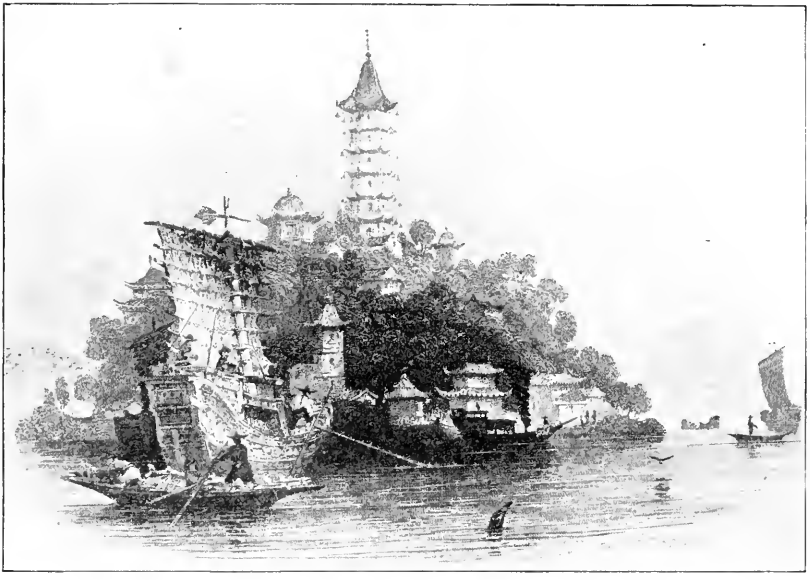
ARCHWAY OF THE GREAT WALL IN THE NANKAU PASS.
(From Fergusson, p. 324.)

adjacent to the River Yuh in the eastern part of Kwangsí, and no serious hindrance was met with from the officials, though there were not wanting enemies, by one of whom Yun-shan was accused and then thrown into prison. However, the prefect and district magistrate to whom the case was referred, finding no sufficient cause for punishment, liberated him; though the new sectaries had made themselves somewhat obnoxious to the idolaters by their

iconoclasm—so hard is it to learn patience and toleration in any country.

In many villages in that region the *Shangtí hwui*, or "Associations for worshipping God," began to be recognised, but they do not seem to have quoted the toleration edict obtained in 1844 in favor of Christianity, as that only spoke of the *Tien-chu kiao*, or Catholics. The worship of Shangtí is a peculiar function of the Emperor, and it is not surprising to be told by Hung Jin that the new sect was regarded as treasonable.

In 1848 Siu-tsuen's father died trusting in the new faith and directing that no Buddhist services be held at his funeral; the whole



SCENE ON THE YANG-TZE-KIANG.
Title-piece to *China: Land und Volk* (Stuttgart: Scheitlin).

family had by this time become its followers, and when the son and Yun-shan met them soon after, they began to discuss their future. The believers in Kwangsí were left to take care of themselves during the whole winter, and appear to have gone on with their usual meetings without hindrance.

In June, 1849, the two leaders left Hwa for Kwangsí, assisted by the faithful, and found much to encourage them in their secret plans in the general unity which pervaded the association. Some members had been favored with visions, others had become ex-

horters, denouncing those who behaved contrary to the doctrines; others essayed to cure diseases. Siu-tsuen was immediately acknowledged by all as their leader; he set himself to introduce and maintain a rigid discipline, forbade the use of opium and spirits, introduced the observance of the Sabbath, and regulated the worship of God. No hint of calling in the aid of a foreign teacher to direct them in their new services appears to have been suggested by any member, nor even of sending to Canton to engage the services of a native convert, though Liang A-fah was still living then. The whole year was thus passed at Thistle-mount, and the nucleus

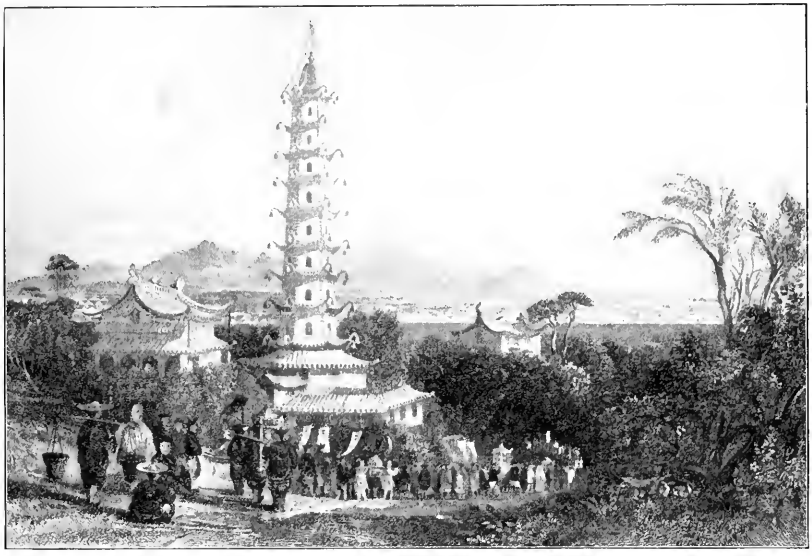
IMPERIAL PALACE IN THE TIGER MOUNTAINS, HU KIU SHAN.
Famous for its romantic scenery and many historical and legendary traditions.
(From Scheitlin, p. 107.)

of the future force thoroughly imbued with the ideas of their leader, who had, by June, 1850, gathered around him his own relatives and chosen his lieutenants.[1]

In 1850 the conflict had been begun by the followers of Siu-tsuen. In their zeal against idolatry they had destroyed temples and irritated the people, which ere long aroused a spirit of distrust and enmity; this was further increased by the long-standing feud

[1] The insurgents cut off the quene, allowed the hair to grow, and decided that all who joined the insurrectional movement should leave off the *chang* and the Tartar tunic, and should wear the robe open in the front, which their ancestors had worn in the time of the Mings.—Callery and Yvan, *History of the Insurrection in China*, translated by John Oxenford, page 61. London, 1853.

and mutual hatred between the *pun-tis* and *hakkas* (natives and squatters) which ran through society. Siu-tsuen and his chiefs were mostly of the latter class, and whenever villages were attacked and the hakkas worsted, they moved over to Thistle-mount and professed to worship Shangtí with Siu-tsuen. In this way the whole population had become more or less split up into parties. When a body of imperial soldiers sent to arrest him and Yun-shan were driven off, they availed themselves of the enthusiasm of their followers to gather them and occupy Lienchu, a large market-town in Kwei hien.



THE PORCELAIN TOWER AT NANKING.[1]
(Dedicated to Yu Wang, i. e., the Venerable Father, viz., Buddha.)

This proceeding attracted to their banner all the needy and discontented spirits in that region, but their own partisans were now able to regulate and employ all who came, requiring a close adherence to their religious tenets and worship. This town of

[1] The Porcelain tower is one of the most remarkable monuments of religious devotion, of a picturesque and yet grand and dignified appearance, the beauty of which is praised by all those who saw it as the most perfect and richest creation of Chinese architecture. The numerous lanterns that hung from its eaves were carved of thin oyster shells which gave to their lights a surprising irridenscence, when illuminated on a festive occasion. Twenty-eight pounds of oil were needed for the purpose.

The tower was destroyed by the fanaticism of the Tai Ping rebels who in their misguided, though truly Puritanic, hatred of idolatry recognised in it a symbol of paganism. Fergusson says of it that "the porcelain produced a brilliancy of effect which is totally lost in all the representa-

Lienchu was soon fortified, and the order of a camp began to appear among its possessors, who, however, spared the townspeople. The drilling of the force, now increased to many thousands, commenced; its vitality was soon tested when it was deemed best to cross the river and advance on Taitsun in order to obtain more room.

The imperialists were hoodwinked by a simple device, and when they found their enemy had marched off, their attack on the rear was repulsed with much loss. Like all their class, they turned their wrath on the peaceful inhabitants of Lienchu, killing and burning till almost nothing was left. This needless cruelty recoiled on themselves, and all the members of the *Shangti hwui*, loyal and disaffected alike, felt that their very name carried sedition in it, and they must join Siu-tsuen's standard or give up their faith. He had induced some recent comers belonging to the Triad Society to put their money into the military chest and to submit to his rules. One of his religious teachers had been detected embezzling the funds while on their way to the commissariat, but the public trial and execution of the man had served both as a warning and encouragement to the different classes who witnessed the affair. Most of the Triad chiefs, however, were afraid of such discipline, and drew off to the imperialists with the greater number of their followers. The

tions of it yet published," and the 144 bells "when tinkling in harmony to the evening breeze must have produced an effect as singular as pleasing."

The *Encyclopædia Britannica* describes it as follows:

"Beyond comparison the most conspicuous public building at Nanking was the famous porcelain tower, which was designed by the emperor Yung-lo (1403–1428) to commemorate the virtues of his mother. Twelve centuries previously an Indian priest deposited on the spot where this monument afterwards stood a relic of Buddha, and raised over the sacred object a small pagoda of three stories in height. During the disturbed times which heralded the close of the Yuen dynasty (1368) this pagoda shared the fate of the surrounding buildings, and was utterly destroyed. It was doubtless out of respect to the relic which then perished that Yung-lo chose this site for the erection of his "token-of-gratitude" pagoda. At noon on the fifteenth day of the sixth month of the tenth year of the reign of this monarch (1413) the building was begun. But before it was finished Yung-lo had passed away, and it was reserved for his successor to see the final pinnacle fixed in its place, after nineteen years had been consumed in carrying out the designs of the imperial architect. In shape the pagoda was an octagon, and was about 260 feet in height, or, as the Chinese say, with that extraordinary love for inaccurate accuracy which is peculiar to them, 32 chang (a chang equals about 120 inches) 9 feet 4 inches and .9 of an inch. The outer walls were cased with bricks of the finest white porcelain, and each of the nine stories into which the building was divided was marked by overhanging eaves composed of green glazed tiles of the same material. The summit was crowned with a gilt ball fixed on the top of an iron rod, which in its turn was encircled by nine iron rings. Hung on chains which stretched from this apex to the eaves of the roof were five large pearls of good augury for the safety of the city. One was supposed to avert floods, another to prevent fires, a third to keep dust-storms at a distance, a fourth to allay tempests, and a fifth to guard the city against disturbances. From the eaves of the several stories there hung one hundred and fifty-two bells, and countless lanterns adorned the same coignes of vantage. The strange form and beauty of the edifice, which might have been expected to have preserved it from destruction, were, however, no arguments in its favor in the eyes of the Taiping rebels, who razed it to the ground when they made themselves masters of Nanking."

defection furnished Siu-tsuen an opportunity to make known his settled opposition to this fraternity, and that every man joining his party must leave it. At this time the discipline and good order exhibited in the encampment at Taitsun must have struck the people around it with surprise and admiration, if the meagre accounts we have received are at all trustworthy.

About one year elapsed between the conflict near Lienchu and the capture of Yung-ngan chau, a city on the River Mei in Pingloh prefecture. During this period Siu-tsuen had become more and more possessed with the idea of his divine mission from the *Tien-fu*, or "Heavenly Father," as God was now commonly called, and the

PUNISHMENT OF SUSPECTED SYMPATHISERS WITH THE TAI-PING REBELS.
(From Scheitlin, p. 86.)

Tien-hiung, or "Heavenly Elder Brother," as he termed Jesus Christ. He began to seclude himself from the gaze of his followers, and deliver to them such revelations as he received for the management of the force committed to him to clear the land of all idolatry and oppression, and cheer the hearts of those pledged to the glorious cause.

In so large an army, composed of the most heterogeneous elements, it cannot be expected that there would be at any time much knowledge of the sacred Scriptures, on which its leaders based their assumed powers derived from the "Heavenly Father and Elder Brother"; but there certainly was a remarkable degree of

sobriety and discipline among them during the first few years of their existence. A most perplexing question, which increased in its urgency and difficulty as soon as opposition drove the rebel general to intrench himself at Lienchu, was temporarily arranged by forming a separate encampment for the women, and placing over them officers of their own sex to see that discipline was maintained. In doing this he allowed the married people as great facilities for the care of their children as was possible under the conditions of army life; but during their progress through the land in 1852 and 1853, much suffering must have been endured.

In 1852 the state and size of the army in Yung-ngan fully authorised the leaders of the revolt to march northward. Several engagements had given their men confidence in each other as they saw the imperialists put to flight; defeats had furthermore shown that their persevering enemy entertained no idea of sparing even one of them if captured. The want of provisions during their five month's siege within its walls further trained them to a certain degree of patient endurance; when, therefore, they broke through the besieging force in three divisions on the night of April 7, 1852, they were animated by success and hope to possess themselves of the Empire. . . . Nothing seemed able to resist the advance of the insurgents, and on March 8, 1853, they encamped before Nanking. It was garrisoned by Manchus and Chinese, who, however, made no better defence than their comrades in other cities; in ten days its walls were breached, and all the defenders found inside put to death, including Luh, the governor-general of the province. Chinkiang and Yangchau soon were dragged to the same fate, thus depriving the imperialists of their control of the Grand Canal.

When in possession of Nanking, Hung Siu-tsuen was formally proclaimed by his army to be Emperor of China, and assumed the style and insignia of royalty. Five leading chiefs were appointed to their several corps as South, East, West, North, and Assistant Kings; Fung Yun-shan was the Southern King.

The possession of Nanking, Chinkiang, and Kwachau, with the large flotilla along the Yangtsz' River west to Ichang in Hupeh, a distance of over six hundred miles, had entirely sundered the Emperor's authority over the seven southeastern provinces.

This rapid progress through the land since leaving Yung-ngan eleven months previously had spread consternation among the demoralised officers and soldiers of the Emperor, who, on his part, was as weak and ignorant as any of his subordinates. The sufferings of the people, except in a few large cities, were really owing

to the savage imperialists rather than to the Tai-pings. The latter grew in strength as they advanced, owing to indiscriminate slaughter on the part of their enemies of unoffending natives, and at last reached their goal with not much less than eighty thousand men.

Their position was now accessible to foreigners—who had been watching their rise and progress under great disadvantages in arriving at the truth—and they were soon visited by them in steamers. The first to do so was Governor Bonham in H. M. S. Hermes, accompanied by T. T. Meadows, one of the most competent linguists in China, who published the result of his inquiries. The visitors were at first received with incredulity, but this soon gave way to eager curiosity to learn the real nature of their religious views and practices. The insurgents themselves were even more ignorant of the foreigners than were these of the rebels, so that the interest could not fail to be reciprocal, nor could either party desire to come into collision with the other.

About two months after the cities of Nanking, Chinkiang, and Yangchau had been taken, garrisoned, and put in a state of defence by their inhabitants, working under the direction of Tai-ping officers, the leaders felt so much confidence in their cause, their troops, and their ability, that they despatched a division to capture Peking. Peking and the Great Pure dynasty were saved, however; while the failure of Hung Siu-tsuen to risk all on such an enterprise proved his ignorance of the real point of this contest. He never was able to undertake a second campaign, and his followers soon degenerated into banditti.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

APOSTLES OF ANNIHILATION.

BY FELIX L. OSWALD.

A CRITIC of Baron Herzen's *Memoirs* calls Nihilism the "Portent of the Nineteenth Century," and the phenomenon of a society for the promotion of reform by assassination has, indeed, only few precedents in the authentic history of the human race.

Human life is protected by the double safeguard of pity and fear. Strong passions may force their way through those barriers, but soon recoil, as from an abuse of their strength, and in its chronic sway over large numbers of our fellowmen the instinct of destruction indicates the influence of altogether abnormal circumstances.

"It would be a mistake," says Hippolyte Taine, "to suppose that the penchant for committing acts of physical violence is a characteristic of the ordinary soldier. The instigators of war are actuated by considerations of political expedience, its conductors by ambition, their subordinates mostly by compulsion, including that of poverty, or by the love of adventure and change."

An ill-paid army can be kept together only by extraordinary appeals to the instinct of approbativeness, as in times of national peril, when a country's defenders become its idols: and men who brave the perils of homicide, aggravated by the risk of exile and ostracism, may well be considered exceptional beings of our species.

Like our political pessimists, the followers of the Sheik-ul-Jebel, the "old chief of the mountains," were subject to frenzies of antagonism against the established government of their country, and yet it would be a libel on human nature to doubt that their fury of destruction was a result, rather than a cause, of their antisocial tendencies. The secret of its strength must have a moral significance and was perhaps only partly revealed in the remark ascribed to Aristides at the "Council of the Fleet," that the "re-

sentment of a cruel wrong is apt to inspire even the weak with passions of portentous power." An explanation of that fact is foreshadowed in the physiological curiosum that the bite of tortured creatures tends to become venomous.

It is nature's expedient for protecting the vanquished and limiting the abuse of a victor's power. Subjugated nations, reduced apparently almost to *caput mortuum*, have more than once rallied with a vengeance, in the extreme dynamic sense of the word. But it should be added that devotion to imperilled social and religious causes has occasionally resulted in similar revolts. The Hussites, in the paroxysms of their religious excitement, hurled back armies in a manner that made monarchs tremble on their thrones. The fanatic leader of the Carmanite rebels had religious grievances to avenge, and the contempt of death evinced by his followers, appears to have reached a *ne-plus-ultra* rarely approached even in the fever of the French Revolution.

"What threats do you suppose could avail to intimidate such men as mine?" he asked the envoy of the Chalif; then summoning two of the sentries: "Stab thyself," he said, "and thou throw thyself from this tower-wall," and was instantly obeyed in both cases.

Thomas Muentzer, the apostle of the Peasants' War, was a religious, as well as political, enthusiast, and the chief of the remorseless Taiping insurgents used to harrangue his men in the style of a Mahdi, rallying the Jehade against the enemies of Heaven.

The remorseless brotherhood known as the Society of Thugs was at first inspired by similar motives. Their founder, the Rishi Aharvadya, was a native of southern Nepaul, at the foot of the Himalayas, where the creed of their ancestors had been worsted in competition with Brahmin and Mohammedan sects, and could avoid suppression only by shifts similar to those of the persecuted Waldenses. Hunted from mountain to mountain, the outlaws tried to conceal the secret of their survival, but were given no breathing-spell and finally evolved that doctrine of homicidal vendetta that made their name a terror to all Hindostan. The avengers soon declared war against the property, as well as the lives, of their oppressors. The temples of their goddess Kâli had been despoiled, and to redress her wrongs, bands of trained man-hunters roamed the country, throttling and burying their victims with the co-operative skill of well-drilled soldiers, and rifling their pockets to recover a portion of what the priests of the serpent-haired deity aught them to consider perverted wealth.

With squadrons of Mohammedan regulators at their heels, the murderous fanatics eventually crossed the border and transferred the scene of their activity to southern India, where they had at first been hospitably received as martyrs of religious persecution.

The tolerance of their new neighbors gave them a fatal advantage in pursuit of their practices. Buddhist pilgrims, Parsee merchants, and European travellers had to expiate the sins of Mussulman bigots, and for many years the British Government stood aloof, trusting to its maxim of letting the numberless sects of the great peninsula settle their own quarrels.

As a consequence, Thuggism became defiant; informers were threatened with death, and the highpriests of the redhanded brotherhood openly celebrated every successful raid of the "avengers," as they called their gangs of masked highway robbers. Mahâkâli ("Kâli the Great") inspired her devotees with oracles, demanding vengeance upon the despisers of her name. The peaceful re-establishment of her worship had, indeed, become more hopeless than ever. It implied sacrifices akin to those of the Moloch temples, and as obnoxious to the champions of civilisation as the practice of cremating widows and assisting religious suicide by the procession of the Juggernaut. The tendencies of the age were offensive to Kâli, and her frowns stimulated the campaign of retribution.

Even thus the "Assassins," or hashish-fuddled followers of the Sheik-ul-Jebel, became enemies of law and order, though their revolt had at first been a measure of self-defence, a protest against intolerable and unremitting persecution. Their vendetta, originally inspired by the cruelty of Mussulman sectarians, was ultimately directed against all dissenters whatever, as well as against all sorts of secular adversaries.

Jennar Pasha, the governor of the Lebanon, finally deputied a hundred dervishes to arouse the natives to a sense of their danger, having found by experience that "the madness of the assassins was arrow-proof," meaning that a campaign of extermination could not be conducted with physical weapons alone.

The managers of the crusade against Thuggism came to a similar conclusion. Sir William Jones, indeed, was obliged to admit that the epidemic of assassination could no longer be mistaken for a self-limited disorder; but, on the other hand, the truculence of such native chiefs as the Sultan of Hydrabad proved to defeat its own purpose. The friends of roasted and skewered bandits posed as martyrs, and often contrived to conciliate the favor of the anti-Mohammedan country-population. Banishment was found a mere

palliative. Emissaries of the exiled leaders returned to rekindle the smouldering embers of fanaticism.

But a remedy was at last found in the persistent agitation against the principles of Kâli-worship and the restless pursuit of actual criminals.

The masses of the country population were induced to join in the hue and cry, and the scattered remnants of the Nepaul refugees before long decided to return to the land of their fathers. The climate of the south provinces had become too hot for them.

And history may have to repeat itself in the campaign for the suppression of Nihilism, as it unmistakably repeated itself in the evolution of the strange doctrine that has defied ordinary methods of exorcism. It is a suggestive fact that the European seed-plots of anarchic fanaticism were for centuries the scenes of feudal practices tending to drive discontent to the extreme of a protest against all organised government whatever. A combination of political, social, and religious despotism had turned the scales against the dread of chaos, and made the lot of primitive savages seem a comparatively enviable one.

The regicide mania, too, was encouraged by the peculiar abuses of monarchical institutions and the vulnerable points of their autocratic forms. A mediæval potentate was something more than the figurehead of his state, something more important than a statue on top of a triumphal arch. He was often the very keystone of the structure and his removal could be warranted to result in far-sounding and far-rolling consequences.

"I'm the state," he could say with Louis XIV., in a sense illustrated at his death by a complete change of national politics. The removal of Philip II. would have established the independence of the Netherlands. The death of Frederick Barbarossa gave all southern Europe a breathing spell. The cause of the Servian patriots went under with the hero-chief Skanderbeg. As late as 1760 the removal, by death or capture, of King Frederick would have crushed the budding power of the Prussian monarchy.

Hence one of the two fundamental anachronisms of Nihilism, —its second fallacy being the hopelessness of an attempt to enforce primitive institutions upon our complex social conditions.

For the days of the One-Man power are gone to return no more, and the fall of a political housetop ornament may hardly be felt in the lower stories of the building. The policy of constitutional monarchies can survive an entire dynasty of monarchs.

The chief motive of regicide has, in fact, been largely elim-

inated. One might as well try to stop a steamer by target-practice at a flag that can be re-hoisted at short notice.

But the strange fact remains that the frequency of political assassinations has enormously increased within the last hundred years.

Has representative government missed its purpose? The truth seems to be that the manifestations of hereditary influences cannot be abrogated at short notice. King-murder, though restrained by the dread of barbarous penalties, had become a passion of the latter Middle Ages, and the partial removal of the restraint now brings deep-rooted tendencies to the surface.

Modern rulers, in fact, are expiating the sins of their predecessors. And the epidemic of regicide will perhaps continue to spread; but conspirators, who would refuse to admit the immorality of their plan, may at least consent to recognise its ineffectiveness.

MISCELLANEOUS.

A NEW TRANSLATION OF THE FAMOUS EGYPTIAN "BOOK OF THE DEAD."

The various compositions which the Egyptians inscribed upon the walls of their tombs and sarcophagi, their coffins and funeral shafts, their papyri and amulets, for the purpose of insuring the well-being of their dead in the world beyond the grave, are known to the world as *The Book of the Dead*, a complete translation of which by the great Egyptologist Dr. E. A. Wallace Budge has just been issued by the Open Court Publishing Co. The origin of this great collection of religious texts is shrouded in the mists of remote antiquity. The very title, *Book of the Dead*, is unsatisfactory, as it does not in any way describe the contents of the mass of religious texts, hymns, litanies, etc., which are now best known by that name; and it is no rendering whatever of their ancient Egyptian title: "REU NU PERT EM HRU," which means literally "Chapters of Coming Forth by Day." The name, however, is more satisfactory than that of "Ritual of the Dead," or "Funeral Ritual," as it has been called, for the compositions certainly do refer to the dead and what happens to the dead in the world beyond. The ideas and beliefs embodied in its texts are coeval with Egyptian civilisation; some of them are known to have existed in the fifth and sixth dynasties, or about 3500 B. C.; others date from the pre-dynastic period, and are the expression of the religious views of that prehistoric Northeast African race which formed the main indigenous substratum of the dynastic Egyptians. The book was old even in the reign of Semti, a king of the first dynasty, and was copied and recopied and added to by one generation after another, for a period of nearly 5000 years. It is the great national religious composition of Egypt, the embodiment of the history of its religious literature. Every pious Egyptian, whether king or plowman, queen or maid-servant, lived with the teaching of *The Book of the Dead* before his eyes, was buried according to its directions, and based his hope of everlasting life and happiness upon the efficacy of its hymns and prayers and words of power. It was to him the all-powerful guide along the road which, passing through death and the grave, led into the realms of light and life and into the presence of the divine being Osiris, the conqueror of death, who made men and women "to be born again."

The story of the decipherment of the Egyptian papyri and the Egyptian hieroglyphic script, while an exceedingly fascinating one, is too long to be told in this place; suffice it to say that scholars long ago succeeded in translating the Egyptian writings, and that the problems which remain are largely of a technical character and similar to those which confront students of the early forms of all historic languages. Several translations of the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* have already ap-

peared in German, French, and Italian. A monumental edition of the hieroglyphic text, with English translation, hieroglyphic vocabulary, colored plates, and full critical and historical apparatus, by E. A. Wallace Budge, keeper of the Egyptian-Assyrian antiquities in the British Museum, was also published four years ago by Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. of London, and was favorably received by the learned world. The work was a bulky and expensive one, and beyond the reach of the general reading public. After its appearance frequent requests were made that Mr. Budge's English translation might be issued in a smaller and handier form. The complete English translation of *The Book of the Dead*, with introductory historical and critical matter, index, etc., was accordingly put up on the market, and the sale of the work in America placed in the hands of The Open Court Publishing Co., of Chicago, as sole agents. (Three Vols., Crown 8vo. Pages, 702. Price, $3.75 net.) The collection of religious compositions here translated is generally known as the Theban Recension or edition of *The Book of the Dead*, that is to say, that edition of the great national funeral work which was copied by the Egyptian scribes for themselves and for Egyptian kings and queens, princes and nobles, gentle and simple, rich and poor, from about B. C. 1600 to B. C. 900.

The translation in the volumes under review is no mere reprint, but has been carefully revised and compared with the original texts, with the addition of many explanatory notes. To make the edition as complete as possible, more than 400 vignettes, head-pieces, tail-pieces, and marginal pictures taken from the best papyri have been reproduced. These vignettes are the pictures which the Egyptian scribes and artists made to illustrate the general contents of their chapters. They have been specially drawn for the books now published by the Open Court Publishing Company, and faithfully represent the originals in form and outline. The translations belong to the group to which, as we have noted above, the Egyptians gave the name "Chapters of Coming Forth by Day," and contain also many introductory hymns and supplementary abstracts from ancient cognate works, rubrics, etc., which were intended to be used as words of power by the deceased in the underworld. Mr. Budge, who is one of the greatest living Egyptologists, has added to his translation popular chapters on the literary history of *The Book of the Dead*, on the doctrines of Osiris, and the Judgment and Resurrection, and on the general contents of *The Book of the Dead*. Everything, in fact, has been done to place within the reach of the student of history, philosophy, and religion, the material necessary to gain a thorough comprehension of the theory of life and immortality held by one of the greatest and most ancient races of the world.

AN INDUSTRIAL AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

Mr. Edward P. Cheyney, Professor of European History in the University of Pennsylvania, has given us a pleasant and readable book in his recently published *Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England*.[1] The work of correlating the intellectual, social, economic, and industrial phases of a nation's development with its political and military history, while distinctly indicated by Voltaire, remained the work of the last half of the present century, and has only lately found full recognition in the elementary educational field. Professor Cheyney's book, which is of this character and is especially intended for high schools and colleges, meets in a commendable manner the requirements which should be

[1] New York: The Macmillan Company. London; Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1901. Pp., x, 317.

exacted of such a manual. To bring the economic and social aspects of England's life into correlation with the other features of its historical development, he has added an introductory chapter on the general history of the nation from the beginning to the middle of the fourteenth century, speaking of its geography and natural resources (illustrated by a physiographic map), of the prehistoric, the Roman, the early Saxon, the Danish, and the late Saxon periods, the Norman Conquest, and the early Angevin Kings. For the same purpose, introductory narrative paragraphs have been prefixed to each chapter. Chapters II., III., and IV., consider "Rural Life and Organisation," "Town Life and Organisation," and "Mediæval Trade and Commerce." Here are treated the mediæval village and agricultural system, the life of the manor and the manor courts, town government, the gild merchants, the craft gilds, the non-industrial gilds, the markets and fairs, the trade of England with Italy, Flanders, and the Hanseatic league,—all illustrated

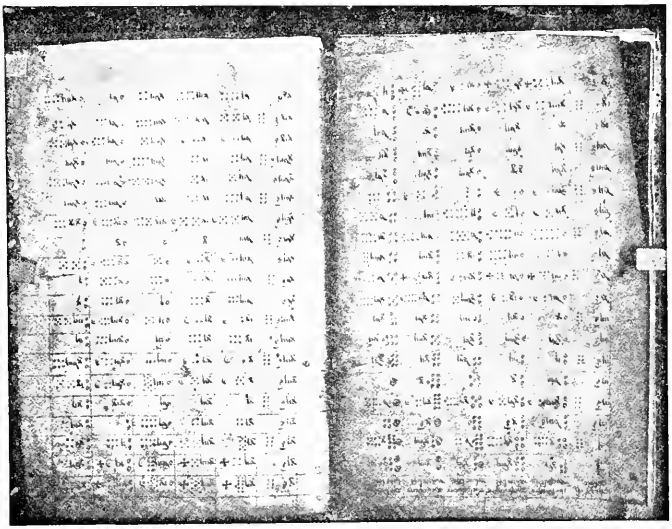


TABLE OF ASSIZE OF BREAD IN RECORD BOOK OF CITY OF HULL.
(From Cheyney's *Industrial and Social History of England*. After Lambert.)

by pictures of manor houses, agricultural scenes, mural architecture, charters of boroughs, gild rolls, maps of the location of the principal English fairs of the thirteenth century, of the trade routes between England and the continent, etc., etc. One of the illustrations of these chapters, viz., a table of assize of bread in the record book of the city of Hull, has been reproduced to accompany the present notice.

One of the most interesting chapters is that devoted to the Black Death and the Peasants' Rebellion (later fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries). By the Black Death, one half of the population of England was destroyed, and the economic results of this great diminution of the population were very great: much land escheated to the great landlords on the extinction of families of free tenants and of villains and cotters; while, on the other hand, rents were greatly reduced, and the commutation of services, or the substitution of money payments for labor, became

general, as consequently did the manumission of service also. This chapter also is illustrated.

Chapters VI., VII., VIII., IX., and X. are devoted respectively to the following subjects: "The Breaking up of the Mediæval System," involving the economic changes of the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as exhibited in the decay of the gilds, the growth of commerce, and of the great English trading corporations; "The Economic Expansion of England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," where such topics as the extension of agriculture and the domestic system of manufactures are considered; "The Industrial Revolution of the Later Eighteenth and the Early Nineteenth Centuries," the age of the great mechanical inventions, of the factory system, of iron and coal transportation, of the decay of domestic manufacture, and of individualism run rampant; "The Extension of Government Control" in the shape of factory legislation, the modification of land ownership, sanitary regulations, etc.; and lastly, "The Extension of Voluntary Association," as seen in the history of trade unions, trusts, and co-operative enterprises. All these chapters are illustrated with reproductions of specimens of domestic, municipal, and trade architecture, maps of trade routes, of the distribution of population, pictures of inventions and inventors and of scenes in labor districts, etc., etc.

The quantity of instructive material offered in these illustrations and in the simple text accompanying them is great, while the materials for a more detailed study of the matters in question are indicated by bibliographies of the literature and sources, appended to each chapter.

ANARCHISM AMONG PRIMITIVE PEOPLES.

Anarchism is as old as and indeed older than human civilisation. Primitive man was so weak that he could not face the surrounding dangers of life alone, and so he had to apply for mutual help to his fellowmen. Thus an association of all the members of the tribe became a necessity; but property was communistic, because it belonged to everybody and to every one alike. The anarchic state of mankind lasted for a long time, and underwent a change only when the institution of private ownership of property was established.

There are, however, still a number of peoples living to-day whose social conditions are anarchic in the true sense of the word.

A few extracts from the writings of prominent ethnologists will prove the truth of this contention.

Schoolcraft says of the Chippewayans: "Though they have no regular government, as every man is lord in his own family, they are influenced more or less by certain principles which conduce to their general benefit."

Of the unorganised Shoshones, Bancroft writes: "Every man does as he likes. Private revenge, of course, occasionally overtakes the murderer, or, if the sympathies of the tribe be with the murdered man, he may possibly be publicly executed, but there are no fixed laws for such cases."

From the Nagas of India we learn that they acknowledge no king among themselves, and deride the idea of such a personage among others; their "villages are continually at feud." . . . "Every man being his own master, his passions and inclinations are ruled by his share of brute force." And then we read that "petty disputes and disagreements about property are settled by a council of elders, the litigants voluntarily submitting to their arbitration. But correctly speaking, there

is not the shadow of a constituted authority in the Naga community, and, wonderful as it may seem, this want of government does not lead to any marked degree of anarchy." That is to say, anarchy is well at hand, but not in the form of a state of disorder.

The Greenland Esquimaux too are entirely without political control; having nothing which represents it more clearly than the deference paid to the opinion of some old man skilled in seal-catching and the signs of the weather. But an Esquimaux who is offended by another has his remedy in what is called a singing-combat. He composes a satirical poem and challenges his antagonist to a satirical duel in face of the tribe: "He who has the last word wins the trial." Indeed, a very simple and harmless way to settle quarrels!

Of one of the tribes of the northwest coast we read that "the Salish can hardly be said to have any regular form of government," a fact that has been confirmed by Professor Boas of New York

Besides that form of "government," which indeed reminds us of "anarchistic principles, we find among primitive peoples another form of "law," which stands in a certain connexion to the facts mentioned. After the death of a tribal chief it is customary among many West African peoples that for quite a while a state of lawlessness and liberty prevails in such a way that everybody does as he pleases until a new chief is elected, who re-establishes the old order. It was the same in the Middle Ages, when after the death of the pope people were allowed to sack the papal palace, the Lateran. A similar outburst we may also recognise in the right given in Africa to young men who are to be circumcised, to steal and to plunder for a couple of weeks.

Among the natives of New Zealand, called Muru, people are in the habit of plundering everything in the house of a family where a crime has been committed or an unhappy event has occurred. This curious fact can, however, not be considered as a "punishment" or "revenge," because nobody sees any harm in it, nor does the house-owner conceal the names of the plunderers. The pillage reaches also sometimes those who had nothing to do with the crime, as it is reported by Captain Brown, who says that the home of a chief was sacked because his wife had committed adultery.

In Japan the legalised "sacking" is called "Harai." It was formerly practised in the houses of those who had lost a friend or a relative, until the custom was suppressed by an imperial edict.

These examples, which can be multiplied by many others, may suffice to show that a certain form of anarchism existed all over the world and still exists among many peoples.

There is but one way of dealing with the anarchism of a propaganda by action, viz., by means of an open and fearless discussion of the social problem, and not by violent measures and speeches, or by a suppression of free speech.

CHARLES L. HENNING.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

DOMESTIC SERVICE. By *Lucy Maynard Salmon*. Second Edition. With an Additional Chapter on Domestic Service in Europe. New York: The Macmillan Co.; London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1901. Pages, xxvii, 338. Price, $2.00.

The perplexing problems of household labor in America have received exhaustive treatment in this large work. Miss Salmon's investigations rest upon informa-

tion obtained through a series of blanks sent out to employers and employees, mainly through Vassar alumnae and on the returns of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor. Almost every kind of information, historical as well as economic, is contained in the work, and the social and industrial advantages and disadvantages of domestic service, both from the standpoint of the employer and the employee, are thoroughly considered. The remedies which have already been advanced for the amelioration of conditions in this field, as well as the possible remedies which have not yet been tried, also are ventilated.

We learn from Miss Salmon's discussions that household service does not occupy an isolated position; through inventions and social changes it also has suffered its revolutions during the past hundred years, the main difference being that it has not yet been adapted to the changed conditions and has not been regarded as subject to the same general economic laws as other fields of labor. The main directions in which the solution of the difficulties of household employments lies are as follows: (1) The recognition of domestic service as a part of the great industrial questions of the day; (2) The removal from domestic service of the social stigma which attaches to it, and which formerly attached to physicians, lawyers, clergymen, and traders generally; (3) The institution of ways and means for taking both work and worker out of the house of the employer,—rendering necessary a simplification of household management and a greater flexibility in household employments, all of which are at present cumbersome and antiquated in character; (4) The putting of domestic employment on a purely business basis, which would render impossible the payment by the rich of high wages for unskilled labor, and also some agreement between employers as to standards of work and wages before classing domestic service as skilled labor; and (5) The introduction of profit-sharing, for the purpose of placing household employment on a business basis.

We have not the space to do more than indicate the nature of Miss Salmon's inquiries; it will be apparent, however, from the little said that the consideration of domestic service in the light of her researches would in time do much to ameliorate one of the greatest of existing evils. *p.*

The fourth volume of M. E de Roberty's series of works on ethics considered as elementary sociology has appeared. M. de Roberty is professor in the New University of Brussels and has written much on philosophical questions. His books are not easy to read, and it would be difficult to sketch his ideas in a few words. The reader may be referred, therefore, to M. Arréat's Correspondence in *The Monist* for July, 1901, where the system is outlined. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1900. Pages, 223. Price, 2 francs 50.)

We shall publish in a future number of *The Open Court* a translation of the Tai-Ping Canon, viz., the canonical poem of the Tai-Ping rebels, which was designed to replace and imitate the style of the canon of the Three Classics, the main educational book of Chinese schools, a translation of which has appeared in *The Open Court*, Vol. IX., No. 29. The Tai-Ping Canon is decidedly a Christian document, and will go far to disprove the assumption that the Christianity of the Tai-Pings was spurious.

Elementary Mathematics

A Brief History of Mathematics. By the late *Dr. Karl Fink*, Tübingen, Germany. Translated by *Wooster Woodruff Beman*, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Michigan, and *David Eugene Smith*, Principal of the State Normal School at Brockport, N. Y. With biographical notes and full index. Pp. 345. Cloth, $1.50 net (5s. 6d. net).

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