The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Editor: Dr. Paul Carus.
Assistant Editor: T. J. McCormack.
Associates: E. C. Hegeler. Mary Carus.

VOL. XV. (no. 6) June, 1901. NO. 541

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CHICAGO

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PRAJNÂPÂRAMITÂ.

THE PERFECTION OF WISDOM.

Specimen of the Ancient Buddhistic Art of Java. (Royal Museum of Leyden.)

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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OUR GOLDEN-RULE-TREATY WITH CHINA, AND OUR MISSIONARIES.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

IN 1796 President Washington sent to the Senate a treaty with Tripoli whose opening article is as follows:

"As the Government of the United States of America is not in any sense founded on the Christian religion,—as it has in itself no character of enmity against the laws, religion, or tranquillity of Mussulmans,—and as the said States have never entered into any war or act of hostility against any Mahometan nation, it is declared by the parties that no pretext arising from religious opinions shall ever produce an interruption of the harmony between the two countries."

This treaty was at once ratified by the Senate. Precisely seven centuries before (1096) began the Crusades which for nearly two centuries hurled the armies of Christendom against Islam. But even from the time of Constantine in whose vision shone a Cross with suffering Jesus detached from it,—a mere blazon of victory,—Christianity was known to non-Christian mankind as the banner of conquerors, fierce avengers, sharp traders, lax in morals, rigid in creed, cruelly intolerant. The words of George Washington quoted above were not casual, nor was their ratification by the Senate—which contained great men—thoughtless. They had severed a nation from the old world and meant it to be an asylum for all mankind, and they seized the first occasion that arose to separate the New World boldly from the evil, blood-stained, and intolerant history and reputation of Christianity. By implication the treaty affirms that the Christian religion *has in itself a character of enmity against the laws, religion, and tranquillity of Mussulmans.*

Although political and commercial exigencies have necessitated some *modus vivendi* between the so-called Christian nations and so-called pagans, it is obvious that Christianity has in its claim to be the only divinely revealed religion a character of enmity to all non-Christian religions. This character it possesses "in itself," and it was as genuinely, however subconsciously, in the missionary besieging the pagan's soul as in the crusader slaying his body. From what were pagan souls to be saved? From their religion. The *raison d'être* of the missionary was that other religions systematically bore souls to perdition, and must be supplanted by the only saving faith—the Gospel.

Belief in the inevitable damnation of unconverted heathen carried into the mission fields able and self-sacrificing men like Cary, Heber, Judson, Morrison, Groves, and the notion lasted long enough to enlist the youthful energies of greater men, among them Francis William Newman, Dr. Legge, Dr. Livingston, and Colenso. But meanwhile the doctrine that a good man must be damned because he was a Buddhist or a Mohametan fell into disrepute. Sixty years ago the clergy began to retreat into phrases about "the uncovenanted mercies of God," and to extort our dimes and dollars by blood-curdling fictions about mothers casting their babes to crocodiles, devotees crushed under Juggernaut (the death-hating deity, near whom no destruction of life is possible), and especially by the immortal falsities of Heber's hymn,—the deadliest being

> "They call us to deliver
> Their land from error's chain."

That the poor heathen call for our missionary and long for him instead of trembling at sight of him and see their chain in his hand, will of course remain the faith of vulgar conventicles, but among educated Christians the old foundations of proselytism have crumbled. The learned men relinquished that field: Legge to introduce Christians to Chinese sages greater than their own, Livingston to devote himself to exploration and science, Colenso and Newman to show Christendom that its religion is untrue and that it needs missionaries more than the foreign lands. The mission fields are now filled by inferior men. There is no educated Christian who believes that a man will be damned for being a Buddhist or a Confucian. The missionary Boards continue their assemblies, and go on singing Heber's fantasies, such as that about Ceylon—

> "[Where] every prospect pleases
> And only man is vile,"

though every instructed person knows that in any large city in

Christendom more crime and immorality occur in one day than Ceylon knows in a year. (A Singhalese in Ceylon told me that it is well-known there that Heber wrote his lines because a Moslem in Colombo sold him a large emerald that turned out to be glass.) The missionaries in Ceylon and India seem to be well aware that they cannot claim any superior moral fruits for the Christian tree, and the only argument I heard from them was the larger prosperity and progress of Christendom.

And I remark, by the way, that the Rev. William Weber (in *The Monist*, April, 1901) uses a similar argument with regard to modern Christian nations, "that they rank on the scale of progress and civilisation in exact proportion to their more or less thorough acceptance of the yoke and burden of Christ." The rationalist would say that the most thoroughly Christianised countries are the most backward, and that the progress of the leading nations has been *pari passu* with their growth in scientific materialism and skepticism, but my citation of the idea is only to note a certain gesture in contemporary Christianity. At a time when the progress and civilisation of the foremost nations are saliently represented by their exploitation of the weak, by the unrestrained murder of innocent negroes in the United States, the desolation of homes and farms in South Africa, the looting of China, their yoke and burden of Christ appears painfully like that imposed on Europe by the swords of Constantine, Theodosius, and Charlemagne.

To recur to the missionaries, their main claim, that the superior progress of Western nations results from their Christianity, is a fallacy: each Western nation is, so to say, a cord of many racial strands, the Asiatic countries being more nearly single races. One need only contrast the greatness of pagan Greece with the insignificance of Christianised Greece to find that the finest civilisation is by no means a fruit of Christianity. In fact there has never been a real civilisation planted in any nation by a propaganda of Christianity. National prestige once involved, a flag lifted, and the one great necessity is to win; success, at whatever cost, comes to mean "progress"; all sorts of meanness, trickery, crime, inhumanity, are condoned for the sake of triumph, and the world is thus gained for a religion through the loss of its soul. Jesus, prophet of the individual heart and happiness, concerned for no kingdom but that "within," warned his friends against foreign missions, even so near as Samaria, and in trying to reform their own countrymen to withdraw from cities where they were persecuted. Their outward victories would there be inward defeats. What becomes

of humility, charity, of sweetness and simplicity, amid the egotism, ambition, and other vulgar passions awakened by a competition in pushing, shoving, elbowing others to get ahead?

A proclamation of the "Twentieth Century National Campaign," signed by leading ministers of various sects, aims at the conquest of the world for Christ. "To Him 'all power has been given in heaven and on earth.' In Him and His Gospel lies the solution of every problem which besets and troubles humanity." It is not the wild unreason of such talk as this that is so distressing, not the familiar absurdity of appealing for a fund in aid of omnipotence, but it is the vulgar war-whoop in it. All the religious teachers in America put together would not produce one Confucius, or a Buddha, or a Zoroaster, but the war-god called Christ is to exterminate those great brothers of Jesus! The edict goes forth from a land whose only founders of religions are thus far Joe Smith and Mrs. Eddy, and from a nation which has seen the Gospel quoted equally for and against slavery, for and against peace, for and against polygamy, for and against Christian scientism, for and against silverism, socialism, divorce, proving itself—that same Gospel—unable to solve any problem that has ever beset and troubled this country!

Of course our Twentieth Century campaigners would disclaim all carnal weapons in carrying out their aims; their millennial vision of all the varied fruits in the garden of the earth transformed to American pippins is to be fulfilled by Christian horticulture; but recent experiences in Turkey and in China prove that if the new crusade requires bloodshed blood will be shed. The one thing needful is triumph. The clamor that we should make war on Turkey unless some ruined mission property was paid for was not because of $90,000, which excited the ridicule of Europe, but because, first, of the necessity that Christ should score a victory over an "infidel" sovereign; and secondly, that the position taken up by President Washington should be reversed, and the Christian propaganda avowedly adopted by the United States and protected by its military forces in a salient way. No government is responsible for property destroyed by a mob unless collusion of its officials be proved in its own courts, yet such was the missionary pressure that a warship would have been sent, as I have reason to believe, had not one of our foreign ministers cabled, "Remember the Maine!" To satisfy the missionaries the fiction was invented that the ninety thousand had been indirectly paid.

The first steps of the United States in its new career as a world-

power has brought us into the novel situation of having to deal with non-Christian religionists. Lord Salisbury's declaration that it had become proverbial in such lands that the missionary comes first, the soldier next, and finally the loss of territory, needs modification in our case only by the substitution of $25,000,000 indemnity for territory. It is to be hoped that some Congressman will demand a detailed account of the losses that justify this demand, and take care that no indemnity of missionaries or of their converts is included in it. The reasons for this will presently appear.

Dr. Ament, who has long been chief of the American missions in China, traces the Boxer outbreak to a priest, "a hypnotist of great power" recently executed at Pekin, and who "produced the charms and incantations by which the Boxers considered themselves invulnerable to bullets." I recently received a circular (1900–1901) asking help for circulating the Bible, from which I learn that the American Bible Society is especially industrious in China, 514,295 having been distributed last year in five different dialects. The priest's incantations for invulnerability were probably based on Mark xvi. 17, 18. It is only in the closing verses of Mark xvi., long admitted to be spurious, that the notion is found that the non-Christian world will be damned; and only in the same spurious verses that Christ commands his disciples to preach "the gospel" to every creature (the prophetic Mark xiii. 10 being no exception, and the directions in Matth. xxviii. and Luke xxiv. saying nothing about the "gospel"). Thus mainly on a spurious text missionaries must base their disregard of Jesus's prohibition of foreign missions (Matt. x. 5); it is quoted by them as their own credential and authority, and it is natural that the "heathen" should take it to heart. They find that Christ promised invulnerability to his missionaries, also the power to cast out devils and to heal the sick by laying on hands. The extent of these beliefs among the Chinese have long been familiar to European scholars though not traced to any origin.

Dr. Dennys, in his *Folklore in China* (1876) states that the sick are supposed to be "possessed," and adds that "in those parts of China to which missionary effort has penetrated a popular belief exists in the power of Christian exorcism." Missionaries of all denominations are called on "to cast out the devil" from patients, and, says this English geographer, "it is to be feared that the confidence thus evinced turns on the popular belief that Christian relations with the Satanic hierarchy are uncommonly intimate." The late Sir William Hunter, Gazeteer General of India, in his little book entitled *The Old Missionary* reports similar superstitions

among the Hindus. This Anglican missionary, one of the noble Douglas family, had studied medicine, but made the mistake of offering up a prayer when he prescribed. The Hindus did not distinguish between his prayers and the incantations, so he stopped the prayers. But he lost influence. The sorcerers "told the villagers that I was very deep, as I kept to myself the spells, without which the drugs were merely dead earths," and that "if they had as good medicines as mine their gods would never let their sick people die at all." "Whenever a man died the Christian God was reviled." A Brahman convert came to him with the text in St. James prescribing prayer and the benediction of oil for the sick, and the old missionary could only remain silent. The venerable Dr. Douglas had made himself beloved by many services to the natives, but the missionaries in China are among villagers who love them not, who confront them with their own scripture—"the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up,"—and who when their people die have no gods to revile but plenty of missionaries to suspect of ill-will and of using occult and Satanic powers against them.

Among the 400,000,000 people in China comparatively few have the scientific training or the sceptical mind which might defend them from cumulative superstitions which have poured in on them for thousands of years, those of the Koran and the Bible being only the later mixtures. The efforts of Confucius and the Confucians to eradicate these tares and inspire the masses with rational ideas and ethical principles have had some success in the past, and until the fools rushed in where angels might well fear to tread. These missionaries, counting up their "converts" have never been able to see that the mass of those who distrusted them and detested them are their completest "converts." All Chinese people read, and they read in all their dialects the Bible, and while finding the morality of little interest, as inferior to that of their own scriptures, receive with eager credulity the fresh importation of marvels guaranteed by the learned Western nations. Sorcery, witchcraft, miraculous cures, the evil eye, diabolical possessions, preternatural plagues, ghosts,—such notions, diffused and confirmed by the Bible, are taken seriously in China on the authority of the wonderfully learned Christian nations which send the book as the Word of their God.

But more dangerous things than these are taken seriously. In 1804 when the Missionary Society in New York welcomed the Osage Indians, presented them with the Bible as containing "the

will and laws of the Great Spirit" a protest appeared signed "A Friend to the Indians" asking whether it was safe for the whites on our frontiers to put into the hands of Indians a book containing so many massacres of men, women, and children, ascribed to commands of the Great Spirit. "Will not the shocking accounts of the destruction of the Canaanites, when the Israelites invaded their country, suggest the idea that we may serve them in the same manner, or the accounts stir them up to do the like to our people on the frontiers, and then justify the assassination by the Bible the missionaries have given them?" The suggestion was not fruitless. Our aboriginal "Canaanites" were exploited first, then given the Bible to show them how godly the proceeding was. But how profoundly more intelligent races may be influenced by scriptural and Christian propagandism has been especially shown in the history of China. The leader of the great Tai-ping revolution, Hung Seu-tseuen, was a sort of spiritualist in his remote village, until he met an American missionary, Rev. I. J. Roberts, who gave him five tracts. Sew-tseuen became a "convert,"—with a vengeance! He set up a theocratic kingdom of Heaven, with himself for king, decreed a new Trinity,—God, Christ, and himself, appointing his son Junior Lord. He had visions,—was caught up into heaven like Paul. He made war on Buddhists and Confucians, captured Nanking and other cities, treating the people with severity, and gave textual reasons therefor: that they were "idolaters," and that it was his messianic duty to exterminate them, as idolatrous people were exterminated by Jehovah. He quoted from the Old Testament a justification for every atrocity.

This "convert" of our missionary Roberts bore the title Tien-Wang (King of Heaven), but it was England that raised his movement to such formidable dimensions. Against all the outcries and entreaties of the Chinese, England determined to force Indian opium upon them, and to that end slew thousands, burnt villages, and exacted an indemnity of 27,000,000 dollars. The British agent in this opium war was the saintly soul who wrote the favorite hymn beginning—

> "In the cross of Christ I glory
> Towering o'er the wrecks of time."

The maddened people of the province of Canton rose against their government for its feebleness and its treaty with wrong, and the "convert's" converts made common cause with them. England came to the assistance of China, and the Christian rebellion was finally put down by Christians in 1867. The Chinese Messiah's

army was largely crushed by Gordon who afterwards fell before a Soudan Messiah, and who was a kindred soul to both.

The "powerful hypnotist" to whom Dr. Ament traces the Boxer movement is a *revenant* Sew-Tseuen; his head is similarly a mixture of Biblical and ancient Chinese superstitions; and his followers are Christian perverts from the peace principles of Lao-Tzu and Confucius. Their recent outbreak is the result of outrages similar to those of sixty years ago. In both cases there are indications of popular panic, but the Boxer excitement especially presents signs of terror. It was made plain by the victory of Japan that the Quaker principles of Confucius had withered the sinews of war in China, and the birds of prey began to gather. The people saw their territory crumbling, and they also saw their religion steadily crushed in coils of a foreign system as odious to them as Mormonism to the majority of Americans. But in this case the odium among the ignorant is accentuated by the belief already referred to that the missionaries possess to some extent the supernatural powers conferred by Christ on his disciples. Here are elements enough to generate under vigorous leadership, even without any "hypnotism," the cyclone that swept over the capital which credulous Confucian rulers have for fifty years been surrendering to an aggressive, land-grabbing, and gunpowder Gospel.

Our government at Washington has been assuring us of its virtuous conduct in China with suspicious iteration. "The lady doth protest too much." We have waited to understand how it was that while our government was protesting against an "irrevocable" ultimatum to China, its minister there signed it and remained himself irrevocable. And how is it that after boasting of our superior humanity in not joining punitive expeditions, we were found so late as April 6 demanding more decapitations, Russia being left alone in its refusal to unite in that demand for the punishment by death and otherwise of twenty-five officials. But though our government gives us anonymous protestations through the press instead of documents, the enterprise of a New York paper has been the means of revealing the seamy side of American conduct in China. Dr. Ament, who has been for many years head of the American missions in China, having given an account of his lootings and extortion of indemnities and fines from many towns, all from persons unconnected with the Boxers, in redress for the slain "converts" and for the Church, and having received a storm of indignation from his countrymen here instead of the evidently expected applause for his shrewdness and his clamor for Chinese

blood, is unwilling to be a scapegoat. On April 1, Dr. Ament cabled to the American Board: "Nothing has been done except after consultation with colleagues and the full approval of the United States Minister. I will secure a certificate from Mr. Conger to that effect."

Before the arrival of this dispatch we were left to conjecture concerning the force under which Dr. Ament was able to go from town to town—Wenah, Paoting-hsien, Pachow, Pingting, Chochow, Liang-hsiang, Shuni, and others—assessing and collecting many thousands of dollars from Confucians and Buddhists accused of no offence. The foreign armies having agreed that it was no part of their joint function to demand indemnity for the converts, the only alternative seemed to be that Dr. Ament's lynching of the innocent to redress the deeds of the guilty was done under protection of the menacing American forces. It is now admitted that it was done under authority of the United States Minister. It is a mere quibble that the Rev. Dr. Judson Smith uses, in the *North American Review* (May, 1901), in saying that Dr. Ament had no military force to back him. The authorisation of the United States carried with it the whole American force even though it did not escort Dr. Ament in his tour among the terrified towns.

It was at a time of peace. No perils nor panics surrounded the missionaries, their homes or churches, nor their converts. No excuses can be adduced on that score for the actions in which the United States authorities and the missionaries at Peking united. To the poor frightened villagers the slightest threat of authority would extort all their means. On the meanness and immorality of the thing there is no need to comment. That which first demands attention is the violation of treaties by men who are enabled to live in China only by and under those treaties. Although under our treaties it is agreed that Chinese converts to Christianity are not to be molested on account of their faith, they remain under Chinese jurisdiction. Here then was a matter unquestionably between Chinese and Chinese. We thus find, on the confession of Dr. Ament, an assemblage of missionaries, under necessity of covering the losses of their converts from either Christian or Confucian pockets constituting themselves into a foraging band and proceeding over trampled treaties to spoil helpless villagers under the American flag, given them by the United States Minister commissioned to maintain those treaties. And they also compel these helpless Confucians to add to Dr. Ament's estimates for the converts a goodly sum for the Church.

This organised American lawlessness may shed some light on the frantic Boxer lawlessness. How long have these missionaries been dealing with the Chinese in disregard of treaties, and in the bloodthirsty spirit of Dr. Ament?

It is interesting to observe the steps by which these proselytisers got their foothold in China. By the treaty of 1844 citizens of the United States in China were permitted to rent sites on which to construct "houses, places of business, and also hospitals, churches, and cemeteries." The churches were meant simply for the use of the American citizens, but the precaution was taken that the sites of all the places should be rented, not bought, and should be selected by the local authorities of the two governments "having due regard to the feelings of the people in the location thereof." No propaganda being admissible under this treaty, it was superseded by that of 1858, in which Article 29 reads as follows: "The principles of the Christian religion, as professed by the Protestant and Roman Catholic Churches are recognised as teaching men to do good, and to do to others as they would have others do to them. Hereafter those who quietly profess and teach these doctrines shall not be harassed or persecuted on account of their faith. Any person, whether citizen of the United States or Chinese convert, who, according to these tenets, peaceably teach and practise the principles of Christianity, shall in no case be interfered with or molested." In the supplementary treaty of 1868 the following was added: "The twenty-ninth Article of the treaty of the 18th of June, 1858, having stipulated for the exemption of Christian citizens of the United States and Chinese converts from persecution in China on account of their faith, it is further agreed that citizens of the United States in China of every religious persuasion and Chinese subjects in the United States shall enjoy entire liberty of conscience, and shall be exempt from all disability or persecution on account of their religious faith or worship in either country."

The Chinese government does not undertake to indemnify American citizens for what may be done by mobs, incendiaries, or other lawless persons, but it will endeavor to suppress such rioters, and if it be proved that the local authorities have been in collusion with them, those authorities shall be punished and their property confiscated to repay the losses. This is the general principle of the treaties with regard to American ships, etc., but nothing is specified concerning Christians, churches, and converts, except

that China in any grant of sites does not relinquish its preëmptory rights over them.

The American propaganda in China was conceived in unconstitutionality and born in deception. Forbidden by the Constitution to make any "law respecting an establishment of religion" our government established the Protestant and Catholic Churches in China, and it was done by the deception of declaring that the object of those churches was simply to teach men "to do good, and to do to others as they would have others do to them." These are the fundamental instructions of both Buddhist and Confucian, and the United States contracted with the Confucian government for the immunity of these benevolent American allies in "converting" to the Golden Rule the rude and superstitious millions who know not Confucius. The two Churches were to be exempted on condition that they taught and practised peaceably the tenets and principles named, benevolence and the Golden Rule. That contract remains in force to this day. The reader will observe however that in 1868, when the contract was confirmed and added to, its remarkable terms are not recited, but referred to as a stipulation "for the exemption of Christian citizens and Chinese converts from persecution in China on account of their faith." The Chinese negotiators of 1868 were "childlike and bland," as yet without American graduation in "ways that are dark," and did not observe that this reference to the original treaty, omitting the repetition of its conditions, might possibly be claimed, in any particular case, as their legal construction.

How are the American missionaries fulfilling the contract made for them by the United States in 1858, confirmed in 1868?

Dr. Ament is their chosen leader and spokesman. He is supported by his colleagues in China and by the Board of Foreign Missions in America. We have his testimony that the Chinese are naturally tolerant. Lao Tzu, founder of Taoism, Confucius, Buddha, stand together in their temples; they have welcomed Mohamedans and Nestorians. Dr. Ament demands a further law that will place Christianity on an equal footing with Buddhism and Mohamedanism. But these religions needed no legislation for their welcome: why does Christianity need it? Is legal or armed force needed to peaceably teach the Golden Rule, according to our contract, among Confucians and Buddhists whose religion was based on it before Christianity existed? What is it that has excited the hostility of an admittedly tolerant people ("naturally liberal with their means" and "grateful," adds Dr. Ament) against Christian-

ity, and especially it would appear against its American representatives? A few sentences from Dr. Ament may cast light on the anomaly:

"Christianity is essentially a militant religion, and in course of time will create more or less disturbance in unevangelised countries. We would not give much for Christianity if it did not do so."

"Opposition is sometimes the greatest praise which can be given to the work we are endeavoring to do. We are thankful that Christianity is not a negative force in the community, but is a positive lever which is lifting society to better things."

"Experience in China proves that seeming weakness in dealing with the Chinese only increases their spirit of distrust and their desire to continue in crime. Excessive kindness they will attribute to fear; the spirit of altruism is entirely alien to their natures."

Those of us who have known Chinese gentlemen will not after this be surprised at learning incidentally from Dr. Ament that socially he and his colleagues are below par, that he has vainly attempted to make friends with young men of his own race, that the missionaries are not liked in the legations nor by the literary men who visit China. It is shocking to think that a man so ignorant of the Chinese character as well as of the simplest principles of religious science should be a public teacher in China. He regards the images and statues in temples as "idols," and is proud of the hatred incurred by opposing "idol worship," and actually glories in the recent "martyrs,"—young Chinese converts, boys and women,—who preferred decapitation to saluting any image. There is no intimation of glorying in these "heroes" because they told the truth; Dr. Ament praises as much those who refused escape by flight. It is evident too that he cares little about the truths or dogmas of his faith. "As to cramming dogma down their throats that is the last thing a missionary seeks to do." When one asks then of these men, as Hamlet of the players, "How chances it they travel?" the plain answer is that they are possessed by a perverted military instinct. They want to triumph over somebody, and send home brilliant narratives of conquests and lists of captives for the cross. Dr. Ament rejoices in the Boxer outbreak. He feels himself in the midst of an Armageddon, and the Boxer has a corresponding feeling. But those who desire not victory for victory's sake, but with Lao Tzu weep for the fallen even in a bad cause, will recognise in these pious invaders of foreign countries elements of great danger. In the hands of these inferior men with their gunpowder gospel, their ignorance and holier-than-thou obtrusive-

ness, Christianity loses abroad all the ethical refinements and softenings of dogma familiar in churches at home. Indeed it is said by some that the mission field is the dumping ground for preachers that can find no listeners at home. Their "militant Christianity," illustrated by stories of massacre in "God's Word," and by the gospel of salvation by blood, illustrated still more by remembrance of the Chinese blood shed by Christians in the opium and other wars, means now to China a crusade of extermination and dismemberment. The defiant pulpit cries—"Jesus shall reign!" "The whole world must bow!" "The cross shall triumph!"—may be cant at home but abroad they are war-cries, affronts, always threatening to turn into cannon balls.

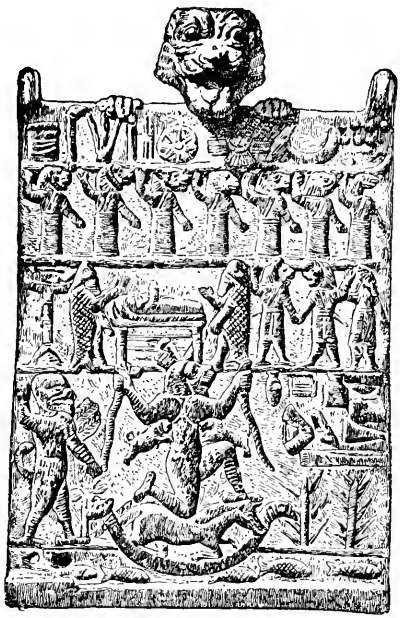
A thoughtless freethinker might rejoice in the figure that "Christianity" is presenting to the people of Asia, but the interests of humanity are above all such considerations. The American people are confronted by the fact that their late Minister in China by his authorisation of the exaction of indemnities from Chinese people has not only violated our treaties but placed us in the position of crusaders propagating religion (!) by the sword. There is too much reason to fear that our government will yield to some powerful pressure to accept this attitude. Dr. Ament may be sacrificed, but no scapegoat will redress the wrongs we have done as a nation. It is absolutely necessary that every coin extorted by the missionaries under sanction of our Minister shall be restored to the victimised villagers. That the utmost effort should be made to recompense the owners of the premises which the missionaries took possession, one of them a palace, for the articles found in them and, as Dr. Ament states, sold on the suggestion of the United States Minister. Our government introduced these soul-saving looters under a contract with China for their teaching and practising the Golden Rule; through our Minister we have advised and sanctioned their violations of our treaties; and we are responsible. It will be necessary then to officially instruct the missionaries that this government cannot legally guarantee them against troubles in China beyond memorialising the Chinese law-officers of them. All Chinese offenders against United States citizens must be tried in Chinese tribunals. They must be assured that winning the confidence and affection of the people is their best security. It is the more important that our government should act promptly and inflexibly in the matter because there is little doubt that the people who go out to China as missionaries in future will be of even a lower type than those now there. The missions will no

doubt be continued because it is a convenient way of pensioning the pulpit failures and ignoramuses that every church has to provide for. But really kind-hearted men and women will hereafter refuse to enter the mission field in China after these disgraceful and horrible revelations, unless it were to try and undo the misdeeds of Ament and his colleagues. And now that these have associated American missions in Chinese minds with every kind of dishonesty and cruelty and with their heavy losses and disasters, it would be an idle effort for any benevolent man to try and win respect for missionary Christianity.

SEVEN.

BY THE EDITOR.

SEVEN is a sacred number in many religions, especially in the Zarathustrian faith of the *Zend Avesta* and in the Mithras religion, but also among the Buddhists, the Jews and the Christians.



THE SEVEN IGHIGS, OR CELESTIAL GENII.
Appearing in the second row of an ancient bronze tablet. Representing Chaldæan religious beliefs.[1]

Its sacredness is as old as history and dates back to the beginning of civilisation in both Akkad and Egypt.

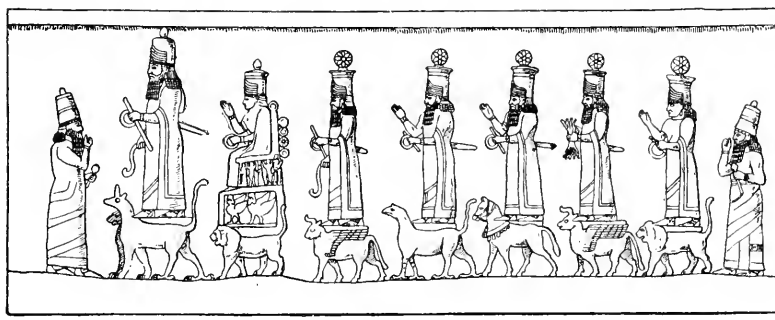
The ancient Babylonians believed in seven great gods, in

[1] Reproduced from Lenormant. The original is in the collection of M. de Clercq.

seven celestial spirits, called *ighigs*, and seven spirits of the underworld, called Anunnaki.[1] Bel Merodach combated and conquered seven wicked storm-demons. Hell (the underworld) has seven gates; magic formulæ must be repeated seven times in order to be efficient, and the great epic of the formation of the world was written on seven tablets, corresponding to the seven days' work of the creation account in Genesis.

The seven great gods were associated with the seven planets, who were worshipped as the rulers of the world in the great Temple at Babylon, the ruins of which are now called Birs Nimrud. Mr. Robert E. Anderson says[2]:

"The famous mound, Birs Nimrud, has been proved to be the ruins of the 'Temple of the Seven Spheres,' a national structure finally rebuilt by Nebuchadnezzar the Great, who informs us that the original tower had existed many ages previously. The entire height of this temple was only 156 feet, but the general



THE SEVEN GREAT GODS OF THE CHALDÆANS. (Bas-Relief of Malaija.)[3]

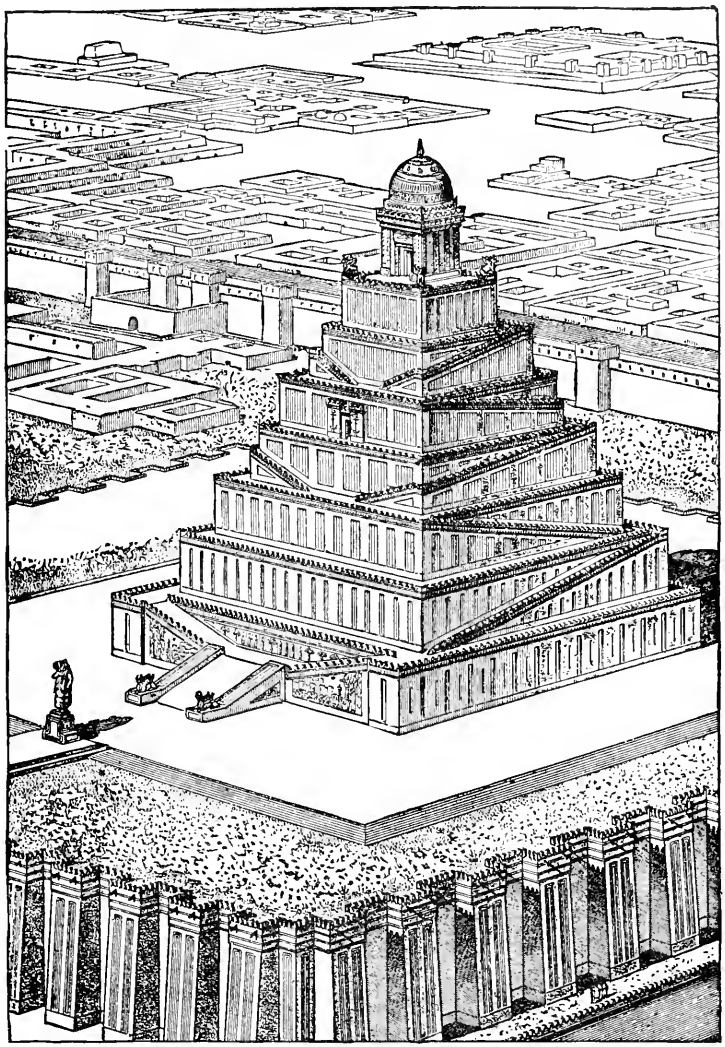
effect of its appearance would be very striking to any modern observer, since each of the seven stages was a mass of one color different from all the others, and representing symbolically one of 'seven stars of heaven.' The first, Saturn, black, the masonry being covered with bitumen; the second, Jupiter, orange, by a facing of orange bricks; the third, Mars, blood-red, by bricks of that color; the fourth,

[1] The Ighigs or Igigi are similar to the Hebrew archangels. Their name means "the strong ones" and they are closely associated with the seven Anunnaki. Jastrow characterises them as follows: "In Babylonian hymns and incantations the Igigi and Anunnaki play a very prominent part. Anu is represented as the father of both groups. But they are also at the service of other gods, notably of Bel, who is spoken of as their 'lord,' of Ninib, of Marduk, of Ishtar, and of Nergal. They prostrate themselves before these superior masters, and the latter at times manifest their anger against the Igigi. They are sent out by the gods to do service. Their character is, on the whole, severe and cruel. They are not favorable to man, but rather hostile to him. Their brilliancy consumes the land. Their power is feared, and Assyrian kings more particularly are fond of adding the Igigi and Anunnaki to the higher powers—the gods proper—when they wish to inspire a fear of their own majesty."

[2] *The Story of Extinct Civilisations*, pp. 33-34.

[3] Reproduced from *Mitth. aus d. Or. Samml. zu Berlin*, XI., p. 23. Cf. Roscher's *Lexicon*, *v.* Nebo.

the Sun, covered with plates of gold; the fifth, Venus, pale yellow, by suitable bricks; the sixth, Mercury, blue, by vitrification, the whole stage having been subjected to intense heat after building; the seventh stage, the Moon, probably covered with plates of silver."



THE SEVEN-STORIED ZIGGURAT[1] AT BABYLON, COMMONLY CALLED BIRS NIMRUD. Restored after Perrot and Chipier.

A reminiscence of the idea that the celestial bodies are governors is still preserved in the Old Testament, which in comparison

[1] Ziggurat means "mountain peak."

with the cuneiform inscriptions of ancient Babylonia is a quite recent production. There we read in Genesis i. that "God made two great lights, the greater light to *rule* the day and the lesser light to *rule* the night, and he made the stars also . . . to *rule* over the day and over the night," etc.—Gen. 1. 16 and 18.

The Syrian Gnosis, however, (if the scholarly investigation of Anz[1] can be relied upon,) has faithfully preserved the Babylonian traditions, for there the planetary spirits are still called the rulers (ἄρχοντες), and the soul must learn the secret of appeasing them in order to pass without molestation through the seven celestial spheres to the abode of eternal bliss.

In the *Zend Avesta* as in Babylonia the sacredness of the number seven is based upon the connexion in which astronomy stood to the religion of ancient Iran. The seven planets were regarded as the seven deities, who, with the rise of monotheism, which made Ahura Mazda, the Lord Omniscient, sole God throughout the universe, were changed into archangels, or the ruling spirits of the heavens.

THE SEVEN GODS PRESIDING OVER THE SEVEN DAYS OF THE WEEK.
(After the *Gaz. arch.*, 1879, i.)

The number seven is popular among all the nations of the world because of the number of the days of the week, which are the fourth part of the circuit of the moon round the earth. The moon is the natural calendar of man, and its phases offer the most convenient mode of calculating time and determining dates. Now the sidereal month consists of 27 days, 7 hours, and 43 minutes, nearly; the synodical month, i. e., from new moon to new moon, is longer, being 29 days, 12 hours, and 44 minutes, nearly; which yields an average of 28 days, and this condition gave rise to the institution of the week.

The week is among many nations a religious institution. So it was in ancient Rome and every day was presided over by a special deity.

The progress of the sun in the region of the fixed stars during

[1] Wilhelm Anz, *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnosticismus*, Leipzig, 1897.

the twelve months led to a division of the heavens into twelve houses or mansions, which constitute the zodiac; and this is the reason why the number twelve is either closely connected with seven or placed in contrast to it.

Ezekiel, the Hebrew prophet (Chap. ix) speaks in his remarkable vision of six men, every one holding in his hand a slaughter weapon and of another man with a writer's inkhorn by his side. Our Bible version speaks of him as "among the six" as though he were one of them, but Hebrew scholars (Smend, Cornill, Berthelot) interpret the passage in the sense that the man in linen who has not a slaughter weapon but an inkhorn is to be added to the other six, and Gunkel recognises in the vision a reminiscence of the seven great planetary gods of the Babylonians. In his excavations at Nippur, Hilprecht has discovered many traces of the exiled Jews and Ezekiel is full of allusions to Babylonian thought and religion. The man with the inkhorn, clothed in linen after the fashion of Babylonian priests, is no other than Nebo, the god of learning and the tutelary deity of priestcraft, represented by the planet Mercury (8).

Ancient Egyptian cubit sticks (the oldest measuring rods still extant) are divided into seven palms, and as seven has been one of the most awkward numbers for purposes of measurement, we must assume that this division is due to the reverence for this oddest of the prime numbers.

The same is true of the rainbow whose division into seven colors is not founded upon fact, but betrays only the popular preference for a number deemed sacred.

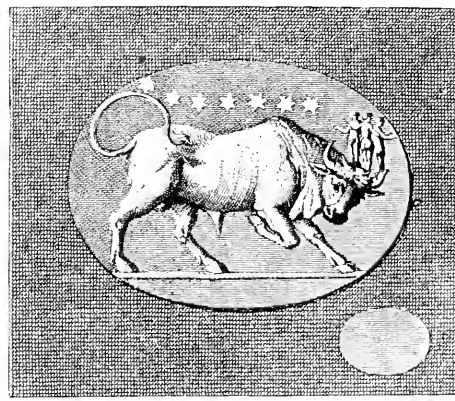
It is a strange coincidence that the human head is furnished with seven apertures, two eyes, two ears, two nostrils, and one mouth; but it is obviously far-fetched to think that this is the reason for the sacredness of the number seven.

The number seven is sacred also to the prehistoric man, the savage; for our tri-dimensional space offers six directions in every place, which, including its centre, constitutes seven worlds, situated in the seven regions, one here in the place where man lives, four regions in the four quarters and two more, one in the zenith of heaven and the other in the nadir underground. Major John W. Powell in his *Lessons of Folklore* explains the subject as follows:

"Every tribe believes itself to inhabit the center of the world; thus we have a zenith world, a midworld, and a nadir world. Then they speak of a world to the north, of a world to the south, of a world to the east, and of a world to the west, for men think of the world in terms of the cardinal points. Chained to this mode

of thinking by the terms of language, the three worlds are multiplied and *seven* worlds are known: the midworld, the under world, the upper world, the north world, the south world, the east world, and the west world. All tribal peoples, savage and barbaric alike, believe in these seven worlds as departments or pavilions to the world of firmament and earth."

Under these circumstances we need not wonder that a great number of arbitrary enumerations fixed themselves upon the num-



DIONYSIAN BULL WITH SEVEN PLEIADES.
Ancient gem. From Baumeister's *Denkmäler*.

ber seven. We have seven sages in Greece, seven argonauts and seven wonders of the world. The Pleiades which happen to consist of seven stars of great intensity are deemed a constellation of special significance and power.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

IF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WOULD HAVE FREE GOVERNMENT ENDURE.

BY THE HON. CHARLES CARROLL BONNEY.

I. REFORM OF THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES.

1. If the American people would have free government endure, they should attend to its administration as to any other matter of business. They should rid themselves of the notion that the Government will maintain and perpetuate itself. They should give up the wonderful delusion that the business of a public office can be properly transacted, and its duties well discharged, by an occupant who has not had any special training or experience to fit him therefor. Such qualifications as are deemed indispensable for every business position, should be demanded for every official station.

2. If the American people would have free government endure, they should give honest pay for honest labor; and command the best service of the ablest men, by showing an appreciation of great abilities and attainments, and a willingness to bestow a proper reward for the earnest devotion of such endowments to the welfare of the country.

Men who in the most honorable departments of business or professional life can command fame, fortune, and peace, will not "scheme for office, work for nothing, board themselves, and pay for the privilege," for any empty honors or incidental pecuniary advantages. Neither will able men, with rare exceptions, be willing to give the strength of their best years to the public service for salaries which barely cover their current expenses, and leave them at length to an old age of poverty, humiliation, and distress, unless they can manage while in the public service to accumulate a private fortune. Either increased compensation during official terms, or

longer terms, and civil service pensions thereafter, have become a necessity.

The true remedy is to permanently establish the Civil Service Pension for all important public servants who shall have rendered faithful service for a specified term, or who shall have conferred some extraordinary benefit on the people by an especial effort in their behalf. The principle of the military pension should be extended to the civil service, for a self-governed State or nation should always offer the strongest incentives to serve its interests in preference to those of any private business.

The corrupt and scheming adventurer asks no such inducement. To him salary or pension is of little moment. He expects to take his own rewards, whether the people approve or not. But to the upright and honorable soul, moved by an earnest desire to win distinction by worthy deeds, the assurance that those he serves will be just to him in age or infirmity would be a perpetual fountain of strength and courage.

The principle of the Civil Service Pension should be declared and established. It should be made the duty of the president of the United States, from time to time, to nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to appoint and commission persons to be members of a body which shall be known as "The Civil Service List of the United States of America," and in and by such nomination, appointment, and commission, to grant to the person so appointed a certain annual pension, to be specified therein, and which shall thereafter be paid, in quarter-annual installments, during the life of such person.

Such appointments should be made and pensions granted for a long continued and faithful public service, or for any extraordinary act of heroism, or for any conspicuous achievement, in any department of life wherefrom great benefits shall have resulted or will result to the people. The amount of the pension should be fixed with reference to the nature and value of the service rendered. In case of the death of the person by whom the service was rendered, the pension might be either granted or transferred to the family of such person, or to any member thereof, at the discretion of the president.

Some such measure is indispensable to the security of our system of free government. For if the influences now so potent should go on unchecked, it will become more and more difficult for those whose service would be most valuable to the people to obtain and hold positions in which they can efficiently render it;

and so more and more will public offices be debased to the service of private and personal purposes and interests, threatening the final subversion of free institutions.

The prosperity and the power of Great Britain and Germany are due even more to the just rewards and honors of their civil service than to those of their army and navy. Without their statesmen, their soldiers and marines would have no mighty interests to uphold. Their civil pension list is the roll of an intellectual army unsurpassed, if ever equalled, in the history of the world. And one of its glories is the fact that it is not confined to public officers, but extends to all departments of civil life. One may make his country his debtor by a great achievement in science, literature, art, discovery or invention, quite as well as in war, diplomacy or legislation. But, manifestly, such a policy is even more important to America than to England or to Germany. It is the true safeguard of the purity and integrity of free government.

3. If the American people would have free government endure, they should adopt a permanent policy of true economy. The shameful custom of cutting down, for political effect, the pay of honest and faithful public servants below the measure of fair compensation, while millions on millions of the public funds and property are granted to powerful combinations, or wasted in jobs to secure or reward political support, must be abandoned. The economy demanded is the economy of honest, faithful, and competent administration; not the false economy of unqualified, half-paid workmen, incensed at the injustice of their employers, and goaded by debts and hunger to the desperate conclusion that it is "better to steal than to starve."

4. If the American people would have free government endure, they should cease to give their support to the fawning demagogues who seek official power by the arts which honest men despise, and to which men of self-respect will not descend. Great leaders command support by their superior qualities, not by flattery and liberal contributions for party purposes. "Like master like man," is a true maxim. If the people would have noble, honest, and trustworthy public servants, they must be noble, honest, and trustworthy themselves.

II. REFORM OF THE PUBLIC SERVANTS.

1. If the public servants would have enduring honors and adequate rewards, they should earn them and be worthy of them. They should show a sincere desire to promote the general welfare.

They should prefer the public good to party advancement. They should scorn flattery and tell the truth to their constituents. They should appreciate the merits, and shun the vices of all classes. They should seek their own advancement only by the promotion of the general good, not by a sacrifice of public interests, or the undue advancement of personal concerns.

2. If the public servants would have enduring honors and adequate rewards, they should show practical results as the fruits of their service. The nature of the public service requires perpetual improvement and advance. The country has not yet passed the period of experiment in the best methods of performing the public work, and hence every office-holder should be in the endeavor to improve upon, or to perfect, the methods of his predecessor, and should from time to time afford some evidence of such endeavor.

3. In times of great public peril, those who see what the emergency demands should not stand too much on ceremony, or wait too long for the proper call to action. A good swimmer and brave man does not wait for the formality of an introduction when a fellow-man is drowning. In such cases, prompt and bold action in the right direction is the highest virtue; and it is a greater virtue to risk property, person, or life, in the service of the community, than for the rescue of a single imperiled fellow-being.

4. The public servants should realise the great perils of public service, and understand that nothing less than eternal vigilance is the price of perfect personal integrity in the midst of the bewildering temptations of official life. They should learn by study and observation, not through their own bitter experience, that many an unfortunate office-holder who entered public life without a thought or purpose of any dishonorable act, has suddenly awakened, as from a seductive dream, to find himself in the hands of banditti, and driven to purchase the means of existence by joining an association for public plunder. The field of battle is not more deadly to human life, than is the field of politics to personal independence and uprightness; and to face the perils of the latter requires the highest order of moral courage.

No leader ever commanded the respect of others who did not enjoy his own. The man who would have others believe in him, must believe in himself. The people naturally love and admire what is, or appears to be, superior to themselves. No soldier ever willingly followed a commander whose courage, skill, and knowledge he thought inferior to his own.

III. REFORM IN ELECTIONS.

1. The "rant and fustian" of "universal" suffrage, and almost universal elections, must give way to a system of common sense. The infant has not the capacity to participate in the government; the vagrant has no right to take part in that to which he contributes no support; and the inexperienced alien has neither the knowledge nor the interest requisite for such participation. There should be, therefore, no such thing as "universal" suffrage.

The family is the unit of the State, and the heads of families constitute the natural governing body. In a free government, the qualification of some education should be added. The idea of a family involves some estate for their support, and in this country some education of the children. Hence, as it is easier to go forward than to go back, the suffrage had better be extended than restricted, so as to allow one vote to every citizen for the protection of the rights of person, another vote to married men for their interest in the welfare of families, and a third vote to taxpayers as a just equivalent for their contributions to the public funds.

THE BABYLONIAN AND HEBREW VIEWS OF MAN'S FATE AFTER DEATH.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE Jewish ideas concerning the state after death exhibit in several important details a close agreement with Babylonian views. The Hebrew word *sheol* (שְׁאוֹל) "the pit," corresponds exactly with the Assyrian *suâlu;* both denote the place under the ground where the dead reside. In Assyrian the term is explained as the place of judgment, among the Jews as the place where every living being shall finally be demanded[1]—a place of ingathering. Habakkuk compares the vicious man's desire to sheol or death who "cannot be satisfied but gathereth unto him all people" (ii. 5).

The conception of sheol is modeled after the nature of the grave. Bodies were buried in pits or in holes dug in the ground, only that the pit of sheol was supposed to be deeper than any grave: it was situated underneath the aboriginal tehom, the waters of the deep, viz., the underground flood which in the beginning of the world was divided into the waters above and the waters below the firmament.

Sheol is called by the Assyrio-Babylonians, as well as by the Hebrews, "the land whence no traveller returns."[2] Istar goes down "to the land without return," and Job describes it as the place

> "Whence I shall not return, even the land of darkness, and the shadow of death; a land of darkness, as darkness itself; and of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness" (x. 21–22).

Both the good and the evil must share the same destiny, a fate such as is described in 2 Samuel xiv. 14:

> "We must needs die, and are as water spilt on the ground, which cannot be gathered up again; neither doth God respect any person."

1 The root שׁאל means to ask, to demand.

2 *Mat la tari*, i. e., the land of no return.

Isaiah describes sheol as a place where all the dead are together, good and evil, and he rejoices that the King of Babylon is slain and will go down to sheol, the inhabitants of which are excited about the event, and greet him. The prophet says:

"Sheol from beneath is moved for thee to meet thee at thy coming: it stirreth up the dead for thee, even all the chief ones of the earth; it hath raised up from their thrones all the kings of the nations. All they shall speak and say unto thee, 'Art thou also become weak as we? art thou become like unto us? Thy pomp is brought down to the grave, and the noise of thy viols: the worm is spread under thee, and the worms cover thee.'" (Isaiah xiv. 9–11.)

A similar description of the dead being swallowed up by the grave is given by Ezekiel:

"Son of man, wail for the multitude of Egypt, and cast them down, even her, and the daughters of the famous nations, unto the nether parts of the earth, with them that go down into the pit.

"Whom dost thou pass in beauty? go down, and be thou laid with the uncircumcised. They shall fall in the midst of them that are slain by the sword: she is delivered to the sword: draw her and all her multitudes. The strong among the mighty shall speak to him out of the midst of hell with them that help him: they are gone down, they lie uncircumcised, slain by the sword.

"Asshur is there and all her company: his graves are about him: all of them slain, fallen by the sword: Whose graves are set in the sides of the pit, and her company is round about her grave: all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which caused terror in the land of the living.

"There is Elam and all her multitude round about her grave, all of them slain, fallen by the sword, which are gone down uncircumcised into the nether parts of the earth, which caused their terror in the land of the living; yet have they borne their shame with them that go down to the pit. They have set her a bed in the midst of the slain with all her multitude: her graves are round about him: all of them uncircumcised, slain by the sword: though their terror was caused in the land of the living, yet have they borne their shame with them that go down to the pit: he is put in the midst of them that be slain.

"There is Meshech, Tubal, and all her multitude: her graves are round about him: all of them uncircumcised, slain by the sword, though they caused their terror in the land of the living. And they shall not lie with the mighty that are fallen of the uncircumcised, which are gone down to hell with their weapons of war: and they have laid their swords under their heads, but their iniquities shall be upon their bones, though they were the terror of the mighty in the land of the living. Yea, thou shalt be broken in the midst of the uncircumcised, and shalt lie with them that are slain with the sword.

"There is Edom, her kings, and all her princes, which with their might are laid by them that were slain by the sword: they shall lie with the uncircumcised, and with them that go down to the pit.

"There be the princes of the north, all of them, and all the Zidonians, which are gone down with the slain; with their terror they are ashamed of their might; and they lie uncircumcised with them that be slain by the sword, and bear their shame with them that go down to the pit.

"Pharaoh shall see them, and shall be comforted over all his multitude, even

Pharaoh and all his army slain by the sword, saith the Lord God." (Ezekiel xxxii. 18–31.)

The dead can appear to the living and are regarded as shades having a resemblance to the living person. They are called Elohim or gods, i. e., supernatural beings. (1 Sam. xxviii. 13.) When Saul visited the witch of Endor, Elohim or spirits rose up, and we read that Samuel appeared wearing the garments which he wore during his life. Saul said unto the witch:

"What form is he of? And she said, An old man cometh up; and he is covered with a mantle. And Saul perceived that it was Samuel, and he stooped with his face to the ground, and bowed himself." (1 Samuel xxviii. 14.)

There are some glimpses of hope that man might be released from sheol, but the expressions are rather indistinct and vague. The only passage which seems to be unequivocal in modern Bible translations is a misinterpretation of the text; it occurs in Job xix. 25–27, where we read:

"For I know *that* my redeemer liveth,
And *that* he shall stand at the latter *day* upon the earth:
And *though* after my skin *worms* destroy this *body*,
Yet in my flesh shall I see God:
Whom I shall see for myself, and mine eyes shall behold, and not another:
Though my reins be consumed within me."[1]

The passage is translated by Professor Budde as follows:

"But I know that my Vindicator liveth;
And at the last (?) he shall appear upon the ground: (?)
And . . .
And from out my flesh (?) I shall see God.
Whom I shall see to my own good,
And mine eyes shall see him and not as one estranged; (??)
My reins are consumed within me."

Montefiori says of this famous passage:

"It has been supposed from ancient times that Job in this passage has worked his way up to a belief in a future life in our sense of the words (i. e. a life different from and opposed to the shadowy and joyless life in Sheol). But neither the wording nor the connexion, nor the previous or subsequent speeches of Job, seem to warrant this interpretation."

In reviewing other translations he adds:

"Professor Cheyne thinks that not only are many words corrupt, but that 'the passage has plainly been edited and re-edited to gratify the very natural longing of a later age for references to the resurrection of the body.'"

The context suggests that Job is confident of being justified by some kinsman (גֹּאֵל) of his, and that his enemies will be pun-

[1] The italics indicate words that do not appear in the Hebrew text.

ished. Professor Cheyne translates the passage on the basis of his proposed emendations as follows:

"But I know that my Avenger lives,
And that at last he will appear above (my) grave;
My witness will bring to pass my desire,
And a curse will take hold of my foes.
My inner man is consumed with longing,
For ye say, How (keenly) we will persecute him!
Have terror because of the sword,
For (God's) anger falls on the unjust."

There is another passage, which though it does not hold out any definite hope of immortality, attributes to Yahveh the power of "making alive." We read in 1 Sam. ii. 6: "The Lord killeth, and maketh alive: he bringeth down to the grave, and bringeth up."

Upon the whole, the outlook beyond the grave is dreary. The Psalms assure us again and again that Yahveh enjoys life and not death, we must praise him while living, for the dead cannot praise God. We read for instance in Psalm vi. 5:

"For in death there is no remembrance of thee: in the grave who shall give thee thanks?"

And again in Psalm cxv. 17–18:

"The dead praise not the Lord, neither any that go down into silence. But we will bless the Lord from this time forth and for evermore."

How common this sentiment was among the very best and noblest minds of the Hebrews appears from the fact that even Isaiah expresses it in plain and unmistakable terms. He says:

"For the grave cannot praise thee, death cannot celebrate thee: they that go down into the pit cannot hope for thy truth.

"The living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this day: the father to the children shall make known thy truth."

Psalm lxxxviii. is the fragment of a hymn to be sung by the sons of Korah for sick people. The conclusion is missing, perhaps because it contained ideas which were not in accord with the redactor's religious views, but we may be sure that, if it held out a comfort of some kind, it cheered the patient with a prospect of recovery and did not contain a promise of immortality. The psalm is interesting, because it pictures the Hebrew conception of sheol, and the feeling of desolation with which the state of death is contemplated,—a feeling which is natural, though we may be astonished to find it in the Bible. Psalm lxxxviii. reads:[1]

"O Yahveh, God, my Help,
Daily do I cry at night before Thee.

[1] Cf. *Polychrome Bible*, Psalms, p. 92.

Let my prayer come before Thee,
Incline Thine ear to my wailing!
For my soul is sated with sorrows,
And my life stands close before Sheol.
I am reckoned already with those who have gone to the pit,
I am like a man without help;
With the dead am I reckoned,
Like the slain who lie in the grave,
Whom thou dost no longer remember,
And who are snatched out of Thy hand.

"Into the lowest pit hast Thou plunged me,
Into darkness, into deep shadows.
Thy wrath lies heavy upon me,
Thou hast summoned up all Thy billows.
Thou hast put my acquaintance far from me,
Thou hast made me to them an abhorrence.
I am imprisoned, and cannot come forth.
Mine eyes are wasted with sorrow;
I call Thee continually, O Yahveh;
To Thee do I stretch out my hands.

"Wilt Thou for the dead work a wonder?
Will shades rise to render Thee thanks?
Do they tell in the grave of Thy goodness?
Of Thy faithfulness, in the world down below?
Can Thy wonders be made known in the darkness?
And Thy righteousness in the land of oblivion?
And I—to Thee, Yahveh, I cry;
In the morning my prayer goes to meet Thee.
Wherefore, O Yahveh, dost Thou disdain my soul?
And veilest Thy countenance from me?

"Wretched am I, and dying of . . . .
The dread of Thee weighs on me heavily; I faint.
The fires of Thy wrath go over me,
Thy terrors have stricken me dumb;
They surround me, like water, all day,
They all beset me together.
Thou hast removed from me friends and companions,
My acquaintance are darkness and Sheol.
. . . . . .
. . . . . .

The objection which is made to the belief in immortality by the canonical authors of the Old Testament seems strange to us who have acquired the custom of reading the Hebrew Scriptures in the light of the New Testament doctrines among which the belief in immortality is the keystone of religion. But we shall understand the situation better when we consider the intimate connexion

of the belief in immortality among the Babylonians with the worship of Tammuz and Istar. The wailing for Tammuz was a kind of All Souls' day, and the hope of the bereaved for a restoration of their beloved dead to life was based upon myths and celebrated with idolatrous practices which were an abomination to the sober and rationalistic Yahvist. The close relation to idolatry of all rituals that have reference to the dead is indicated in a passage of Jesus Sirach (xvii. 24–27) where we read:

"I hate idolatry with all earnestness: Who will praise the Most High in Sheol? For all the living can praise, but the dead that are no longer cannot praise. Therefore praise the Lord whilst thou livest and art whole."

Idolatry is mentioned in one breath with sheol, and in the same connexion the expectation that the dead can praise God, is most emphatically denied.

Even in the latest phase of the development of the canon, the Jewish philosopher takes little comfort concerning man's condition after death, for Ecclesiastes taking the ground that "man is dust and must return to dust," proposes the question in chapter iii. verse 21: "Who knoweth that the spirit of man goeth upward, and the spirit of the beast goeth downward to the earth?" The answer to this question is stated bluntly and unequivocally in verses 18–20, which read:

"I said in mine heart concerning the estate of the sons of men, that God might manifest them, and that they might see that they themselves are beasts. For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts: even one thing befalleth them: as the one dieth, so dieth the other; yea, they have all one breath; so that a man hath no pre-eminence above a beast: For all is vanity. All go unto one place; all are of the dust, and all turn to dust again."

It is true that in the Old Testament two cases are on record of men who were not doomed to stay in sheol: there is the legend of Enoch, whose death is not recorded, and the ascension of Elijah in the fiery chariot. But these exceptions are not mentioned anywhere as indicating a hope for other mortals to escape the doom of a retention in sheol, which is called "the eternal house" בֵּית עֹלָם (*beth-'olam*).[1] For the mass of mankind, sheol remains a monster whose maw is constantly open to devour life with all its glory and noise and splendor (Isaiah v. 14; Proverbs i. 12 and xxx. 16).

It is strange that the Old Testament offers so little encouragement for the hope of a resurrection or an outlook toward the immortality of the soul; and this is the more strange as the Assyrio-Babylonians decidedly believed in a life after death, and depicted

[1] Cf. Jonah ii. 7; Jeremiah li. 39.

the place of the blessed as an island far away in the sea, where the tree of life stood and where the waters of life welled up from a source situated at the roots of the tree.

What is the strange reason that the Hebrews, otherwise so devoutly religious, were so outspokenly reluctant in accepting the doctrine of a life after death and the resurrection of the dead? The belief in immortality crops out only in the Apocrypha, and seems to be strictly banished from the canon of the Old Testament.

The reason is obviously this: the belief in immortality as described in the religious documents of the Assyrio-Babylonians was too mythological, too polytheistic, too fantastic, for the rationalistic spirit of the redactors of the Old Testament.[1] The priests who selected from the Hebrew literature those writings which seemed to them to serve the purpose of edification were strict monotheists, and radical iconoclast in all matters of mythology. They abhorred polytheism, and any allusion to it; and since the belief in immortality as expressed in the Assyrio-Babylonion legends cannot easily be extracted from the Babylonian religion without retaining at the same time a good deal of the mythological elements, the redactors of the Hebrew canon preferred to omit the whole and embraced an attitude of positive unbelief rather than to defile the Scriptures with paganism. And we must grant that if they had admitted a belief in immortality in the shape in which we find it in the Assyrio-Babylonian documents, they would necessarily have reintroduced pagan mythology under conditions where it would naturally have taken a firm hold upon the imagination of the people. For nothing is more powerful in religion than the belief in man's condition after death.

A review of the Assyrio-Babylonian documents which are at our disposal will justify our proposition.

* * *

The Babylonian notion of the underworld, being the prototype of the Hebrew sheol, was originally not less dreary and desolate, only it is couched in mythological expressions, being a place under ground ruled by a god and a goddess with their divine servants.

The Babylonian deities of the underworld are the goddess Allatu and the god Nergal. Nergal is called "King of the deep," "King of the river (viz., of the dead)," "King of the watery habitation," "Lord of the great city," "Deluge," "Fitted with the dead," "King of prophets," and addressed in a hymn as follows:

[1] Cf. the author's article on "The Fairy-Tale Element in the Bible," in the current numbers of *The Monist*, Vol. XI., April and July issues.

"O, Hero, powerful deluge, who rulest the hostile country,
Hero, Lord of the underworld,
From Sid-lam who proceedest,
Powerful steer, lord of strength,
King of Kuta."

Nergal is identical with Adar, the god of the destructive heat of the sun. Like Adar, he is not only the god of war and of the chase, but also of all evil powers, the god of death and of the underworld. Allatu is also named Irkalla; she is called "Queen of the scepter of justice,"[1] "Mistress of the great city," "Mistress of the earth," "Mistress of power," etc. Her servants are Namtar and Asakku, which means "pestilence" and "consumption." Namtar is Allatu's special favorite. It is his business to imprison those who are subject to special punishment, and his activity on earth is directed against the life of mortals for the sake of bringing new subjects into the domains of his mistress.

The Anunnaki, the seven spirits of the underworld, are enemies of god Ea and are supposed to guard with jealousy the spring of life in sheol. When the Deluge begins, they appear on earth with their torches, for the sake of causing destruction, and the gods weep with Istar over the destructive work of the anunnaki.

A pictorial description of the Assyrio-Babylonian belief after death is preserved in a relief which is published in the *Revue Archæologique* for December, 1879. The reverse of the relief represents a scaled monster in the shape of a leopard, with four wings, whose head appears threateningly above the upper margin of the tablet. It consists of four pictures. The third scene from above represents a burial. The dead lies wrapped in a shroud. A candelabra stands at the side, and two genii [perhaps priests, dressed like god Ea in fish skins] consecrate the place. The battle between the demons indicates the mutual destruction of the evil powers, and thus exhibits their inability to do any harm to the spirit of the dead. In a scene above this funeral rite there are the seven ighigs who hold on their uplifted right arms the highest one, which is the seat of the gods, indicated by the signs of the sun, the moon, the planets, and other symbols. The lowest picture, apparently the main scene, shows the underworld surrounded by the waters of death, indicated by swimming fishes. A boat moored at the shore carries a horse upon which a strange monster kneels upon one knee. The other foot is placed upon the head of the animal; two young lions are suckling at her breast. In her lifted arms she holds up two ser-

1 *Kân mihri.* Lenormant calls her "Queen of the Wand." (*Magic*, p. 64.)

pents. According to all we know of the Babylonian religion, we cannot fail to recognise here the goddess Allatu, the serpents indicating that she is the goddess of the earth. To the right of the group in the boat, beyond the water, there is a place covered with trees, which can be only the Island of the Blessed. The trees symbolise a happy country, and we know that the waters of death touch sheol as well as the shores of the Island of the Blessed.

The figure with a scorpion's tail and eagle's feet, standing behind Allatu in the left corner of the relief, is supposed to be either Nergal the awful husband of Allatu, or one of the scorpion men mentioned in the so-called Nimrod epic and said to be guardians of the way to the Islands of the Blessed.

While the Babylonian conception of man's condition after death was fashioned after the positive knowledge that can be obtained of the fate of the body in the grave, the dead were by no means identified with their bodily remains. They were supposed to be dream-like shades called *ekimmu*, and some of them were doomed to wander about on earth and haunt people, disquieting their surviving relatives if they had not duly performed all the ceremonies necessary for their journey into the underworld, or, driven to despair by their disconsolate condition, inflicting even strangers with nightmares and all manner of diseases. Thus (as with all primitive people) the physician was not a medical man but a medicine-man. Diseases being attributed to obsession, it became necessary to cast out the evil spirit. Sorcery was a profession, and patients were cured, not by drugs, but by prayers to the gods. Here is a specimen of an incantation addressed to the trinity of Ea, Shamash,[1] and Marduk (quoted from King's *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, p. 119 f.):[2]

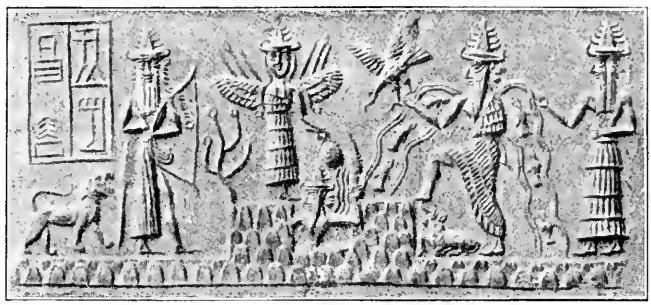
"O Ea, O Shamash, O Marduk, deliver me,
And through your mercy let me have relief.
O Shamash, a horrible spectre for many days
Hath fastened itself on my back, and will not loose its hold upon me.
The whole day long he persecuteth me, and in the night-season he striketh terror into me.
He sendeth forth pollution, he maketh the hair of my head to stand up,
He taketh the power from my body, he maketh mine eyes to start out,
He plagueth my back, he poisoneth my flesh,
He plagueth my whole body."

The *Ekimmu* is appeased by furnishing him with the necessary means for his journey to the underworld:

[1] Shamash is the Sun-god, the prototype of the humanised Samson of the Bible. Ea is the God of Wisdom, Marduk his son, the great conqueror of Tiamat.

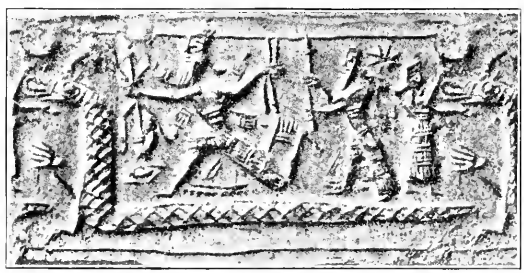
[2] See also King, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*, p. 45.

"A garment to clothe him, and shoes for his feet,
And a girdle for his loins, and a skin of water for him to drink,
And [. . .[1]] food for his journey have I given him.
Let him depart into the West,
To Nedu, the chief Porter of the Underworld, I consign him.
Let Nedu, the chief Porter of the Underworld, guard him securely,
And may bolt and bar stand firm (over him)."



GOD SHAMASH STARTING ON HIS JOURNEY.
(Cylinder Seal, British Museum.)[2]

On the summit of a mountain the goddess Istar appears with outstretched wings. The figures on either side are doubtful; the one on the right-hand side may be Ea, the one on the left-hand side accompanied by a lion may be Marduk. The name of the owner, "Adda the Scribe," appears in the left-hand corner.



GOD MARDUK SLAYING TIAMAT.
(Cylinder Seal, British Museum.)

Burial ceremonies, it appears, were observed with great punctiliousness. Food offerings were made to the dead, and mourning was worn by the survivors; lamentations were performed by professional mourners both male and female; funeral music was played on flutes; dirges were sung; and the body was treated, obviously

[1] The word indicating the food offered to the Ekimmu is not yet understood.

[2] All the illustrations of this article have been reproduced from King's *Babylonian Religion and Mythology* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1899).

for preservation, with oil, salt, or honey. The reverence in which salt water is held even to-day by many religious people, the custom of the extreme unction with consecrated oil, and the Greek custom of giving honey sops to the dead (mentioned in the tale of Psyche's descent to Hades) may date back to primordial days of human civilisation and have perhaps been imported into the West from ancient Babylon. An Assyrian king describes the funeral of his fathers in these lines:

"Within the grave,
The secret place,
In kingly oil,
I gently laid him.
The grave-stone
Marketh his resting-place.
With mighty bronze
I sealed its entrance,
I protected it with an incantation.
Vessels of gold and silver,
Such as he loved,
All the furniture that befitteth the grave,
His just title to sovereignty
I displayed before the Sun-god,
And beside the father who begat me
I set them in the grave.
Gifts unto the princes,
Unto the Spirits of the Earth,[1]
And unto the gods who inhabit the grave,
I then presented."

The Nimrod epic (as the legend of the hero Gilgamesh is frequently called) describes in its closing lines the difference between the warrior who died on the battlefield and received due burial, and the slain of the conquered enemy whose corpses are left uncared for. Gilgamesh, speaking of the sights he has seen in the country without return, says:

"On a couch he lieth
And drinketh pure water,
The man who was slain in battle—thou and I have oft seen such an one.
His father and his mother [support] his head,
And his wife [kneeleth] at his side.
But the man whose corpse is cast upon the field—
Thou and I have oft seen such an one—
His spirit resteth not in the earth.
The man whose spirit has none to care for it—
Thou and I have oft seen such an one—
The dregs of the vessel, the leavings of the feast,
And that which is cast out upon the street, are his food."

* * *

The Babylonians sought solace in their bereavement through conjurors, who perhaps in the way of the modern spiritualists or after the fashion of the Witch of Endor made the dead rise from sheol to comfort the survivors and give directions to them as to what they wished them to do. And these conjurations were closely

[1] The Anunnaki.

connected with the belief in Tammuz and Istar, than whom there are no other gods held in more abomination in the Old Testament.

The most important document still at our command is a fragmentary poem called *Istar's Descent to Hell.* The main subject is introduced for the sake of justifying the possibility of conjuring the dead from sheol. Dr. Jeremias[1] explains the situation as follows:

"A man grieves over the death of his sister. He consults a magus as to how to release the spirit of the deceased from the jail of Hades. The priest tells him the story of Istar's descent to sheol for the sake of proving that the gates of sheol are not unconquerable, and advises him to address Istar, the conqueror of Hades, and Tammuz her consort, with prayer and sacrifice, in order to gain their assistance. He is requested to comply with funeral ceremonies at the coffin of the dead and to begin his mourning with the assistance of the Uhats, the companions of Istar. The spirit of the dead, hearing the lamentations of her brother, requests him to rescue her from the horrors of Sheol through mourners' music and sacrifices in the days of Tammuz, which is the time when the people sing and weep, as told by Ezekiel viii. 14, and mourn for their dead under the shape of Tammuz. The concluding lines of the poem, which are summed up in these words, form the core of the whole, while the legend of Istar's descent to sheol is only an introduction to it, and constitutes a part of the conjuration of the dead. From other documents of Babylonian literature we learn that on the names of Istar and Tammuz, the hero and heroine of the legends of the descent to sheol, depend the hopes of a rescue from sheol." (*l. c.*, pp. 7–8.)

It appears that people celebrated with special preference the days of the god Tammuz, who represented the disappearance of vegetation and its resurrection to life. The legend of Istar's descent to sheol reads in the translation based on Dr. Jeremias's version as follows:

(OBVERSE OF THE TABLET.)

"To the land without return, to the land [which thou knowest (?)],[2]
Istar, the daughter of the moon-god, meditated [to go].
The daughter of the moon-god meditated to go
To the house of darkness, to the seat of Irkalla,
To the house whose visitor never returns,
On the path the descent of which never leads back,
To the house whose occupants are removed from the light,
To the place where dust is food, and dirt is meat,
Where they (viz., the occupants) see no light, where they dwell in darkness,

[1] For further details see Dr. Alfred Jeremias, who publishes the text of the passages here quoted and offers a literal German translation with editorial notes and other explanations. The conception of the document as set forth in the quoted passages is based upon the interpolation of Dr. Jeremias, which he justifies in his critical notes. Dr. Jeremias's interpretation of the concluding words is justified by another cuneiform tablet which while relating a conjuration of the dead begins with the same description of sheol as does the legend of Istar's descent to Hell.

[2] The passages in brackets are mutilated in the original and the words are suggested by the context or sometimes by parallel passages.

Where they are clothed like birds, dressed with wings,[1]
Where upon gate and bolt dust is spread.

"When Istar had reached the gate of the land without return,
She spake to the keeper of the gate:
'Keeper of the waters, open thy gate,
Open thy gate,—I will enter!
If thou dost not open, if I cannot enter,
I shall demolish the gate, I shall break the bolt,
I shall smash the threshold, I shall break the doors;
I shall lead out the dead, shall make them eat and live,
And unto the crowds of the living the dead shall I join.'

The keeper opened his mouth and spake
In reply to the sublime Istar:
'Stay, my lady, do not upset [the door]!
I will go to announce thy name to Queen Allatu.'

The keeper entered and spake to Queen Allatu:
'The water has been crossed by thy sister Istar [. . . .]
. . . . . .

The Goddess Allatu is greatly agitated about Istar's appearance in sheol. The poem continues:

When Goddess Allatu [heard] this . . .
Like unto a tree cut down . . . .
Like unto reeds mowed down [she drooped and spake]:
'What has driven her heart, what . . . .
These waters have I [made encompass sheol] . . .
Like the inundation of the Deluge, like the swelling (?) waters of a great flood,
I will weep over the men who left their wives,
I will weep over the wives who were taken from their consorts,
Over the little children I will weep, who prematurely [were taken away].[2]
Go, keeper, open the gate,
And strip her according to the primordial decree.'
The keeper went, he opened the door to her:
'Enter, my lady, the underworld [Kûtu] may rejoice;
The palace of the land without return may enjoy thy arrival!'

Through the first door he made her enter and, stripping her,
Took from her head the golden crown.
'Why, O keeper, dost thou take from my head the golden crown?'
'Step in, my lady, such are the commands of the mistress of the earth.'[3]

[1] Is the dress of wings perhaps an expression of the belief that the soul is winged, found also in Egypt, where the soul of man is compared to a human-headed hawk, in which form it is at liberty to visit other places?

[2] Why the Goddess Allatu proposes to weep is not quite clear. Is it perhaps a promise to have all the funeral rituals with their wailings and lamentations properly attended to for the sake of preventing further attempts at having the dead reclaimed?

[3] Viz., the Goddess Allatu.

Through the second door he made her enter and, stripping her,
Took off the ornaments from her ears.
'Why, O keeper, dost thou take the ornaments from my ears?'
'Step in, my lady, for such are the commands of the mistress of the earth.'
Through the third door he made her enter and, stripping her,
Took off the chains from her neck.
'Why, O keeper, dost thou take the chains from my neck?'
'Step in, my lady, for such are the commands of the mistress of the earth.'
Through the fourth door he made her enter and, stripping her,
Took off the ornaments from her breast.
'Why, O keeper, dost thou take the ornaments from my breast?'
'Step in, my lady, for such are the commands of the mistress of the earth.'
Through the fifth door he made her enter and, stripping her,
Took off the gem-covered belt from her hips.
'Why, O keeper, dost thou take the gem-covered belt from my hips?'
'Step in, my lady, for such are the commands of the mistress of the earth.'
Through the sixth door he made her enter and, stripping her,
Took off the bracelets from her hands and feet.
'Why, O keeper, dost thou take the bracelets from my hands and feet?'
'Step in, my lady, for such are the commands of the mistress of the earth.'
Through the seventh door he made her enter and, stripping her,
Took away the robe from her body.
'Why, O keeper, dost thou take the robe from my body?'
'Step in, my lady, for such are the commands of the mistress of the earth.'
Now, when Istar was descended to the land without return—
Allatu beheld her, and vehemently upbraided her;
Istar, forgetful, assaulted her . . .
Then Allatu opened her mouth and spake,
Addressing Namtar, her servant, giving him this command:
'Go, Namtar, open (?) my [. . . .]
Let her out . . . . the Goddess Istar,
With a disease on her eyes [punish her],
With a disease on her hips [punish her],
With a disease on her feet [punish her],
With a disease on her heart [punish her],
With a disease on her head [punish her],
Upon her whole person [inflict diseases].'
When Istar, the lady, [was thus inflicted],
The bull no longer covered the cow, the he-ass the she-ass,
The lord no longer sought the maiden of the street.
The lord fell asleep in giving command,
The maid-servant fell asleep [. . . . .].

REVERSE OF THE TABLET.

Pap-sukal, the servant of the great gods, scratched his face before Samas,
Clothed in mourning and filled with [. . . . . .]
Samas went; he went to Sin, his father [and wept];
Before Ea, the king, he shed tears;
'Istar has descended into the land and has not returned.
Since Istar descended into the land without return,

The bull no longer covers the cow,
The jack-ass no longer covers the she-ass,
A man no longer seeks the maiden of the street,
The lord falls asleep in giving command,
The maid-servant falls asleep . . . .
Then Ea in the wisdom of his heart created a male being,
He created Uddusunâmir,[1] the servant of the gods:
'Go forth, Uddusunâmir! to the door of the land without return turn thy face,
The seven doors of the land without return shall open before thee,
Allatu may see thee, she may enjoy thy arrival.
When her heart has become calm and her soul is comforted,
Conjure her in the name of the great gods,[2]
Lift up thy head over the source of waters (?), make up thy mind (and speak):
'Not, O my lady, shall the spring be debarred from me; from its water I will drink.'
When Alluta heard this,
She smote her loins and bit her finger[3] (and spake):
'Thou hast demanded a demand which cannot be fulfilled—
Hence, Uddusunâmir, I will confine thee in the great prison,
The slime of the city shall be thy food,
The gutters of the street shall be thy drink,
The shadow of the wall shall be thy habitation,
The thresholds, thy dwelling-place,
Prison and confinement shall break thy strength.[4]
Allatu opened her mouth and spake,
To give command to Namtar, her servant:
'Go, Namtar, demolish the eternal palace,
Demolish the pillars, make the thresholds quake;
Lead out the Anunnaki, put them upon the golden throne,[5]
Sprinkle upon Goddess Istar the water of life;
Take her away from me!'
Namtar went and demolished the eternal palace,
He demolished the pillars and made the thresholds (?) quake,
He lead out the Anunnaki and placed them upon the golden throne,

He sprinkled upon Goddess Istar the waters of life and led her away:
Through the first door he led her and replaced the robe upon her body;

[1] Uddusunâmir means "his light will illumine." The significance of this being does not seem to be clear. Is he perhaps a mere puppet, an automaton to bear the curse of Allatu without suffering harm?

[2] The name of the great gods is the most powerful means of conjuration, and Ea alone, the god of unfathomable wisdom, seems to dispose of it. The Babylonian origin of the Talmudic and cabalistic belief in the power of the mysterious name is fully established.

[3] The same gestures of grief are recorded in Jeremiah xxxi. 19 for the Hebrews, in Odyssey xiii. 198 for the Greeks. In a similar way, we read of Ea in another document, "when he heard this he bit his lip" (cf. A. S. K. T. lxxvi. 24).

[4] Allatu curses Uddusunâmir, but the conjuration which he uttered is too powerful, and she must obey. Thus the power of the realm of death is broken and Istar is free.

[5] The context does not reveal the meaning of this act that the Anunnaki, the seven evil spirits of sheol, should be placed upon the golden throne.

Through the second door he led her and replaced the bracelets upon her hands and feet ;
Through the third door he led her and replaced the gem covered belt upon her hips ;
Through the fourth door he led her and replaced the ornament upon her breast ;
Through the fifth door he led her and replaced the chains upon her neck ;
Through the sixth door he led her and replaced the ornaments in her ears ;
Through the seventh door he led her and replaced upon her head the golden crown.

The conjurer here addresses his client and promises the release of his dead sister from the power of Allatu. The poem continues :

"'When she (goddess Allatu) does not afford release, turn to her (to Istar) [thy face],
To Tammuz, the consort of her youth,
Pour pure water and costly balm . . . . [invite a priest].
Cover him with the sacrificial robe, a crystal flute may he [blow].
The Uhats may weep with grievous [lamentations].
The goddess Belili may break the precious utensil[1] . . . .
With diamonds shall be filled thy . . . .

Now the spell takes effect. The spirit of the departed sister rises from sheol :

"Thus she heard the lamentations of her brother, the goddess Belili broke the precious utensil,
With diamonds were filled the . . . . [and the departed spirit said :]
'My only brother, let me not perish,
In the days of Tammuz play the crystal flute,
Play the instrument . . . .
In those days play to me, the male mourners and the female mourners
May they play upon instruments . . . .
May they breathe incense . . . ."

* * *

The most important Babylonian document that has reference to the belief in immortality in addition to *Istar's Descent to Sheol* is a fragment of the visit of Gilgamesh or Nimrod (with whom the Babylonian hero for fair reasons is identified) to the Island of the Blessed. It is a part of the Nimrod epic, so called, and is recorded on the eleventh tablet, the connexion between the several tablets being unclear. The legend tells of Istar's love for the hero, who, however, scorns the goddess. To punish him, she petitions her father Anu, and when Gilgamesh and Eabâni, the friend of his bosom, conquer a divine bull, Istar's wrath is roused. Finally Eabâni dies and Gilgamesh is visited with leprosy, the most awful disease of the Orient.

[1] The significance of Belili's breaking a precious utensil in the ritual of lamentation is not clear.

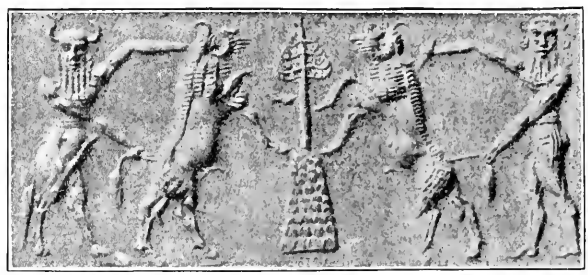
The twelfth tablet begins with the wailing for Eabâni. Gilgamesh visits one temple after another and invokes the several gods, until through the mediation of Marduk "the spirit of Eabâni rises before him like a breath from the earth."[1] The fourth column contains a dialogue between Gilgamesh and the risen spirit of his friend, which begins with the words:

"Tell me, my friend, the condition of the country (sheol) which thou hast seen."

The spirit answers:

"Not can I tell thee, my friend, not can I tell thee what the condition is of the country. . . . I will sit down and weep, I will sit down and weep."

The rest of the column and the greater part of the next one are mutilated. Then follows a scene which by its rhythm indicates that it was a hymn in honor of the hero who died honorably on the



GILGAMESH AND EABÂNI IN CONFLICT WITH TWO BULLS.
(Cylinder Seal, British Museum.)

field of battle and receives a decent funeral, while all the bodies of the conquered ones are thrown away without burial.

Gilgamesh, himself being infected with leprosy, decides to visit his ancestor Pir-napistim for the sake of finding a cure for his disease, and to solve the mystery of his ancestor's apotheosis. Tablet 9 tells of Gilgamesh's mourning for Eabâni, as follows:

"Nimrod wept for Eabâni, his friend,
Bitterly, lying down upon the field;
'I will not die like Eabâni;
Mourning has come over my soul,
Fear of death I have tasted, lying down upon the field.[2]

[1] Cf. the fragment quoted by Jeremias, *l. c.*, p. 103.

[2] To lie down on the ground as a sign of great grief is an ancient custom frequently mentioned in the Bible (2 Sam. xii. 16; xiii. 31; Ez. xxvii. 30) and by Homer (Od. 4, 541. Iliad 22, 414; 24, 165 and 640).

To the Power of Pir-napistim, the son of Kidin-Marduk,
Shall I wend my way with hasting step.'"[1]

Gilgamesh at once carries out his plan. The moon-god in a dream points out the way. Having reached a mountain the name of which is Masu, he meets the scorpion-man. The verses run as follows:

"To the mountain Masu he came,
Whose exit is guarded day by day,
Whose crest reaches to the ramparts of heaven,
And whose side unto Mount Arâlû—
The scorpion-men guard its door;
Overawing they are, their aspect is death,
Terrible is their brightness, crushing down mountains,
At sunrise and at sunset they guard the sun:
Gilgamesh saw them, with fear and
With terror his face was clouded;
He was deprived of his presence of mind by their grim appearance.
The scorpion-man spoke to his wife:
'He comes to us, an omen of the gods (viz., marked with disease) is his body.'"[2]

Gilgamesh reveals to the scorpion-men his proposition to visit "Pir-napistim, who knows about life and death";[3] and the scorpion-man warns him of the dangers of the journey. He declares that the way, twelve miles long, leads on a lonely journey to the country Mâsu which is wrapped in eternal darkness; but Gilgamesh insists upon going and is allowed to pass through the door.

The country Mâsu is known to us from the historical accounts of Asurbanipals's and Sargon's expeditions to be the Syrio-Arabic desert to be in the southeastern part of Mesopotamia, and we may assume that at the time when our epic was written the desert was known only by rumors, and the idea was prevalent that no living being could maintain its existence in it. Gilgamesh further passes through a country which is full of beautiful trees the fruits of which are precious stones, and arrives at the sea-shore where his progress is checked by a gate kept under the superintendence of Sabitu, a female guardian, who describes the impossibility of crossing the ocean, saying:

"Gilgamesh, never has there been a passage
And no one since all eternity could cross the sea—
Samas the hero has crossed the sea,
But who besides Samas can cross it?
Difficult is the passage and troublesome the way,
Impassable are the waters of death which are

[1] Jeremias, *l. c.*, p. 83. [2] Jeremias, *l. c.*, p. 84. [3] Nimrod epic, 61, 5.

Interposed like bars.
Why, Gilgamesh, wilt thou cross the sea?
When approaching the waters of death, what wilt thou do?— —
Nimrod! There is Arad-Ea, the ferry-man of Pir-napistim,
. . . . he felled in the wood a cedar-tree,
. . . . may thy face see it.
If possible cross over with him; if it is not possible . . . .
. . . . behind him . . . ."

Sabitu's door is similar to the gate which we know from Istar's descent to sheol, only it is in front of the waters of death, and appears to be the landing-place of Arad-Ea, the ferry-man, or Babylonian Charon. Gilgamesh confides to Arad-Ea his intention, and Arad-Ea requests him to cut in the woods a rudder sixty ells long. The hero obeys and both enter the ship. Having rowed for several months, they reach the waters of death, and now the greatest danger begins. The two oarsmen do not rest, but row in-

GILGAMESH AND EABÂNI COMBATING A LION. GILGAMESH AND ARAD EA CROSSING THE WATERS OF DEATH.
(Cylinder Seal, British Museum.)

cessantly until all peril is past. They reach the shores of the Island of the Blessed. Here Gilgamesh sees Pir-napistim, who listens to his words and sympathises with the hero. Pir-napistim's reply ends with the exposition of man's destiny that no one was allowed, except the god of Fate, to protect man from death. He says:

"So long as we build houses, so long as we make contracts, so long as brothers quarrel, so long as enmity obtains, are the days of death unknown."

Pir-napistim here tells the story of his apotheosis, how the Deluge came, how he escaped, and how Marduk raised him and his wife to the dignity of gods. The tale of the Deluge being told, Pir-napistim cures the disease of Gilgamesh. He gives him the magic food of life, which, lying in his boat, he eats in a magic sleep. Pir-napistim requests his servant, Arad-Ea, to enter a ferry-boat moored at the shore, saying:

"The man whom thou leadest is covered with boils all over,
The scales of leprosy have destroyed the purity of his body.
Take him, Arad-Ea, to the place of purification bring him,
His boils the water may cleanse as snow,
He may doff his scales and the sea may carry them away—
Healthy shall appear his body."

The act of purification is told in these words:

"His boils he washed in the water pure as snow,
His leprosy he doffed, the sea carried it off, healthy became his body."

The water of life in the Island of the Blessed at the mouths of the river is mentioned also on other occasions as a cure for diseases. In a magic formula god Ea is related to have given his son Marduk the following advice as to the curing of diseases of the head:

"Go, my son Marduk, take a kippatu, (?)
At the mouth of the rivers, kilallê-water (?) fetch,
This water bless with thy pure conjuration, and purify it with thy spell.
With the water sprinkle the man, the child of his god."

Another conjuration destroyed in the most important place begins as follows:

"Only water [ ],
Water of the Euphrates, which in its place . . . .
Water which is eternally hidden (?) in the ocean,
Which has been purified by the pure mouth of Ea;
The sons of the deep, the seven,
Have rendered the water pure, have rendered the water clear, have rendered the water bright."

The seven demons of the deep are the Anunnaki, who enviously protect the water.

Gilgamesh being cleansed of his leprosy returns with the ferryman and Pir-napistim's wife speaks to her husband:

"Gilgamesh has returned, comforted and cured,
What wilt thou give that he return to his country?"

Thereupon, Pir-napistim reveals to the hero the secret decree of the gods. He shows him the magic plant, which as it seems grows upon high trees or upon high rocks of the island; for in order to obtain it Gilgamesh must pile rocks one upon another. The name of the plant is significant; it is called *sîbu-issahir-amêlu*, that is, "though old, man is rejuvenated." Gilgamesh, full of joy, exclaims that through its possession he will return to vigor and youth.

Gilgamesh now returns to his country, but while he rests after a row of four hours an earth-lion robs him of the magic plant and takes it with him into the deep.

The Babylonian conception of the Island of the Blessed is apparently as hazy as the Greek conception of Elysium, the Egyptian Sechnit-Aahlu, the abode of bliss, and in either case the relation seems to be similar to Arâlû, the mountain of the gods, the Assyrian Olympus, for Tiglathpileser declares on an eight-sided prism that his family is called to reside on the mount of the gods forever. Habitation on the mount of the gods, accordingly, is practically the same as to live on the Island of the Blessed. Thus, Heracles is sometimes said to live in the Elysian fields and sometimes to have ascended to Mt. Olympus.

The spring of life, situated in the recesses of sheol and guarded by the seven spirits called Anunnaki, is supposed to be the means for the possibility of a liberation from the land of the dead. When Istar was sprinkled over with the water of that spring, she was cured of all her illnesses and, in spite of the anger of the goddess of sheol, restored to life. She passed back through the seven doors of the realm of death and returned to the assembly of the gods. As Tammuz annually is resurrected from death, so the hope of a release from the bonds of sheol is attached to Istar, the conqueror of Allatu. For this reason, the Magus, when requested to assist in the conjuration of the dead, relates the story of Istar's descent into sheol and her liberation, and advises the party consulting him to address her with prayer and to consecrate the conjuration with a libation for Tammuz.

Marduk is called "the merciful, he who loves the resurrection of the dead." And in another place, "the merciful, through whom there is resuscitation." Further, he is called "the god of the pure life." The goddess Gula is addressed as "the lady, the resuscitator of the dead"; and Nebi, "he who prolongs the days of life and resurrects the dead."[1] Almost all the gods are supposed to have the power to restore life; but Istar and Tammuz are more than others the deities of resurrection; and in this sense Istar is praised as "she who gives life, the merciful goddess to whom it is good to pray."

It is a pity that "Istar's Descent to Hell" is a mere fragment, but the sense of the poem is sufficiently clear to reveal an unusual depth of feeling and an extraordinary power of faith. We can understand what a fascination the festival of the weeping for Tammuz must have exercised upon the minds of the Israelites, for even we children of the twentieth century to whom Istar and Tammuz have become the shady figures of a dead mythology, feel the dint of sympathy, and, touched by Istar's grief, cannot help assenting to the underlying truth which is the theme of the story that love is stronger than death, and if there is any power that can conquer Allatu, the goddess of sheol, it is Istar, the goddess of love.

[1] Cf. Jeremias, *l. c.* p. 101.

MISCELLANEOUS.

PRAJNÂPÂRAMITÂ.

Our frontispiece, Prajñâpâramitâ, the perfection of wisdom, is a masterpiece of the ancient Buddhist art of Java.

We read that a king of Gujerat, India, being told in an oracle that his country would go to ruin, sent his son with a fleet and five thousand followers to Java. They settled in the center of the Island, and being reinforced by another detachment of two thousand soldiers from India, they succeeded in founding a great and flourishing empire, carrying on an extensive commerce with Gujerat and other countries. They were Buddhists, and introduced the Buddhist faith, erecting extensive monuments, the ruins of which are still standing. The best-known temple of this period is Boro Buddor, which is built on a rising mound with extensive galleries and passages well adapted for processions, which play an important part in the Mahâyâna ritual. The pillars and walls of this sacred mound are covered with inscriptions and reliefs representing scenes from the life of Buddha and Buddhist folklore tales.

There are also relics of the Brahman religion, which was probably introduced before the Buddhist emigrants reached Java; but the Brahman art shows no perfection and consists simply in circles of stones which are either in their natural shape or carved into rude representations of Hindu deities. But they are so rude that even the elephant-headed Ganesa can sometimes hardly be recognised. Further there are figures supposed to represent Siva and Vishnu and other gods of the Brahman pantheon.

The Buddhist civilisation apparently was far superior to that of the Brahmans, but it was superseded through the influx of Mohammedans, who by and by became so powerful that in the year 1479 they conquered Majapahit, the capital, and remained for a long time in possession of the island. The year of the Mohammedan conquest terminated the artistic period of Java. Says Fergusson, in his *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. II., page 258: "It is as if the masons had thrown away their tools, and the chisels had dropped from the hands of the carvers. From that time forward no building was erected in Java, and no image carved, that is worth even a passing notice. At a time when the Mohammedans were adorning India with monuments of surpassing magnificence, no one in Java thought of building either a mosque, or a tomb, or a palace that would be deemed respectable in any second-class state in any part of the world."

The statue of Prajñâpâramitâ is one of the finest gems of the Royal Museum of Leyden, which I had occasion to admire on a visit to that famous Dutch university town. My friend, Monsieur G. Birnie, of Deventer, Holland, who had the kindness to show me the artistic and scientific treasures of his country, noticing

the interest which I took in the statue, had it photographed with the permission of the authorities of the Museum, and we owe it to his courtesy that we are able to offer it to the readers of *The Open Court*. We hereby publicly express our thanks both to him and to the authorities of the Royal Museum of Leyden.

We have before us in this statue the ideal of Wisdom sitting in the attitude of a teacher, evidently enforcing the instruction which she gives by the assistance of her fingers, used in enumerating the points which she makes. The halo behind her head indicates that the spirit of Buddha is incarnate in her; her seat, like that of the Tathâgata, is a lotos flower; her features indicate the influence of the Gandhara school, founded by Greek artists in the Græco-Indian kingdom of Gandhara in the valley of the Indus, flourishing in the second and first centuries before Christ.

Javanese art is distinguished by a purity of taste that indicates a purity of religious sentiment and conception in the artists. What a pity that the civilisation of which the work of art before us is a symptom was swept from the face of the earth to be succeeded only by periods of barbarism! P. C.

BERKELEY'S TREATISE CONCERNING THE PRINCIPLES OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE.

Berkeley's *Treatise Concerning the Principles of Human Knowledge*, of which a reprint has just been published as the fourth of the series of Philosophical Classics of the Religion of Science Library,[1] first appeared in Dublin in 1710. The second edition, the last of the author's life-time, appeared in London in 1734, in the same volume with the third edition of the *Three Dialogues Between Hylas and Philonous*, a reprint of which will also immediately appear in the Religion of Science Library.

The *Principles*, published when the author was only twenty-six, is the most systematic of all of Berkeley's expositions of his theory of knowledge: it was the direct outgrowth of the *Essay Towards a New Theory of Vision* (1709), which sought to banish the metaphysical abstractions of Absolute Space and Extension from philosophy, and was itself mainly concerned with the abolition of Abstract Matter and of the ontological and theological corollaries of that concept. The *Dialogues* treat of substantially the same subjects, but are more familiar and elegant in form and are devoted in the main to the refutation of the most plausible popular and philosophical objections to the new doctrine. They have been called the gem of British metaphysical literature, and on them Berkeley's claim to be the great modern master of Socratic dialogue rests. No other writer in English, save perhaps Hume, has approached Berkeley in lucidity of metaphysical style.

The two books, which mark a distinctively new epoch in philosophy and science, together afford a comprehensive survey of Berkeley's doctrines, placing within the reach of every reader in remarkably brief compass opinions which have profoundly influenced the course of intellectual history. Works of this kind have been almost invariably distinguished by their brevity. "I had no inclination," is Berkeley's characteristic remark, "to trouble the world with large volumes. What I have done was rather with the view of giving hints to thinking men, who have leisure and curiosity to go to the bottom of things, and pursue them in their own minds. Two or three times reading these small tracts, and making what is read the occasion of thinking, would, I believe, render the whole familiar and easy to the mind,

[1] The Open Court Pub. Co. Chicago and London. 1901. Pp. xv, 128. Price, 25 cents.

and take off that shocking appearance which hath often been observed to attend speculative truths."

Berkeley's philosophy, having been the victim of much popular, and even professional, misapprehension, the editor has endeavored in his prefatory remarks to the *Principles*, to give by appropriate quotations and digests a synthesis of current philosophical opinion concerning his doctrines, to point out his relation to his predecessors, to indicate certain peculiarities of terminology and thought necessary to the understanding of his theory, and to show finally wherein certain of his analyses

GEORGE BERKELEY
(1685–1753)
From a picture by Smibert, now in Yale College

have been rendered antiquated by modern scientific inquiry. Berkeley's life is so interesting that we cannot refrain from offering to our readers the sketch given of it in Lewes's *Biographical History of Philosophy* (1845), a work which, though on technical points partisan and not always trustworthy, has at least the merit of a vivacious style.

LIFE OF BERKELEY.

"There are few men of whom England has better reason to be proud than of George Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne; for to extraordinary merits as a thinker and

writer he united the most exquisite purity and generosity of character; and it is still a moot point whether he was greater in head or heart.

"He was born on the 12th of March, 1685, at Kilcrin, in the county of Kilkenny, Ireland. He was educated at Trinity College, Dublin, and was in 1707 admitted as a fellow. In 1709 he published his *Essay Towards a New Theory of Vision*, which made an epoch in science;[1] and the year after, his *Principles of Human Knowledge*, which made an epoch in metaphysics. After this he came to London, where he was received with open arms. Ancient learning, exact science, polished society, modern literature, and the fine arts, contributed to adorn and enrich the mind of this accomplished man. All his contemporaries agreed with the Satirist in ascribing

To Berkeley every virtue under heaven.

Adverse factions and hostile wits concurred only in loving, admiring, and contributing to advance him. The severe sense of Swift endured his visions; the modest Addison endeavored to reconcile Clarke to his ambitious speculations. His character converted the satire of Pope into fervid praise. Even the discerning, fastidious, and turbulent Atterbury said, after an interview with him, "so much learning, so much knowledge, so much innocence, and such humility, I did not think had been the portion of any but angels, till I saw this gentleman."[2]

"His acquaintance with the wits led to his contributing to the *Guardian*. He became chaplain and afterwards secretary to the Earl of Peterborough, whom he accompanied on his embassy to Sicily. He subsequently made the tour of Europe with Mr. Ashe; and at Paris met Malebranche, with whom he had an animated discussion on the ideal theory. In 1724 he was made dean of Derry. This was worth eleven hundred pounds a year to him; but he resigned it in order to dedicate his life to the conversion of the North American savages, stipulating only with the Government for a salary of one hundred pounds a year. On this romantic and generous expedition he was accompanied by his young wife. He set sail for Rhode Island, carrying with him a valuable library of books and the bulk of his property. But, to the shame of the Government, be it said, the promises made him were not fulfilled, and after seven years of single-handed endeavour he was forced to return to England, having spent the greater part of his fortune in vain.

"He was made Bishop of Cloyne in 1734. When he wished to resign, the King would not permit him; and being keenly alive to the evils of non-residence, he made an arrangement before leaving Cloyne whereby he settled 200*l.* a year during his absence on the poor. In 1752 he removed to Oxford, where, on the evening of the 14th January, in 1753, he was suddenly seized, while reading, with palsy of the heart, and died almost instantaneously.

"Of his numerous writings we cannot here speak; two only belong to our subject: the *Principles of Knowledge*, and the *Dialogues of Hylas and Philonous*. [His other most important philosophical work was *Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher* (1733)]. We hope to remove some of the errors and prejudices with

1 This statement is hardly exact. The *Essay Towards a New Theory of Vision* was a psychological rather than a scientific treatise. The work has been well characterised by Prof. A. C. Fraser in his edition of the collected works of Berkeley, Vol. I., page 5, as follows: "The treatise is a professed account of the facts, the whole facts, and nothing but the facts of which we are visually conscious, as distinguished from pretended facts and metaphysical abstractions, which confused thought, an irregular exercise of imagination, or an abuse of words had substituted for them. It is a contribution to the psychological analysis of the fact of vision, and not a deduction from merely physical experiments in optics or the physiology of the eye."—*T. J. McC.*

2 Sir James Mackintosh.

which his name is encrusted. We hope to show that, even in what are called his wildest moods, Berkeley was a plain, sincere, deep-thinking man, not a sophist playing with paradoxes to display his skill.

THE TRADITIONAL MISCONCEPTION OF BERKELEY'S IDEALISM.

"All the world has heard of Berkeley's Idealism, and innumerable 'coxcombs' have vanquished it 'with a grin.'[1] Ridicule has not been sparing of it. Argument has not been wanting. It has been laughed at, written at, talked at, shrieked at. That it has been *understood* is not so apparent. Few writers seem to have honestly read and appreciated his works; and those few are certainly not among his antagonists.[2] In reading the criticisms upon his theory it is quite ludicrous to notice the constant iteration of trivial objections which, trivial as they are, Berkeley had often anticipated. In fact, the critics misunderstood him, and then reproached him for his inconsistency—inconsistency, not with *his* principles, but with *theirs*. They force a meaning upon his words which he had expressly rejected; and then triumph over him because he did not pursue their principles to the extravagances which would have resulted from them.

"When Berkeley denied the existence of matter, he simply denied the existence of that unknown *substratum*, the existence of which Locke had declared to be a necessary *inference* from our knowledge of qualities, but the nature of which must ever be altogether hidden from us. Philosophers had assumed the existence of substance, i. e., of a *noumenon* lying underneath all *phenomena*—a substratum supporting all qualities—a *something* in which all accidents *inhere*. This unknown substance Berkeley denies. It is a mere abstraction, he says. If it is unknown, unknowable, it is a figment, and I will none of it; for it is a figment worse than useless; it is pernicious, as the basis of all Atheism. If by matter you understand *that* which is seen, felt, tasted, and touched, then I say matter exists: I am as firm a believer in its existence as any one can be, and *herein I agree with the vulgar*. If, on the contrary, you understand by matter that occult *substratum* which is *not* seen, *not* felt, *not* tasted, and *not* touched—that of which the senses do not, cannot, inform you—then I say I believe not in the existence of matter, and *herein I differ with the philosophers and agree with the vulgar*.

"'I am not changing things into ideas,' he says, 'but rather ideas into things; since those *immediate objects of perception*, which according to you (Berkeley might have said, according to philosophers) are only *appearances of things*, I take to be the real things themselves.

"'*Hylas:* Things! you may pretend what you please; but it is certain you leave us nothing but the empty forms of things, the *outside of which only strikes the senses*.

"'*Philonous:* What *you* call the empty forms and outside of things seem to *me* the very things themselves. . . . We both therefore agree in this, that we perceive only sensible forms; but herein we differ: you will have them to be empty appearances; I, real beings. In short, *you do not trust your senses; I do*.'

"Berkeley is always accused of having propounded a theory which contra-

[1] "And coxcombs vanquish Berkeley with a grin."—*Pope*.

[2] These words were written in 1845-1846. Since then Prof. A. Campbell Fraser's magnificent edition of Berkeley's collected works (4 vols. Clarendon Press. 1871) and his exhaustive dissertations on Berkeley's doctrines, together with the many excellent histories of philosophy of the last half century, have rendered such misunderstanding, at least on the part of the philosophical public, almost impossible.—*T. J. McC.*

dicts the evidence of the senses. That a man who should thus disregard the senses must be out of his, was a ready answer; ridicule was not slow in retort: declamation gave itself elbow-room, and exhibited itself in a triumphant attitude. It was easy to declare (Reid, *Inquiry*) that 'the man who seriously entertains this belief, though in other respects he may be a very good man, as a man may be who believes he is made of glass; yet surely he hath a soft place in his understanding, and hath been hurt by much thinking.'

"Unfortunately for the critics, Berkeley did *not* contradict the evidence of the senses; did *not* propound a theory at variance in this point with the ordinary belief of mankind. His peculiarity is, that he confined himself exclusively to the evidence of the senses. What the senses informed him of, that, and *that only*, would he accept. He held fast to the facts of consciousness; he placed himself resolutely in the centre of the instinctive belief of mankind: there he took up his stand, leaving to philosophers the region of supposition, inference, and of occult substances.

"The reproach made to him is really the reproach he made to philosophers, viz., that they would not trust to the evidence of their senses; that over and above what the senses told them, they imagined an occult something of which the senses gave no indication. 'Now it was against this metaphysical phantom of the brain,' says an acute critic (*Blackwood's Magazine*, June, 1842, p. 814) 'this crochet-work of philosophers, and against it alone, that all the attacks of Berkeley were directed. The doctrine that the realities of things were not made for man, and that he must rest satisfied with mere appearances was regarded, and rightly, by him as the parent of scepticism with all her desolating train. He saw that philosophy, in giving up the reality immediately within her grasp, in favor of a reality supposed to be less delusive, which lay beyond the limits of experience, resembled the dog in the fable, who, carrying a piece of meat across a river, let the substance slip from his jaws, while with foolish greed he snatched at the shadow in the stream. The dog lost his dinner, and philosophy let go her secure hold upon truth. He therefore sided with the vulgar, who recognise no distinction between the reality and the appearance of objects, and repudiating the baseless hypothesis of a world existing unknown and unperceived, he resolutely maintained that what are called the sensible shows of things are in truth the very things themselves.

"True it is that owing to the ambiguities of language Berkeley's theory does not seem to run counter to the ordinary belief of mankind, because by Matter men commonly understand the seen, the tasted, the touched, &c; therefore when the existence of Matter is denied, people naturally suppose that the existence of the seen, the tasted, and the touched is denied, never suspecting that Matter, in its philosophical sense, is *not* seen, *not* tasted, *not* touched. Berkeley has not, it must be confessed, sufficiently guarded against all ambiguity. Thus he says in one of the opening sections of his *Principles of Human Knowledge*, that "It is indeed *an opinion strangely prevailing amongst men* that houses, mountains, rivers, and, in a word, all sensible objects have an existence, natural or real, distinct from their being perceived by the understanding.' This is striking the key note false. It rouses the reader to oppose a coming paradox.

"Yet Berkeley foresaw and answered the objections which Wimpey, Beattie, Reid, and others brought forward. He was not giving utterance to a caprice; he was not spinning an ingenious theory, knowing all the while that it was no more than an ingenuity. He was an earnest thinker, patient in the search after truth. Anxious, therefore, that his speculations should not be regarded as mere dialectical

displays, he endeavoured on various occasions to guard himself from misapprehension.

"'I do not argue against the existence of any one thing that we can apprehend either by sensation or reflection. That the things I see with my eyes and touch with my hands do exist, really exist, I make not the least question. The only thing whose existence I deny is that which philosophers call Matter, or corporeal substance. And in doing this there is no damage done to the rest of mankind, who, I dare say, will never miss it. . . .

"'If any man thinks we detract from the reality of existence of things, he is very far from understanding what has been premised in the plainest terms I could think of. . . . It will be urged that thus much at least is true, viz., that we take away all corporeal substances. To this my answer is, that if the word *substance* be taken in the vulgar sense for a combination of sensible qualities, such as extension, solidity, weight, &c., this we cannot be accused of taking away.[1] But if it be taken in the philosophic sense, for the support of accidents or qualities without the mind; then, indeed, I acknowledge that we take it away, if one may be said to take away that which never had any existence, not even in the imagination.

"'But say what we can, some one perhaps may be apt to reply, he will still believe his senses, and never suffer any arguments, however plausible, to prevail over the certainty of them. Be it so; assert the evidence of sense as high as you please, *we are willing to do the same.* That what I see, hear, and feel, doth exist, i. e., is perceived by me, I no more doubt than I do of my own being; but I do not see how the testimony of sense can be alleged as a proof of anything which is not perceived by sense.'[2]

"After reading these passages (and more of a similar cast might be quoted) in what terms shall we speak of the trash written to refute Idealism? Where was the acuteness of the Reids and Beatties, when they tauntingly asked why Berkeley did not run his head against a post, did not walk over precipices, &c., as, in accordance with his theory, no pain, no broken limbs, could result?[3] Where was philosophical acumen, when a tribe of writers could imagine they refuted Berkeley by an appeal to common sense—when they contrasted the instinctive beliefs of mankind with the speculative paradoxes of a philosopher, who expressly took his stand with common sense against philosophers?

"Men trained in metaphysical speculations may find it difficult to conceive the non-existence of an invisible, unknowable substratum; but that the bulk of mankind find it almost impossible to conceive any such substratum is a fact which the slightest inquiry will verify. We have experienced this more than once. We remember a discussion which lasted an entire evening, in which by no power of illustration, by no force of argument, could the idea of this substance, apart from its sensible qualities, be rendered conceivable.

"Berkeley, therefore, in denying the existence of matter, sided with common sense. He thought with the vulgar, that matter was that of which his senses in-

[1] An answer to Dr. Johnson's peremptory refutation of Berkeley, viz., kicking a stone: as if Berkeley ever denied that what we call stones existed!

[2] *Principles of Human Knowledge*, Sections 35, 36, 37, 40.

[3] "But what is the consequence? I resolve not to believe my senses. I break my head against a post that comes in my way; I step into a dirty kennel; and after twenty such wise and rational actions I am taken up and clapt into a madhouse. Now I confess I had rather make one of those credulous fools whom nature imposes upon, than of those wise and rational philosophers who resolve to withhold assent at all this expense."—Reid's *Inquiry*, ch. vi., sec. 20. This one passage is as good as a hundred.

formed him; not an occult something of which he could have no information. The table he saw before him certainly existed: it was hard, polished, coloured, of a certain figure, and cost some guineas. But there was no *phantom table* lying underneath the *apparent table*—there was no invisible substance supporting that table. What he perceived was a table, and nothing more; what he perceived it to be, he would believe it to be, and nothing more. His starting-point was thus what the plain dictates of his senses, and the senses of all men furnished."

MONCURE D. CONWAY, A MILITANT MISSIONARY OF LIBERALISM.

Some time ago we published an article on the Boxer Movement, illustrated by the reproduction of Chinese proclamations and pictures, from the pen of a Christian missionary, the Rev. George T. Candlin, who lived in China during the outbreak of the troubles, and who is known to our readers through several thoughtful contributions on Chinese literature to both *The Open Court* and *The Monist*. His pamphlet, *Chinese Fiction*, published in our Religion of Science Library, shows his thorough acquaintance with and appreciation of the Chinese character and modes of thought.

In the present number we offer an article on the same subject, from the opposite standpoint, by Moncure D. Conway, whose trenchant pen has won him a deserved reputation for the humorous and satirical treatment of such phases of the religious and social conditions of our age as seem to need reform.

Moncure D. Conway is a descendent of the Washington family, a Virginian by birth and a minister by education. In 1857, he was compelled to leave Washington, D. C., where he had charge of a congregation, on account of his denunciations of slavery. He then accepted a call to a Unitarian church in Cincinnati, and when the war broke out lectured gratuitously throughout the Northern states, advocating emancipation. He set a good example to his fellow-citizens by colonising his father's slaves in Ohio. In 1863, he visited England, and in 1870–71 served as a war correspondent for the *New York World*, during the Franco-German War. Having grown more and more liberal, he became the speaker of the South Place Ethical Society in London, and since resigning his position lives as a literary man, devoting himself mainly to religious and ethical topics.

Moncure D. Conway is not yet entirely free from a certain acerbity in the statement of his propositions, which may be due to the unpleasant experiences and persecutions to which he has been repeatedly subjected on account of his convictions. Our readers will observe that he denounces militant Christianity on account of the excrescences of its militant character, but it will be noticed that he himself has proved his whole life long one of the most fervid militant missionaries for what he recognised as the truth. P. C.

THE JUDGES OF JESUS, JEWS OR GENTILES?

To the Editor of the Open Court:

Allow me to ask if you will elucidate a statement published in your April number in your commentary on the story "The Crown of Thorns."

The passage alluded to is as follows: "Jesus was crucified by the Romans, not by the Jews." Meaning that the *death-decree* passed on the Teacher of Galilee by the Sanhedrin of Jerusalem was *executed*—according to the Roman law—by Roman officials?

Will you insert a note in the Miscellaneous Columns of one of your forthcoming numbers illustrative of the exact inference the paragraph is intended to convey?

This point is referred to your consideration, as some readers may be carried away with the idea that the learned Dr. Paul Carus transfers all odium in the Hebrew tragedy, and all authority, from the famous Jewish Senate which governed Judæa, on to the shoulders of the Roman Procurator who countersigned the Sanhedrin's decree; passing the sentence of death being the authority allowed to the Jewish Council, the *power for executing the Senate's sentence* being rigorously vested in the hands of the Roman procurator. To use the words of the Deputies of the Jewish Sanhedrin guilty of Christ's arraignment before Pilate: "We have already judged him according to our laws, and having found him guilty of death have brought him unto you to carry the sentence into execution."

The printing press is the pedagogue of the world. And all earnest students are encouraged to question of their "pedagogue" any statement which may not be clearly understood. Surely, *The Open Court* will not fail its many students.

GEO. AULD.

BASSETERRE, St. Kitts, B. W. I., April 27, 1901.

In reply to our correspondent, we will state that at the time of Christ's crucifixion the Romans alone exercised the right of capital punishment in Judæa. The Jewish Sanhedrim could make as many declarations as they pleased that a certain man deserved death according to their laws, but they had not the power to execute the judgment. It is quite probable that the Roman prefect would not have executed Jesus had he not been delivered over unto him by the Jewish authorities. But for that reason Pilate, the representative of the Roman Empire, remains the responsible person who alone had the right to pronounce judgment in the case. According to the Gospel accounts, the Jewish Sanhedrim, having condemned Jesus for blasphemy, plays the informer in order to have him executed for his pretensions as a Messiah, and as such Jesus is executed by the order of Pilate.

The statement that "Jesus was crucified by the Romans, not by the Jews," is made without any implication, merely as a statement of fact; but we might as well incidentally mention that originally among the Jew-Christians Rome was regarded as the main enemy of the kingdom of God. Rome is compared to Babylon, and is criticised with the severest names in the Revelation of St. John the Divine. The Gentile Christians, many of whom were Romans, were more careful in their attitude toward Rome. Paul himself was a Roman citizen, and he never uttered a definitely hostile word against Rome. When by and by the Gentile Church became positively Roman, the Roman authorities were more and more exonerated, and the whole odium of the crucifixion of Jesus was then thrown upon the Jews.

P. C.

CRUELTY TO ANIMALS IN ITALY.

To the Editor of The Open Court.

Will you kindly allow me by means of *The Open Court* to endorse the wishes expressed in your March number by your correspondent Signora Evelyn Martinengo Cesaresco, that animals should receive that careful and considerate attention that is surely their due at the hands of all men and more particularly those profesing Christianity. "Their lives," in many cases, are not fallen in "pleasant places,"

they have not a "goodly heritage," particularly, I am sorry to say, in Italy, where I have seen the most heart-rending cruelty to beasts of burden. Not only are they constantly compelled to draw burdens greater than they can bear, but there is a systematised practice, common throughout Italy, and by no means confined to that country, of treating mules with unwarranted cruelty, by means of nose-plates fixed to their head-gear. These nose-plates are made of brass formed to fit the nose of the animal and upon the inside there are serrated edges which saw the flesh through to the bone. The mule may be a bad-tempered, stubborn animal and require stern treatment, but surely such a barbarous mode ought not only be unnecessary, but should be absolutely prohibited. This kind of cruelty is not, I assure you, in isolated cases. It is a common practice among the peasantry. I have examined the noses of scores of mules and have invariably found ghastly, ulcerating wounds caused by these plates.

If the Signora continue this good work of hers on behalf of the suffering lower creation, she will not only be helping to lighten their bitter lot, but will render untold benefit to humanity at large.

D. HOLLAND STUBBS.

St. Andrew's Cathedral, Singapore.

AN INDIAN CHIEFTAIN ON THE DEVIL.

Our readers will remember the picture of the manly looking Indian clergyman, the Rev. J. J. Emmengahbowk (the Man-Who-Stands-Before-His-People) which appeared in *The Open Court* of last January (p. 50). The Rev. Emmengahbowk was much interested in *The Open Court*, and especially so in the announcement which he saw of Dr. Carus's *History of the Devil*. After subscribing to *The Open Court*, he writes as follows:

"WHITE EARTH RESERVATION, March 9th, 1901.

"*The Open Court*,

"Gentlemen:

"Some thing my people interested to see the picture of the olden times and to have some idea how the ancient people worshipped to the unknown God; that some thing the faith and worship of my people are similar.

"I was telling one of the chiefs that some a good white man has written a book about the Devil and made pictures of them. He ask: 'Is the white man still living?' I said, 'Yes, live in Chicago very near us.' 'O, dear me,' he said, 'I wish I could see the man who visited and talked with the Devil.' And he continued to say: 'Can you not procure his book and let us hear what the Devil had to say and what they look a like? The gentleman asks too much,—I am not able to buy it—too, too much to have his numerous friends see the picture of his friend the Devil!'

"He ask me again and said: 'Emmengahbowk, do you ever know or hear of any of your friend see the Devil personally, either through dreams or in imagination.' I said: 'I have not.' 'Well, I have. Sometimes he comes with all the beautiful form like any human being—sometimes in the form of a mountain, and other times in the form of a beautiful green leaf, of course with all their enticing bait, or other word *allure*.'

"My poor people know this much and understand it: that we are allured to evil by some promised good. We are enticed into it through our passions. We are seduced when drawn aside from the path of rectitude.

"Again the chief asked: 'Do you say that he saw the Devil!' 'Of course he

must; cannot be otherwise,' said another of the heathen chiefs. 'How can a man make picture of an object unless he saw it? So he must have seen and talked with him as a friend.' I wish the gentleman would be so generous to give his book to the inquisitive chief. He may do him much good." EMMENGAHBOWK.

BOOK REVIEWS.

NEUCHRISTENTHUM UND REALE RELIGION. Eine Streitschrift wider Harnack und Steudel. Nebst einem Katechismus realer Religion. Von *Dr. Julius Baumann*, ord. Professor of Philosophy in the University of Göttingen. Bonn: Verlag von Emil Strauss. 1901. Pages, 56.

In this work Doctor Baumann criticises Professor Harnack of Berlin and the Rev. Steudel, pastor of the church of St. Roberty, of Bremen, and a disciple of the famous professor—the former for his lectures on the essence of Christianity, and the latter for his text-book of religious instruction for young people. Our author opposes the lack of scientific thoroughness in both, and discovers the weak point in the religious views of this new Christianity and new Protestantism in a hankering after mysticism. Harnack is a scientific man; he is one of the most prominent representatives of the critical school; his investigations of Church history, the history of the Christian dogma, etc., are classical; but in all his studies we can trace his staunch allegiance to a belief in the supremacy of sentiment (page 188). Harnack says: "Science cannot satisfy all the yearnings of the spirit and the heart" (*Lectures*, pages 11–12). And again: "Science cannot give meaning to life. The questions of whence and whither she can answer as little to-day as two or three thousand years ago. She teaches us facts, traces contradictions, interconnects phenomena, explains illusions of the senses." Harnack denies that she can produce judgments of any absolute valuation. He says (page 11): "Absolute judgments of valuation are always the creatures of sentiment and will; they are a subjective act." While Harnack is strictly scientific in his work as a professor and historian, while he eliminates miracles and critically analyses the texts and documents of Christianity, while he concedes that the early Christians were utterly mistaken in the main dogma of their religious conviction, viz., as to the second advent of Christ, he again and again objects to science as being unable to give a norm of life, and resorts again and again to sentiment as being alone capable of giving absolute valuations of religious significance. Professor Baumann points out that all religions are of the same nature, that for instance, the present Chinese national movement against foreigners is essentially based upon such a subjective valuation of their religious convictions against those of the Christian invaders. There is subjectivism on both sides. But Professor Harnack does not consider these contradictions as affecting his judgments of absolute valuation. His own religion is, as he himself expresses it (page 95), "A dualism the origin of which we do not know; but as moral beings we are convinced, that as it is presented to us for the sake of being overcome and reduced to a unity, it points out an original unity, and will ultimately be resolved in harmony in a concrete dominion of the good."

Harnack's disciple, Pastor Steudel, follows essentially the same direction. He is critical, he opposes belief in miracles, but after all he builds his religion upon subjective conviction. "Metaphysical cognition has only a subjective significance," he says; "objective certitude can only be obtained by experimental science" (page 92). Thus, the essential religious ideas lie outside the pale of science. Steudel says (page 13): "If God could be reached by means of investigation, as

for instance we can investigate the nature of light, he would cease to be the object of religious conception. He would be one of the many cognisable things of the world, the presence and mode of activity of which must be heeded. It is exactly the incognisability and the incomprehensibility of God which makes him the object of religion. In contrast to all the things of the world, his existence is only surmise." Thus, Steudel revels in the infinite, and yields to the sentiment of awe. "The fixed stars in space," he says, "must be conceived to be infinite. Matter is infinitely divisible, and these things are in the interest of a religious explanation of our world-conception not less important than the order of the laws of nature."

Professor Baumann claims that this Christianity is something new, and ought not to claim to be a mere reform of the established Christianity. He proposes in its place "a real Christianity," or, as he calls it, "a really scientific religion"; and no doubt the main idea of his proposition is valuable and can be substantiated. But the explanation which he gives on pages 43–50 will be found very unsatisfactory, for it lacks precision and suffers as much as the views of his opponents from terms that must be regarded as purely sentimental. His religion, too, is expressed by: "I believe" (No. 8, page 44). It is not based on scientific knowledge, and the contents of his belief are expressed thus: "I believe in God, creator and preserver of the world, from eternity to eternity." Baumann believes that the organic world has risen out of the inorganic, not in the way that 9 is a product of 3 times 3, as an equal from equals; but he says: "It must be assumed that under the thoughts of God, at a certain stage of the evolution of inorganic nature, the use of it as the basis of an organic activity is discovered and will be realised as a real thought" (No. 13, page 45).

We do not mean to say that the idea which Professor Baumann means to express is incorrect, but we would say that it needs further elucidation. We agree with him in his criticism of both Harnack and Steudel, but we cannot as yet say that he himself has discovered the right formula of a religion that would be acceptable upon strictly scientific grounds. We believe ourselves that this is the ideal of the future; in fact, we try to realise such a truly scientific religion, and we hail his attempt to do so. Nevertheless, we find him over-critical in judging the work of others, and lacking in justice as to the mode of the evolution of thought. Professor Baumann says that the original Christianity as Jesus meant it died out with the non-fulfilment of the prophecies of the second advent. The Christianity of history such as it developed on the soil of the Roman Empire, and which was transferred to the Teutonic races in Northern Europe, has comparatively little to do with the eschatological view of Jesus of Nazareth and the early Jews. This is true in one sense only. The fact is that in its development Christianity adapted itself and changed, giving new interpretations where the old views had become untenable. Both Professor Harnack and Pastor Steudel are as much entitled to call themselves Christians, or new Christians if they please, as Paul was to call himself a disciple of Jesus. With given conditions a new phase may set in which will so radically change former traditions that the traditional name ceases to be appropriate; but it seems to me that men like Harnack and Steudel are sufficiently in contact with tradition to be justified in calling themselves Christians, and remaining in contact with the historical evolution of Christianity. Since the change which St. Paul made in starting the Gentile Church, and also Luther's reformation, were sanctioned in history as mere phases in the evolution of Christianity, we see no reason why the changes of modern theology should not be regarded in the same light.

P. C.

CONSTRUCTION FORM WORK. An Introduction to Geometry for Grammar Grades. By *William N. Hailmann*. Boston: C. C. Birchard & Co. 1901. Pp., 60.

The teachers of this country are waiting for a good work along the lines suggested by the above title. There is an opportunity in the combining of mathematics with manual training in the grades, possibly limited to the drawing and coloring of geometric figures, as in this work, possibly adding paper-folding as was done for more advanced students by Sundara Row in India (The Open Court Publishing Co. has in preparation an American edition), or possibly adding mensuration and thus making a triple alliance of arithmetic, geometry, and drawing. But unfortunately this little work of Dr. Hailmann's fails to meet the reasonable requirements for such a manual. While it awakens interest in geometric constructions, not only by the study of pure form, but also by the use of color, it sadly fails in point of accuracy and of modern spirit.

A work of this kind should have a propædeutic value; it cannot exist by itself; it must look forward to more substantial mathematics beyond, and it must not scatter seeds that will bring forth tares. Yet it is just here that this book becomes a dangerous one. It lacks mathematical scholarship; or rather, perhaps, it was so hurriedly written and so ill revised that it contains the many errors attendant upon a first draft.

One cannot read the work without discovering a number of these errors, together with many eccentricities that are foreign to the modern language of geometry. A few of each should be mentioned to justify this criticism: "For purposes of measurement, the circumference of the circle is divided into two equal parts. Each part is called a degree" (p. 5); "To draw a *regular* rhombus" (p. 25), rhombus having already been defined to be what the author calls "regular"; "How to draw a regular pentagon" (p. 29), the construction being only an approximation; "How to inscribe a regular heptagon in a circle" (p. 33), with the assertion that half the side of the inscribed equilateral triangle is a side of the regular heptagon. Of course it will at once be said that the author does not mean what he says, and that these constructions are intended as approximations in spite of his positive assertions. But if this be so, why has there been such care to specify approximate features only fifteen pages later? The author classifies lines as either parallel or diverging. Under the latter he says that they "converge in the direction in which they approach each other. When prolonged in the direction in which they converge, *they will meet in a common point.*" He surely could not have had in mind the hyperbola $xy=a$, or indeed any case of asymptotes, for his other definitions exclude considerations of infinity. He cannot claim exemption from the consideration of conics, since he introduces the subject; indeed, he carries the subject of curves into the interesting domain of "watch-spring" and "diverging" spirals! Without specifying further cases of this kind, except to say that the regular polyhedron mentioned on page 57 may be very irregular, the other criticism of the book should be noted.

The work has been described as eccentric. By this is meant that it uses terms, follows sequences, arranges figures, and employs definitions, that are not justified by common mathematical and educational usage. We have "focuses" for the foci of an ellipse, but "radii" for what analogy would suggest as the radiuses of a circle. There is a definition (though questionable) for radius, but none for horizontal and vertical until long after those words appear. The rarely used terms "octants" and "sextants" are defined, but "isosceles" is not explained until after it is used, and then in these words: "The resulting triangle is said to be isosceles

because it has two sides equal." While not denying this statement, it would be interesting to know what it means to the child or to the teacher who has not studied Greek. That "a circle is a curvilinear plane bounded by a uniformly curved line" may be accepted if we know what a uniformly curved line is and how it differs from an ellipse (or an elliptical curve, the two terms being used interchangeably on p. 45).

It is hardly worth while to pursue the subject further. Enough has been said to justify the assertion that the book is disappointing and is not one to be recommended to teachers.

DAVID EUGENE SMITH.

State Normal School, Brockport, N. Y.

ÉTUDE SUR L'ICONOGRAPHIE BOUDDHIQUE DE L'INDE. D'après des documents nouveaux. Par *A. Foucher*, maître de conférences à l'École des Hautes Études. Ouvrage accompagné de dix planches et de trente illustrations d'après les photographies de l'auteur. Paris: Ernest Leroux, éditeur, 28 Rue Bonaparte. 1900.

MYTHOLOGIE DES BUDDHISMUS IN TIBET UND DER MONGOLEI. Führer durch die lamistische Sammlung des Fürsten E. Uchtomskij. Von *Albert Grünwedel*, Dr. phil. Mit einem einleitenden Vorwort des Fürsten E. Uchtomskij und 188 Abbildungen. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus. 1900.

Buddhist iconography is in its full extent a *terra incognita* still, but there are a number of scholars and travellers at work who have done creditable work, and the authors of the two books under review belong to the very foremost authorities in their special line of investigation. But while Grünwedel has given special attention to the Gandhara sculptures which, as is now a well-established fact, mark the beginning of all Buddhist art, Foucher has excluded them from the province of his investigations for the purpose of limiting his review to the properly native Indian art. The Gandhara sculptures are Græco-Indian and represent a period in which the Greek spirit is still Greek and not as yet assimilated to the Asiatic taste. Foucher proposes to trace the figures of the iconography of the Northern Asiatic nations to their Indian prototypes. This is a difficult task, because the artists who carved or painted them omitted to denote their significance. As means of identification M. Foucher utilises materials of the University Library of Cambridge, among them a manuscript containing numerous miniatures with explanations. He reviews in Chapter I. the sacred monuments of Buddhism, the stupas or tumuli, the temples, the cave temples, the assembly halls (*chaityas*), the monasteries (*vihâras*), and in Chapter II. the divinities in their general characteristic features and the Buddhas, the Dîpankara, a kind of John the Baptist, one of the most important former incarnations of Buddha, Shakyamuni, or Bhagavan, the Blessed One, Vajrârana, or Buddha on the diamond seat; and the Bodhisattvas, among them Avalokiteçvara or Lokeçvara, the Lord Protector of the world, Meitreya, the Buddha to come, Mañjuçrî, etc.; lastly the feminine divinities Tara, Cunda, Mariçi, Vasudhârâ, Prajñapâramita, etc. The third Chapter contains a discussion of the most important scenes of the life of Buddha represented on the monuments.

The illustrations of Foucher's work are indispensable for a comprehension of the material discussed. They are heliogravures made from photographs.

Grünwedel laid the foundation to a comprehension of the historical development of Buddhist art in his book *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, where he pointed out the significance of the Greek influence in Gandhara. We have here in the form of

a guide through Prince Uchtomskij's valuable collection of Buddhist art, an instructive introduction to the mythology of the Mahâyâna. Prince Uchtomskij has written the preface, in which he complains of the indifference that prevails in Russia toward the religious life of the Buddhists, who form such an important portion of Russia's Assiatic subjects. He recommends the study of their faith to Christian missionaries and dwells on the seriousness and other virtues of the devotees of Shakyamuni.

Grünwedel sketches the Buddhist pantheon of India in concise outlines (pp. 1–28), explains the best-known Buddhist saints, beginning with Nâgârjuna and ending with Lamas of the present day, and finally goes over the same ground treated by Foucher in his *L'iconographie bouddhique*. He discusses the tutelary divinities, the Buddhas, Bodhisatvas, and the female divinities, such as Târâs and Dâkinîs, then the Dharmapâlas or protectors of religion, and local deities. References and Notes are relegated to an Appendix.

Grünwedel's book is rich in beautifully executed illustrations, and a good portrait of Prince Uchtomskij forms the frontispiece. P. C.

NOTES.

The Rev. C. A. Seelakkhandha, a high priest of Ceylon, is publishing a text of the *Visuddhi-Marga*, a famous Buddhist book, the title of which in English means "the path of purity." It is written by Buddhagosha, and is the same work which Mr. Henry Warren, of Cambridge, Mass. (the author of *Buddhism in Translations*) had begun to translate into English when he died, leaving the completion of his work to his teacher and fathful assistant, Prof. Charles Lanman, of Harvard. Since the *Visuddhi-Marga* is one of the most important Buddhist works yet untranslated, a text edition made by a Buddhist scholar and a prominent native priest will no doubt be of considerable assistance to the proper comprehension and interpretation of the book. The Rev. Seelakkhandha is one of the most active and best-known Buddhist priests, respected not only by his own followers, but also by European and American scholars. Further, Mr. Seelakkhandha has published a number of other works in Sanskrit, which will be valuable to students of Sanskrit. Among his recent publications we may mention his commentary to the Bhaktisataka, the price of which is only one rupee, and which contains a complete life of Gautama Sakya, and is recommended by the author to Sanskritists for translation.

He is regarded as a poet of repute among the Singhalese, and a recent hymn-book of his, the *Manglashtaka*, is recommended by those who can read it as a creditable composition, full of the spirit of Buddhist piety. It has been composed for the purpose of being read at the consecration of the Vihâra.

A book on the mechanism of the English government is a boon to students of history. Such information is the most difficult of all to get, for the reason that the constitution of Great Britain is an unwritten one, and her governmental methods have taken on a peculiar idiosyncratic form which has scarcely an analogue, let alone a duplicate, in any other country. Other constitutions and forms of government have been *made;* those of Great Britain have *grown*. The sketch, therefore, which Leonard Courtney has written of *The Working Constitution of the United Kingdom* will find many appreciative readers. He has distributed his exposition under three headings: (1) Parliament; (2) Institutions Subordinate to

Parliament; and (3) Parliament in Relation to the Empire and to Foreign Powers. Under the first heading are treated the History and Functions of the House of Commons, the Government and Parliament of Ireland, the Scots Constitution, the House of Lords, the Crown, the Army, the Navy, and the Civil Service, Royal and Parliamentary Commissions, the Parties, Elections, etc. Under the second heading, the Judiciary, Church, and Local Organisations of England, Scotland, and Ireland receive consideration. Under the third, the Government of the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man, of the Crown Colonies, the Self-Governed Colonies, and India find elucidation. An index completes the usefulness of the work. (New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1901. Pages, viii, 383. Price, $2.00.)

A handsome edition of the Greek text of Demosthenes's *Oration on the Crown*, with critical and explanatory notes, historical sketch, essays, etc., have been made by Dr. William Watson Goodwin, Eliot Professor of Greek Literature in Harvard University. The work has been printed by the Cambridge University Press of England, and has all the substantial typographical elegance that characterises the productions of this famous institution. Dr. Goodwin has sought to supply students in this volume with what he has deemed most essential to a thorough understanding of this great masterpiece of oratory. The Greek text with comments and notes takes up 227 pages; the historical sketch, which has been written for the special elucidation of the events to which the oration refers, is exhaustive, and runs from the accession of Philip to the Battle of Chaeronea, 338 B. C. Following this we have eight essays: I. Argument of the Oration, with remarks on sections 120 and 121; II. The γραφὴ παρανόμων; III. The Suit against Ctesiphon; IV. Trials of Aeschines and Philocritus in 343 B. C.; V. Constitution of the Amphictyonic Council; VI. The Hero Physician and the Hero Καλαμίτης; VII. Manuscripts of the Oration on the Crown; VIII. Stichometry in the Manuscripts of Demosthenes. (New York: The Macmillan Co. 1901. Pages, ix, 368. Price, $3.75.)

We are pleased to announce the appearance of a new German bi-monthly, *Das freie Wort*, a magazine "devoted to the cause of progress in all the domains of the intellect." The editor is Carl Saenger, and the periodical, which finds its main support among the liberal people of Frankfort-on-the-Main, is also published in the same city. Dr. Arthur Pfungst, whose name has appeared in *The Open Court*, is a contributor to the first number, as are also Dr. Arnold Dodel (who writes on his own life), Dr. C. Lombroso, Dr. J. Jastrow, Karl Henckell, and Dr. O. Harnack. We quote the following declaration of principles from the proclamation of its editor: "We know but one interest which we champion, the truth; but one party which we espouse, humanity; but one goal towards which we strive, progress in all the domains of human life, conduct, and aspiration. We desire to realise this progress by the fostering of genuine knowledge, by the strengthening of our moral volition, by arousing and elevating our feeling of the dignity of humanity." A free arena is accorded to the opinions of all who desire to take part in the discussions leading to these ends, hence the name of the magazine, *Das freie Wort*. The list of future contributors to the little magazine is a good one, and its future seems to be promising. The subscription is two marks per quarter. (Frankfort-on-the-Main: Neuer Frankfurter Verlag.)

A new book by H. W. Conn, Ph. D., of Wesleyan University, author of *The Story of Germ Life* and *The Story of the Living Machine*, bears the title *The*

Method of Evolution: A Review of the Present Attitude of Science Toward the Question of the Laws and Forces which Have Brought About the Origin of Species. The problems of evolution have taken on a different aspect from that which they presented in the period immediately following Darwin, and especially the last fifteen years "have seen a very profound modification of our ideas concerning the "origin of species, but the facts that have produced the change have hardly been "within the reach of the person who is interested in evolution but cannot follow "the discussion in its various ramifications in scientific journals. The purpose of "this work is to present to such students a review of the subject of evolution as it "stands to-day, at the time when our younger naturalists are abandoning old "methods and beginning to search in new fields for new information." Mr. Conn's survey covers in concise form such researches as are presented in the works of Romanes, Cope, Weismann, Eimer, Nägeli, etc., published by the Open Court Pub. Co. The summaries and discussions of this book will be of value for the general student. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1900. Pages, ix, 408.)

Dr. Frank L. McVey, Professor of Economics in the University of Minnesota, has had an excellent idea in the way of supplying a book for teaching civil government,—a subject which is, or rather has been, greatly neglected in our public schools. That idea has been an attempt thoroughly to analyse the functions of our state governments by writing the history and describing the administration of some special one of our states. He has selected for his purpose his own state, Minnesota, and has endeavored to present in the small volume now before us "a harmonious picture of the history and government of the commonwealth of Minnesota." The reader and student may follow here the workings of the machinery of our state governments in all its intricacy. Naturally, the volume will have more value for residents of the state of which it treats than for those of the other states of the Union. (*The Government of Minnesota:* Its History and Administration. Handbooks of American Government. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1901. Pages, xi, 236. Price, $.75.)

The late Prof. F. Max Müller, who was a contributor to the early numbers of *The Open Court* and *The Monist*, spent half a century of his life in the interests of the University of Oxford, and his chief efforts being devoted to the advancement of our knowledge of ancient India, the Oxford people have thought it proper that his name should be commemorated in that ancient seat of learning in such a way as to promote the studies in which he was so greatly interested. Beyond question a bust, relief, or portrait will be placed in the Bodleian Library; but in addition to this it is proposed that a fund shall be formed to be called "The Max Müller Memorial Fund," to be held by the University in trust, "for the promotion of learning and research in all matters relating to the history and archæology, the languages, literature, and religions of ancient India." The movement has received the approval of many distinguished personages, and a goodly sum of money has already been subscribed. Contributions payable to "The Max Müller Memorial Fund" will be received by the Honorable Treasurer, C. Grant Robertson, M. A., All Souls College, Oxford, England.

The latest number of the excellent *Temple Cyclopædic Primers* is the story of *Australasia, the Commonwealth and New Zealand*, by Arthur W. Jose. As the author well remarks, the story of Australasia is not an exciting one for the world

at large; its annals are filled with no triumphs of diplomacy, no great battles, and no enduring struggles of race with race; but it has other startling features which will recompense the reader for this lack of the usual stuff of which history is made. The narration of the building up of the great Australian confederacy is the story of nation-making in its purest and simplest form. This story Mr. Jose traces from the discovery of the continent to the present day, treating especially of political mechanism and forms of self-government. The little book contains several illustrations, and like the rest of the series costs but 40 cents.

The Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution have devoted their additional report for the year ending June 30, 1897, which is just out, to the memorial of George Brown Goode, in commemoration of his great services in the promotion of an organisation of museums in the United States. The volume contains not only the memorial exercises, but also the history of the United States National Museum and of museums of history, also a selection of Dr. Goode's papers on various subjects relating to the administration of museums, museums of the future, American science, etc., etc. The volume is adorned with a frontispiece of Dr. Goode and a number of portraits of men connected with the history of museums in the United States.

The second part of the *List of Private Libraries*, compiled by Mr. G. Hedeler of Leipsic (18 Nürnberger-Strasse) will soon be ready. It will contain more than 600 important private collections of the *United Kingdom*, including supplement to Part I. (U. S. A. and Canada). Those happy possessors of libraries with whom Mr. Hedeler has been unable to communicate are requested to furnish him with a few details as to the extent of their treasures and the special direction to which they devote themselves. By doing so, they will of course not incur any expense or obligation. It is obviously to the interest of bibliographical science that a work of this kind should be as complete as possible.

Mr. George Hall, Principal of the Petersburg Academy, Petersburg, Va., has written a book on *The Common Sense of Commercial Arithmetic*. It does not seem to us that the subject has been treated in a form sufficiently new or exhaustive to justify its incorporation in a separate volume. But it is possible that the work may be of use to students in our commercial schools. (New York: The Macmillan Co. London: Macmillan & Co. 1901. Pages, xii, 187. Price, 60 cents.)

The Fifth Summer Assembly of the Jewish Chautauqua Society will be held at Atlantic City, New Jersey, July 8th to 28th, 1901. This is an increase of one week over previous sessions. A prospectus giving the programme of the Assembly may be had by addressing the Jewish Chautauqua Office, P. O. Box, 825, Philadelphia, Pa.

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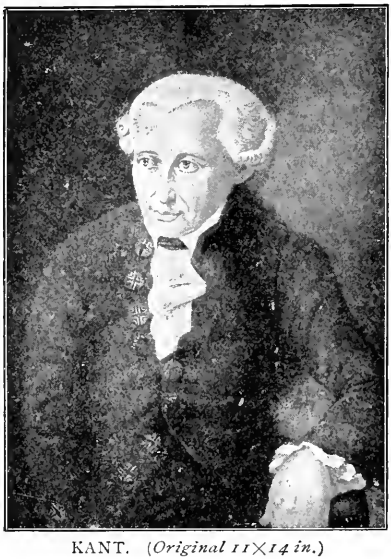

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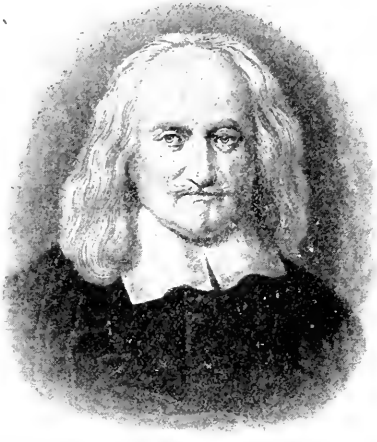

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