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

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CONTENTS:

	PAGE
<i>Frontispiece.</i> Dionysus Crossing the Celestial Sea.	
<i>An Iberian Jeanne d'Arc.</i> VINCENT STARRETT	65
<i>The Mystery of Evil.</i> (Continued.) PAUL R. HEYL	74
<i>Horace Traubel.</i> (Concluded.) O. E. LESSING	87
<i>The Cosmic Multiplications.</i> (With illustrations.) LAWRENCE PARMLY BROWN	98
<i>A Visit to Elizabeth Foerster-Nietzsche.</i> CAROLINE V. KERR	119
<i>Book Reviews</i>	127

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DIONYSUS CROSSING THE CELESTIAL SEA
in a fish-shaped boat, surrounded by seven fishes. (From Gerhard, *Auserlesene Vasenbilder*, I, 49.)

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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AN IBERIAN JEANNE D'ARC.¹

BY VINCENT STARRETT.

FEW of the world's heroines perhaps have escaped such dubious immortality as is conferred by a printed biography. Some there have been who for years eluded the official biographer, the authorized memorialist, only to stumble at length into the arms of the historical essayist, sinfully joyous at the opportunity presented by a bit of unhackneyed copy. Many survive in paragraph notices in arid encyclopedias: some in obscure monographs embalmed in the dust of university bookshelves. Few indeed are as profoundly unknown as Andamana, First Queen of Canary. For the most part, such treatment as our heroines have received has been adequate. Joan of Arc has had her enthusiasts and her detractors, and a small library has grown up around her name and fame: Florence Nightingale has been apotheosized and denuded in copious chapters. Lesser heroines, like Elizabeth Canning and Moll Cutpurse, have been the subjects of excellent *feuilletons* in the best manner of Messrs. Andrew Lang and Charles Whibley. It is a pleasant adventure to cross the trail of an authentic heroine apparently as unknown to the Langs and Whibleys as to the professional writers of history and biography. Jeanne d'Arc and Napoleon might have learned from Andamana of Canary.

¹AUTHORITIES. Spanish: *Historia de las Canarias*, Ab. Gal; *Historia de la Gran-Canaria*, Melleres; *Genealogia de la casa de Guzman*, Rodriguez; *Historia del Descubrimiento y la Conquista de las Yslas de las Canarias*, Galineo; *Titulos de Castilla*, Berny; *Monarquia Española*, Riverola; *Teatro Universal*, Garcia; *Asturias Ilustrado*, Trellos; Archives of the houses of Teva and Montijo.

English: *The Canarian, or Book of the Conquest and Conversion of the Canarians in the year 1402*, by Messire Jean de Bethencourt, Kt., F. P. Bontier and J. Le Verrier (trans. by Richard Henry Major); *Andamana, the First Queen of Canary*, William B. Whiting, U.S.N.; *Madeira and the Canary Islands*, A. Samler Brown.

History and tradition unite to make the Canary Islands fascinating to the student and traveler—islands which for two thousand years prior to the first successful colonization had been the subject of poetical allusion. Much of speculation still surrounds their early history; but whether they were really the abodes of the Hesperides, and the scene of Hercules's apple-dragon exploit, whether the summits of a mountain chain now slowly rising out of the sea, or the remains of the sunken continent of Atlantis, it is impossible that they should have been unknown to the Ancients. It seems more than probable that the great peak of Teneriffe is the Mount Atlas of mythology, and that it was the Canary Archipelago old writers had in mind when they referred to the Happy Islands and the Elysian Fields.

Homer speaks of the discovery and colonization by Sesostris, King of Egypt (*ca.* B. C. 1400), of an island beyond the pillars of Hercules, to which the souls of the departed heroes were translated, calling it Elysium; Hesiod asserts that "Jupiter sent dead heroes to the end of the world, to the Fortunate Islands, which are in the middle of the ocean." Herodotus, in his description of the lands beyond Libya, says that "the world ends where the sea is no longer navigable, in that place where are the gardens of the Hesperides, where Atlas supports the sky on a mountain as conical as a cylinder." That the places referred to in these various instances were those islands now known to us as the Canaries, students are fairly well agreed. At any rate, being rediscovered by the Romans, shortly before Christ, they were dubbed "*Insulæ Fortunæ*," a name which has clung to them since.

A complete history of the Canaries is unnecessary to the story of Andamania, but a brief sketch of that colorful chronicle is at least desirable. Juba II, King of Mauretania (*circa* 50 B. C.), sent ships to inspect them, and later described them in a book. He seems to have described them as islands clothed in fire, placed at the extreme limit of the world, as, although his writings are lost, he is freely quoted to that effect by Pliny, Plutarch and others. Pliny, it is true, says the islands were uninhabited; but elsewhere it is stated that buildings were found upon them, evidencing a fair degree of culture. The most accurate record of the geographical position of the Fortunate Islands is left us by Ptolemy, A. D. 150, who drew his imaginary meridian line on the extreme west of the known world and through the island of Hierro. But it can scarcely be doubted that the islands were known to the Phœnicians and probably to the Carthaginians long before Juba's time.

Ships could hardly pass along the coast of Africa without encountering them sooner or later.

Ossuna, quoting the lost writings of the Arabian historian Ebu Fathyma, asserts that the Admiral Ben Farroukh, having received information of the existence of land to the west of the African coast, landed at Gando Bay, in Canary, in A. D. 999, and found a people willing to trade and already accustomed to the arrival of visitors. Edrisi, the Arabian geographer, A. D. 1099-1164, quotes Raccam-el-Avez as authority for the statement that in clear weather the smoke issuing from the island of the two magician brothers, Cheram and Cherham, was visible from the African coast. That smoke might be seen at this distance was clearly demonstrated, centuries later, by Humboldt.

It has been argued that the Canaries were visited by a Genoese expedition about A. D. 1291; but as this fleet never returned the matter is difficult to prove. Again, the islands are reported to have been discovered by a French ship about A. D. 1330, on hearing which King Alphonso IV of Portugal sent a party to take possession of them, in 1334, which was repulsed at Gomera. This expedition was followed by another from the same quarter in 1341, again without result, although valuable information concerning the islands was gathered. It is all rather incoherent, but so great was the turmoil and confusion of the rest of the world, during the Middle Ages—a situation accounted for by the fall of the Roman Empire and by the protracted struggles of Christianity against Mohammedanism—that perhaps the miracle is that anything has come down to us regarding the Canaries. Tradition would suggest that these delightful islands constituted a sort of pastoral Arcadia, save perhaps for Lanzarote and Fuerteventura, which were more exposed to attack from Africa and by European slave-hunters. Too, in these islands, civil wars seem to have been frequent.

In an evil hour for the Canaries, Europe, recovering from the Crusades and overrun with unemployed soldiers, turned its attention their way.

In 1344, a certain Louis de la Cerda, a French nobleman of royal Spanish extraction, was created "King of the Fortunate Islands" by Pope Clement VI, and given full power to Christianize the natives as best he could. The English ambassador resented this papal decree, and intense discussion resulted. However, nothing came of the fanfaronade; but in 1360, missionaries sent to Gran Canary, converted some of the natives and taught them many useful arts, although the majority subsequently suffered martyrdom. In

1393, an expedition from Spain was repulsed off the same island, but met with greater success further west, Lanzarote being sacked by the raiders on the way home. Beyond question, the islands were frequently visited during the fourteenth century; either for pillage or trade.

The modern history of the Canaries practically begins in 1402, when Jean de Bethencourt, Kt., a Norman gentleman, fitted out a ship with the express purpose of conquering them and settling there. And at this point we may take up the consideration of Andamana, who reigned in the island of Gran Canary prior to the coming of Jean de Bethencourt, although just when she began to reign is not exactly clear.

The island of Gran Canary, in early times, was divided into ten petty districts or villages, called, respectively, Galdar, Telde, Aquimez, Tejeda, Aquejata, Agüete, Tamaraceita, Artibirgo, Ateacas, and Arucas.² Each district was governed by a chief called Guanartemé, who maintained a body of armed warriors under his control, and united in himself the offices of dictator, legislator, and executive; calling, however, at his option, an advisory council of old men of the village, who also met at his death to appoint his successor. This subdivision into petty independent sovereignties, and the naturally warlike character of the inhabitants, were the occasion of many internal dissensions and a number of sanguinary conflicts.

In the village of Galdar lived a young girl called Andamana,³ who, according to legend, possessed extraordinary wisdom. Her judgment often was consulted on the most weighty matters, and her reputation, at first local, soon spread through the surrounding country, so that deputations from a distance came frequently to the village where she lived, to consult her on disputed points. Litigants appealed to her before bringing their cases before the magistrates, and sometimes the magistrates themselves appealed to her before making their decisions. It was not long, so great was her success, until her judgments were regarded as inspired, and Andamana herself was looked upon with respect and awe. The situation was not lost upon this good-looking girl (for legend says she was that, too), in whose breast was kindled a shining ambition, which probably grew slowly but which certainly directed her subsequent conduct.

² Galineo says there were twelve, but does not give their names.

³ Ab. Gal calls her Atidamana; Galineo calls her Antidamana; other Spanish writers call her Andamada, and some Andamanada; but the name generally accepted as correct, and the one alone prevalent in the island of Gran Canaria, is Andamana.

Encouraged by the deference shown her, and by the constant reference to her judgment of public matters, Andamana proceeded after a time to pronounce decisions, in addition to giving advice; but whereas the wisdom of her opinions had not been questioned, had indeed elicited unanimous applause, the magistrates complained of her later actions as an infringement of their privileges. Particularly was this complaint induced by the fact that their receipts were seriously affected. Andamana charged no fee, while charges by the magistrates were heavy. Not infrequently, the litigant who was able to give the largest fee obtained a verdict in his favor, without reference to the merits of the case. Litigants now preferred to take their troubles to the inspired village maiden.

So great, however, was Andamana's popularity among the people of her district that the Guanartemé feared openly to take measures against her, on his own responsibility; so he called a council to consider her pretensions and encroachments. As it developed, nothing better calculated to further the ambitions of the shrewd native girl could have been devised. Instead of quailing before the judicial measure, so fraught with apparent danger to her, Andamana made it a means of advancing her power.

The Council met and went solemnly into session; when suddenly the door was flung open and Andamana, splendidly attired, entered, and calmly assumed a seat as presiding officer of the assembly. The effrontery of the action struck the councilors dumb. No word was uttered. The legend of her "inspiration" weighed heavily upon her accusers, and her conduct on this occasion tended to confirm their belief in it. After a pause, she rose upright and began to talk. In bitter, scornful words she upraided them as unworthy of all she had done, and dared them to cite one instance where, in the judgments or decisions rendered by her, she had been swayed by personal advantage. Then she resumed her seat and awaited a reply. As none came, she arose again and quietly pronounced the Council dissolved.

After this astonishing and successful stroke, Andamana was unmolested. There was no further opposition in the district to her assumption of power, which henceforth she exercised with regal sway.

Andamana's next step was to revise the judicial code of her district, abolishing many laws which she did not approve, altering others, and introducing new ones. She established special punishments for offenses which before had been left to the discretion of

the magistrates, defined the duties of those officers, and appointed punishments for bribery and the perversion of justice.

Pursuing the bold course she had begun in her own district, she sent copies of her code of laws to the surrounding villages, directing observance thereof in the future administration of justice there. By this time, she was all but idolized in her own district; but by the other districts her instructions were treated with scorn, and in some cases her messengers were punished. Unperturbed, Andamana laid aside the robes of Portia and donned the armor of Jeanne d'Arc. The time, she saw, now had come for prompt and sharp action.

Upon the return of her couriers, she listened to their stories. Then she went forthwith to one Gumidafé, known as the Knight of Facaracas, a nobleman whose habitation was a fortified cave in the neighborhood of Galdar, and who was said to be the greatest warrior on the island.⁴ Gumidafé had control of a large force of armed men; and to him, it is related, Andamana offered her heart and hand in marriage, on the condition that he espouse her cause and fight her battles. The stipulation seems to have pleased the war-lord as much as the initial proposal; he accepted without cavil.

Andamana called the people of her district to arms, and when they were assembled had the marriage ceremony uniting her with Gumidafé performed before the multitude. She at once installed her husband in command of the army, made up of his own troops and those of Galdar, and placing herself by his side, swept down on the offending villages. In a short time her warriors had overrun the island, and she was the supreme power in Canary. Wherever she went she proclaimed immunity to such as would join her standard, and destruction to all who opposed her progress. In this way, her forces increased as she advanced, towns threw open their gates and received her with acclamation, and what little opposition developed was speedily overcome. When every district in the island had submitted to her sway, she returned to Galdar and proclaimed herself and Gumidafé queen and king of Canary.

The reign of Andamana was long and beneficent. Her first act was to establish a uniform code of laws for the entire island. Apparently she did not again find it necessary to use violence upon her people, and probably she died deeply loved and respected. Legend would suggest this, but even legend does not record her

⁴ Fabulous stories are told of the stature of the Canarian warriors—one early Spanish writer asserting that a chief of Gran Canaria was fourteen feet in height, and another nine.

death. It is asserted, however, that she and Gumidafé were succeeded by their son Artemis (or Artemi Semidan), who is said to have been killed in battle with the French in 1400.

This gives us a clue to the date of Andamana's reign. It is probable that Artemi Semidan actually fell in 1402, when Jean de Bethencourt made his attempt on the island. Canary was not conquered at this time. Fuerteventura, Lanzarote, Gomera, and Hierro of the Canary group, fell before the French arms, but Canary, La Palma, and Teneriffe proved too powerful for attack with the forces at the Frenchman's disposal. These were not occupied until years later. It is likely, however, that it was during De Bethencourt's initial attack that the son of Andamana came to his death. As this son had two sons of his own, and as his mother's reign had been long (according to legend), it is safe to assume perhaps—without too close figuring—that Andamana flourished after the year 1300; more probably a quarter of a century after that date.

On the death of the son of Artemis (some Spanish writers say of that prince himself), the island was divided into two kingdoms, over which ruled the two sons of the preceding monarch. The northern part, called the Kingdom of Galdar, was assigned to Egonayche Semidan, the elder; the southern part, called the Kingdom of Telde, to Bentagoyhe, the younger. The king of Telde, whose domain was the largest and most populous, was required to attend annually, with his chiefs, in council at Galdar; but after assuming his throne he refused to comply with this condition. This occasioned war between the two brothers. On the death of Bentagoyhe, the kingdom of Telde was usurped by a powerful noble named Doramus (afterward killed by the Spaniards), who caused himself to be elected to the supreme authority by the Gayres or governors of subordinate provinces, in preference to the son of Bentagoyhe, then a child. This boy took refuge with his uncle, Egonayche Semidan, by whom he was kindly received and reared. Whether the young king of Telde who subsequently killed himself at Ansité, was the son of Doramus or this son of Bentagoyhe, the history of Canary does not inform us.

The descendants of Andamana continued to reign in Galdar until the conquest of the island by the Spaniards under Pedro de Vera, during the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella in Spain. Guanche Semidan (also called Temisor Semidan) was the last king of Galdar, and had no sons; but his daughter Teneshoya was contracted in marriage to the young king of Telde, who hoped by this

means to unite the whole island under one scepter. Guaneche Semidan and his daughter, however, were captured by De Vera and sent to Spain, where they were converted to Christianity and baptized. Guaneche became Don Ferdinand, or Fernando, and Teneshoya became Doña Catherina, or Catalina. Returning to the island, which De Vera had not yet conquered, Don Ferdinand was instrumental in effecting its complete surrender. This was in 1483, when a miserable remnant of the Canarios were still valiantly holding out.

The invading Spaniards had captured all of the seacoast, but the Canarios had assembled in an inaccessible mountain fastness at a place called Ansité. This stronghold, Don Ferdinand ascended and was received with great joy by the people. Shouts and tears greeted the appearance of him who once had been their king. When the tumult had subsided, Don Ferdinand launched into an eloquent harangue, advising them for the sakes of their wives and daughters, if not their own, to renounce all thought of opposition to the Spaniards. Opposition, he assured them, could end only in their destruction. He told them that if they surrendered without fighting, they would be treated with leniency, and would be allowed to continue as nobles in the possession of their estates. Thus, amid tears, the surrender was accomplished.

The young king of Telde, seeing his hopes blasted, and the old Faycag or high priest of the island, who were among the group on the mountain, advanced to the edge of the cliff and, having embraced, called with a loud voice, "Atirtisma! Atirtisma!"—the Canarian method of invoking God—then threw themselves headlong over the precipice and were dashed to pieces. Don Ferdinand led the rest of the Canarios down to De Vera, who feasted them and ordered a *Te Deum* to be sung. The conquest of the island was thus completed on April 29, 1483.

The subjugation of Teneriffe in 1496 by Don Alonso Fernandez de Lugo, was largely due also to the Canario auxiliaries led by Don Ferdinand, Guanartemé de Galdar, erstwhile Guaneche Semidan, King of Canary. This gentleman, having become a Christian, seems to have developed a passion for teaching his new religion by "apostolic blows and knocks," and his connection with the subjugation of Canary does not seem particularly to his credit. Doubtless his daughter was beautiful.⁵

⁵ An old account says: "The women of Gran Canaria are represented as very beautiful; and the men as well-formed, of good stature, active, and athletic. . . . In complexion they are dark like the inhabitants of the other islands, but not much more so than the Spaniards and Italians."

Doña Catherina, daughter of Don Ferdinand, subsequently returned to Spain, and was married to Don Fernando Perez de Guzman, Señor de Batres (or Vates), son of Don Pedro Suarez de Toledo y Guzman, brother of Don Juan Ramirez de Guzman, from whom descended the Empress Eugenie of France.

Thus ended the royal line of Andamana. Less worthy heroines have been celebrated in song and story. The unanimity of the legends told of her in Canary, suggest at least a considerable foundation of truth, and fortunately confirmation is found in rare Spanish works. This confirmation was collected many years ago by Commodore William B. Whiting, U.S.N., from whose records much of the present narrative is drawn. There seems little reason to doubt the essential features of Andamana's story, and one wonders that history has so neglected the chronicle of her amazing rise to power, and the Napoleonic *coup d'état* by which she first achieved her supremacy.

THE MYSTERY OF EVIL.

BY PAUL R. HEYL.

XI. HISTORIC LITERARY SOLUTIONS.

While we have not yet considered all the fundamental positions that may be taken with respect to the problem of evil, we have considered a sufficient number to enable us to analyze and classify most of the complex attitudes usually assumed by those who discuss the matter. As examples we shall consider two well-known pieces of literature for both of which the mystery of evil furnishes the motive. Each of these examples has been held by various persons to contain a more or less complete and satisfactory solution of the mystery, and it will be interesting for us to examine them at this point.

The Book of Job.—The first of these is the Book of Job. Magnificent in imagery and diction, dramatic in style and setting, this book is well worth attention simply as a piece of literature. Its especial interest to us lies in the fact that the plot concerns itself with the problem of the suffering of the righteous. Job, a perfect and upright man, one that feared God and eschewed evil, is suddenly visited by great misfortune. The motive for this is disclosed to the reader, but kept secret from Job and his friends. This motive, naively anthropomorphic, originates in a dispute between God and Satan relative to Job himself, Satan intimating that Job's righteousness is but skin-deep. To refute Satan, God gives him power over Job in all save his life, which power Satan promptly uses to Job's great misery, first removing his children and possessions, and later visiting Job himself with a loathsome disease. Under these afflictions Job's attitude toward God is described as scrupulously correct. "In all this Job sinned not, nor charged God foolishly."

Yet after seven days and nights of the silent sympathy of his three friends Job breaks forth and curses, not God, but the day of his birth. His friends listen silently to his invective, bitter, vehement,

even majestic, and when he has finished begin an argument with him. Their theory is simple: Job is a great sufferer; he must therefore be a great sinner. Here we have an illustration of what has been discussed under the free-will position. Job meets this attack with sound logic, pointing out the well-known fact that many wicked persons escape punishment in this life, and defying his friends to cite one instance of sin in his own career. This they are unable to do, but are still unconvinced, and insist that Job must have sinned in some manner unknown to him and them to bring all this terrible punishment upon him. Both sides to the argument exhaust themselves fruitlessly. Finally God Himself speaks to Job in words of unrivaled majesty. Surely, here we are coming to the solution of the problem from the lips of the highest authority! But no; the speeches of Yahveh are devoted to humbling Job by pointing out his insignificance as compared with the Divine Majesty. Not once does he deign to refer even remotely to the solution of the problem. In common parlance, Job is subjected to the process known as "roaring down," and so successfully that he ventures no further word of complaint. In reward for Job's correct attitude throughout his sufferings and in vindication of his claim of innocence, God rewards him with a prosperity many times that which had been ruthlessly taken from him. Job apparently forgets the past and all ends happily.

Here we may see the argument of the Heavenly Reward in all its simplicity. Job's children and cattle are sacrificed ruthlessly for the greater glory of God, the confusion of Satan, and the ultimate blessing of Job himself. Which of us would willingly accept future happiness at such a price? And what force has the example of the reward of one righteous man, brought about at the expense of, and in contrast to, the sufferings of others of his own family, who, so far as we are informed, appear to have been righteous also? And as to the ultimate good to be obtained by the confounding of Satan, even this appears to have been but temporary, for centuries after we are told that he goeth about like a roaring lion, seeking whom he may devour.

The Book of Job leaves the mystery of evil exactly where it found it.

The Hermit and the Angel.—A monkish tale of the Middle Ages, found in the *Gesta Romanorum*, and best known to moderns by Parnell's versified form, tells the story of a hermit and an angel who traveled together.

"The angel was in human form and garb, but had told his companion the secret of his exalted nature. Coming at nightfall to a humble house by the wayside, the two travelers craved shelter for the love of God. A dainty supper and a soft warm bed were given them, and in the middle of the night the angel arose and strangled the kind host's infant son, who was quietly sleeping in his cradle. The good hermit was paralyzed with amazement and horror, but dared not speak a word. The next night the two comrades were entertained at a fine mansion in the city, where the angel stole the superb golden cup from which his host had quaffed wine at dinner. Next day, while crossing the bridge over a deep and rapid stream, a pilgrim met the travelers. 'Canst thou show us, good father,' said the angel, 'the way to the next town?' As the pilgrim turned to point it out this terrible being caught him by the shoulder and flung him into the river to drown. 'Verily,' thought the poor hermit, 'it is a devil that I have here with me, and all his works are evil'; but fear held his tongue, and the twain fared on their way till the sun had set and snow began to fall, and the howling of wolves was heard in the forest hard by. Presently the bright light coming from a cheerful window gave hope of a welcome refuge; but the surly master of the house turned the travelers away from his door with curses and foul gibes. 'Yonder is my pigsty for dirty vagrants like you.' So they passed that night among the swine; and in the morning the angel went to the house and thanked the master for his hospitality, and gave him for a keepsake (thrifty angel!) the stolen goblet. Then did the hermit's wrath and disgust overcome his fears, and he loudly upbraided his companion. 'Get thee gone, wretched spirit!' he cried. 'I will have no more of thee. Thou pretendest to be a messenger from Heaven, yet thou requitest good with evil and evil with good!' Then did the angel look upon him with infinite compassion in his eyes. 'Listen,' said he, 'short-sighted mortal. The birth of that infant son had made the father covetous, breaking God's commandments in order to heap up treasures which the boy, if he had lived, would have wasted in idle debauchery. By my act, which seemed so cruel, I saved both parent and child. The owner of the goblet had once been abstemious, but was fast becoming a sot; the loss of his cup has set him thinking, and he will mend his ways. The poor pilgrim, unknown to himself, was about to commit a mortal sin, when I interfered and sent his unsullied soul to Heaven. As for the wretch who drove God's children from his door, he is, indeed, pleased for the moment with the bauble I left in his hands; but hereafter he will burn in Hell."

So spoke the angel; and when he had heard these words the hermit bowed his venerable head and murmured, 'Forgive me, Lord, that in my ignorance I misjudged thee.'⁸

It may be admitted at once that had the angel been merely an omniscient and benevolent human, lacking omnipotence, he might have been expected to act very much as he did; but to explain in this way the mystery of evil is to adopt the Solution by Retreat, yielding the omnipotence to save the benevolence. The doctrine of the Heavenly Reward also runs through the story; each incident is justified by a reference to a future of reward and retribution, when eternal justice, at present in abeyance, shall finally triumph and reign for ay. As a solution of the mystery of evil it is disappointing; and not the least surprising thing in this connection is that it should be cited with such approval by Mr. Fiske, who elsewhere was clear-sighted enough to see that "the more closely we invite a comparison between divine and human methods of working, the more do we close up the only outlet."⁹

XII. THE ATHEIST'S POSITION.

Returning now to the consideration of the different positions that may be taken with respect to the mystery of evil, we have yet to consider several important ones. The first is the atheistic position.

The atheist, confronted by this mystery, cuts the Gordian knot. While the theist puzzles his brains over the tangle, the atheist looks pityingly on. "Poor fool!" he says. "Poor fool! You have persuaded yourself that there is a God both omnipotent and benevolent, and when nature shows you clearly that these attributes are inconsistent you still cling to your fancied deity, and cudgel your brains to find a reconciliation!"¹⁰

⁸ Fiske, *Through Nature to God*, pp. 43f.

⁹ Fiske, *The Idea of God*, p. 123.

¹⁰ The position assumed by the agnostic must be carefully distinguished from that taken by the atheist. The latter holds, at least, a definite and positive opinion, while the former maintains that on certain questions we have not evidence enough to warrant definite conclusions, and consequently assumes an attitude of suspended judgment. There are cosmic problems of such nature as to justify this attitude, but the object of the present argument is to show that the problem of evil is capable of a definite analysis, resulting in a choice of alternatives with no middle ground (see below, "Striking the Balance"). If this be true there remains no excuse for an agnostic attitude toward this particular problem. Such a position, in the face of the evidence, would be simply a refusal to think at all.

XIII. THE THEIST'S ANSWER (1).

The atheist cuts deep at the root of the matter, and the question he raises must be squarely met and fairly answered. As best representing modern rationalistic theism we shall present two answers, made, not by professional theologians, but by scholars who hold no brief for God, and are free from any temptation to special pleading; answers which are the fruit of ripe scholarship and much thought. In these answers rationalistic theism may fairly be said to put its best forward.

The first of these is the answer of John Fiske, a theist of the modern scientific type, who recognizes all that logic and sentiment demand of God; who is broadly enough acquainted with nature's wonders (and horrors) to recognize how inconsistent is such a conception of Deity, but who is thoroughly at a loss to answer the atheist. Yet he replies, and what does he say?

"The only avenue of escape is the assumption of an inscrutable mystery which would contain the solution of the problem if the human intellect could only penetrate so far; and the more closely we invite a comparison between divine and human methods of working the more do we close up that only outlet."*

This is not an agnostic attitude, as it definitely postulates a God both omnipotent and benevolent, and clings to the conception under heavy fire, repeating in answer to all arguments: "Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him!" In this answer Mr. Fiske speaks for multitudes of others who probably could not give as good a reason as he for the faith that is in them. It is well worth our while to examine, broadly and generally, the foundations of a faith which can make so brave an answer.

XIV. THE THEISTIC FOUNDATION.

There is much about Mr. Fiske's answer which suggests Herbert Spencer and his famous doctrine of the Unknowable. It is not without significance in this connection that Fiske, who was probably the leading exponent of this type of scientific theism, and from whom the foregoing answer has been quoted, was the chief apostle of the Spencerian philosophy in America. In fact, to paraphrase Matthew Arnold, we might say that on this point Fiske is but Spencer touched with emotion. And it may well be that emotion or sentiment figures with most persons more largely than is consciously recognized as a reason for belief in God.

* Fiske, *ibid.*, p. 123.

Human Need.—Instead of this faith being founded upon a rock, so that the gates of Hell may not prevail against it, it may to a great extent be rooted, not in strength, but in human weakness, born of an imperious human need, of a feeling that without some such faith the ills of life would be too great to be borne. As evidence on this point witness the tenor of hundreds of hymns, some of them exquisitely beautiful, sung fervently by millions of devout souls throughout Christendom:

“Abide with me from morn till eve,
For without Thee I cannot live!
Abide with me when night is nigh,
For without Thee I dare not die.”

“But,” says one, “is not this imperious human need to a certain extent presumptive evidence in itself of the existence of something which would satisfy it?” There is no more imperious human need than the craving of the habitu  for opium.¹¹ Even the craving for alcohol cannot match it. And yet no one claims that this craving is the expression of a natural and proper physiological need, such as hunger. It is simply a vicious and deeply rooted habit, and life may be perfectly happy without it. In an unused limb the muscles atrophy until they are no longer able to bear the weight of the body; so it may be spiritually. Ages and generations of delusion may so weaken the spirit that it cannot sustain the loss of its cherished beliefs. To show that this craving is not a normal and indispensable matter like hunger, it is necessary to show that human life may be normal and happy without it. To this point we will return in the section on “Atheism at Its Best.”

Revelation.—There have been those, mostly in past ages, who have based their belief in God upon an alleged personal revelation of Himself to them. Such was the case with Saul of Tarsus, than whom, after his conversion, there was none more zealous in the King’s business. Such also, according to the old legend, was the

¹¹ Ross, *The Changing Chinese*, pp. 161-162. Speaking of the enforcement of the anti-opium edict among office-holders, he says: “The suspect was obliged to submit himself to a rigid test. After being searched for concealed opium he was locked up for three days. . . . and supplied with good food but no opium. If he held out he was given a clean bill of health, for no opium smoker can endure three days’ separation from his pipe. The strongest resolution breaks down under the intolerable craving that recurs each day at the hour sacred to the pipe. Regardless of ruin to his career the secret smoker, be he even a viceroy or a minister, will on bended knees with tears streaming down his cheeks beg the attendant to relieve his agonies by supplying him with the materials for a soothing smoke. Certain highnesses, princes of the blood even, were by this means literally ‘smoked out’ and summarily cashiered.”

case with the Emperor Constantine when he saw the vision of the flaming cross in the noonday sky. In modern times, however, such claims have fallen for the most part on incredulous ears.

Intuition.—We may pass with brief consideration those believers with whom assertion is equivalent to proof, and who rely on intuition for their belief in God. "I know that my Redeemer liveth." Such may be classified properly among those whose faith arises from human need and weakness.

Argument from Design.—Turning now to those who base their faith upon ratiocination, we have first the famous Argument from Design. This is as old as the Psalmist, to whom the heavens declared the glory of God and the firmament showed His handiwork. More especially is this argument connected in later days with the name of Paley, whose *Natural Theology* gave it the vogue that it enjoyed in the early part of the nineteenth century. Briefly summarized, the argument is that "there exists" a "necessity . . . of an intelligent, designing mind for the contriving and determining of the forms which organized bodies bear." Suppose, says Paley, one should find in a desert place a watch; would it not be conclusive evidence that a man had been there before him?

The argument is an excellent one, but the trouble with those who use it is that they do not push it far enough. Suppose, after finding the watch, we look farther and find a kit of burglar's tools; there is no doubt that a man has been there before us, but what sort of a man?

The Argument from Design is of fundamental philosophical importance in that it must be reckoned with in considering any and every other argument for God that can be put forward, be it as subtle as that of Descartes, or as naive as that of the intuitionist. The essence of the argument is that Creation is plainly the result of a designing mind; but it must be remembered that the nature of this mind, if it exists, is to be judged by the nature of all of its works, both good and bad. Christian apologists have not always obeyed this canon, marshaling usually only such arguments as tend to show that the mind presumed to be responsible for the order of nature is altogether of an admirable type. Yet there is another class of evidence concerning which little is usually said, but which is entitled to equal consideration. The repulsive nature of much of this complementary class of evidence must be admitted, but it has its necessary place in any complete discussion of the problem of evil.

For a lack of acquaintance with it many fail to appreciate the gravity of the problem, and by a recognition of its co-equality in importance a far-reaching line of argument is opened to us; for in the light of this evidence the Argument from Design, far from being purely a theistic argument in itself, is seen to be a most searching criticism of all other theistic arguments. For example, it is often said that the existence of law in nature implies a Lawgiver. Well and good; but what kind of a lawgiver? Man has long since abolished attaint, but nature still visits the sins of the fathers upon the children; human law no longer countenances the rack, but tetanus still tears the muscles of its victims from their very fastenings; our law holds that it were better that nine guilty should escape than that one innocent should suffer, but nature's punishments are distributed with the blind impartiality of chance. And so with any argument for God that human ingenuity may propose; it must stand the merciless test of this *reductio ad absurdum*.

Again, it is sometimes argued that the frequently remarkable adaptation of living creatures to their environment illustrates the infinite wisdom that planned it. This argument is older than the principle of evolution, but those who uphold it have been in no wise disturbed by the advent of the latter principle, taking the ground that God may achieve His ends equally well by evolution or by special creation. In the domain of parasitism we meet examples of the most perfect adaptation to environment; but what an adaptation and what an environment! The disgusting cycle of the life history of the tapeworm, through pig and man, is familiar to all. Adaptation here is carried to such an extreme that a digestive system, being unnecessary, has disappeared completely even in the larval stage.

Among the crustaceans parasitism and degeneration probably reach their greatest luxuriance. In the cirripeds, or barnacles, some forms are doubly parasitic, the females upon the host and the male upon the female. The male is very minute as compared to the female, and is greatly degenerate as far as its brain, legs, and sense-organs are concerned, but the digestive and reproductive systems are unimpaired in function.¹²

Lest the free-will advocate should exonerate God from any responsibility in these matters, we will choose our next illustrations with special reference to this objection.

In human anatomy (Paley's especial mine of argument) we may

¹² Darwin, *A Monograph of the Cirripedia: The Lepadida*, pp. 55, 189, 207, 231, and especially summary, p. 281.

cite instances which it is only fair to interpret as showing carelessness or thoughtlessness on the part of the Designer. There is the vermiform appendix, now a useless remnant, remaining in such a position that it is always a potential and every once in so often an actual source of danger. What estimate would be placed on the intelligence of a factory superintendent who would allow a discarded piece of machinery to remain in its place until natural decay removed it?

Again, what would any rational man think of an artisan who had constructed an intricate and valuable machine, requiring months for its completion, and of such a nature that it would be ruined if taken apart, and had then discovered that it could not pass the doorway of the room in which it had been constructed, and that the doorway could not be enlarged without seriously weakening the building? A perfect parallel to this supposed case occurs occasionally in obstetric practice. An expectant mother may be perfectly normal in her and her husband's family history, with no reason to foresee trouble, and yet the skull of the fetus may prove to be so abnormally large that it cannot pass the opening provided for it by nature. In such cases the attending physician may occasionally find it necessary to resort to the revolting expedient of some form of embryotomy of the living fetus, possibly decapitation or cranioclasm; operations of the nature of which the mother-soul is mercifully spared all knowledge.¹³

In the light of these illustrations the Argument from Design may be recognized as a relentless *reductio ad absurdum* which no argument for God, of whatever nature, can escape. Granted that for any reason at all there is a God, what is His nature? To this question the problem of evil returns an unequivocal answer. Mr. Fiske himself was perfectly aware of this. He says: "The very success of the argument in showing the world to have been the work of an intelligent Designer made it impossible to suppose that Creator to be at once omnipotent and absolutely benevolent. For nothing can be clearer than that nature is full of cruelty and mal-

¹³ It is admitted that such operations are rare to-day, much rarer than even a decade ago; and for this there is a reason which is directly in line with the argument set forth in these pages. It is the increasing perfection of the human physician. Abdominal surgery has become so safe that the once-dreaded Cæsarean section now furnishes an approved and desirable alternative in such cases. Moreover, the modern practitioner would feel a keen sense of culpability were he to allow a case under his care to proceed to such an extreme for lack of timely interference on his part with nature. This practically limits the occurrence of such cases to those instances where, through human neglect, nature has been allowed to have her erratic way to the end of the chapter.

adaptation. In every part of the animal kingdom we find implements of torture surpassing in devilish ingenuity anything that was ever seen in the dungeons of the Inquisition."¹⁴ What then is the basis for the brave answer of Mr. Fiske?

Mr. Fiske's Argument.—The advent of the principle of evolution introduced an argument for God which forms the basis for a species of scientific theism of which Fiske was the leading exponent. Briefly it is that we have discovered a *dramatic* tendency in the universe, an orderly progression toward

"One far-off, divine event
To which the whole Creation moves."

And this goal appears to be one which we may reasonably expect to find within our comprehension when finally reached. Fiske regards this process as the working-out of a mighty teleology of which our finite understandings can as yet fathom but the scantiest rudiments. "Such a state of things," says he, "is theism. It recognizes an Omnipresent Energy which is none other than the living God."¹⁵

It is difficult for one not touched with emotion to the same degree as Mr. Fiske to distinguish clearly what is new in this argument. In so far as its conclusion is an induction from the facts of nature, even from a strictly scientific view-point, it is nothing but a new variety of the Argument from Design, and as such must take cognizance of both kinds of evidence as to the nature of the God it discovers. In so far as it looks to the future for compensation for present evils, it shares the weakness of those who explain the mystery of evil by the Heavenly Reward; and in so far as it personifies energy it suggests human need and human weakness. Stripped of the poetic beauty in which Mr. Fiske's splendid style clothes it, what is there in the argument that has not been said, and answered, before?

XV. THE THEIST'S ANSWER (2).

The second answer to the atheist which we shall discuss is that of Professor Royce. Speaking of the problem of evil, or, as he calls it, the problem of Job, he says:

"Job's problem is, upon Job's presuppositions, simply and absolutely insoluble. Grant Job's own presupposition that God is a being other than this world, that He is the external creator and ruler, and then all solutions fail. . . . The answer to Job is: God is

¹⁴ Fiske, *The Idea of God*, p. 121.

¹⁵ Fiske, *ibid.*, Preface, p. xii.

not in ultimate essence another being than yourself. He is the Absolute Being. You truly are one with God, part of His life. He is the very soul of your soul. And here is the first truth: When you suffer, your sufferings are God's sufferings, not His external work, not His external penalty, not the fruit of His neglect, but identically His own personal woe. In you God suffers, precisely as you do, and has all your concern in overcoming this grief. . . .

"Why does God suffer? . . . Because without suffering, without ill, . . . God's life could not be perfected. This grief is not a physical means to an external end. It is a logically necessary and eternal constituent of the Divine life. . . . He chooses this because He chooses His own perfect selfhood. He is perfect. His world is the best possible world."¹⁶

Royce is not easy reading, at the best, and this is a hard saying. It is clear that Royce, following Fiske,¹⁷ regards all the difficulty as arising from a false conception of God as remote from Creation, and considers the problem solvable if we regard Deity as immanent in the world of phenomena. That he not only considers the problem solvable but actually solved on this basis appears from what he says on the same question in another place:

"When once this comfort comes home to us, we can run and not be weary, and walk and not faint. For our temporal life is the very expression of the eternal triumph."¹⁸

We are not to suppose from the last sentence that Royce, like Fiske, adopts the solution of the Heavenly Reward. He distinctly disclaims this:

"Yet never, at any instant of time, is this (God's) perfection attained. It is present only to the consciousness that views the infinite totality of this very process of seeking."¹⁹

Royce's position in this regard is probably best expressed by the old line:

"Man never is, but always to be blest."

Just how the conflict between omnipotence and benevolence is settled by supposing Deity immanent rather than remote is not clearly made out. Fiske, who lays as much stress as Royce upon the immanence of God, admits, as we have seen, that even on this supposition "the only avenue of escape is the assumption of an inscrutable mystery." There are indeed signs that Royce fails to

¹⁶ Royce, *Studies of Good and Evil*, p. 13.

¹⁷ Fiske, *The Idea of God*, Chapters V and VI.

¹⁸ Royce, *The World and the Individual*, Vol. II, p. 411.

¹⁹ Royce, *ibid.*, p. 420.

measure up to the thunder of his index. The complete identification by Royce of God with the human soul amounts practically to an apotheosis of the latter. Now the human soul at its best is worthy of profound respect, but it is far from possessing the qualifications necessary for a God. It is benevolent but not omnipotent. Royce evidently recognizes the danger of thus falling into the Solution by Retreat, and in attempting to avoid it introduces the doctrine of Contrast. "Without suffering. . . . God's life could not be perfected." And again he follows Leibniz in saying that this is "the best possible world," a clear lapse, as we have earlier pointed out, into an abandonment of omnipotence.

For the word God, wherever used by Royce, substitute "Human Soul," and we have a picture easy to recognize and understand; that of the struggle of the soul with sorrow and evil, the overcoming of evil by good. In such a struggle the human soul commands our respect and admiration, but only because it is not responsible for the evils with which it has to struggle. Call it God, and the whole setting changes. Is Royce's God responsible for the established order of the universe? If not, let Him stand aside; our business is with His master. If so, let Him stand forth and face, if He dares, the outraged sense of justice, of mercy, of common decency with which He has endowed His creatures.

XVI. STRIKING THE BALANCE.

Among these various attitudes that may be assumed in the face of the mystery of evil, is there any refuge for the troubled soul?

Let us recapitulate. Man demands in his God both omnipotence and benevolence, the first for logical and the second for sentimental reasons. The free-will argument may explain as much of the contradiction arising from these two incompatible attributes as may be the result of personal sin, but is itself violently in conflict with man's sense of justice, and consequently reducible to the second Solution by Retreat, if it tries to go farther. The Solution by Retreat either violates logic by yielding the attribute of omnipotence or outrages sentiment by abandoning benevolence. This second alternative, however, is perfectly logical. The agnostic, by assuming an attitude of suspended judgment, leaves the problem where he found it. The atheist cuts the Gordian knot by denying the postulate of a God. These are the only fundamental and independent positions. All others may be reduced to these or to their combinations.

The cynic's position is a corollary to the second Solution by

Retreat. The doctrine of the Heavenly Reward and doctrine of the Devil reduce either to the free-will position or to the Solution by Retreat. The Christian Science position is the free-will position in a purely mental setting. The doctrine of Contrast reverts to the Solution by Retreat. All arguments for God, of whatever nature, are subject to the *reductio ad absurdum* of the Argument from Design. Even the brave answer of Mr. Fiske to the atheist is based, in its various aspects, upon the Argument from Design, upon the Heavenly Reward, and upon sheer human need; and Professor Royce's God, if a God indeed He be, cannot escape responsibility for the horrors of nature.

Where, then, is the troubled soul to find refuge? Much depends on the mental bias. Those who rate sentiment above logic have the greater freedom of choice; but those who hold the opposite view are limited to but two positions. It is obvious that the choice lies, broadly speaking, between atheism and theism; and the only form of theism which satisfies logical considerations is the horrible one which recognizes a God without benevolence.

Observe that our study of the problem of evil gives us no evidence for or against either of these two positions, but merely limits our choice. Both positions, as far as the problem of evil is concerned, are equally logical and satisfactory, but between them there can be no middle ground. The agnostic may say that he cannot decide which ground to take, but that is a different matter. If there be a God, His nature is definitely indicated by the problem of evil; and if the agnostic thinks this far, he should, if a normal being, be considerably assisted in making up his mind in the matter.

Granting that we could stifle our natural repugnance to a God of this description, the question arises, Whence this repugnance? Can ideals rise higher than their source? And if so, is not man, by just so much, the superior of such a God? And if we grasp the other horn of the dilemma, are we not met at once by the questions whence? whither? and why? Is the universe incapable of rational description? And if so, what are we strangers, with minds so out of joint with it, doing in its midst? And yet, barren of promise of comfort as this position seems to be, there are those who flee to it as to a city of refuge from the dreadful figure that overshadows the other ground. "Such a God," cried Ingersoll, "I hate with all the earnestness of my being!"

Here forks the road, both ways seemingly losing themselves in darkness.

HORACE TRAUBEL.

BY O. E. LESSING.

III.

No American publisher had courage enough to publish at his own risk Horace Traubel's collection of lyrics. The appearance of *Optimos*¹² was made possible only by means of private subscription, and it may well be doubted if any one else besides the subscribers ever saw a copy of the book at all.

The origin of the word "Optimos" is very characteristic of its creator. We have the authentic story from Mrs. Bain: "A learned admiring musician friend said laughing over it: 'It was divine impertinence. How did you dare to do it?' Traubel, too, laughed. He said, nonchalantly: 'Oh, I don't know; if I don't find the word I want when I want a word I make it.' 'How can you justify such a process?' He answered: 'By making good.' Traubel said to me: 'Read the poem with that title line *Optimos*. If you understand the poem you will never again ask the meaning of *Optimos*.' And he also said: 'If I can say *cosmos*, meaning the whole, why shouldn't I say *optimos*, meaning to speak of the cheerful whole?'"—Correct or incorrect, beautiful or hideous, Traubel's new word will live because the book which was so named will live. *Leaves of Grass* is a theodicy from the point of view of super-dogmatic Christianity. *Optimos* is a theodicy from the point of view of super-religious humanity. As *Chants Communal* and *Collects* are arranged according to an artistically conceived plan, so is *Optimos*. There are nine separate but interrelated groups of poems. The first and the last groups deal with the general ideas of a monistic and optimistic philosophy. "A great light was passed to me" and "Everything goes back to its place." The second group, "The golden age is in my heart to-day," applies that philosophy to the general phenomena

¹² B. W. Huebsch, New York, 1910.

of present-day life. The third group, "Just to own my own soul," expresses the self-assertion of the individual soul. The fourth group, "Before books and after books," shows the way to the reality of the poet's ideal of life as it manifests itself in external forms. The fifth group, "To you, going or coming, O woman," comparable to Whitman's *Children of Adam*, proclaims the freedom of woman and the sanctity of sexual love. Then follow poems of love, "I go where my heart goes"; of friendship, "We are just brothers"; and of democracy, "The people are the masters of life."

The attentive reader soon discovers that the book comprises many years and various phases of the author's personal life. There are, as we have seen, a few poems very clearly influenced by Whitman both in form and in spirit. Besides those already mentioned, "O anterior soul" may serve as an illustration. Whitmanesque are the rhythm, the many repetitions and enumerations, the parenthetic questions, the hesitating qualifications of statements, the exclamations:

"I am balanced in the gases, the boiling cauldron swings in infinite space,
I am safe in the fire, I ascend the slopes of flame:
O sun's self—O nebulous prophecies—O solace of promised restoration!
.....

I walk erect, I trade, I am the lawyer in the court,
I labor with the chain-gang, I am sailor and soldier,
I do not stop to count the years of the journey:
Why should I stop for that which never stops, for that as to which I am
unconcerned?"

There is in this poem an element of mysticism more intimately related to Whitman than merely by similarity of expression:

"There is a figure on the height:
I see it—O it embraces me!
It presses a kiss to my lips,
It sets me sail on immortal seas....
It, the anterior soul, taking me, who am god, back to god,
Immersing the ubiquitous life in its own waters."

If some parts of the poem sound like the "Song of Myself," its general trend of thought suggests the spirit of the "Passage to India." To Whitman, immortality means the everlasting life of the individual soul, of the "single separate person," which always has been and will forever be an "identity." Whitman's mysticism, therefore, is the intuitive consciousness and ecstatic feeling of the soul's solidarity with all other identities (souls, persons) rather

than an *unio mystica* which in effect is the total absorption of individual existence by "God." Somehow, he believes, there will take place, or is taking place, a gradual development of, and within, that identity toward a more and more perfect state of spiritualization in the beyond. It is the Christian conception of an eternal life in Heaven in the sight of God, given a philosophical aspect by vague reminiscences of Leibniz's monadology.

Traubel, until the second half of the 'nineties, spoke the language, and seemed to share the religious faith, of that mysticism which is mysticism only in name, since its real nature is dualistic and transcendental or even, if we accept Dr. Bertz's plausible analysis,¹³ polytheistic. However, Whitman's vagueness and inconsistencies could not permanently keep Traubel's mind spellbound. Whitman sprang from Quaker stock with practically no heritage of intellectual culture. Traubel's father was a German Jew of good education, familiar with the essential ideas of the great thinkers of the world. A keen intellect capable of penetrating the most complex problems was the son's racial inheritance. So he merely followed a natural instinct when he turned from Whitman's indiscriminate universalism and sentimental spiritualism to the logical monism of Spinoza. Whether or not Traubel ever made a systematic study of Spinoza is hard to tell. The chances are that he did not. Spinoza's name occurs but rarely in his writings.¹⁴ But it is certain, as I know from Traubel's last few letters to me, that he had made the general principles of Spinoza's *Ethics* his own. There is no transcendental Supreme Being. God is immanent in nature. God is nature, and nature is God. Good and Evil are not two different forces opposing each other but relative values representing stages of perfection and imperfection in the world's everlasting process of evolution. This evolution is based upon the unalterable law of cause and effect. Everything that happens must happen just as it does. Everything depends upon every other thing. In the perspective of eternity there is no small or big, no high or low. Since individual life and cosmic life perpetually merge into each other there is no immortality of "identity" in Whitman's sense. It is the contemplation and sympathetic realization of this collective and individual interdependence, coherence, and unity, that constitute Traubel's mysticism. His mysticism, therefore, is of the monistic, immanent or

¹³ Cf. Eduard Bertz, *Der Yankee-Heiland*. Dresden, 1906, pp. 180f. This is by far the most scholarly discussion of Whitman's philosophy.

¹⁴ Compare, however, the poem "Spinoza" by E. Ritchie, published in *The Conservator*, December, 1899.

cismant, kind and fundamentally different from that of Whitman, however many points of contact the two friends may have in their practical ethics. For Traubel the belief in the oneness of all life becomes the source of his love of mankind. Or should we rather say that the mental process was reversed; that his philosophy originated from an inborn humanitarian instinct nourished by practical experience? At any rate, he agrees with Spinoza in considering it the one great duty of the individual to expand his individual conscience to a collective conscience. Self-assertion and self-sacrifice, egotism and altruism are identical in that sense. Like Spinoza, Traubel knows of no personal happiness except the one that results from the perception of "God," i. e., from the realization of oneness, whereby man is made to do only that which love and sense of duty demand. Duty performed for the sake of reward or for fear of punishment is worthless.

It has often been contended that there is no religion possible without metaphysics. *Optimos*, like Nietzsche's *Zarathustra*, contains such a religion. For Traubel's optimistic collectivism is a religion in spite of the protests of orthodox ecclesiastics. Indeed, it is a super-religion inasmuch as its boundaries are not defined by any dogma. It has no special privileges reserved for the officially saved. It includes all races and peoples, all churches and religions, on equal terms. Its only credo is an unshakable faith in man. Not acknowledging anything like an original sin, it denies the Christian doctrine of eternal damnation and assumes universal "salvation" on a purely human basis. According to Schleiermacher, each individual is his own mediator as soon as he becomes conscious of his absolute dependence on God. According to Traubel, man is "saved" in the degree that his heart is filled with love.

Traubel must have given the problem of salvation much thought. By three successive stages he seems finally to have come to a solution which his own heart could accept. Love will always suffer for love's sake. He whose love is great enough to suffer for his fellow beings is as true a martyr for the cause of mankind as was Christ himself, while "there is a fate worse than falls to the man nailed to a cross: it is the fate of the man who has no cross." Thus the poem "The word of all words is the word of the mediator" takes up the motif of the chant "The Blood of the Martyrs" and carries it to its logical conclusion:

"I should feel ashamed and sorry for my race if only one or two of its specimens endured the heat and and the cold of persecution: "

For the road is full of martyrs who came between and made life easier
for the rest:
For the sore feet of the weary came between, and the sad aches of the
condemned came between,
And before the eclipsed martyrdoms all the noisy martyrdoms are still."

Such martyrdom is caused by the evils of sophisticated civilization. If natural conditions prevail, "the savior is not a man nailed to a cross"—

"The savior is any man or woman who without cross or nail lives earth's simple life on the plane of its first propositions."

Traubel could raise the question of salvation only as long as his monistic philosophy had not been firmly established; as long as he looked for a cure of civilization's disease in the fashion of Rousseau's primitive panacea. The secret of monism once uncovered, all secondary questions were answered:

"I found that everything was the collateral of something else,
I found that nothing was left without its equal on the exchange,
I found that the seed was revived in the tree and that the tree passed immortally into the seed again, and that this was the formula of being,
I found that the sins and crimes of men were passed in and returned good gold...."

In this sense the poem "There is not enough" does away with the conception of damnation or salvation entirely:

"There is not enough bad in the universe to damn any man,
There is not enough good in the universe to save any man:
Man is not to be saved or damned—he is to be fulfilled."

But what is fulfilment? Fulfilment means perfection, and after man has reached the final stage of perfection, what then? Does not Traubel's religion after all promise a Heaven or a Nirvana? Lessing in his *Education of the Human Race* conceives of the revelation of God to man as a process of evolution which makes possible the salvation of every single soul. Man is given all eternity to reach the ultimate state of perfection. And yet, for his own person, Lessing would rather leave perfection to the Supreme Being and remain an imperfect, ever-erring human being, because life without the stimulus of constant endeavor did not seem worth living to him. Similarly, Traubel's idea of perfection has nothing to do with the Christian Heaven. That, when attained, would try "the patience of his spirit."

"Heaven was the unattainable attained—but I did not wish to close my account with desire....

I, heaven's own, having won heaven, consumed with regret over the lost paradise of my imperfections!"

And now the break with metaphysical speculation; with transcendental idealism; with orthodox Christianity, is complete:

"My heaven contains neither saved nor damned—my heaven contains only love,

My heaven is not given to distinction—it flows out full-tide to the obscure and the useless,

My heaven is simply you when you love me and I when I love you,....

Heaven's earth and heaven's heaven one in an impartial destiny,

The result withheld from none and not postponed."

IV.

There has always been an antagonism between independent artists, poets, writers, thinkers, men of action on the one hand and organized groups of professionals on the other. Traubel wrote a "collect" upon the "writers who are trying to write" and who are "selling their souls" instead of being true to themselves and to life. Similarly, he finds fault with priests who subordinate religion to the doctrines of their respective churches; with professors who ignore the facts of life for the sake of their scholastic learning; with any institution whatsoever that sets up the artificial barriers of class distinctions and special interests against the universality of life. It is life, the ideal life the essence of which is love, that the poet seeks for in all manifestations of external life. Instead of words he demands of the writers confirming deeds of love. From the "eminent professor" and his "dress parade of phrases" he turns away, unconvinced, out into the street where he finds in the eyes of the poor Italian laborer that spark of life which the scholar's learning had failed to give.

The whole section "Before books and after books (is the human soul)" is an elaboration of this theme. Behind the singer's song, behind the artist's picture, behind the mighty symphony, there rises, independent of the artist's will, the creative force of life itself. Nor can the poet be deceived by the false singers, by the false gods, by the slaves of inane conventions. No matter that they keep the truth from the world; no matter that his own plain song is as yet unheard: there will come a time when the past has said its last words; when

the world wakes up from its sleep to listen to the call of the new era :

“The sayers of words have said the last word :

They have shut the doors, they have closed the shutters, they have put out the lights :

The sayers of words have said: Now there shall be no more speech, now the world may sleep.

I come in the dead of its night and challenge the world to meet a new day.”

Again we must refer to Whitman to appreciate Traubel. When Whitman in his *Children of Adam* advocated the equality of man and woman, he followed the lead of the advanced thinkers of his time. He realized that the democratic principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity could not be reserved for one half of mankind alone, if the structure of a new society was to be erected upon an enduring foundation. The new era could be made possible only by a radical revision of the traditional code of masculine prerogatives and by a complete break with the negative asceticism of the Church. But Whitman was not happy in the choice of his weapons. He attacked the despotic one-sidedness of spiritualism with the brutality of a sensualist: he glorified the flesh with the naturalness of a pagan. The crudeness of his anatomical word-lists offended the esthetic taste of liberals no less than the sense of decorum of puritans. For this reason the inherent truth of his ideas was lost to most of his readers.

Traubel's views on sexual love, on fatherhood and motherhood, on the equality of man and woman, are as radical as those of Whitman. He, too, emphasizes the sacredness of body and soul alike. He, too, demands that the new society be founded upon the absolutely unrestricted equality of the sexes. But when Traubel wrote “To you going or coming, O woman,” he must have been more mature in spirit, if not in age, than Whitman was when he wrote “A woman waits for me.” Traubel must have been wholly free and therefore capable of self-restraint, while Whitman in regular storm-and-stress fashion overshot the mark. Traubel found a perfectly artistic and poetical expression for the most delicate of all subjects, whereas Whitman sometimes confused the science of physiology with the art of poetry, sometimes *libido* with *amor*. Let every mother and every mother-to-be read “You are going to have a baby” and “And now the baby is born”—there is no more beautiful tribute, in any language, to human life in its individual beginnings and in its universal significance. There is a finality in the statement of facts, a soundness and purity in the spirit permeating all

of these poems which will not fail to impress even the most prudish of puritans:

"For when the body is clean body and soul are one in holiness,
And when the soul is clean soul and body are one in holiness."

The vista broadens. Sexual love is symbolical of universal love and the abstractness of universal love in its turn gives way to the concreteness of individual friendship and collective comradeship. The words friend and comrade as used by Traubel are entirely free from the sense of morbid "adhesiveness" that Whitman attached to them in his *Calamus*. This must be stated here, and cannot be stated emphatically enough, if Traubel is to be understood at all as a personality quite independent of Whitman. In the groups of poems "We are just brothers" and "The people are the masters of life" we find some of the best of Traubel's lyrics, such as the elegies "O my dead comrade" and "As I look into your grave." It is through these shorter pieces that Traubel the poet can be most easily approached. Traubel the prophet, on the other hand, taking up the main theme of *Chants Communal* once more, appears here as the severest critic of our sham civilization. Justice becomes a categorical imperative; love, a challenge. How is the crucial question to be answered: "When you sentence your comrade to hate rather than to love—are you so sure? When you sentence your comrade to death rather than to life—are you so sure?"—If the people, as the poet "with glad assurance" sings, are really the masters of life, how does it happen that some "people sit fed at their tables or warmed at their fires while their wheat is sowed in starvation and their coal is mined in the north wind"? Is it this they have to say:

"The world is too busy: the world has no time to hear:
The world is too busy: the world has no time to love:
The world is too busy: the world has no time to be just."

The bitter sarcasm of "I hear the laugh of the unfed children" and the somber tones of "The bread line trails its clouded way into my sunny heart" prove how near pessimism even the author of *Optimos* could come. The tragic farce of our system of greed, egotism, and pharisaic self-righteousness is here unmasked in its bare hideousness. Like Nietzsche's, Traubel's optimism is founded upon a full recognition of the existing evil. Nor has Traubel been spared the struggle with doubt. Remembering Huxley's guarded statement concerning the theory of evolution, he speaks occasionally of his own philosophy

as of a "working hypothesis." In his poem "I don't know what God is about all day" he frankly admits that he "now and then comes to conclusions which are treacherous with despair." He was too honest a thinker to make light of the terrible facts of life. He was "sick with the sickness of the world"—but he was also "well with the health of the world."

Like *Chants Communal*, *Optimos* closes with an outlook into a better world. If the starving children, if the victims of exploitation, if the disfranchised masses cannot see the light of a new era dawning, the poet can: "The worst comes before the best comes." His final answer to all doubts and questions is always the same: love. "I suspect that somehow it will all be explained and that it will be all about love" what God is doing. He has no proofs to offer for his faith, differing in this respect greatly from the mathematical accuracy of Spinoza's arguments. He says yes to life accepting the bewildering phenomena of life as facts, just as he accepts the invincibility of the power of love as a fact. What gives him strength in times of weakness is not the belief in a transcendental God of love; it is the belief in the essential goodness of mankind as represented by the masses of the common people. The world war destroyed his confidence in the present leaders but not his trust in the people. In discussing his own individuality as compared with Emerson, Hugo, Tolstoy, and Whitman, he said to Mrs. Bain: "Say what you please about all that, but always say also that I have emerged from the crowd and go back to it—that but for the crowd my individuality would have no meaning." The association with, and love for, "the ungarnished populace of the pavements" he calls a "bath of man washing me clean." His only god was the divinity of man.

* * *

The time has not arrived when full justice can be done to Horace Traubel. How should a world drunken with the atrocities of a war of blood and with the atrocities of a peace of starvation listen to the voice of love? Besides, not nearly all of Traubel's writings have as yet been made generally accessible. From *The Conservator* alone, not to mention other journals and papers, enough material of permanent value might be selected to fill several other volumes like *Chants Communal*, *Collects*, or *Optimos*. There are an indefinite number of essays on economic, social, and political subjects. There are dramatic, literary, and musical reviews in which Traubel's originality often appears more evident than in his other

work. There are, finally, piles of manuscripts for the great Whitman biography. Traubel's death, on the eighth of September, 1919, created very little, if any, commotion outside the immediate circles of friends. If the so-called "leading" organs of public opinion took notice of the event at all they gave Traubel credit for what he did as "Whitman's literary executor and biographer," not for what he did as Horace Traubel. It is true; no historian of American literature will ever be able to interpret Walt Whitman and his period without leaning upon Traubel. But it seems to me no less true that, with Traubel's own original work left out, the historian of American literature since Whitman would find his subject deprived of much, if not of most, of its vitality and spiritual significance.

It has not been my intention to set Traubel up as another hero to worship. We have had quite enough of Whitmania to dread an epidemic of Traubelmania. The foregoing pages do not advocate blind adoration but the serious study of a personality and an author who is all too often criticized without being known. Horace Traubel claimed little for himself. He wished his friends rather to belittle than to magnify his work. After reading the manuscript of David Karsner's monograph he published a review of it in *The Conservator* in which he expressed his surprise that any one should consider him important enough to make him the subject of a book. He expected neither fame nor material reward from the world. He said to Mrs. Bain: "The world don't want me, but I want myself."¹⁵ He did his duty as he saw it living his own life according to his own ideals. Like every creator, he hoped that his work would be understood sometime; but he entertained no illusions as regards the attitude to him either of the responsible few or of the irresponsible many.

Of all his published books *Chants Communal* probably has the best promise of being received by the people for whom it was written. As labor gradually is coming into its own, in things spiritual as well as material, it will seek an artistic formulation of its ideals, and this it may find here. Except for the labor poems,

¹⁵ Before this article went to press I received the proofs of Mr. Karsner's book: *Horace Traubel: His Life and Work*. By courtesy of the author I am permitted to quote the following statement by Traubel in conversation with Mr. Karsner: "No one, not a soul, not even Anne, knows what a terrific struggle I have had to put up all my life to be what little I am. O God! sometimes it's been awful. The tide always, somehow, seemed to go the other way, and I trying to be myself was often stranded in midstream. It was the utter loneliness of the struggle that made it hard. Let a man try to be himself! Let him try to follow the light of his own soul! What does he come to at the end?"... Mr. Karsner mentions a book by Traubel unknown to me, and evidently no longer on the market: *The Dollar and the Man*.

Optimos will very likely never find more than at best a few hundred readers. Even "intellectuals" as a rule do not take the time that is necessary to overcome the prejudices of literary taste and religious convention. Too many of them cling to the habit of measuring the greatness of an author by the yardstick of their idiosyncrasies. Only spiritual freedom responds to spiritual freedom. To those who are lords or slaves in spirit the message of *Optimos* sounds too disturbingly free. They will discard Traubel's philosophy as "all wrong" and continue to ignore an author for no other reason but that they do not agree with his opinions. And yet:

"I'm just talking all the time about love:

And maybe I'm nearer the meanings of things than any one who talks anything else:

And maybe your laugh about me is out of place: maybe I should be the one to laugh:

And maybe some day you will put my portrait upon your walls and speak well of it after I am dead:

I who go about among you just talking all the time about love."

THE COSMIC MULTIPLICATIONS.

BY LAWRENCE PARMLY BROWN.

THE extant stories of miraculous multiplication or increase of things in number or quantity were evidently suggested by the natural phenomena of reproduction and growth in the animal and vegetable kingdoms; the solar or soli-cosmic father-god being the great multiplier as the active or spiritual factor in nature, while the function of the earth-mother appears to have been considered of such a purely passive character that she is generally ignored in the multiplication stories that have come down to us.

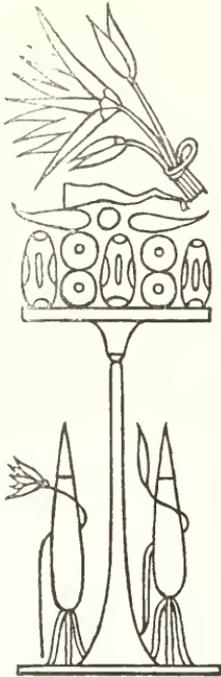
In the Old Testament we find Jehovah as the great multiplier, especially of men (Gen. xvi. 10; xvii. 2, 20; Ex. xxxii. 13; Ezek. xvi. 7; etc.). Habakkuk says to him: "Thou makest men as the fishes of the sea" (i. 14—the Heb. *dag* = fish, from *dagah* = to multiply, being "so called from multiplying abundantly"; Gesenius, *in voc.*). Ezekiel makes Jehovah say: "And I will multiply upon you man and beast. . . . and I will call for the corn, and will multiply it (A. V., 'increase it') And I will multiply the fruit of the tree and the increase of the field" (xxxvi. 11, 29, 30). In Ps. iv. 7, it is said to the Lord: "Thou hast put gladness in my heart more than in the time that their corn and their wine multiplied (A. V., 'increased')." In 1 Kings xvii. 8-16, a "handful of meal in a barrel and a little oil in a cruse" are miraculously multiplied or increased from day to day, as "the Lord God of Israel" promised Elijah, thus for many days feeding not only the prophet but also the poor widow of Zarephthah and her son who dies and is restored to life by Elijah (doubtless for the solar child born of the widowed earth-mother in the fruitless winter season, in which he also dies to be resurrected in the spring as the season of nature's multiplications). This story reappears in a variant form in 2 Kings iv. 1-7, where Elisha multiplies the oil of another poor widow, who has two sons (apparently for the sun and moon); many vessels being

miraculously filled from the widow's single pot of oil, so she is able to sell the product and pay her creditor, thus saving her sons from being sold into bondage. Again, in 2 Kings iv. 42-44, Elisha multiplies twenty barley loaves and a quantity of grain in a sack, so there was more than enough to feed a hundred men, as the Lord had promised. Closely related miracles are those in which God feeds the Israelites by sending great numbers of quails and vast quantities of manna for bread, far more than enough for the wants of the people. The casual reference to the sending of the quails, before the manna, was probably not in the original story of Ex. xvi, where it is only on the manna that the people are fed during the forty years in the wilderness; while in Num. xi we find allusions to the sending of the manna, with no account of the miracle, as if it were too well known to need repetition—the story of the sending of the quails, after the manna, being here given in detail as if entirely new to the reader. The Jews expected that the Messiah would repeat the manna miracle, for we read in the *Midrash Koheleth* (fol. 73): "What knowest thou of the first Saviour (Moses)? He made manna come down. . . . So will also the last Saviour make manna come down."

In the *Ramayana* is a wonderful story of miraculous feeding through the magic art of the hermit Bharadvaja, and in answer to his prayers to the gods. The hero Bharata and his army, a "mighty multitude," are provided with a sumptuous banquet in the forest retreat of the hermit, which is transformed to a grassy plain; and not only are all kinds of meats, fruits, and other foods produced, but new rivers run with wine and other drinks; a palace and many mansions appear, music is heard, dancing girls come from heaven, etc. (II, 91). It is said that the *Fo-pen-hing-tsi-king*, a Chinese life of Gautama Buddha, relates that this last Buddha declared that when one of his predecessors visited a king Sudarsana in his city of Jambunada, he attended a wedding and not only kept the foods and drinks undiminished during the feast, but caused the host's uninvited kinsmen to come and partake of it, even as the host had silently wished (Lillie, *Buddhism in Christianity*, pp. 168-170; *Popular Life of Buddha*, pp. 305-6). The multiplication of food was one of the feats of the Hindu and Egyptian magicians. The Mogul emperor Jahangir tells us in his *Memoirs* (p. 98) that some magicians made a large cauldron boil without fire, and placing upon it a small quantity of rice, drew out a hundred platters full, each with a stewed fowl on top; and Celsus referred to the Egyptian magicians as "exhibiting sumptuous banquets, and tables cov-

ered with food, which have no reality" (Origen, *Contra Celsum*, I, 68). According to Ovid, when Jupiter and Mercury dined with Philemon and Baucis, those aged people were astonished to "behold the goblet, when drunk off, replenishing itself of its own accord, and the wine to increase of itself" (*Met.*, VIII, 675).

We thus find that the mythic multiplication was especially associated with the production of food and drink, of which the sun-god is generally conceived as the giver. In Ps. cxxxvi. 25 Jehovah is he "who giveth food to all flesh." Macrobius says that Apollo has



EGYPTIAN ALTAR
with ten loaves of
bread.*

the epithet *Nomian* (= Pasturing, Feeding) not alone because he fed the cattle of Admetus, but also because the sun feeds all things. In an Egyptian invocation to the sun it is said to him: "Fill us with thy splendors. We taste thy meat, we swallow thy drink"; while in another text we read: "My heart is tranquil through thy bread, receiving thy food. . . . off the table of the god *Aur*" (Bonwick, *Eg. Bel.*, p. 281—cf. the Heb. *aur* = light, put for the sun in Job. xxxi. 26). The mythic table is doubtless the earth; probably being represented by the Ethiopian "table of the sun" situated in a meadow where the people were feasted in the daytime on cooked meats, supposing "that the earth itself, from time to time, produced these things"—whereas Herodotus says that the magistrates supplied the "table" with food by night (III, 18). In the *Book of the Dead* much importance is attached to the loaves of wheat and barley eaten by the deceased in the celestial field *Aarru* (XCIX, CIX, both Recensions), where he drinks beer or ale (CXXIV) and also milk, and has "plenty of meat"

(CXXII). In the Theban Recension of CXXIV, 9, "the bread of Seb," the earth-god, appears to be the food of the living, and loaves of bread have a prominent place among the Egyptian food offerings. In the rubric to Chap. CXL, *Book of the Dead*, we find four altars for the sun-god Ra, and four for other gods, upon each of which, among other things, are loaves of bread and cakes in groups of five: and ten loaves appear to be indicated on some Egyptian altars, although only seven are seen in the front elevation—as in the Judg-

* From Lepsius, *Todtenbuch der Aegypter*, Plate L.

ment Hall, *Book of the Dead*, illustration to CXXV, Saïte Recension, Turin Papyrus (in Lepsius, *Todtenbuch der Aegypter*, Plate L). In 1 Sam. xxi. 3-6, the hungry David receives five loaves of shew-bread from the priest, and *ibid.* xvii. 17, he takes ten loaves to his brethren in the camp; while it is possible that the Israelites substituted their twelve loaves of shew-bread for an original group of ten or twice five—as on the Egyptian altars. Elisha's twenty barley loaves (apparently multiplied five times to feed a hundred men) may have been suggested by an Egyptian grouping of five loaves on each of four altars, somewhat as in Chap. CXL, *Book of the Dead* (cited above).

In Ps. cxlvi. 7, it is Jehovah (elsewhere the multiplier) who "giveth food to the hungry"; while in the Gospels the multiplier of food is Jesus, whom Matthew, Luke, and John (but not Mark) represent as the son of Joseph—perhaps because the name Joseph, supposed to signify "Adding" or "Multiplying" (as in Gen. xxx. 22; cf. xlix. 22-26), was adopted for the human father of Jesus as a terrestrial counterpart of the latter's heavenly father. In the Gospels there are two miraculous multiplications of food by Jesus, obviously mere variants; one with five loaves and two fishes and five thousand persons fed; the other with four thousand persons, seven loaves and a few small fishes. Both appear in Mark and Matthew, but only the former in Luke (and in John with added elements). The earliest extant versions are doubtless those of Mark, and their Old Testament type is certainly found in Elisha's multiplication of twenty loaves and a quantity of grain, as was recognized by some of the Christian Fathers (e.g., Tertullian, *Adv. Marc.*, IV, 21). Moreover, there are reasons for concluding that Mark's version relating to the five loaves and two fishes was the later of the two in origin and a Greek Christian production, while his variant version relating to the seven loaves and a few small fishes was the earlier in origin and a production of the primitive Jewish Christians, with its most prominent details suggested by a Hebrew or Aramaic text of the Old Testament type. According to the extant Hebrew text, (the solar) Elisha (= God-Saviour) returned to Gilgal (= Circle) in a time of dearth and famine—"And there came a man from Baal-shalisha and brought the man of God (Elisha) bread of the first-fruits, twenty loaves of barley (a food of the poor), and garden grain in a sack (new Jewish English Version, 'and fresh ears of corn in a sack'; A. V., 'and full ears of corn in the husk thereof'; Sept., 'and cakes of figs'). And he (Elisha) said, Give unto the people that they may eat. And his servant (Gehazi) said, How should I set this before a hundred men? But he (Elisha) said, Give to the people,

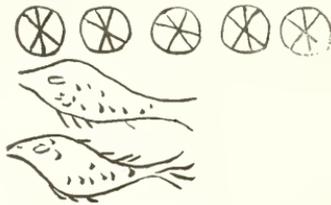
that they may eat; for thus saith the Lord, They shall eat and shall leave thereof. So he (Gehazi) set it before them, and they did eat, and left thereof, according to the word of the Lord" (2 Kings iv. 38, 42-44; cf. the Roman custom that something should be left on the table after meals—Plutarch, *Rom. Quaes.*, 64—perhaps for the household gods). The Hebrew word for the grain in the sack is *carmel*, which signifies "grain grown in garden-like plantations" as distinguished from field grain; but as the usual word for the latter is *dagan*, while *dagon* in Hebrew is "a little fish" (from *dag* = a fish as a multiplier), it is not improbable that the "few small fishes" of the Gospel miracle were suggested by Elisha's multiplied grain—the word *dagan* perhaps being found in some Aramaic version or paraphrase of 2 Kings. But the word *dag* (*DG*, without the vowel points) has the numerical value of $4 + 3 = 7$, which suggests the possibility that the "few small fishes" were originally "seven." In the Old Testament there is another Hebrew word for grain, *sheber* (Gen. xlii-xlvii and Amos viii. 5), while *sheba* and *shibah* are the usual words for "seven"; and as these words are almost exactly alike in pronunciation, it is probable that we have here the primary suggestion for the Gospel seven loaves as associated with the "few small fishes." Furthermore, we find "seven ears of grain" (*sheba shibboleth*) in Gen. xli. 5; and while there does not appear to be any typical group of seven loaves, nevertheless in some Egyptian representations the loaves are piled on an altar in such a way that only seven are seen in the front elevation, although ten appear to be indicated (see above).

Multiplication by a thousand frequently occurs in mythology and cyclic chronology, and a thousand is often put for a large number, as in Ps. xc. 4, and 2 Peter iii. 8. Thus the concept of the multiplied "small fishes" naturally leads to the prophecy of Is. lx. 22, where it is said of Israel: "The smallest shall become a thousand (Sept., 'thousands') and the least a mighty nation," while according to the Hebrew of Judges xx. 2 (cf. 17), "the chiefs of all the people, of all the tribes of Israel, presented them in the assembly of the people of God, four hundred thousand footmen that drew the sword." Of course, this gives far too great a number for the multitude in the Gospel miracle, but it may have been reduced to the "four thousand" of the original story of the multiplication of the seven loaves and a few small fishes. But, again, there is a possibility that four thousand was recognized by some as the number of the stars or angels as mythic star figures; for according to the Assyrian account of the Revolt in Heaven, the whole number of the

celestial host was originally five thousand, of whom a thousand revolted, thus leaving four thousand in heaven (*Records of the Past*, VIII, pp. 127-128; cf. VII, p. 128). According to both Josephus (*Antiq.*, XVIII, 1, 5) and Philo (*Quod Omnis Probus Liber*, 15), the Essenes at the beginning of the Christian era numbered about four thousand; which has led some commentators to connect the Gospel miracle with that Jewish sect. The scene of the Gospel story was naturally laid in a desert place, where food for a multitude could not readily be procured by ordinary means; and it was in a desert that the manna (for bread) and quails (for meat) were sent to the Israelites, but not by a multiplication miracle. Elisha's miracle belongs to Gilgal (= Circle), and the Gospel "desert place" is connected with the Sea of Galilee (= Circle), necessarily being assigned to the desert country on the eastern shore; and the name Elisha signifies "God-Saviour," while Jesus signifies "Saviour."

According to Mark vii. 3, Jesus "came to the sea of Galilee, through the midst of the borders of Decapolis," on the eastern shore, where he evidently multiplied the seven loaves and the small fishes (viii. 1-9). The story is as follows: "In those days, the multitude being very great, and not having what they may eat, Jesus, having called his disciples to him, he says to them, I am moved with compassion on the multitude, because already three days they continue with me and have not what they may eat. . . . And his disciples answered him, Whence shall any one be able to satisfy these (people) with bread here in a desert? And he asked them, How many loaves have ye? And they said, Seven, and he ordered the multitude to recline on the ground. And having taken the seven loaves, having given thanks (as did the Jews both before and after meals), he broke and gave (them) to his disciples, that they might set (them) before (the multitude). And they set (them) before the multitude. And they had a few small fishes (*ἰχθῦδια*—probably salted and dried) and having blessed (them), he desired these also to be set before (the multitude). And they ate and were satisfied. And they took up of superfluous fragments seven baskets. And those who had eaten were about four thousand; and he (Jesus) sent them away." Matthew alone repeats this story (xv. 32-38), but lays the scene on a mountain, still to the east of the Sea of Galilee, and describes Jesus as having healed the "lame, blind, dumb, maimed, and many others" of the multitude before the feeding—"And they who ate were four thousand men, besides women and children." The three days in both Gospels, during which the multitude appears to have been without food, may have been suggested by the three

days' fast ordered by Esther (Esth. iv. 16; cf. 1 Sam. xxx. 12, 13, where a young Egyptian has nothing to eat or drink for three days). Mark's "about four thousand" persons, and Matthew's "four thousand men, besides women and children," agree well enough as a reduction of the number in Judges xx. 2, where only the swordsmen of the Israelites made up the four hundred thousand; and four thousand is the number of the Assyrian celestial host after the revolt of a thousand. The twelve disciples set the multiplied food before the people, as if to symbolize the distribution of natural food products throughout the year; the disciples thus corresponding to the Twelve Happy Ones who are the bearers of food in the Egyptian "Book of Hades" (*Records of the Past*, X, pp. 116-119). As in the story of Elisha, whose servant Gehazi sets the multiplied food before the people, so also in the Gospel story there is a superfluity—seven baskets full in the latter, in agreement with the number of loaves. As to Matthew's mountain, it may have been sug-



THE GOSPEL FIVE LOAVES AND TWO FISHES.

(In the Cemetery of Hermes, Catacombs, Rome.)

gested by his own and perhaps the true interpretation of Baal-shalisha, from which place came the man who brought the loaves and grain to Elisha; for Baal = Lord, and *shalisha* is conjectured to signify a "triangle," but perhaps refers to a pyramid-like mountain.

According to the variant story in Mark vi. 30-44, the twelve disciples, having returned from their proselyting tour, are taken by Jesus in a ship to a desert place on the east of the Sea of Galilee; a multitude of people following by land. Jesus proceeds to teach this multitude until a late hour, when he is asked by the disciples to dismiss the people so they may buy bread. "But he answering, said to them, Give ye to them to eat. And they say to him, Having gone, shall we buy two hundred denarii (worth) of bread (about \$29 worth, as perhaps suggested by Abigail's present to David of 200 loaves and 200 fig-cakes—1 Sam. xxv. 18), and give them to eat? And he says to them, How many loaves have ye? go and see.

And having known, they say, Five, and two fishes (*ixθvas*—probably salted and dried). And he ordered them to make all (the people) recline by companies on the green grass (although the scene is laid in a desert place). And they sat down in ranks, by hundreds and by fifties (corresponding to the minor divisions of the Jewish armies—2 Kings i. 14; xi. 4, 10). And having taken the five loaves and the two fishes, having looked up to heaven, he blessed (probably 'blessed God', as in the Jewish thanksgiving before and after meals) and broke the loaves, and gave (them) to his disciples that they might eat before them (i. e., previously to the people; but the original text probably had: 'that they might set them before the multitude'). And the two fishes he divided among all. And all ate and were satisfied. And they took up of fragments (of the loaves) twelve baskets full, and of the fishes. And those that ate of the loaves (and fishes) were about five thousand"—with the word "about" wanting in some manuscripts, as in the Sinaitic Palimpsest. Matthew (xiv. 13-21) has substantially the same story somewhat abbreviated—"And having broken (them), he gave the loaves to the disciples, and the disciples to the multitude. And all ate and were satisfied; and they took up all that was superfluous of the fragments, twelve hand-baskets full. And those who ate were men about five thousand, besides women and children"—as also in Matthew's feeding of the four thousand. Luke also has substantially the same story (ix. 10-19); but he adds that the desert place was "of a city called Bethsaida"—perhaps for the Septuagint Bethsarisa (= Baal-shalisha) in Elisha's miracle. The Gospel multitude appears to have been reckoned at five thousand to give a thousand for each of the five loaves as found on Egyptian altars. Everything relating to the fishes has some appearance of being interpolated in the original story of Mark vi. 30-44; but be this as it may, the primary concept of the two fishes was probably that of a pair, male and female, as suggested by the Hebrew *dag* = a fish, "so called from multiplying abundantly." And it is also probable that the hypothetical Greek Christian author of this later of the two multiplication stories recognized the two fishes as types or counterparts of those of Pisces—as do the astronomizing Postellus (*Signorum Coelestium*, p. 13), Bartschius (*Planisphaerium Stellatum*, p. 95), and Caesius (*Coelum Astronomico-Poeticum*, p. 103). Pisces became the sign of the spring equinox at about the beginning of the Christian era; and in accordance with the nature mythos, the Gospel multitude appears to have been conceived as fasting in the desert of winter, and being fed, under Pisces, as they reclined on "the green grass"

of spring. But as the sun is sometimes conceived as a fish swimming through the celestial sea (whence come such man-fish deities as Oannes or Odakon), it is not improbable that the two Gospel fishes were originally symbols of the sun and moon, with the five (circular) loaves for the five other planets. And thus, too, the seven (circular) loaves in the earlier Gospel story may have been referred to the seven planets, including the sun and moon—which are otherwise symbolized by seven fishes, as apparently in the representation of Dionysus (himself a solar figure) sailing over the celestial sea in a fish-shaped boat and surrounded by seven fishes (see frontispiece). The frequent employment in the Roman catacombs of the two Gospel fishes and the five or seven loaves, either separately or together, suggests that they were sometimes recognized as celestial food for the dead Christians.

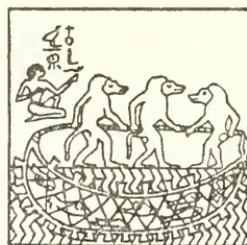
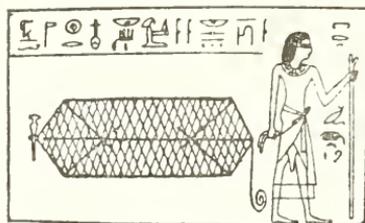
In John's multiplication miracle (vi. 1-15) we find the later story of Mark recast throughout, with several variations and additions; the scene being on the eastern side of the Sea of Galilee, on a mountain (as in Matthew's feeding of the four thousand), and the time being "near the passover, the feast of the Jews" (which belongs to about the time of the spring equinox). Seeing the multitude, Jesus says to Philip, "Whence shall we buy loaves that these may eat? . . . Philip answered him, Loaves for two hundred denarii are not sufficient for them, that each of them may receive some little. Says to him one of his disciples, Andrew the brother of Simon Peter, A little boy is here, who has five barley loaves (barley as in Elisha's miracle, primarily as a food of the poor) and two small fishes (*ὀψάρια*, small fishes *boiled*, according to the etymology of the word); but what are these for so many? And Jesus said, Make the men recline. Now much grass was in that place: reclined therefore the men, the number about five thousand. And Jesus took the loaves, and having given thanks, distributed (them) to the disciples, and the disciples to those reclining; and in like manner of the small fishes, as much as they (the people) wished. And when they were filled, he says to the disciples, Gather together the superfluous fragments, that nothing may be lost. They gathered together, therefore, and from the five barley loaves filled twelve hand-baskets of fragments that were superfluous to those who had eaten. The men, therefore, having seen what sign (A. V., 'miracle') Jesus had done, said, This is truly the prophet that is coming into the world. Jesus, therefore, knowing that they were about to come and seize him, that they may make him king, withdrew again to a mountain himself alone." Luke's identification of

the scene as a desert place "of the city of Bethsaida," doubtless suggested John's introduction of Philip and Andrew the brother of Simon Peter, for "Philip was from Bethsaida, of the city of Andrew and Peter," according to John i. 45. The desire of the people to make Jesus a king is peculiar to John's story, although in one prophetic view, to which there are frequent allusions in the Gospels, the Messiah was to be King of the Jews; and according to the *Infancy of the Saviour*, when Jesus was between seven and twelve years old, he was crowned with flowers and adored as a king by the other boys, in the month Adar (41; cf. 36 and 50 for his age). Adar, the Babylonian Addaru, was the twelfth month in the Hebrew sacred year, falling under Pisces, the sign of the two fishes; but the early Christians naturally may have considered it the first month of the astronomical year, as the spring equinox retrograded into Pisces at about the beginning of the Christian era. The barley harvest in Palestine belongs to the time of that equinox, to which time John's barley loaves appear to belong, as he places the miracle "near the passover," which was celebrated at the new moon of Nisan, the month following Adar; and he also may have identified Bethsaida = Fishing-town as a terrestrial counterpart of Pisces. His "little boy," who furnishes the loaves and fishes, in all probability was originally a figure of the young sun in Pisces as the first spring sign; this "little boy" being given the place of the man from Baal-shalisha in Elisha's miracle—and of course being a mythic duplication of the boy Jesus adored as a king in the month Adar. In Kircher's Egyptian "Zodiac of the Second Hermes," the solar infant is figured in the hand of a fish-tailed woman for Pisces (*Oedipus Aegyptiacus*, Vol. II, Part II, p. 160).

In the apocryphal *Acts of John* it is said that whenever Jesus and the Apostles dined with a Pharisee, and a loaf of bread was given to each, Jesus blessed and divided his loaf so that it served miraculously to fill them all. According to the *Gospel of Thomas* (Latin form, 1), when Jesus was three years old "he took a dried (salted) fish, and put it into a dish, and ordered it to move about. And it began to move about. And he said again to the fish, Throw out thy salt which thou hast, and walk into the water. And it so came to pass." In Herodotus IX. 20, there is a similar story of a salt fish, which, while being broiled, "lying on the fire, leapt and quivered like fish just being caught." A Mohammedan legend relates that Fatema, the Prophet's daughter, once brought him two loaves and a piece of meat, and that he returned them to her on a dish that had become full of bread and meat (Al Beidawi, in Sale's

Koran, III, p. 40, note). According to another Mohammedan legend, in answer to a prayer of Jesus, God sent two clouds from heaven bearing a golden table upon which was a silver dish containing a great cooked fish: and to show a still greater marvel, Jesus commanded the fish to live, whereupon it began to move, but again became a cooked fish, feeding thirteen thousand persons without being in the least diminished: for all that was cut off was miraculously reproduced in an instant. Again, in a variant Mohammedan legend of Jesus, a heavenly table during forty days descends on the clouds at daybreak and ascends at sunset (see Donehoo, *Apoc. and Legend. Life of Christ*, pp. 226-229).

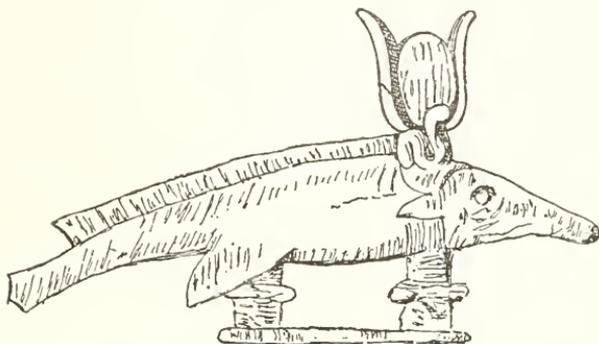
In the nature mythos a multitudinous draught of fishes is referable primarily to the stars in the net of night, and secondarily to all the celestial bodies as drawn forth in a net from the underworld



TWO EGYPTIAN ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE COSMIC FISH-NET.
(In the Papyrus of Nu, Theban Recension of the *Book of the Dead*, Chap. CLIII, A and B, vignettes; from Budge, *Book of the Dead*, ed. 1901, II, pp. 510 and 515.)

sea to the upper heaven, of course over the eastern horizon. A recital of Chap. CLIII of the *Book of the Dead* enabled the deified deceased to avoid capture in this mythic net and also to use it for the purpose of providing himself with both birds and fishes for food. In the Theban Recension of CLIII, A, the deceased says: "I go fishing with the cordage (= net) of 'the uniter of the earth,' and of him that maketh a way through (= under) the earth. Hail, ye fishers. . . . who lay snares with your nets and go about in the chambers of the waters (Saïte parallel, 'who fish those who move amidst the waters'), take ye not me in the net wherewith ye ensnared the helpless fiends. . . . let me rise up like the god Sebek, and let me make a flight to you away from the snare of the fowler whose fingers are hidden. . . . I snare with the net. . . . I know the net" (2-7, 18, 27). In the same Recension of CLIII, B, the deceased says: "Know ye that I know the name of the great and

mighty net? 'Anqet' (= Clincher) is its name. . . . Know ye that I know the name of the fishers? 'Ape' is their name (the vignette showing three apes, probably cloud figures, drawing the net full of fishes). . . . Know ye that I know the name of the fowler (for the net also catches birds)? 'Prince, mighty one who sitteth on the eastern side of heaven' is his name. . . . I rise up as Ra, the lord of the East (the Saïte has: 'I escape from them under the shape of the hawk of Horus'). . . . I have come into heaven, I embrace my seat which is in the East. . . ." (3-11, 16, 17). Pisces is an eastern sign, and in all probability the crocodile god Sebek was identified by some of the Egyptians with the constellated sea-monster Cetus, which is closely connected with Pisces. And thus in Chap. CXIII of the *Book of the Dead*, Sebek is the fisher with the net, "and strong is that net"; Ra saying that "there are fish with the



THE EGYPTIAN OXYRHYNCUS

with soli-lunar crest. (From a bronze in the Louvre, Paris.)

god Sebek, and he hath found (and brought in) the hands and arms of Horus for him, in the land of fish" (Theban, 4, 5—the Saïte making Sebek bring in the eyes as well as the hands of Horus).

In the Egyptian tale of "Setna and the Magic Book," the king's son, Setna, obtains from the bed of the Nile a book written by the lunar Tehuti, which gives the reader power to enchant heaven, earth, and sea; to understand the language of birds, beasts, and fishes, and to bring the fishes to the surface of the water (*Records of the Past*, IV, p. 134). The Greek Amphion was celebrated for having "lured the fishes" (Clement of Alexandria, *Exhort.*, I, etc.), and primitive peoples in various parts of the world practised magical rites for causing fishes to permit themselves to be caught (see Frazer, *Golden Bough*, I, p. 23; II, p. 411). In the Assyrian account of the Descent of Ishtar to the underworld, the god Hea

creates a phantom of a man and causes it to deceive the goddess of the underworld, Nin-ki-gal, with various magical tricks, the chief of which is to "bring forth fishes out of the water of an empty vessel" (i. e., empty of fishes—*Records of the Past*, I, p. 148).

According to the Mangaian of Polynesia, the man-fish Vatea prepared an enormous net for the first six fishermen, who fished in vain day after day until they invoked the aid of Raka, god of the winds. Then their net was filled with such a multitude of fish that they could not hold it; but Vatea's son Tane helped them: the net was drawn ashore, and the fish counted—whence originated the art of reckoning (Gill, *Myths and Songs from the South Pacific*, p. 100). This myth apparently came to Polynesia from some ancient people having considerable astronomical knowledge; for Vatea appears to represent the cosmic god, with Tane for the sun, the six other fishermen for the remaining planets (including the moon), and the fish for the fixed stars as supposed to be definitely numbered. It is related of Pythagoras that he once observed a large draught of fishes; purchased them all, and had them returned to the water as a lesson to the spectators to spare even the lives of fishes and to refrain from eating them as well as other animal food (Plutarch, *Symp.*, VIII, 8; Apuleius, *Apolog.*, p. 209); and the philosopher told the exact number of the fishes in the net even while it was being drawn up, according to Porphyrius (*Vit. Pythag.*, 25) and Iamblichus (*Vit. Pythag.*, 8).

In several Old Testament texts it is said that Jehovah will multiply men "as the stars of the heaven" (Gen. xxii. 17; xxvi. 4; Ex. xxxii. 13; etc.); and we have already seen that the Hebrew *dag* = fish was "so called from multiplying abundantly." In the vision of Ezek. xlvi, where the Holy Land appears to be assimilated to the celestial regions, the prophet is taken to a great river or double river (the Jordan as a counterpart of the Eridanus with its double stream, northern and southern) that issues from beneath the sanctuary eastward; crosses "the east country" (Sept., "Galilee") and flows to the sea (the Dead Sea as a counterpart of that of the underworld). Of this river it is said that "a very great multitude of fish shall be there. . . . And it shall come to pass that fishers shall stand by it; from En-gedi even unto En-eglaim (places on or near the Dead Sea) there shall be a place for the spreading of nets; their fishes shall be after their kinds, as the fish of the Great Sea, a very great multitude" (Sept., *πλήθος πολὺ σφόδρα*). Among the traditional miracles of Ezekiel is one of a multitudinous draught of fishes with which he fed the famished people (Epipha-

nius, *De Vit. et Mort. Prophet.*, etc.). In Jer. xvi. 16, Jehovah promises to send "many fishers" to fish the children of Israel from among the Gentiles; and according to Matt. xiii. 47, 48, "the kingdom of the heavens is like to a drag-net cast into the sea, of every kind (of fish) gathering together; which when it was filled, having been drawn up on the shore, and having sat down, they (the fishers) collected the good (fish) into vessels, and the corrupt they cast out."

Among the Synoptic Gospels the story of the multitudinous draught of fishes is found only in Luke (v. 1-11), the scene being in Galilee (cf. iv. 44), through which Ezekiel's river flows. Galilee is "the east country" of the Hebrew text, corresponding to the eastern quarter of the heaven as mapped by the ancient astrologers; and the Eridanus is in close connection with the eastern signs Pisces, Aries, and Taurus—in fact, there can be little doubt that this celestial river was sometimes considered a continuation of the Stream of Aquarius. Thus it is not improbable that the two fishes of Pisces suggested the two ships in Luke's story, where the draught of fishes is made near the shore of "the Lake of Gennesaret" or Sea of Galilee (= Circle—as if for the underworld sea); while one of the ships belongs to Simon Peter, who was early identified as the Apostle of Pisces—as shown in previous articles of this series. According to Luke, Jesus "saw two ships standing by the lake, but the fishermen having gone out from them, washing their nets. And having entered into one of the ships, which was Simon's, he asked him to put off a little from the land; and having sat down, he taught the multitudes from the ship. And when he ceased speaking, he said to Simon, Put off into the deep and let down your nets for a haul. And answering, Simon said to him, Master, through the whole night having labored, we have taken nothing; but at thy word I will let down the net. And having done this, they (Simon and his partners) enclosed of fishes a great multitude (*πλήθος πολύ*, the words of Ezekiel in the Sept., without the final *σφόδρα* = very); and their net was breaking. And they beckoned to the partners in the other ship, that coming they should help them; and they came, and filled both the ships (with the fishes), so that they were sinking. And having seen (all this), Simon Peter fell at the knees of Jesus, saying, Depart from me, for a man, a sinner, am I, Lord. For astonishment laid hold on him and all those with him, at the haul of the fishes which they had taken; and in like manner also (astonishment laid hold on) James and John, sons of Zebedee, who were partners with Simon. And Jesus said to Simon, Fear not, for henceforth thou shalt be catching men (in a proselyting sense). And having brought the ships to land,

leaving all, they followed him" (cf. Mark i. 16, 17 and Matt. iv. 18-20, where the Apostles who thus follow are Peter and Andrew—the latter belonging to Aquarius in the astronomizing view).

The final chapter in the Gospel of John as we have it has long been recognized as an addition to the original book, which evidently ended with the last verse of chap. xx. In xxi. 1-14, is found a variant of Luke's multitudinous draught of fishes. After his resurrection Jesus appears to seven disciples—Peter, Thomas, Nathaniel, the sons of Zebedee (James and John), and "two others" unnamed. "Simon Peter says to them, I go to fish. They say to him, We also come with thee. They went forth and went up into the ship immediately, and during the night they took nothing. And morning already being come, Jesus stood on the shore; the disciples, however, knew not that it was Jesus. Therefore says Jesus to them, Little children, have ye any food (cf. Luke xxiv. 41)? They answered him, No. And he said to them, Cast the net to the right side of the ship, and ye shall find. They cast, therefore, and no longer were they able to draw it, from the multitude of the fishes. Therefore that disciple (John) whom Jesus loved says to Peter, The Lord it is. Therefore Simon Peter, having heard that it is the Lord, girded on his upper garment, for he was naked, and cast himself into the sea (and swam to the shore). And the other disciples in the little ship came, for they were not far from the land, but somewhere about two hundred cubits (cf. the two hundred denarii in the multiplication story), dragging the net of fishes. Therefore when they went up on the land they saw a fire of coals lying, and fish lying on it (the last phrase probably interpolated), and bread. Jesus says to them, Bring of the fishes which ye took just now. Simon Peter went up, and drew the net to the land, full of large fishes, a hundred and fifty-three; and though there were so many, the net was not rent. (And evidently some of these fish were then cooked on the fire.) Jesus says to them, Come ye, dine. But none of the disciples ventured to ask him, Who art thou? knowing that it is the Lord. Therefore comes Jesus and takes the bread and gives (it) to them, and the fish in like manner"—doubtless from Luke xxiv. 30, where the resurrected Jesus gives bread to his disciples, while in verse 42 the disciples give Jesus a piece of broiled fish and a honeycomb. Practically all the elements of the story in John are derived from Luke, and there can be no doubt that all the fishes that were cooked and eaten belonged originally to the multitudinous draught.

The counting of the fishes has a close parallel in the story of Pythagoras and the draught of fishes, as above cited. Jerome, in his *Commentary on Ezechiel* (xlvii), tells us that "the writers upon the nature and characteristics of animals, and among them the excellent Cilician poet Oppian, say that there are one hundred and fifty-three species of fishes; all these (as Jerome adds) were caught by the Apostles, and none were uncaught, just as great and small, rich and poor, all sorts of men, were drawn to happiness out of the (figurative) sea of the world"—as if all species of fishes belonged to the Sea of Galilee! According to the Talmud, in the East there are not less than seven hundred kinds of unclean fishes alone (*Hul.*, 63b), but none in the West (*Ab. Zarah*, 39a); while modern naturalists recognize thirty-six species in the Sea of Galilee and the Jordan. Oppian's poem on fishing, the *Halicutica*, does not specify any number of species of fishes, nor can one hundred and fifty-three be found in the poem: but nevertheless it is just possible that some of the other writers to whom Jerome refers did specify this number. Pliny gives expression to the general belief of his time when he says that "in the sea and in the ocean, vast as it is, there exists nothing that is unknown to us; and, a truly marvelous fact, it is with those things which nature has concealed in the deep that we are best acquainted"—adding what he accepted as the exact number of species of fishes (*H. N.*, XXXII). But in the extant manuscripts of his *Historia Naturalis* that number is variously given as 144, 164, and 176, never as 153; nor is the last number found in any such connection in any ancient writer except Jerome. We can only be certain, therefore, that some of the ancient naturalists did enumerate about as many as one hundred and fifty-three species of fishes; but there is a possibility that this number in the supplement to John's Gospel was fixed upon in agreement with the one hundred and fifty-three divisions of the Pentateuch (and Prophets) as sometimes employed by the Jews for reading in the synagogues on successive Sabbaths in a cycle of three years (Maimonides, *Jud Ha-Chazaka Hilchoth Tephilla*, XIII, 1; cf. Acts xiii. 15, xv. 21; Luke iv. 16; and see M'Clintock and Strong's *Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature*, s. v. "Haptarah"). Each of these divisions or lessons from the Pentateuch is subdivided into seven sections, read severally by seven persons, the first three of whom represent the three great divisions of the nation—the priests, Levites, and civil authorities—while the last four readers are selected with less care (Maimonides, *ibid.*, XII, 7; *Mishna*, "Megilla," IV, 2). Thus the seven Apostles who make the multitudinous draught, with only the first three mentioned

by name, correspond to the $3 + 4 = 7$ readers of a lesson. But the primary suggestion for the group of seven Apostles is perhaps to be sought in the seven planets, which are represented by the seven fishermen who make the multitudinous draught and count the fishes in the Mangaian myth; and the Johannine writer's introduction of seven Apostles was probably influenced by the fact that the Hebrew word *dag* = a fish has the numerical value of $4 + 3 = 7$.

There is also a probability that the one hundred and fifty-three fishes were recognized in the astronomical view as belonging to the period during which the waters of the Hebrew Deluge "prevailed." In Gen. vii. 11, 24, this period is put at "one hundred and fifty days", from the beginning of the rain on the 17th of the second

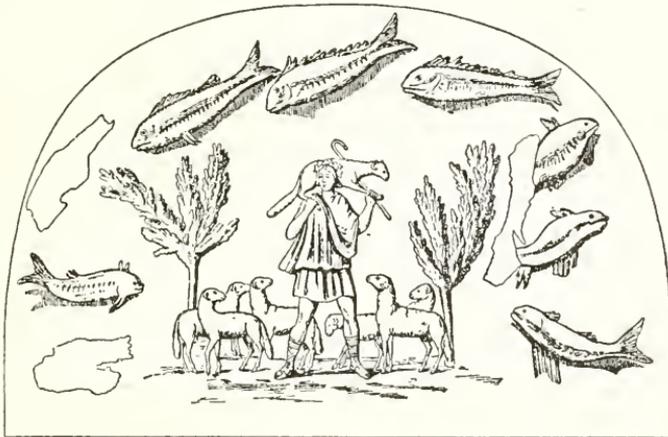


PYRAMID OF THE 153 FISHES.

(According to Augustine, *Epistolae*, LV, 31.)

month to the landing of the ark on Ararat (on the 17th of the seventh month); in other words, it comprised five months of thirty days each in a year of 360 days. But if we substitute a year of 366 days, with its months alternately of thirty and thirty-one days, we have 153 days for the five months beginning with its second month of thirty-one days. The Biblical second month is doubtless Ijar or Zif, the second of the sacred year, during which fell the so-called "latter rains." But there is no rainy season of five months in Palestine; the Biblical Deluge having been derived from Babylon, where the spring rains cause the flooding of the Euphrates and Tigris that appears to have been reckoned as of five months' duration. And as Peter, the Apostle of Pisces and the spring equinox, is the chief of the fishermen in Luke's story, there is a natural sug-

gestion for the association of the days of the Deluge with the draught of fishes. Augustine (*Epist.*, LV, 17, 31) says that the number of the fishes in the Gospel of John pertains to the time when the last enemy, Death, shall be destroyed (apparently as was the earth by the Deluge): and he adds that this number is connected with the mystic seventeen, as in the case of an equilateral triangle composed of 153 elements, with seventeen on each side and the remainder filled in symmetrically (as in the accompanying figure—cf. the 17th day of the months in the Hebrew Deluge legend, and note that $9 \times 17 = 153$). Augustine also refers the one hundred and fifty-three fishes to the Church as evolved from the Law and the Spirit, in accordance with Philo's principle of the fulfilment



JESUS AS THE GOOD SHEPHERD,

surrounded by lambs and fishes. Fresco of Cyrene. (From Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, I, p. 85.)

of the potentiality of any number (e. g., that of 3 is $1 + 2 + 3 = 6$). Thus 10 is assigned to the Law (for the commandments) and 7 to the Spirit (see Rev. i. 4; iii. 1), while $10 + 7 = 17$, the fulfilment of which is $1 + 2 + 3 \dots + 17 = 153$ for the Church.

There can be little doubt that the meal of bread and fishes in the supplement to John represents a primitive Christian Eucharist as replacing the Passover supper of bread and lamb; with the fishes referring to Pisces as having become the sign of the spring equinox about the beginning of the Christian era, while the lamb belonged to Aries as the sign of the same equinox in the preceding precessional period of some two thousand years. Among the oldest representations of Jesus, as in the Roman catacombs, we sometimes

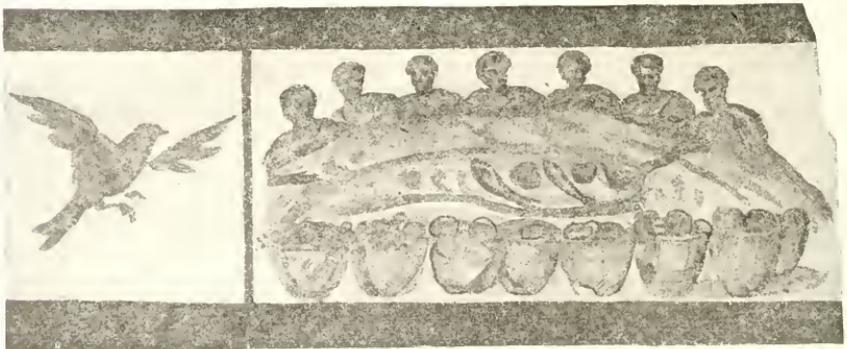
find him with seven lambs; sometimes with seven fishes; sometimes with both lambs and fishes in the same representation—while one



JESUS AS THE GOOD SHEPHERD

with seven lambs, seven stars, etc.

example with seven lambs includes seven stars ($4 + 3$) above the head of Jesus (see accompanying figures). According to early tradition, "the paschal (Passover) pickerel" was substituted by Jesus for the lamb at the Last Supper (Farrar, *Life of Christ*, p. 18).

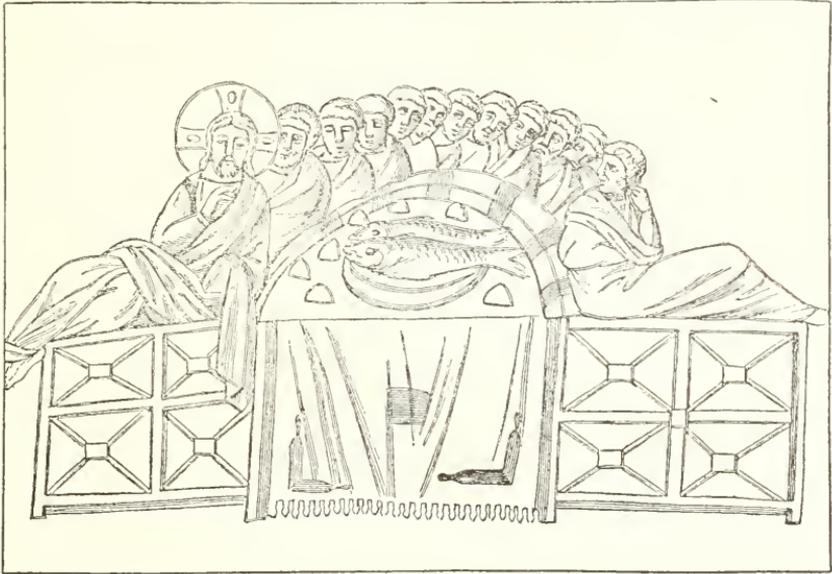


TWO EARLY CHRISTIAN EUCHARISTS.

with seven participants and two fishes. (In the Cemetery of Calixtus, Catacombs, Rome.)

A meal of fish and bread is frequently represented in the catacombs, sometimes with two fishes and seven diners (Lundy, *Monumental*

Christianity, p. 369, fig. 169, etc.) ; while in a mosaic of the Church of St. Apollinaris at Ravenna, said to be the oldest known representation of the Last Supper, Jesus and eleven Apostles (Judas having left) are reclining at a table on which are two large fishes and seven loaves of bread (Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte cristiana*, IV, Plate 250, No. 1). The two fishes, bound together by their tails as in the usual figure of *Pisces*, are also represented in the catacombs, sometimes on either side of an anchor or trident (Boldetti, *Osservazioni*, II, p. 370, etc.).



EARLIEST KNOWN REPRESENTATION OF THE LAST SUPPER. With seven loaves and two fishes. Mosaic in St. Apollinaris, Ravenna. (From Garrucci, *Storia dell' arte cristiana*, IV, Plate 250, No. 1.)

The sun is sometimes conceived as a fish, as we saw above; and the Messiah (= Jesus), "son of Joseph," is called *Dag* = Fish in the Talmud (see Buxdorf, *Synod. Jud.*, XXIV). The name Jesus is a Grecized form of Joshua (= Saviour), the Old Testament prophet of that name being the son of Nun (= Fish—at least in the extant form of the word, as apparently of Assyrian origin); and thus some of the Rabbis, assigning the incarnation of the Messiah to the future, said that he would be born of a fish—that is to say, "they expected his birth under the constellation of the Fishes, on which account the Jews were long accustomed to immolate a fish in expiatory feasts" (Drews, *Christ Myth*, Eng. ed., p. 141,

note). In other words, the Jews recognized the Messiah of the Christian era as the solar incarnation of the Pisces precessional period; Abrabanel and others affirming that his birth would occur at the time of a conjunction of Jupiter and Saturn in Pisces (see Münter, *Sinnbilder*, p. 49). Jesus is often represented by a fish in the Roman catacombs (Didron, *Christian Iconography*, ed. 1851; Vol. I, pp. 344-367, etc.); Tertullian says that "we little fishes, after the example of our ΙΧΘΥΣ (= Fish), Jesus Christ, are born in water"—i. e., baptized (*De Bapt.*, I, 1); Origen says that Christ is figuratively called "Fish" (*In Matt.*, III, p. 584), and from the word ΙΧΘΥΣ the early Christians made the acrostic—'Ιησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ = Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour—which first appears in the *Sibylline Oracles* (VIII, 217-250), and is frequently quoted from them, as by Augustine (*De Civ. Dei*, XVIII, 23) and Eusebius (*Or. Con. ad Coetum SS.*, XVIII).

A VISIT TO ELIZABETH FOERSTER-NIETZSCHE.

BY CAROLINE V. KERR.

A LIGHT autumnal haze hung over the little grand-ducal residence of Weimar, as I climbed the steep path leading up to the house on the hill where Friedrich Nietzsche was brought during his last tragic illness, and from which his engloomed soul took its flight into the unknown. The quaint old city lay spread out before me in the broad, bowl-shaped valley formed by the foothills of the Thuringian Mountains, as silent as if dreaming of her glorious past—or was this silence rather that of tense listening to the din of the hideous war raging on all borders of the empire?

The only outward token of the unseen struggle was an insistent humming and whirring, and far up in the blue dome of the sky I could sight two tiny black specks, which I knew meant the birdmen from the aviation camp near Weimar were making ready to take their part in the warfare of the clouds. Mars ruled the hour, and the faint flutterings of the Fokker machines became to my ears the sinister swish of the war-god's wings as he rushed by on his errand of destruction.

As I passed through the silent streets, a curious readjustment of values had already made itself noticeable in the shop-windows, where Goethe and Schiller, Wieland and Herder, Franz Liszt and Ernst von Wildenbruch were being rudely elbowed by a new generation of national heroes created by the hour of destiny.

Weimar of to-day is like a clock with arrested hands; time is waiting, waiting—for what?

Weimar of yesterday seemed very unreal, and for the first time I had difficulty in visualizing the past when the little Athens on the Ilm was the meeting-place of the brains of Europe and all the world pilgrimaged thither to sit at the feet of the Weimarian Jove.

Nor was there anything in the Nietzsche House to banish these depressing thoughts, as the repellent severity of its architectural lines, the dark cypress sentinels, and the air of somber melancholy all bespoke days that are dead and gone. Indeed, I should not have been surprised had a raven croaked a dirge of Nevermore! from his perch above the door, and it was with a feeling of distinct awe that I found myself passing through the mausoleum-like portals.

However, my visit was to the living and not to the dead, a point upon which I had been most explicit in accepting an invitation from Frau Foerster-Nietzsche to come to Weimar, as in her letter she had expressed the fear that I would be disappointed in the Nietzsche Archives, assumed by her to be the objective of my visit.

Overshadowed by a great name, and prompted by a rare spirit of devotion to sacrifice her own individuality on the altar of affection, the only sister of the great philosopher was little known to the world at large until she emerged from the shadows into the strong light on the occasion of her seventieth birthday (July, 1916). All honor had been paid her by the German literary world, and it was this which had piqued my curiosity and drawn me to Weimar to see and talk to Elizabeth Foerster-Nietzsche, a personality in her own rights, quite independent of her official importance as the custodian of the Nietzsche Archives.

Our imagination sometimes plays us curious tricks, and had I been called upon to draw an imaginary portrait of the seventy-year-old widowed and childless sister of Friedrich Nietzsche, whom I was about to meet, I should most assuredly have envisaged a tall, gaunt, somewhat austere old lady, with silvered hair and spectacled eyes. Moreover, she would have been wearing severe black draperies, as nothing but the outward trappings of woe seemed to fit into the somber setting. What I did see in reality, was a sprightly, vivacious woman, seventy years young, with smooth pink cheeks, bright eyes, brown hair upon which a black lace mantilla was coquettishly draped, while her black silk gown, though made after the fashion of bygone days, showed unmistakable signs of a love for femininities. Frau Foerster-Nietzsche stood for *Das Ewigweibliche* in these surroundings, half library, half sanctuary, dedicated to the memory of her beloved brother. But not even a fresh brew of tea, nor a generous slice of "war-cake" of which my hostess was very proud, could banish the feeling that I was paying a call in a mausoleum, nor make me forget for a moment, Klinger's famous bust of Nietzsche in the alcove, which by a curious trick of illumination was made to take on an appearance of startling reality.

Moreover, there was something extremely disconcerting in being confronted by a life-size drawing of the philosopher on his death-bed, every time my eyes strayed from my hostess to the wall above her head. I was told that the death chamber was just above the room in which we were sitting, with its many windows overlooking the fair landscape that Nietzsche never learned to love. He was not a Weimarian in the same sense as were Goethe and Schiller; they lived and worked here, while Nietzsche was only brought here to die. It is, therefore, not surprising that he should have regarded the place as nothing more than the last stage of a long and wearisome journey, and that he should not have been enshrined in the hearts of the people as were the two greater geniuses.

Nietzsche made no secret of his dislike of his native land, which was cold and cheerless to him, both in its physical aspects and its literary atmosphere. It was only after he became a helpless invalid (1890) that the philosopher was forced to take refuge in his mother's house. In a letter written from Venice three years earlier, he makes one of his frequent references to his reluctance to living in Germany: "It would be difficult to tempt me back to my beloved fatherland; the narrow-mindedness of the same makes me laugh, and if it should become necessary for me to return (for purely literary reasons) I should first fortify myself with a zoological proverb, running:

'Um das Rhinoceros zu sehn,
Beschloss nach Deutschland ich zu gehn.'

Switzerland and Italy alternately offered an asylum to this tortured spirit, and thus it happens that patient search has been made in these two countries for fragments of his writings. Frau Foerster-Nietzsche showed me one of her most recent acquisitions, bought for an incredible sum from the proprietor of an Italian *albergo* where her brother often stopped. This consisted of a few stray sheets of the manuscript—in fact, of nothing more than notes—of his last unfinished work, *Der Wille zur Macht*.

This indefatigable effort to collect the Nietzsche fragments and bibliography has made heavy inroads upon the private fortune of Frau Foerster-Nietzsche, but she has kept at her task with rare fidelity, never losing sight of the ultimate goal, which was to hand over the Nietzsche Archives as a gift to the German nation. "And now just in the darkest hour," she said, "light has dawned from an unexpected quarter: since the beginning of the war, a high-minded Swede and his wife have made a pilgrimage to Weimar and announced their intention of endowing the institution and enabling

me to pursue my researches without the haunting thought of the expense incurred."

But this was told me later in the afternoon, and not over the tea-cups, where the regal air with which the little lady dispensed her hospitality explained the title often given her by her friends, of "the uncrowned grand-duchess of Weimar"; this she laughingly disclaimed as well as that of the "super-sister," as I had heard her called by the intimates of the Nietzsche House.

In fact, her opening remark was one of self-depreciation, as in response to my belated birthday felicitations, she replied: "Yes, I am surprised to find myself the object of so much interest; I had grown so accustomed to being the anacrusis in the rhythmical measure that it is very pleasant to find the world placing the accent on my insignificant personality. . . ." Either she, or I, suggested that her life-task had been a Kundry-like one of "serving," and at once she was off on a chain of interesting Wagnerian reminiscences—appreciative of the dead, but strongly censorious of the heirs of Bayreuth, particularly of Frau Cosima, at whom she is very bitter for having destroyed that part of Nietzsche's correspondence which is necessary to form a complete record of the one-time historic friendship between the philosopher and Wagner.

Had Nietzsche lived until October 15, 1914, he would have celebrated his seventieth birthday, and in commemoration of this anniversary, Frau Foerster-Nietzsche has published a book entitled *Wagner and Nietzsche at the Time of Their Friendship* (regarded as the most interesting contribution to German belles-lettres brought out since the beginning of the war) and found herself seriously handicapped in this labor of love by the enforced gaps in the correspondence.

According to Frau Foerster-Nietzsche, all letters throwing an unflattering light upon Wagner's character, furnish fuel for a Bayreuth auto da fé, held periodically by Frau Cosima, and she further explained: "My brother's apostasy has never been forgiven in Bayreuth, but despite that fact, I feel very strongly that no one has the ethical right to destroy the correspondence between great men, except by mutual consent of their heirs, as it is just in these intimate documents that they reveal their true personality. But the powers that be at Bayreuth willed otherwise, and I have been obliged to rely upon my brother's note-books and my own memory in supplying the missing context."

This could have been no very difficult task, I suggested, as all the world knows that she was her brother's guide, counselor, and

inseparable companion, until her marriage to Dr. Bernhard Foerster took her across the seas to share his adventure of establishing a German colony in Paraguay. After the latter's death, his widow returned to Europe and is now finishing her life's work as she began it, as the faithful custodian of Nietzsche's literary fame and legacy. Nor is she less jealous of her brother's reputation than the other "guardian of the grail" over at Bayreuth, whose vigilance she so resents.

Later she spoke of the war, not in bitterness but rather in sadness, as defeating her brother's dream of a United States of Europe. Only twice did the fire of indignation flame up in her eyes, once when she referred to what she called "the absurdity" of linking her brother's name with that of Treitschke and Bernhardi when speaking of "the three arch-instigators" of the war. "Can you imagine any more absurdly incongruous combination and one that more clearly illustrates the fatal habit of the unthinking world to deal in indiscriminating generalities? It is true that my brother believed in war—" (here she quoted from his *Zarathustra*—"War is the only means by which the genius of a nation can be set in motion") "but he could never have foreseen the present holocaust of the nations of the earth, and had he lived, would assuredly have grieved his heart out at the ruthless destruction of irreparable values."

This clear-thinking septuagenarian seemed to have her brother's works literally by heart, and quoted many interesting passages from the "Bible for Exceptional Persons," as well as from his *Willen zur Macht*, in which may be found many of his best-defined ideas on war.

Nietzsche, she told me, hardly ever read his own works after they were once published: "He always looked forward instead of backward; he was a philosopher and poet by nature and a professor by accident, and for that reason, found his routine duties at the University of Basle galling and tedious. . . . He liked to escape from the treadmill whenever possible and flee for a soul-bath to Villa Triebtschen, then furnishing an asylum to Richard Wagner and his friend Frau Cosima von Bülow. I shall never forget the letter in which he joyfully announced to me that the long-wished for friends had been found. He wrote, 'I have found the friend for whom I have been looking all my life; this is Richard Wagner, equally great and original both as a man and an artist. I spent blissful days with him and the intelligent Frau von Bülow (Liszt's daughter) at their

villa on Lake Lucerne, where they live withdrawn from the world and its social superficialities.’”

This brought us back to the relations between the two men, and Frau Foerster-Nietzsche said that “a lasting friendship was impossible between geniuses. One individuality is bound to be sacrificed, and realizing this, my brother courageously withdrew from a relationship which threatened to prove fatal to him. Wagner had absolutely no consideration for his friends, and in his sublime egotism, could not understand why my brother did not devote himself, body and soul, to the Wagnerian cause, even though this would have meant an utter neglect of his professional duties and disregard of his physical limitations. This was, at least, more reasonable than the continual demands Wagner made upon my brother for quite trivial matters, such as attending to nondescript commissions for the family in Triebtschen—in short, making himself a sort of messenger-boy. I used to chafe at this useless waste of his time and strength, but my brother was so wrapped up in his idol that no service seemed too slight to be cheerfully performed. My brother’s anguish of mind upon discovering that his god had feet of clay, was tragically pathetic. . . .”

This rude awakening, as the world now knows, came at the time of the first Bayreuth Festival in 1876, and was laconically described by Nietzsche in the words: “I made the mistake of going to Bayreuth with an ideal; instead of having this fulfilled, I was doomed to the bitterest disappointment. . . . I had looked so long for a personality which towered above my own. I believed I had found such a one in Wagner. But I was mistaken. . . . For the rest, I have paid dearly for my Wagner fanaticism. Did this nerve-racking music not undermine my health? And the disappointment and leave-taking from Wagner—did it not imperil my life? Were not six years needed before I recovered from this shock? . . .”

As we talked of these things I thought in my heart of hearts that all men are more or less egotists, and none more so than Nietzsche himself, who was merciless in the demands he made upon his beloved “Lama” (his favorite term of endearment for his sister) although it must be admitted that he repaid her devotion by a like degree of affection and appreciation.

As if divining my thoughts, the sprightly little lady recalled, with evident amusement, her brother’s habit of assuming that she shared his likes and dislikes, and produced a letter as proof of his early display of masculine egotism. “Like all German children, we were allowed to write out a *Wunschzettel* as Christmas time, and

my brother in despair at not being able to expand his own list to include his manifold wishes, once wrote to me: 'I hope you have not yet decided on your Christmas wishes as I should like to make a few helpful suggestions. I have made out a list of books and music, which I am enclosing. It seems to me, that a most suitable present for you would be a copy of Schumann's "Frauenliebe und Leben," the words by Chamisso. I can also warmly recommend two theological works both of which would be of great interest to you and me. They are by Hase, the distinguished Jena theologian and champion of an ideal nationalism. . . . In case you prefer an English book, I would strongly recommend one of Byron's works. . . .' I naturally had my own girlish preferences, and much to my brother's disgust, refused to act upon his suggestions, whereupon he wrote that he was 'much annoyed' at my not caring for the Schumann work, 'above all, because the opposition to my wishes comes from one who could not possibly have any judgment on the subject.'"

Frau Foerster-Nietzsche discussed at some length her brother's attitude toward the French literary world, which I found of such unusual interest, that I begged her to gather up the detached and fragmentary comments and put them into the form of a sustained survey, and to this she was obliging enough to accede.

This line of thought was suggested by a remark that Nietzsche had undeniably lost ground in France during the last five years, "an explanation of which," said Frau Foerster-Nietzsche, "was offered me by a French savant who visited me in Weimar shortly before the outbreak of the war. When I asked him for a reason for this change of heart on the part of the French, he replied: 'You see, Nietzsche is so frightfully German that he discourages us.' By way of answer I said: 'But you know that in Germany Nietzsche is not considered specifically German,' whereupon he replied, rather impolitely as I thought: 'Oh, the Germans are such bad psychologists. Everything that Nietzsche prized most highly was essentially German; strength of will, severity of discipline, a genius for commanding and obeying, and the unremitting but silent military preparedness. On the other hand, he had only contempt for the things lying nearest the heart of every Frenchman, for example, Rousseau, the French Revolution, and many other national manifestations. To be sure, he had only words of the highest praise for our artistic endowment, but this was offset by his frequent references to our weak will and the decadence of modern France. But notwithstanding this criticism, we are a political nation, and the military

awakening now taking place will do much for France. But as I said, Nietzsche discourages us, and therefore we prefer Bergson.¹

"This conversation has often recurred to me," continued Frau Foerster-Nietzsche, "since the beginning of the war, all the more since my brother has been condemned as one of the chief instigators of this world tragedy and since his theories have been exploited in the most perverted manner in support of the argument that Germany's unprecedented demonstration of strength is proof of her culpability in precipitating the catastrophe. . . ."

"He has not only been called a 'Boche,' but a 'super-Boche'—the war translation for 'super-man.' But no one would have been more genuinely distressed over the world war than my brother, as he always entertained the belief that the time was drawing near when all Europe would be united. He had a profound faith in the power of intellectual sympathies, economic and industrial interests, in bridging over racial misunderstandings, and curiously enough, he believed that France and Germany would be leagued together against—England! He never referred to England as belonging to the European coalition, but as standing aloof and apart. In fact, there are many passages in his notebooks and letters, to indicate that he *regarded England and America as forming a logical union, and one which would be so powerful as to array against it the whole of Europe for armed measures of self-preservation.* Looking further into the future, he foresaw a still greater trial of strength, when Asiatic Russia should be in a position to develop her powerful slumbering forces and challenge Europe to battle. But these trials of strength came sooner than my brother had expected and before his wish of a United States of Europe had been realized. . . ."

A few days after leaving Weimar—my visit was made during the closing days of October, 1916—the promised manuscript was sent to me by Frau Foerster-Nietzsche, under the title, "Nietzsche, France, and England."²

¹ Without being able to make a positive assertion to this effect, the writer has reason to believe that the French scholar referred to was the distinguished philosopher Prof. Emile Boutroux, of whom mention was made in the course of the conversation and the time of whose visit to Weimar, as recorded in the guest-book of the Nietzsche House, coincides with the date of the remarks here quoted. Frau Foerster-Nietzsche related this incident with much feeling, and made no attempt to conceal her distress that the growth of the military spirit in both countries should have resulted in alienating French and German intellectuals.

² To be published in the next number of *The Open Court*.

MISCELLANEOUS.

BOOK REVIEWS.

EDUCATION IN ANCIENT ISRAEL, from Earliest Times to 70 A. D. By *Fletcher H. Swift*. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company, 1919. Pp. xii, 134.

The miracle of the continued existence of the Jewish people, in spite of the many centuries of persecution and adversity, can be explained only on the ground of the wonderful system of education that the nation has evolved through the long period of its history. Through this system of education, the Jewish people developed extraordinary powers of endurance which made it possible for them to maintain their vitality and solidarity against all odds. Early in Jewish history, the instinct of self-preservation became keen, because of the many dangers of assimilation that threatened the annihilation of the small nation, and this instinct was constantly sharpened and deepened by means of the many laws and regulations that tended toward keeping the people separate and distinct from the other nations with which they were forced to come in contact. From earliest childhood, the Jewish youth was subjected to a severe discipline of life, every detail of which was regulated and controlled by some religious precept or injunction, so that his racial self-consciousness and his debt of loyalty to the ideals and hopes of his people constantly received new emphasis and new meaning. Holiness in its double significance—separateness from the rest of the world and devotion to higher ideals—which is the message of most of the practices of Judaism, was also the main factor in the aims of the training of children in ancient Israel. Through precept and observance, the Jewish child was led to the realization of his affiliations and duties and had developed in himself that strong racial consciousness which made it possible for the nation to maintain a stubborn resistance to all outside influences throughout the centuries.

Professor Swift endeavors to trace the origin and the foundations of this system of education which made such a development possible. This was no easy undertaking, and our author fully realized the difficulty of his task. It appears that the many writers on the history of education have failed to appreciate the full importance of the course of development of Jewish education and have either given but scanty space to it or omitted it entirely. A few desultory treatises on this subject have appeared, but there is not as yet a work that should deal with the details of the development of the system of education in ancient Israel. Our author had therefore to work practically on virgin soil, and his efforts will be highly appreciated by all students of education.

The subject divides itself naturally into two large divisions, namely the period closing with the Babylonian Exile (586 B. C.) and the period closing

with the Roman conquest of Judea (70 A. D.). Before discussing the educational conditions of each period, the author properly gives the historic background, in so far as it relates to the internal movements and events in the social life of the people. The treatment of the various details of the educational activities of each period is splendidly executed, from the point of view of arrangement and vividness of presentation. The author properly lays great stress on the various rites and ceremonies of the Jewish religion, as they developed in the course of the people's history, because these proved to be some of the most potent adjuncts to education. The various cultural movements in ancient Israel, priesthood and prophetism, Sopherim and Pharisees, the origin of the synagogue and its worship, the various forms of study followed during the latter part of the second commonwealth, are treated briefly but carefully. The author had to rely to a large extent on secondary sources for his information, but he uses these with fine skill and discernment. The tables, summaries, bibliography, and index will be of great value to the student.

The author is to be congratulated on this modest volume. He treats his subject with broad sympathy and without any apparent religious bias. He steers clear of all polemic or controversial matters, although in several instances, especially in the earlier portion of the book, he had to make a choice among varying theories and conjectures. His treatment is fair, appreciative, and scientific. While he had to set certain definite limits to his investigations, he should have intimated that Jewish history did not stop with 70 A. D., but that the system of education laid down by the early leaders of Jewish thought was carried out in further detail by the Jewish people in exile and greatly enriched by their contact with the civilizations of the East and of the West throughout the Middle Ages. We hope that this book will give the impetus to other students of education to continue the studies through the further development of Jewish education in the diaspora, a work that cannot fail to be of great value to all who are interested in the progress of the human mind along cultural and educational lines.

JULIUS H. GREENSTONE.

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

ANNALS OF THE PHILOSOPHICAL CLUB OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY, written from its minute books. By *T. G. Bonney, Sc.D., LL.D., F.R.S.* London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1919. Pp. x, 286. Price, 15s. net.

This record is complementary to Sir A. Geikie's *Annals of the (Senior) Royal Society Club*, and on the latter's appearance, it was thought desirable to print the minutes of the Philosophical Junior Club, which was founded in 1847. The younger club owed its origin to a feeling of dissatisfaction with the management of the Society, which, it was feared, was degenerating into an attractive but not very influential club, and aimed at checking any retrograde tendencies in the Council of the Society, and at strengthening the influence of science in Britain. At their dinners, the chairman invited communications on some subject of interest, and these, recorded in the minutes, are printed for the first time. Arranged by date, the progress of science can be seen informally and synoptically. About 1889, the aims of the Philosophical Club had attained fruition, the Royal Society had been reformed, its scientific character raised to a higher level, its Fellows being at this date chiefly men engaged in scientific work, but the amalgamation of the two clubs was deferred until 1901.

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The following review appeared in the *New York Evening Post* in the issue of February 22nd.

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view is not misplaced. Nevertheless, when a single volume propounds a reconciliation of the war between vitalism and mechanism in biology; a theory of the affective elements in psychology; a new definition of consciousness; an evaluation of the role of religion in civilization; and a discussion of the economic explanation of history—more cautious minds cannot help suspecting a tendency toward brilliant guesswork on the part of so versatile an expert.

A certain unity is given to the major portion of the book by the development of a stimulation, though by no means entirely novel, theory of memory as the central phenomenon in both purely biological and higher psychic processes. Even the assimilation performed by a unicellular organism is essentially memory, involving the power to experience anew, and yet to remain the same; to repeat, with novelty in the repetition. Moving upward in the scale, pleasant and unpleasant experiences are intimately concerned with the formation of habits, themselves intimately concerned with memory—it is a well-known theory in psychology that the familiar is always pleasant. Advancing to yet more complex processes, the author finds that one of the chief functions of religious ceremony was to fix important social regulations, customs, dates, even boundaries of land, in memory by surrounding them with special rites. On the whole, though perhaps dangerously facile for the superfluous mind, which may be encouraged to draw large conclusions from insufficient evidence, this volume is stimulating to thought in a wide variety of directions."

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