

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

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VOL. XVI. (NO. 6)

JUNE, 1902.

NO. 553

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CHICAGO

The Open Court Publishing Company

LONDON: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd.

Per copy, 10 cents (sixpence). Yearly, \$1.00 (in the U. P. U., 5s. 6d.).

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GRAND MITHRAIC BAS-RELIEF OF HEDDERNHEIM, GERMANY.

(After Cumont. See p. 340 of the present number.)

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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THE APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION.

DOGMA AND CRITICISM.

BY * * *

[It is not the policy of *The Open Court* to enter into discussions of the internal problems of the several Churches. We treat the religious problem from a general standpoint; and the problem of the Apostolic Succession as a tenet of the Episcopal Church of to-day thus does not seem to fall within the line of our work. The present article, however, is written in a sympathetic spirit, and comes from the pen of a man who is entitled to speak with authority, for he is a clergyman of high standing in the Episcopal Church.

We state our own view of the subject in a special article which appears on p. 335 of the present number.]—ED.

I.

WHEN the State privileges of the English Church were threatened, Dr. Newman and his friends, whom we can never name but with respect, sought to establish for it a more secure basis by asserting as a fundamental doctrine the theory of the tactual Apostolic Succession. "When the government and the country," asks Dr. Newman of his brother clergymen, "so far forget their God as to cast off the Church, to deprive it of its temporal honours and substance, on what will you rest the claim of respect and attention which you make upon your flocks? Hitherto you have been upheld by your birth, your education, your wealth, your connections; should these secular advantages cease, on what must Christ's ministers depend? * * * There are some who rest their divine mission on their own unsupported assertion; others, who rest it upon their popularity; others, upon their success; and others who rest it upon their temporal distinction. This last case has, perhaps, been too much our own: I fear we have neglected

the real ground on which our authority is built—OUR APOSTOLIC DESCENT.”

Whether this theory had ever laid much hold on the main body of the English Church is a matter of doubt; certainly it had little at the time.¹ Keble had but just revived it in his famous Assumption. The original designs of the Oxford leaders so far pre-serve Sermon, and beyond a few strong expressions of disapproval from Dr. Arnold and Dr. Whately, the efforts of Newman and his friends in its behalf did not at first arouse much sympathy or opposed, however, as to bring this theory down to our times and to our Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States as our main dogmatic heritage from that movement out of which they expected, and for which they sacrificed, so much. Honest we may well think these efforts and designs were; yet hardly, perhaps, far-sighted. Mentioning the less important truth before the greater, the history of the first theological generation after the Oxford Movement shows that this dogma which the leaders had made primary and elemental, attracted the assent of raw and undeveloped men in Holy Orders then as it attracts the assent of raw and undeveloped men in Holy Orders now; because magnifying the rights of the church as of apostolic descent amounts to magnifying the official rights of the clergy as the appointed means for maintaining the church's life: and to magnify one's official rights is largely to sanction one's own eccentricities and extend the limits within which one may assert them; and this is what raw and undeveloped men, in Orders or out of them, all like. So, as far as the clergy are concerned, in force of mere numbers,—of hands that hold it, if not of heads that appreciate its difficulties,—this theory has come to occupy a position of importance in the American church, although it has no place in its official formularies. By the diligent spread of unofficial teaching, it has become an inseparable part of the current thought of men about the church. It is held in a loose and indefinite form, no doubt, for the current thought about the church is in greater part loose and indefinite. It appears behind the fourth Lambeth Article as a shadow cast by distortion, effectually frightening off those whom the fair and attractive appearance of the article

¹ “The following Tracts were published with the object of contributing something towards the practical revival of doctrines which, though held by the great divines of the Church, at present have become obsolete with the majority of her members, and are withdrawn from public view even by the more learned and orthodox few who still adhere to them. The Apostolic Succession, the Holy Catholic Church, were principles of action in the minds of our predecessors of the seventeenth century; but in proportion as the maintenance of the Church has been secured by law, her ministers have been under the temptation of leaning on the arm of flesh instead of her own divinely-appointed discipline.” *Advertisement to Collected Tracts.* 1834.

itself might be expected to conciliate and win. For the wording of the article and its plain reasonable interpretation is fair, and it is attractive. At present, leading minds in most other churches are less disposed than in former times to the mere self-assertion and bad economy involved in over-stressing the "Dissidence of Dissent," and they look with more favour upon the advantages of historicity and a mode of government that comports better with dignity and flexibility of practice and more generally effective administration. Less interested than formerly in maintaining non-Episcopal government as of the essence of Scripture because they increasingly feel that the thesis is sterile, they are appreciative of the benefits of an administrative system tried and proved good by a most mature experience, and might readily accept and use them, did they not think that in so doing they would be committed to the support of another thesis which they are quite sure is sterile, and withal straight across the grain of their most intimate and inveterate prejudice,—the *jure divino* theory of Apostolic Succession.

In the fourth Lambeth Article the Historic Episcopate is mentioned in an unobjectionable way if one reads it plainly and straightforwardly and free from the domination of the current thought. There is no reason beyond the suggestion of the current thought to suppose that the intention of the word *historic* is to assert more than that Episcopacy has prevailed as the usual and generally satisfactory and effective method of church government; and this probably no one would greatly care to dispute. Except as the current thought suggests, it could hardly be taken to convey the idea of unbroken continuity in the Apostolic Succession; in which as a private belief, so many find pleasure. Least of all does the word imply an official opinion that Episcopal ordination is necessary to the existence of a true church. But though all this be true, the interpretation of the article is practically fixed by the current thought, and with the clergy especially, tends beyond its language towards a more pronounced sacerdotalism: and other churches, though they see and probably desire the good that comes from Episcopal administration, naturally and rightly hesitate to accept this article. Possibly they would not wish more than ourselves that it should be given a fixed official interpretation,—no one would wish this,—but they and we together must regret that it is not cleared and illuminated by some official assurance of the liberty of interpretation which the church allows, placing this theory distinctly where it belongs, in the wide realm of private opinion.

So we may doubt whether it is so much the extreme and oft-

times very useful conservatism of the church as pure misfortune that witholds it from the opportunity for comprehension that the temper of the times appears to present. It is regrettable that any chance for bringing nearer a union of the chaos of sects about us should be looked at and passed by. For whatever be the theory of the church we choose to hold, certainly we must think that some organic form is necessary; and it is obvious that every approach to organic unity made consistently with necessary flexibility of practice, serves the interests of economy and peace. While agreeing that the mustard plant of the parable has many branches, we are disappointed by the waste of so much energy as is spent even now in busily affirming mere negations and emphasising mere disagreements, when there are matters of more weight and importance for all of us to be getting at. The most mischievous effect of this waste, we notice too, is not that there is no general agreement among churchmen upon a doctrine of the church, but that so many, both within and without, have no doctrine of the church at all. The growing number of those who repudiate any church connection see the ideal of religious liberty seeming to translate itself for the individual as a license to worship as he likes, lend himself to any extravagance he likes, think as he likes, rant as he likes; while separate organisations living in mutual exclusiveness, jealousy and occasional recrimination, tend to strengthen the attachment of each undeveloped person to the several things he finds in them ready-made and likes, by loudly calling them best and allowing him to stop at them as undeveloped as he ever was and caring less than ever for it. In the Protestant Episcopal Church one sees the organs reflecting the thoughts and aims of the "Catholic" element rejoicing in a local "Catholic" triumph over "Protestant" error and ineptitude; the hallowed satisfaction of "Protestants" over the upsetting of some tactless little hierarch amidst his copes and candles; Herodian and Pharisee in occasional political union with no abatement of their mutual distrust and defiance, bent on the suppression of those called "Broad Churchmen" whom they regard sometimes as radical iconoclasts, busy with the bruised reed and the smoking flax, and again as mere humanitarian Gallios, caring never a button for those things which Herodian and Pharisee both loosely describe as "essentials of the faith," but never define alike. All abroad in the land one sees the operation of a competitive missionary or proselyting policy, each party mainly intent, no doubt, on creedless error, but ever with half an eye upon the errors of its Christian competitors and its own "numerical in-

crease" as compared with theirs; a growing sect here and a waning sect there; advantage on this side pitted against advantage on that side,—pull Dick, pull devil!—and so far from discerning in this state of things any influences to make one come by a settled doctrine of the Church, the average man infers from it little more than that where bitter envying and strife is, there is confusion and every evil work.

Lovers of spiritual freedom and of the light and perfection revealed to one who sees in it hardly so much the license to resolutely follow what he likes and call it best as the liberty to find what is really best and then to like and resolutely follow that, feel dissatisfied with this appreciation of religious liberty and the witch's work that those who have it make with it. To Protestant Episcopalians especially, dissatisfaction's sting is sharpened by the sense of a lost chance to do something, first, towards sweetening and tempering this imperfect enthusiasm for the sake of its really valuable energy and endurance, and then, towards turning this valuable energy and endurance upon a work of more worthwhileness than that which now so largely wastes them. And since the best preparation for the task of sweetening and tempering somewhat an imperfect enthusiasm in others is to sweeten and temper it very highly in ourselves, it seems timely if we have these ends in view, to begin by criticising this dogma of Apostolic Succession which appears vaguely, perhaps, but yet with a damaging persistency, in the current thought about the Protestant Episcopal Church.

II.

While we who propose this criticism belong of many generations to the Protestant Episcopal Church, or rather, regard it with every emotion of gratitude as a priceless heritage and aid towards perfection belonging to us; we cannot speak in the name of High Churchmanship or Low, and we hesitate to say we speak in the name of Broad Churchmanship, attractive as that distinction is. To call oneself a Broad Churchman is a very large pretension,—so large that we have never dared to make it: for those who make it are bound to justify it by all their works and ways, and this we are by no means sure that we can do. We are more at ease and satisfied to say what we have to say from the less exalted ground of one who attempts only to see things as they are; for it is a ground open to almost any one who will submit to the simple discipline necessary to fit himself for it; and further, we believe that in see-

ing things as they are lies at least the first prospect of determining their law and handling it and them most easily and advantageously.

We propose this criticism then, free from concern to prove or disprove the fundamental nature of the dogma by the aid of ecclesiastical history. Most of those who have arguments to make for or against it make them depend on their interpretation of history. One class among us will have it that the continuity of the Apostolic Succession is historically certain; Mr. Haddan and Mr. Lowndes come forward with bulky volumes to prove it; and the corollary is that we are thereby spiritually marked off as a true church, from the Methodists, Presbyterians, Independents, or what not organisation. Now Rome, we may notice, standing officially upon this same dogma of Apostolic Succession, has pronounced our Anglican orders invalid, and shows a disposition to exclude and side-track us much like that which we show in our unofficial attitude and current thought to exclude and side-track the Presbyterians, Methodists, and other denominations. A second class among us believing that Presbyterians once lived comfortably within the limits of the Church of England, think they might very well do so now; that as many persons successfully exercised the ministry of the Church of England "with no better than Presbyterian ordination," as Keble tells us, such persons would be quite in place there now;¹ and as for Rome, whatever his Holiness may have since thought about the validity of Anglican orders, in the time of Mary and Elizabeth, when proposals were made to reconcile the Church of England, there was no provision specified in them for the reordination of its ministers. This second class among us reject the historical claims of the first, think their pretended Apostolic Succession is no better than a fable, and deplore the sacerdotalism that the dogma brings in, with its train of privilege and ceremony. But in method they are entirely at one with the first class; both hang their opinions upon their reading of history rather than upon their ability and willingness to see things as they are,—for they have this ability; every one has it and can use it if he will but take the pains. The second class look with satisfaction upon the inconsistency, as they term it, which modern sacerdotalists, especially those of the *Lux Mundi* school, exhibit in their well-known cordiality towards Biblical criticism. When the same kind of criticism, they say, that these persons are now quite willing should be applied to the Bible is applied

¹The proposals of Ussher and those of Stillingfleet, with a study of the circumstances leading up to them (1647-1667), are peculiarly suggestive and valuable.

to ecclesiastical history, their peculiar sacerdotal system will disappear bodily; and it is agreeable to these prophets to discern forerunnings of fulfilment in the works of Dr. Hatch and Dr. Hort, for example. It is the reading of history that separates these classes, that divides opinion on this dogma. One says, History as I read, is for it; one says, History as I read, is against it: and each naturally makes the most in an evidential way of what he chooses or chances to read.

But when both classes have thus made their evidential most, the ability and willingness to see things as they are must still, we think, pronounce it as amounting, just now at least, to very little. For we cannot avoid the fact that if the unbroken continuity of the Apostolic Succession could be determined beyond doubt, it would take us but a short way towards the principal thesis of the transmission of spiritual gifts: and lest we be suspected of casting in our slender fortune at the outset with the second class, we hasten to add that if breaks and lapses in continuity could be determined beyond doubt, it would not much help those who dispute and discredit this thesis. This, however, we can say with pleasure,—the proposition of each class is quite maintainable. As Mr. Haddan sums it up:

“Without Bishops no Presbyters, without Bishops and Presbyters no legitimate certainty of sacraments, without sacraments no certain union with the mystical Body of Christ, viz., with His Church, without this no certain union with Christ, and without that union no salvation.”

Or, reverting once more to Dr. Newman:

“We have been born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God. The Lord Jesus Christ gave His Spirit to His Apostles; they in turn laid their hands on those who should succeed them; and these again, on others; and so the sacred gift has been handed down to our present bishops I know the grace of ordination is contained in the laying on of hands, not in any form of words . . . and if we trace back the power of ordination from hand to hand, we shall come to the Apostles at last. We know we do, as a plain historical fact: and therefore all we who have been ordained clergy, in the very form of our ordination acknowledged the doctrine of the the Apostolical Succession. And, for the same reason, we must necessarily consider none to be really ordained who have not been thus ordained.”

This, we say, is quite maintainable. Those who maintain it do so, it is true, by virtue of what seems to us a very blind and incompetent Biblical criticism; yet no less blind and incompetent appears the Biblical criticism of those who maintain its opposite. Its opposite is also quite maintainable: it may be that historically as much may be made out for the one as for the other. But demon-

stration is obviously impossible for those who approach the matter in this way. The criticism, therefore, that we propose, relates to an ulterior question, seemingly overlooked by both these classes, yet so fundamental as to deserve being called the only question that is worth much pains to try to answer ; and since its value is practical rather than academic, its answer is fortunately not to be found by using some method of Biblical criticism or historical interpretation, at which most of us are not very apt ; but by undergoing the simple discipline necessary to enable one to see things as they are, which almost any one can do. The question is this : does human experience as it advances, recommend this dogma or does it not ? Does the course that the human mind is taking tend towards it or away from it ? The importance of this question is plain ; for unless the dogma is furnished with just this recommendation, unless it lies in the main stream of human thought, in the way the human race is taking, whatever other arguments and recommendations may be provided for it will in the long run surely fail.

And who having eyes to see can doubt that experience does not recommend it, that the main stream of human thought does not include it ? Experience as it progresses shows ever more clearly that the object of religion is *righteousness* ; and the relation of this dogma to righteousness can not be traced save in a way that is felt to be forced and artificial. The relation of the Bible to righteousness and of the church to righteousness is definite enough and experience shows that it is vital and necessary : and when those who have lost sight of it through identifying the Bible with the results of some unfortunate method of interpretation, or the church with some perverted and inadequate representation, take full account of the revelation of human experience, back to the church and Bible they will come. But the connection of this thesis with righteousness, or even with the church or with the Bible, is not definite nor does experience show by any means that it is vital and necessary, —quite the contrary ; and hence there is increasing difficulty found in attracting serious attention to any consideration of it at all. How often have we seen some preacher, loved and venerated for his blameless life and his masterly exemplification of Christian virtue, pause in the midst of excellent counsel to his attentive congregation and refer to this dogma in a passing word of approval and assent ; and then have we unfailingly marked how, with whatsoever accuracy his other words were aimed, this shaft had gone wide into the air. And when Mr. Moberly, the gentle and scholarly coryphaeus of the present apologists for sacerdotalism, compro-

mises with the times, quite after the manner of his school, and clothes his plea with arguments cut and shaped in a very modern fashion, so far is his average lay reader from conviction or from interest as to be sensible only of a hopeless incongruity, as one who sees the powdered peruke of a Colonial gallant surmounting our conventional evening dress. Yet it is not the preponderance of historical evidence nor the force of argument nor yet, as some say, the spread of education, that is deposing this dogma from the domain of reality in the minds of men. It is the same influence that in the past has insensibly, gradually, and without violence or strife, caused many dogmas and beliefs to fade forever from our practical credenda. Here education, as the word is commonly understood, must be satisfied with smaller credit than has been claimed for it: for education, the attainment of certain facilities and the command of certain accomplishments, has been found by no means incompatible with a firm and active belief in many dogmas against which experience has pronounced; for instance, a belief in witchcraft. History may be interpreted to give excellent testimony to the reality of witchcraft and a very good case for it in the way of argument and logic has often been, and still may be, made out. But the belief in witchcraft has permanently gone; and the best account we can give ourselves of its disappearance is that it has faded away before the breath of the *Zeitgeist*,—that experience has, in the long run, failed to recommend it. Argument, logic, the preponderance of evidence, powerless to dispel it, would be as powerless to bring it back. One professing it now would be regarded with no stronger feeling than the perfectly good-humoured toleration that is the surest token of indifference. And lest it be held offensive that we have placed these two theses, that of Apostolic Succession and that of witchcraft, so close together as to intimate a further comparison,—for such was by no means our design,—let us take by way of illustration another belief that is perhaps not so remote from the main current of human thought and therefore less likely to give offence when mentioned in the same breath,—the belief in the divine right of kings. The arguments, scriptural and otherwise, by which the establishment of this thesis was attempted, are just as valuable now as they were when Sir Robert Filmer put them in array: on the other hand, the counterblasts of Locke and Macaulay retain their precise original value as well. The thesis fails to command our assent, however, not because it has been destroyed by logic and argument, but because it has not the recommendation of enlarging human experience. When

persons now cite Scripture to prove the divine right of primogeniture, or when others use the same method in attempts to disprove it, one feels instinctively that thereby they do no more than give the exact measure of their own worth as critics. So, too, when persons propose the dogma of tactual Apostolic Succession, basing it on their criticism of the commission, "As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you,"—a commission about which there is no reasonable doubt,—and propose further to erect their criticism of the New Testament and ecclesiastical history into a kind of stark gentile Leviticus for the hard and fast regulation of our present practice, we feel in the same way, that not only in criticism but in their interpretation of our religious and social needs as well, these persons understand neither what they say nor whereof they affirm.

And, returning to our observation made a moment ago, the very looseness and indefiniteness with which this dogma is held where it is held at all, is a signal proof of this. Men who are interested in goodness and believe in goodness, who are interested in and appreciate the church as a valuable means to goodness, are not attracted by this dogma. If they know of it at all, they know of it only as an academic thesis with which they feel no personal practical concern; and the claim that it is fundamental to the things in which they believe and are interested, simply escapes them. They usually accept what they hear about it from the clergy courteously but not seriously. When such statements are backed by personal qualities that win admiration and approval, they borrow weight enough sometimes to gain a rather long toleration; but of themselves, they have none. They are allowed for the excellences that go with them; but the excellences do go with them and not in them.

Such, then, is the course of the criticism that we would outline for present application to this dogma: for it is the criticism that will serve as the final test of all dogma, whether we would have it so or not. The criticism by which every shade and form of belief must ultimately stand or fall is found in this,—Does deepening and enlarging human experience recommend it? And if we of the Protestant Episcopal church, intent only on seeing things as they are, are beforehand in applying it now and diligent in conforming ourselves and our activities to meet the suggestions brought out by its application, we shall obtain an advantage that will hardly be taken from us and whose benefits are inestimable. For it will be a *real* advantage, based on the solid merit of seeing things as they are and keeping in the main stream of human thought, instead of a

nominal advantage, based on a criticism of Scripture and history which men even now suspect and increasingly will suspect, to be out of correspondence with reality.

III.

Although we are withheld from speaking for Broad Churchmen, we yet believe that the clue to the position of the true Broad Churchman is to be found in a clear apprehension of the nature of the final criticism of dogma. If so, we come in sight of certain advantages inhering in that position which do not seem to be quite appreciated by some who bear the name of Broad Churchmen. First and greatest among these, we discern that as with Israel of old, in quietness and in confidence rather than in controversy and argument, is the Broad Churchman's strength. And lest while we deliberately praise and advocate a policy of inaction for the Broad Churchman in legislative and controversial matters, we be found to belittle the specific work that there is for him to do, or to intimate that the direction of the best development is finally to lie in other hands than his, we say that it is our sense of the greatness of that work and the paramount necessity of instituting just the lines of development that he proposes, that impels us to recommend this course as the best means of accomplishing the results that we as well as he would bring about. For it is clearly surer and safer not to attempt these results by putting into exercise the direct opposition and antipathy that usually increases the attachment of an undeveloped person to the small ideal he likes and lives by, but rather to steadily exhibit a larger ideal and then try with all amiability and patience to get the undeveloped person to like that. A mere forward and combative strenuousness is forbidden those whose trust is in the power of the *Zeitgeist*, and has beside the practical demerit of antagonising those whom we would temper and enlighten and irritating those with whom we are in essential agreement. One who is consciously working with the *Zeitgeist* has everything to gain and naught to lose by leaving argument and controversy entirely to those who must depend upon them. Everyone remembers the animadversions of the Bishop of Oregon in the last General Convention, upon the ritual affectations of sacerdotalism. True and just enough, no doubt, his observations were; but we cannot think they served his purpose. Nay, did they not rather strongly work against it by affording the very opposition most likely to increase the loyalty of those who had incorporated this sacerdotalism and all that goes with it, into their ideal of the Christian ministry?

Everyone, too, remembers the notable effort of Dr. Winchester Donald in the same Convention, to "put it upon record that he would not countenance any reflection upon the ways the other Christian denominations were administering this rite (the Lord's Supper) and would not deprive them of the comfort and help they were receiving," by declaring his belief that "Episcopal ordination is not necessary to a valid administration of the Lord's Supper." True again, no doubt, and expressed with strenuousness and courage; but why not leave the expression of it to the *Zeitgeist*, upon whose judgment we must finally in any wise depend? The immense amount of controversial capital that has since been made out of the incident, the murmur of disapproval that arose from the floor of the Convention itself, are proof that the clearing and enlightening work of the *Zeitgeist* was hindered and not furthered by Dr. Winchester Donald's strenuousness and courage which are in themselves so admirable. But it may be said that the working of the *Zeitgeist* is slow, and that such strenuous and courageous words are sometimes needful to prevent the present generation from being sacrificed root and branch to a misrepresentation of Christianity and reality. Yet if they only make the slow work slower, wherein is the final balance of profit? It is as well that our generation should be sacrificed if need be, though we ourselves anticipate no such necessity, as to protract the sacrificing process through an indefinite future for the sake of the few in this and in each generation who can be beaten off their chosen ground by the force of argument and controversy. And we know, too, that by comparison with the numbers in this generation who can be *won*, to whom an ideal larger and higher than their own can be safely trusted to recommend itself, without recourse to argument or even to persuasion, these few are few indeed.

A second advantage discernible in the position of the Broad Churchman, if our clue to that position be right, is that it minimises the dissipation of time and energy upon things that lie outside the serious purposes of life. For, whereas some of us think that by establishing their favourite dogma of the priesthood, changing the name of the church, bringing in the Provincial System and forbidding marriage with a divorced person or a deceased wife's sister, we lay the best and surest foundations of a Christian society; and that if we use the six points of ritual into the bargain we shall be perfect: it follows that out of this dogmatic fulness of their heart their mouth must often speak. And whereas others again think that our present help is chiefly in a resolute antipathy to this program, it must needs be that they also labour in and out of season

for their faith's sake. From these and like necessities, the Broad Churchman is free. His time is not absorbed in attention to a fixed dogmatic and ecclesiastical routine, nor his growth in the greatest of graces impaired by devotion to prescribed antipathies. Freedom in the one direction helps him against deficiency in light, freedom in the other direction helps him against faults of temper. He is free to absorb fresh knowledge from any source, free to hold himself resolutely away from partisanship, to hate nothing but hatred, to identify no man with his sins, to feel an infinite tenderness for persons and reserve all his severity for actions. He is free to drive straight at conduct in his relations with men, free to exhibit to them the glory and beauty of their privilege to be perfect as their Father in Heaven is perfect, to be righteous in doing righteousness, even as He is righteous. And, finally, in the diligent use of this freedom there is the guarantee of a sure, rapid, unrestrained development. Increased knowledge, increased light, coördinated with increased mildness and sweetness of temper,—insight and flexibility,—how great do these appear when we attempt to take the sum of what we call sometimes personality and sometimes character. So far, we even think, may this development in insight and flexibility go as to cause the Broad Churchman to see a considerable measure of merit regularly appearing with the dogmatic and ecclesiastical routine that so regrettably absorbs the energies of his friends. Imperfect, indeed, as a representation of Christianity, must this routine appear to him;—and all the more imperfect as he increases in insight and flexibility; yet hardly so as to deserve to be called a misrepresentation: for it can seldom be adopted without carrying with it something of the saving notion of righteousness. The relation between the routine and the notion is, as we intimated a moment ago, purely artificial,—and thereby is the Broad Churchman warned from art or part with those who profess implicit belief in the routine,—but, though the notion of righteousness be taken imperfectly and artificially as it is when taken with the routine, yet it oftentimes *is* taken, and so far as it is taken it is saving.

The true Broad Churchman, then, understanding clearly that the final test of dogma is to be found only in the verdict of human experience as it deepens and enlarges; and possessing the advantages consequent upon this knowledge, such as those we have just now attempted to describe, has before him the largest opportunity for the furtherance of religion: for by driving at conduct, the worth of which men understand, instead of at a dogmatic and eccle-

siastical routine, the worth of which they do not understand; by establishing his work on the solid ground of experience, instead of on a mooted criticism of Scripture or history; he reveals directly and nakedly the essential nature, the essential worth and power, of religion, and thereby provides it with the most competent authority and recommendation possible. Especially is it true that the progress of organised Christianity depends mainly on the use the Broad Churchman makes of his opportunities. Such only as are consciously or unconsciously working in accord with the *Zeitgeist* constitute the Church's vital center. They vindicate its claim upon the consideration of men and justify its plea of divine grace and endowment. They take their place in a true and admitted Apostolic Succession, for their work bears straight towards the apostolic ideal of conduct and character.

But in these times when machinery is officially loved and glorified for its own sake, their resolute refusal to commit their trust to machinery naturally hinders a frank official recognition of their use and value. They will hardly be entrusted for some time to come with such preferment and factitious power as lies in the official gift of the Church; nor should we think in our envying contemplation of the immense natural power inhering in their position, that they would greatly care to be; especially as there is no apparent dearth of persons glad to bear the burden of these responsibilities. Canonists, debaters, dogmatists, controversialists, legislators,—of such as these there seems to be no end; and the newspaper that comes nearest their collective thought is the *New York Churchman!* But those who choose to work with the *Zeitgeist*, while seeing the advantage, whatever it amounts to, accruing from official preferment, see also that the price to be paid for it in time, labor, temper, and above all, in *seriousness*, is greater than they can afford to give. And so it comes to pass that while those who trust in machinery and routine have every facility given to enable them to display their logical grasp and brilliancy in expounding this or that phase of the metaphysics that have somehow attached themselves to Christianity, these must be satisfied with the simpler and more obscure work they find in the range of conduct and character. These must check the exuberance of their activity and so keep it in pace and line as to make it a part of the essential tendency of the human race; while those—the believers in machinery and routine—can give themselves without restraint to a theory of the priesthood, changing the name of the Church, the six points of ritual, and introducing the Provincial System.

APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION AS AN HISTORICAL TRUTH.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE doctrine of uninterrupted Apostolic Succession is purely historical in its nature, and we may state at the start that though the majority of the Episcopalian clergy deem it to be an essential article of faith of their Church, it possesses a theoretical value only, and its solution, be it in the affirmative or the negative, will have no serious results whatever. The respect in which Episcopalian ministers are held is naturally personal, and will always remain such in exact proportion to their personal accomplishments. How dispensable for Episcopalian clergymen is belief in the doctrine of Apostolic Succession, appears from the fact that Bishop Brooks, than whom no Episcopalian clergyman is more recognised as truly inspired, did not believe in it.

Alexander V. G. Allen, a professor in the Theological School in Cambridge, quotes Brooks as saying :

"I, for one, and I think that I am speaking for multitudes in this congregation this morning, do not believe in the doctrine of Apostolic Succession in any such sense as many receive it. I do not believe in the exclusive prerogative which gives to the Church which receives it any such absolute right of Christian faith."

Again, in a sermon discussing the proposed change of the name of the Protestant Episcopal Church to "The American Church," Bishop Brooks says :

"It was evident therefore that the change of name must be justified on another ground,—that the Episcopal Church, even though one of the smaller Christian bodies, had a distinct and absolute right, through a divine commission from Christ and the Apostles not possessed by other Churches, and entitling her, therefore, to claim for herself, and to be known as, the only true apostolic, Catholic Church in America. If the Episcopal Church did indeed possess such an exclusive commission, then she would have the right to the name, 'The Church in the United States' or the American Church."

Our authority for the preceding quotation continues:

"Upon this point Bishop Brooks remarked that there was not a line in the Prayer Book which declares any such theory. It was simply a theory held by individuals,—a theory which many both of the clergy and laity did not believe. He avowed for himself that he rejected the theory and would not consent to it for a single day."

As to the truth of Apostolic Succession, it is obviously an historical problem, and its solution depends upon historical evidences which for believers in it are extremely unsatisfactory. It would assume that the method of blessing the bishops at their ordination by an imposition of hands comes down in uninterrupted succession from Jesus through the apostles to the Roman Church, and from the Roman Church to the Anglican Churches. Now, it is well known that the presence of St. Peter in Rome is, to say the least, very doubtful. It is considered a symptom of reactionary spirit in Harnack that he should regard St. Peter's having been in Rome as not true, but merely possible; and certainly a *mere possibility* is all that can be claimed for it since the fact is very improbable if we bear in mind the actual conditions of the primitive Christians at Jerusalem, and consider that St. Peter was a Jew who (leaving aside the miracle of tongues at Jerusalem) spoke presumably only Aramaic, the language of the Jews of his day, that he did not eat with Gentiles, and remained a thorough Jew even after having been apprised of St. Paul's success among the Gentiles, which was highly appreciated by the apostles at Jerusalem, not wholly on account of the recognition which their beloved master received in the world of the Gentiles, but also for very good substantial reason that collections were made by St. Paul among the Gentile Christians for the "saints at Jerusalem."

The Christianity of Paul was by no means the same as that of Peter, and when they fell out on the subject they made a special stipulation, according to which they divided the world between them, so that Peter should have the field among the Jews for himself and his conception of Christianity, while the propagation of the new religion among the Gentiles should be Paul's share.

Suppose Peter had gone to Rome, he would have done so only in palpable violation of his contract with Paul and in infringement upon Paul's field. He had no moral right to do so and Paul would have been entitled to drive him out of the place. From a purely human standpoint it seems very unlikely that Peter, with his narrow national Judaism, should have been able to conduct a Christian Church in Gentile Rome, even if he had only been the

leader of the Jew-Christians there. The Jews of the diaspora differed as much from the Jews in Jerusalem as an American Jew differs from a Polish Jew; and we might as well expect the Chicago Synod to place a rabbi from the interior of Poland in charge of their leading synagogue as that Peter of Galilee should have been installed in Rome. Roman Jews would never have understood Peter's language, nor would they have been satisfied with his Palestinian views, because the Jews at Rome must have modified considerably their attitude toward the Gentiles in their Gentile surroundings at Rome. If Peter would not have suited the Roman Jews, still less would he have been acceptable to the Roman Christians. Thus, it seems to me that for any one who looks at the problem from the simple attitude of an historical inquirer, the probability of Peter's having gone to Rome in defiance of his compact with Paul is extremely slight, and can be explained only by constantly calling to aid special divine interference and miracles, such as that of the miracle of tongues at Pentecost. At any rate, the belief of Peter's having reached Rome is not supported by New Testament evidence, if only for the reason that according to unequivocal documentary evidence he was restricted by special agreement with his fellow-apostle, Paul, to the Jewish world.

Obviously, the bishops and other leaders of the Gentile Christian world were installed by Paul, and Peter recognised the establishment of Christian churches among the Gentiles; and no word is mentioned of making the legality of the offices in the Gentile Church founded by St. Paul dependent upon the uninterrupted Apostolic succession in the sense in which many members of the Episcopal Church (and among them men in leading positions) accept the word. Paul certainly claims that he was called by Christ himself, and did not receive his office from any one of the apostles. His case, however, is the most flagrant contradiction to Apostolic Succession, for since he never met Jesus in the flesh, his Apostolic Succession is of a purely spiritual nature, and there was never any tactual contact established between him and his master through a laying on of hands. In our opinion, humanly speaking, this settles the problem, and it is difficult to understand how Episcopalians can continue laying so much stress upon a doctrine which is based on the same slender grounds as the claim of the Bishop of Rome, of holding the keys of St. Peter.

Now, we would suggest that our brethren of the Episcopal Church should take the standpoint of the actualities of to-day, instead of pinning their faith to a doubtful solution of an historical

problem. The Episcopal Church does not stand or fall with the doctrine of Apostolic Succession; but the doctrine as held by the Church is a characteristic feature of the spirit in which it treats religious traditions. I should say that a true Episcopalian is a man who is faithful to the spirit of reverence for historical tradition. The Episcopal Church is more conservative than any other Protestant Church. The leaders of the Church cherish tradition; they love ritual; they are sticklers for good form and an artistic mode of worship. Such are the facts of to-day, and they are a desideratum of religious people in many quarters. A certain class of people are attracted to the Church, not by the dogma of Apostolic Succession, but by this spirit of reverence for the past and the observance of decorum.

Mutatis mutandis we can apply the same principle generally to all denominations. The several denominations are not different in dogma, or if they are the members of the churches care very little about it, and are frequently utterly ignorant of the peculiar tenets of their churches. They differ, however, in method, viz., in the mode of dealing with religion, in preaching, and in forms of worship. Whether or not baptism in olden times was actual immersion, is of no importance for the Baptists to-day, but their habit of immersion testifies to their mode of performing a rite with the thoroughness of fulfilment to the letter. It indicates a strong zeal, and this zeal characterises the Baptist.

As to Apostolic Succession by tactual contact, we may illustrate the case by saying that we may be very proud of having shaken hands with a great man. We may enjoy the idea that there is an uninterrupted connexion of the laying on of hands from Jesus down to every clergyman of the Episcopal Church; but what does it signify? Does the ministry of these men really depend upon actual contact? Is this not a very external and gross, materialistically gross, conception of the divinity of the ministry, which stands in flat contradiction to the ideal proposed by Jesus when he says: "For where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them."

Shall Christianity be outdone by Buddhism where a parallel idea is mentioned in the Mahâparinibbâna Suttanta, the Book of the Great Decease? When the inhabitants of the place crowd around the couch of the dying Buddha, he says: "He who does not do what I command sees me in vain; this brings no profit. Whilst he who lives far off from where I am, yet walks righteously, is ever near me."

The method of ordaining a bishop is by the laying on of hands, but that is a symbol only to indicate the transference of authority by blessing. Spirit is not transferred by bodily contact. Let, therefore, our brethren of the Episcopal Church not take their stand upon the dead past, but let them adhere to the spirit of their organisation and live in the living present.

THE DISSEMINATION OF MITHRAISM IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE.¹

BY PROFESSOR FRANZ CUMONT.

[CONTINUED.]

OF all countries Germany is that in which the greatest number of Mithraeums, or places of Mithraic worship, has been discovered. Germany has given us the bas-reliefs having the greatest



MITHRA MONUMENT OF OSTBURKEN.¹

Discovered in 1861 near the ruins of a Roman fort, in the Odenwald, Hesse. (Cumont, III., p. 350.)

dimensions and furnishing the most complete representations, and certainly no god of paganism ever found in this nation as many enthusiastic devotees as Mithra. The *Agri decumates*, a strip of land lying on the right bank of the Rhine and forming the military confines of the empire, together with the advance posts of the Roman military system between the river Main and the fortified walls of the *limes*, have been marvellously fertile in discoveries. North of Frankfort, near the village of Heddernheim,² the ancient *civitas Taunensium*, three important temples have been successively ex-

humed; three others existed in Friedberg in Hesse and two more have been dug out in the surrounding country. On the other side, along the entire course of the Rhine, from Augst (Raurica) near Basel as far as Xanten (Vetera), passing through Strassburg, May-

¹ Extracted by the author from his *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra* (Brussels: H. Lamertin). Translated by T. J. McCormack.

² See the Frontispiece to this number of *The Open Court*.

ence, Neuwied, Bonn, Cologne, and Dormagen, a series of monuments have been found which show clearly the manner in which the new faith spread like an epidemic, and was disseminated into the very heart of the barbarous tribes of the Ubians and Batavians.

The influence of Mithraism among the troops massed along the Rhenish frontier also accounts for the extension of this religion into the interior of Gaul. A soldier of the eighth legion dedicated an altar to the *Deo Invicto* at Geneva, which lay on the military road from Germany to the Mediterranean, and other traces of the



BAS-RELIEF OF NEUENHEIM.¹

Oriental cult have been found in modern Switzerland and the French Jura. In Sarrebourg (*Pons Saravi*) at the mouth of the pass leading from the Vosges Mountains, by which Strassburg

¹The monument which has escaped the fate of mutilation by the hands of fanatics, was discovered in 1838 in a cave near Neuenheim, on the southern slope of the Heiligenberg, near Heidelberg, by workmen laying the foundation of a farm house. It is interesting because it shows very clearly twelve small bas-reliefs exhibiting scenes from the life of Mithras, beginning with his birth from the rocks on the top of the left border, passing over to the right side where he catches the bull, carrying him to the cave so as not to show the footprints of his hoofs, and ending on the top border, where his ascent to Ahura Mazda is represented. Some of the scenes have not yet been explained satisfactorily. Of interest is the second one, in which Ahura Mazda hands to Mithras the scepter of the government over the world.

communicated and still communicates with the basins of the Mosel and the Seine, a *spelæum* has recently been exhumed that dates from the third century; another, of which the principal bas-relief carved from the living rock still subsists to our day, existed at Schwarzerden, between Metz and Mayence. It would be surprising that the large city of Treves, the regular residence of the Roman military commanders, has preserved only some débris of inscriptions and statues, did not the important rôle which this city played under the successors of Constantine explain the almost total disappearance of the monuments of paganism. Finally, in the valley of the Meuse, not far from the route that joins Cologne with Bavay (*Bagacum*), some curious remains of the Mysteries have been discovered.

From Bavay, this route leads to Boulogne (*Gesoriacum*), the naval basis of the *classis Britannica* or Britannic fleet. The statues of the two dadophors, or torch-bearers, which have been found here and were certainly chiselled on the spot, were doubtless offered to the god by some foreign mariner or officer of the fleet. It was the object of this important naval station to keep in daily touch with the great island that lay opposite, and especially with London, which even at this epoch was visited by numerous ships. The existence of a Mithræum in this principal commercial and military depot of Britain should not surprise us. Generally speaking, the Iranian cult was in no country so completely restricted to fortified places as in Britain. Outside of York (*Eburacum*), where the headquarters of the troops of the province were situated, it was disseminated only in the west of the country, at Caërleon (*Isca*) and at Chester (*Devæ*), where camps had been established to repel the inroads of the Gallic tribes of the Silures and the Ordovices; and finally in the northern outskirts of the country along the wall of Hadrian, which protected the territory of the empire from the incursions of the Picts and the Caledonians. All the stations of this line of ramparts appear to have had their Mithraic temple, where the commander of the place (*præfectus*) furnished the model of devotion for his subordinates. It is evident, therefore, that the Asiatic god had penetrated in the train of the army to these northern regions, but it is impossible to determine precisely the period at which it reached this place or the troops by whom it was carried there. But there is reason for believing that Mithra was worshipped in these countries from the middle of the second century, and that Germany served as the intermediary agent between the far Orient

"*Et pœnitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.*"

At the other extremity of the Roman world the Mysteries were likewise celebrated by soldiers. They had their adepts in the third legion encamped at Lambæse and in the posts that guarded the defiles of the Aurasian Mountains or that dotted the frontiers of the Sahara Desert. Nevertheless, they do not appear to have been as popular to the south of the Mediterranean as in the countries to the north, and their propagation has assumed here a special character. Their monuments, nearly all of which date from later epochs, are due to the officers, or at least to the centurions, many of whom were of foreign origin, rather than to the simple soldiers, nearly all of whom were levied in the country which they were charged to defend. The legionaries of Numidia remained faithful to their indigenous gods, who were either Punic or Berber in origin, and only rarely adopted the beliefs of the companions with whom their vocation of arms had thrown them in contact. Apparently, therefore, the Persian religion was practised in Africa almost exclusively by those whom military service had called to these countries from abroad; and the bands of the faithful were composed for the most part, if not of Asiatics, at least of recruits drawn from the Danubian provinces. Finally, in Spain, the country of the Occident which is poorest in Mithraic monuments, the connection of their presence with that of the garrisons is no less manifest. Throughout the entire extent of this vast peninsula, in which so many populous cities were crowded together, they are almost totally lacking, even in the largest centers of urban population. Scarcely the faintest vestige of an inscription is found in Emerita and Tarraco, the capitals of Lusitania and Tarraconensis. But in the uncivilised valleys of Asturias and Gallæcia the Iranian god had an organised cult. This fact will be immediately connected with the prolonged sojourn of a Roman legion in this country, which remained so long unsubjugated. Perhaps the conventicles of the initiated also included veterans of the Spanish cohorts who, after having served as auxiliaries on the Rhine and the Danube, returned to their hearths converted to the Mazdean faith.

The army thus united under the same fold citizens, emigrants, and adventurers from all parts of the world; kept up an incessant interchange of officers and centurions and even of entire army-corps from one province to another, according to the varying needs of the day; in fine, threw out to the remotest frontiers of the Roman world a net of perpetual communications. Yet this was not the only way in which the military system contributed to the dissemination of Oriental religions. After the expiration of their term

of service, the soldiers continued in their places of retirement the practices to which they had become accustomed under the standards of the army; and they soon evoked in their new environment numerous imitators. Frequently they settled in the neighborhood of their latest station, in the little towns which had gradually replaced in the neighborhood of the military camps the shops of the sutlers. At times, too, they would choose their home in some large city of the country where they had served, to pass there with their old comrades in arms the remainder of their days. Lyons always sheltered within its walls a large number of these veteran legionaries of the German army, and the only Mithraic inscription that London has furnished us was written by a soldier emeritus of the troops of Britain. It was customary also for the emperor to send discharged soldiers to some region where a colony was to be founded; Elusa in Aquitania was probably made acquainted with the Asiatic cult by Rhenish veterans which Septimius Severus established in this region. Frequently, the conscripts whom the military authorities transported to the confines of the empire retained at heart their love for their native country, with which they never ceased to sustain relations; but when, after twenty or twenty-five years of struggle and combat, they returned to their native land, they preferred to the gods of their own city or tribe, the foreign deity whose mysterious worship some military comrade had taught them in distant lands.

Nevertheless, the propagation of Mithraism in the towns and country districts of the provinces in which no armies were stationed was due in great measure to other agencies. By her continued conquests in Asia, Rome had subjected to her domination numerous Semitic provinces. After the founding of the empire had assured peace to the entire Roman world and permanently insured the safety of commerce, these new subjects, profiting by the special aptitudes of their race, could be seen gradually concentrating in their hands the entire traffic of the Levant. As the Phœnicians and Carthaginians formerly, so now the Syrians populated with their colonies all the shores of the Mediterranean. In the Hellenic epoch they had established themselves in the commercial centers of Greece, and notably at Delos. A number of these merchants now flocked to the vicinity of Rome, settling at Pozzuoli and at Ostia. They appear to have carried on business in all the maritime cities of the Occident. They are found in Italy at Ravenna, Aquileja, and Tergeste; at Salonæ in Dalmatia, and as far distant as Malaga in Spain. Their mercantile activity even led them into

the distant interior of these countries at every point where there was the least prospect of profit. In the valley of the Danube they penetrated as far as Sarmizegetusa and Apulum in Dacia, and as far as Sirmium in Pannonia. In Gaul, this Oriental population was particularly dense. They reached Bordeaux by the Gironde and ascended the Rhone as far as Lyons. After occupying the banks of this river, they flocked into the interior of the province, and Treves, the great capital of the north, attracted them in hordes. They literally filled, as St. Jerome puts it, the Roman world. Even the later invasions of the barbarians were impotent to dampen their spirit of enterprise. Under the Merovingians they still spoke their Semitic idiom at Orleans. Their emigration was only checked when the Saracens shattered the navigation of the Mediterranean.

The Syrians were distinguished in all epochs by their ardent zeal. No people, not even the Egyptians, defended their ideals with such great pertinacity against the Christians. So, when they founded a colony, their first care was to organise their national cults, and the mother country frequently allowed them generous subsidies toward the performance of this pious duty. It was in this manner that the deities of Heliopolis, of Damascus, and Palmyra first penetrated to Italy.

The word *Syrian* had in popular usage a very vague significance. This word, which was an abbreviation of *Assyrian*, was frequently confounded with it, and served to designate generally all the Semitic populations anciently subject to the kings of Nineveh, as far east as, and even beyond, the Euphrates. It embraced, therefore, the sectaries of Mithra established in the valley of this river; and as Rome extended her conquest in this quarter, the worshippers of the Persian god necessarily became more and more numerous among the "Syrians" who dwelt in the Latin cities.

Nevertheless, the majority of the merchants that founded the commercial houses of the Occident were servitors of the Semitic Baals, and those who invoked Mithra were generally Asiatics in humbler conditions of life. The first temples which this god possessed in the west of the empire were without doubt mainly frequented by slaves. The *mangones*, or slave mongers, procured their human merchandise preferably from the provinces of the Orient. From the depths of Asia Minor they drove to Rome hordes of slaves purchased from the great landed proprietors of Cappadocia and of Pontus; and this imported population, as one ancient writer has put it, ultimately came to form distinct towns or quar-

ters in the great capital. But the supply did not suffice for the increasing consumption of depopulated Italy.

War also was a mighty purveyor of human chattels. When we remember that Titus, in a single campaign in Judæa, reduced to slavery 90,000 Jews, our imagination becomes appalled at the multitudes of captives that the incessant struggles with the Parthians, and particularly the conquests of Trajan, must have thrown on the markets of the Occident.

But whether taken *en masse* after some great victory, or acquired singly by the regular traffickers in human flesh, these slaves were particularly numerous in the maritime towns, to which their transportation was cheap and easy. They introduced here, concurrently with the Syrian merchants, the Oriental cults and particularly that of Mithra. This last-named god has been found established in an entire series of ports on the Mediterranean. We signalise above all his presence at Sidon in Phœnicia and at Alexandria in Egypt. In Italy, if Pozzuoli and its environs, including Naples, have furnished relatively few monuments of the Mysteries, the reason is that this city had ceased in the second century to be the great *entrepôt* from which Rome derived its supplies from the Levant. The Tyrian colony of Pozzuoli, at one time wealthy and powerful, complains in the year 172 A. D. of being reduced to a small settlement. After the immense structures of Claudius and Trajan were erected at Ostia, this latter city inherited the prosperity of its Campagnian rival; and the result was that all the Asiatic religions soon had here their chapels and their congregations of devotees. Yet none enjoyed greater favor than that of the Iranian god. In the second century, at least four or five *spelæa* had been dedicated to him. One of them, constructed at the latest in 162 A. D., and communicating with the baths of Antonine, was situated on the very spot where the foreign ships landed, and another one adjoined the *Metreon*, or sanctuary in which the official cult of the *Magna Mater* was celebrated. To the south the little hamlet of Antium (Porto d'Anzio) had followed the example of its powerful neighbor; while in Etruria, Rusellæ (Grosseto) and Pisæ likewise accorded a favorable reception to the Mazdean deity.

In the east of Italy, Aquileja is distinguished for the number of its Mithraic inscriptions. As Trieste to-day, so Aquileja in antiquity was the market in which the Danubian provinces exchanged their products for those of the South. Pola, at the extremity of Istria, the islands of Arba and Brattia, and the sea-ports of the coast of Dalmatia, Senia, Iader, Salonæ, Naronæ, Epidaurus, in-

cluding Dyrrachium in Macedonia, have all preserved more or less numerous and indubitable vestiges of the influence of the invincible god, and distinctly mark the path which he followed in his journey to the commercial metropolis of the Adriatic.

His progress may also be followed in the western Mediterranean. In Sicily at Syracuse and Palermo, on the coast of Africa at Carthage, Rusicada, Icosium, Cæsarea, on the opposite shores of Spain at Malaga and Tarraco, Mithraic associations were successively formed in the motley population which the sea had carried to these cities. And farther to the north, on the Gulf of Lyons, the proud Roman colony of Narbonne doffed its exclusiveness in his favor.

In Gaul, especially, the correlation which we have discovered between the spread of the Mysteries and the extension of Oriental traffic is striking. Both were principally concentrated between the Alps and the Cévennes, or to be more precise, in the basin of the Rhone, the course of which had been the main route of its penetration. Sextantio, near Montpellier, has given us the epitaph of a *pater sacrorum*, and Aix in the Provence a presumably Mithraic representation of the sun on his *quadrigium*. Then, ascending the river, we find at Arles a statue of the lion-headed Kronos who was worshipped in the Mysteries; at Bourg-Saint-Andéol, near Montélimar, a representation of the tauroctonous god sculptured from the living rock near a spring; at Vaison, not far from Orange, a dedicatory inscription made on the occasion of an initiation; at Vienne, a *spelæum* from which, among other monuments, has been obtained the most unique bas-relief hitherto discovered. Finally, at Lyons, which is known from the history of Christianity to have had direct relations with Asia Minor, the success of the Persian religion was certainly considerable. Farther up the river, its presence has been proved at Geneva on the one hand and at Besançon and Mandeure on the Doubs, a branch of the Saone, on the other. An unbroken series of sanctuaries which were without doubt in constant communication with one another thus bound together the shores of the great inland sea and the camps of Germany.

Sallying forth from the flourishing cities of the valley of the Rhone, the foreign cult crept even into the depths of the mountains of Dauphiny, Savoy, and Bugey. Labâtie near Gap, Lucey not far from Belley, and Vieu-en-Val Romey have preserved for us inscriptions, temples, and statues dedicated by the faithful. As we have said, the Oriental merchants did not restrict their activity to establishing agencies in the maritime and river ports; the hope of

more lucrative trade attracted them to the villages of the interior, where competition was less active. The dispersion of the Asiatic slaves was even more complete. Scarcely had they disembarked from their ships, when they were scattered haphazard in every direction by the auctions, and we find them in all the different countries discharging the most diverse functions.

In Italy, a country of great estates and ancient municipalities, either they went to swell the armies of slaves who were tilling the vast domains of the Roman aristocracy, or they were afterwards promoted to the rank of superintendents (*actor, villicus*) and became the masters of those whose miserable lot they had formerly shared. Sometimes they were acquired by some municipality, and as public servants (*servi publici*) they executed the orders of the magistrates or entered the bureaus of the administrations. It is difficult to realise the rapidity with which the Oriental religions were thus able to penetrate the regions which it would appear they could never possibly have attained. A double inscription at Nersæ, in the heart of the Apennines, informs us that in the year 172 of our era a slave, the treasurer of the town, had restored a Mithraeum that had fallen in ruins. At Venusia, a Greek inscription Ἡλιῶ Μίθρα was dedicated by the steward of some wealthy burgher, and his name Sargaris at once proves his servile rank and Asiatic origin. The examples could be multiplied. There is not a shadow of a doubt but these obscure servitors of the foreign god were the most active agents in the propagation of the Mysteries, not only within the limits of the city of Rome itself, and in the other great cities of the country, but throughout the entire extent of Italy, from Calabria to the Alps. We find the Iranian cult practised at Grumentum, in the heart of Lucania; then, as we have already said, at Venusia in Apulia, and at Nersæ in the country of the Æqui, also at Aveia in the land of the Vestini; then in Umbria, along the Flaminian road, at Interamna, at Spoletum, where one can visit a *spelæum* decorated with paintings, and at Sentinum, where there has been discovered a list of the patrons of a *collegium* of Mithraists; likewise, in Etruria this religion followed the Casian way and established itself at Sutrium, at Bolsene, and perhaps at Arretium and at Florence. Its traces are no less well marked and significant to the north of the Apennines. They appear only sporadically in Emilia, where the provinces of Bologne and Modena alone have preserved some interesting *debris*, as they do also in the fertile valley of the Po. Here Milan, which rapidly grew to prosperity under the empire, appears to be the only locality in

which the exotic religion enjoyed great favor and official protection. Some fragments of inscriptions exhumed at Tortona, Industria, and Novara are insufficient to prove that it attained in the remainder of the country any wide-spread diffusion.

It is certainly remarkable that we have unearthed far richer booty in the wild defiles of the Alps than in the opulent plains of upper Italy. At Introbio, in the Val Sassina, to the east of Lake Como, in the Val Camonica, watered by the river Oglio, altars were dedicated to the invincible god. But the monuments which were consecrated to him specially abound along the river Adige (Etsch) and its tributaries, near the grand causeway which led in antiquity as it does to-day over the Brenner pass and Puster-Thal to the northern slope of the Alps in Rhætia and Noricum. At Trent, there is a Mithræum built near a cascade; near San-Zeno, bas-reliefs have been found in the rocky gorges; at Castello di Tuenno, fragments of votive tablets have been unearthed with both faces carved; on the banks of the Eisack, there has been found a dedicatory inscription to Mithra and to the sun; and Mauls finally has given us the celebrated sculptured plaque discovered in the sixteenth century and now in the museum at Vienna.

The progress of Mithraism in this mountainous district was not checked at the frontiers of Italy. If, pursuing our way through the valley of the Drave, we seek for the vestiges which it left in this region, we shall immediately discover them at Teurnia and especially at Virunum, the largest city of Noricum, in which in the third century at least two temples had been opened to the initiated. A third one was erected not far from the same place in a grotto in the midst of the forest.

The city of Aquileja was undoubtedly the religious metropolis of this Roman colony, and its important church proselytised much in all this district. The cities that sprang up along the routes leading from this port across Pannonia to the military strongholds on the Danube almost without exception favorably received the foreign god: they were Æmona, the Latovici, Neviodunum, and principally Siscia, on the course of the Save; and then toward the north Adrans, Celeia, Poetovio, received him with equal favor. In this manner, his devotees who were journeying from the shores of the Adriatic to Mæsia, on the one hand, or to Carnuntum on the other, could be received at every stage of their journey by co-religionists.

In these regions, as in the countries south of the Alps, Oriental slaves acted as the missionaries of Mithra. But the condi-

tions under which their propaganda was conducted were considerably different. These slaves were not employed in this country as they were in the *latifundia* and the cities of Italy, as agricultural laborers, or stewards of wealthy land-owners, or municipal employes. Depopulation had not created such havoc here as in the countries of the old civilisation, and people were not obliged to resort to foreign hands for the cultivation of their fields or the administration of their cities. It was not individuals or municipalities, but the state itself, that was here the great importer of human beings. The procurators, the officers of the treasury, the officers of the imperial domains, or as in Noricum the governors themselves, had under their orders a multitude of collectors of taxes, of treasurers, and clerks of all kinds, scattered over the territory which they administered; and as a rule these subaltern officers were not of free birth. Likewise, the great *entrepreneurs* who leased the products of the mines and the quarries, or the customs returns, employed for the execution of their projects a numerous staff of functionaries, both hired and slave. From people of this class, who were either agents of the emperor or publicans whom he appointed to represent him, are those whose titles recur most frequently in the Mithraic inscriptions of southern Pannonia and Noricum.

In all the provinces, the lowly employees of the imperial service played a considerable part in the diffusion of foreign religions. Just as these officers of the central power were representatives of the political unity of the empire in contrast with its regional particularism, so also they were the apostles of the universal religion as opposed to the local cults. They formed, as it were, a second army under the orders of their prince, and their influence on the evolution of paganism was analogous to that of the army proper. Like the soldiers, they too were recruited in great numbers from the Asiatic countries; like them, they too were perpetually changing their residence as they were promoted in station; and the lists of their bureaus, like those of the legions, comprised individuals of all nationalities.

Thus, the imperial administration transferred from one government to another, along with its clerks and quartermasters, a knowledge of the Mithraic Mysteries. A characteristic discovery made at Cæsarea in Cappadocia tells us in very good Latin that a slave, probably of indigenous origin, an *arcarius dispensatoris Augusti* (a clerk of the imperial treasury), offers an image of the sun to Mithra. In the interior of Dalmatia, where the monuments of the Persian god are rather sparsely scattered for the reason that this province

was early stripped of its legions, employees of the treasury, the postal and the customs service, left nevertheless their names on some inscriptions. In the frontier provinces especially, the financial agents of the Cæsars must have been numerous, not only because the import duties on merchandise had to be collected here, but because the heaviest drain on the imperial treasuries was the cost of maintaining the army. It is therefore natural to find cashiers, tax-gatherers, and revenue-collectors (*dispensatores, exactores, procuratores*), and other similar titles mentioned in the Mithraic texts of Dacia and Africa.

Here, therefore, is the second way in which the Iranian god penetrated to the towns adjoining the military camps, where, as we have seen, he was worshipped by the Oriental soldiers. The general domestic service, as well as the political functions, of these administrators and officers, was the cause of the transportation of public and private slaves to all garrisons; while the constantly renewed needs of the multitudes here assembled attracted to these points merchants and traders from all parts of the world. Then again, as we have pointed out, the veterans themselves afterwards settled in the ports and the large cities, where they were thrown in contact with merchants and slaves. In affirming categorically that Mithra was introduced in this or that manner in a certain region, our generalisation manifestly cannot lay claim to absolute exactitude. The concurrent causes of the spread of the Mysteries are so intermingled and intertwined, that it would be a futile task to attempt to unravel strand by strand the fibres of this entangled snarl. Having as our sole guide, as we frequently do, inscriptions of uncertain date, on which by the side of the name of the god appears simply that of an initiate or priest, it is impossible to determine in each single case the circumstances which have fostered the progress of the new religion. The more fleeting influences are almost absolutely removed from our ken. On the accession of Vespasian, did the prolonged sojourn in Italy of Syrian troops who were faithful worshippers of the sun have any durable result? Did the army which Alexander Severus conducted into Germany, and which, as Lampridius has recorded, was *potentissima per Armenios et Osrhænos et Parthos* (viz., very largely composed of Armenians, Osrhænians, and Parthians), impart a new impulse to the Mithraic propaganda on the banks of the Rhine? Did any of the high functionaries that Rome sent annually to the frontier of the Euphrates embrace the beliefs of the people over whom they ruled? Did priests from Cappadocia or Pontus ever embark for the Occident after the manner

of the missionaries of the Syrian goddess, in the expectation of wresting there a livelihood from the credulity of the masses? Even under the republic Chaldean astrologists roamed the great causeways of Italy, and in the time of Juvenal the soothsayers of Commagene and Armenia vended their oracles in Rome. These subsidiary methods of propagation, which were generally resorted to by the Oriental religions, may also have been put to profitable use by the disseminators of Mithraism; but the most active agents of its diffusion were undoubtedly the soldiers, the slaves, and the merchants. Apart from the detailed proofs already adduced, the presence of Mithraic monuments in places where war and commerce were constantly conducted, and in the countries where the vast current of Asiatic emigration was discharged, is sufficient to establish our hypothesis.

The absence of these monuments in other regions is also clear proof of our position. Why are no vestiges of the Persian Mysteries found in Asia, in Bithynia, in Galatia, in the provinces adjoining those where they were practised for centuries? Because the production of these countries exceeded their consumption, because their foreign commerce was in the hands of Greek ship-owners, because they exported men instead of importing them, and because from the time of Vespasian at least no legion was charged with the defence or surveillance of their territory. Greece was protected from the invasion of foreign gods by its national pride, by its worship of its glorious past, which is the most characteristic trait of the Grecian spirit under the empire. But the absence of foreign soldiers and slaves also deprived it of the least occasion of lapsing from its national religion. Lastly, Mithraic monuments are almost completely missing in the central and western parts of Gaul, in the Spanish peninsula, and in the south of Britain, and they are rare even in the interior of Dalmatia. In these places also no permanent army was stationed; there was consequently no importation of Asiatics; while there was also in these countries no great center of international commerce to attract them.

On the other hand, the city of Rome is especially rich in discoveries of all kinds, more so in fact than any of the provinces. In fact, Mithra found in no other part of the empire conditions so eminently favorable to the success of his religion. Rome always had a large garrison made up of soldiers drawn from all parts of the empire, and the veterans of the army, after having been honorably discharged, flocked thither in great numbers to spend the remainder of their days. An opulent aristocracy resided here, and

their palaces, like those of the emperor, were filled with thousands of Oriental slaves. It was the seat of the central imperial administration, the official slaves of which thronged its bureaus. Finally, all whom the spirit of adventure, or disaster, had driven hither in search of fame and fortune flocked to this "caravansary of the universe," and carried thither their customs and their religions. Collaterally, the presence in Rome of numbers of Asiatic princelings, who lived there, either as hostages or fugitives, with their families and retinues, also abetted the propagation of the Mazdean faith.

Like the majority of the foreign gods, Mithra undoubtedly had his first temples outside of the *pomoerium*, or limits. Many of his monuments have been discovered beyond these boundaries, especially in the vicinity of the prætorian camp; but before the year 181 A. D. he had overleaped the sacred barriers and established himself in the heart of the city. It is unfortunately impossible to follow step by step his progress in the vast metropolis. Records of exact date and indubitable origin are too scarce to justify us in reconstructing the local history of the Persian religion in Rome. We can only determine in a general way the high degree of splendor which it attained there. Its vogue is attested by a hundred or more inscriptions, by more than seventy-five fragments of sculpture, and by a series of temples and chapels situated in all parts of the city and its environs. The most justly celebrated of these *spelæa* is the one that still existed during the Renaissance in a cave of the Capitol, and from which the grand Borghesi bas-relief now in the Louvre was taken. (See the illustration on page 204 of the April *Open Court*.) To all appearances, this monument dates from the end of the second century.

It was at this period that Mithra came forth from the partial obscurity in which he had hitherto lived, to become one of the favorite gods of the Roman aristocracy and the imperial court. We have seen him arrive from the Orient a despised deity of the deported or emigrant Asiatics. It is certain that he achieved his first conquests among the lower classes of society, and it is an important fact that Mithraism long remained the religion of the lowly. The most ancient inscriptions are eloquent evidence of the truth of this assertion, for they emanated without exception from slaves or freedmen, from soldiers active or retired. But the high destinies to which freedmen were permitted to aspire under the empire are well known; while the sons of veterans or of centurions not infrequently became citizens of wealth and influence. Thus, by a natural evolution the religion transplanted to Latin soil was bound

to wax great in wealth as well as in influence, and soon to count among its sectaries influential functionaries at the capital, and church and town dignitaries in the municipalities. Under the Antonines, literary men and philosophers began to grow interested in the dogmas and rites of this Oriental cult. The wit Lucian parodied their ceremonies; and in 177 A. D. Celsus in his *True Discourse* undoubtedly pits its doctrines against those of Christianity. About the same period a certain Pallas devoted to Mithraism a special work, and Porphyry cites a certain Eubulus who had published *Mithraic Researches* in several books. If this literature were not irrevocably lost to us, we should doubtless re-read in its pages the story of the Roman armies, both officers and soldiers, passing over to the faith of the hereditary enemies of the empire, and of great lords converted by the slaves of their own establishments. The monuments frequently mention the names of slaves beside those of freemen, and sometimes it is the former that have attained the highest rank among the initiates. In these societies, the last frequently became the first, and the first the last,—to all appearances at least.

One capital result emerges from the detailed facts which we have adduced: It is that the spread of the Persian Mysteries must have taken place with extreme rapidity. With the suddenness of the flash of a train of gunpowder, they make their appearance almost simultaneously in countries far removed from one another: in Rome, at Carnuntum on the Danube, and in the *Agri decumates*. Manifestly, this reformed church of Mazdaism exercised on the society of the second century a powerful fascination, of which today we can only imperfectly ascertain the causes.

But to the natural allurements which drew crowds to the feet of the tauroctonous god was added an extrinsic element of the highest efficacy: the imperial favor. Lampridius informs us that Commodus was initiated into the Mysteries and took part in the bloody ceremonies of its liturgy, and the inscriptions prove that this condescension of the monarch toward the priests of Mithra created an immense stir in the Roman world, and told enormously in favor of the Persian religion. From this moment the exalted dignitaries of the empire are seen to follow the example of their sovereign and to become zealous cultivators of the Iranian cult. Tribunes, prefects, legates, and later *perfectissimi* and *clarissimi*, are frequently mentioned as authors of the votive inscriptions; and until the downfall of paganism the aristocracy remained attached to the solar god that had so long enjoyed the favor of

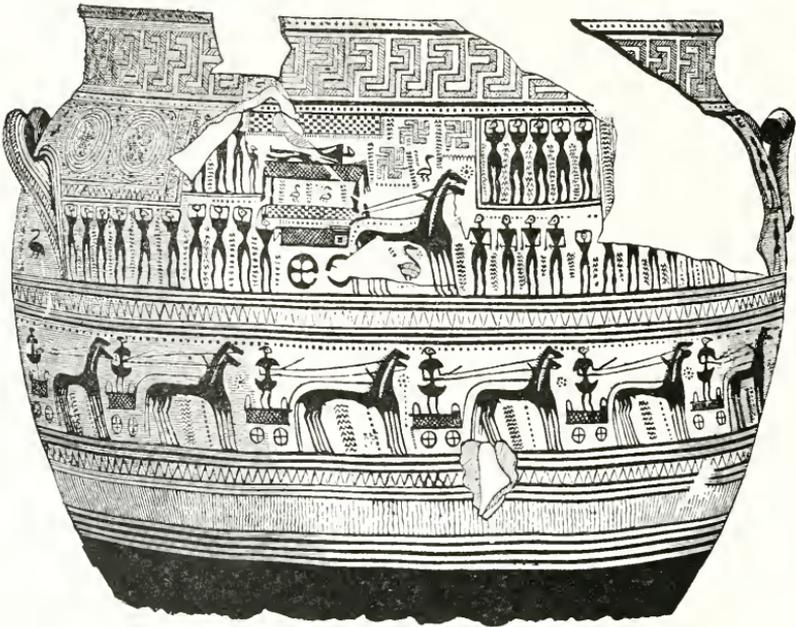
princes. But to understand the political and moral motives of the kindly reception which these dignitaries accorded to the new faith, it will be necessary to expound the Mithraic doctrines concerning the sovereign power and their connection with the theocratic claims of the Cæsars. This we shall do in a forthcoming article.

THE FYLFOT AND SWASTIKA.

BY THE EDITOR.

[CONCLUDED.]

THE Dipylon pottery (so called because discovered near the Dipylon gate of Athens) belongs to the pre-Homeric age. It is rich in swastikas which have not yet lost their religious signifi-



DIPYLON VASE. (Museum at Athens.)

cance. We reproduce here one specimen of great beauty which is preserved at Athens in the Museum of the Archæological Society. The urn represents a funeral procession, and over the horses that draw the hearse we see three withershins swastikas. The geese or

swans (birds sacred to the sun, being at the same time emblems of transmigration and resurrection), are not missing; and it is noticeable that the wheels on all the carriages are of the shape of the sun-wheel: they have four spokes only (thus ⊗).

The Greek-speaking population of Thrace used the swastika as a symbol of the day (viz., of "light"). At least, Professor Percy Gardner discovered that on a coin of the City of Messembria (which means midday) it stands for an abbreviation of the second part of the name, thus MEC卐.¹



APOLLO WITH THE SWASTIKA. (From a vase in the Historical Art Museum in Vienna.)²

In ancient Greece the swastika was called gammadion, because its arms are of the same shape as the letter *gamma* (Γ), but its significance was almost forgotten. It appears still on the breast of Apollo, and some Greek antiquarian has ingeniously explained it as a monogram of Zeus, the figure consisting of two Z's placed cross-wise.

¹ See *Academy*, July 24, 1880.

² Title page of D'Alviella's *Migration of Symbols*.

A slab of an antique tomb at Capua shows a man with a swastika on his breast, which proves that this particular use of the symbol had a religious purpose. The person here represented



SLAB OF AN ANTIQUE TOMB FOUND
AT CAPUA.
(Zmigrodzki, No. 142.)



THE SWASTIKA ON
AN ANCIENT CELTIC
ALTAR.¹

may have been a priest of Apollo, as is indicated by the solar disc that appears above his right shoulder.



ATHENA SLAYING A GIANT. (From *Élite céramogr.*, I., 8.)

The meander pattern (thus ) that gracefully involved line which was frequently used in embroidery on Greek garments, is commonly supposed to be an artistic development of the swastika.

¹ Made of white sandstone found in the Pyrenees. (Zmigrodzki, No. 161.)

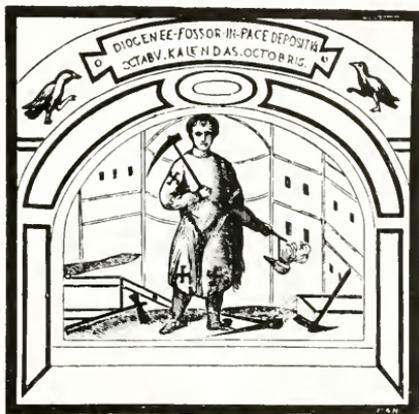
The three-armed swastika in the shape of three feet (a real flyfoot) appears frequently upon Greek shields and became the coat of arms of the three-cornered island of Sicily.

The swastika together with the Egyptian key of life (*cruz ansata* †) was used by the early Christians long before they adopted the cross (i. e., the figure of two intersecting lines) as the symbol of their religion, and it is a remarkable fact that the cross is absolutely absent in the oldest Christian catacombs of Rome.¹

Zoeckler² says that the key of life † as well as the swastika 卐 appears on cups and other domestic utensils, on the tombs of martyrs, also on the garments of grave diggers, etc.; and (according to de Rossi³) they were the favorite symbols of the earliest times,



THE CHRISTOGRAM, THE Λ, THE RING, THE PALM, AND THE SWASTIKA AS PICTURED ON A TOMB IN THE CATACOMBS.⁴



THE GRAVE DIGGER DIOGENES. NO CROSS BUT SWASTIKAS. Picture on his tomb in the Catacombs of S. Domitilla.⁵

their use being in vogue in the second and third centuries of our era. Gori,⁶ a Roman Catholic archæologist, suggests that the swastika was the monogram of Jesus, in which Christ's name was spelled Zesus and thus abbreviated into two crossed Z's.

The swastika on Christian tombs has been explained by early Christian authors to be the combination of two Z's which were said

¹ The first cross that appears in the catacombs of Rome bears the form of a T and dates from the end of the fourth century. Cf. Rev. Robert Sinkler's article in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, p. 497.

² Zoeckler, *Das Kreuz Christi*, p. 141.

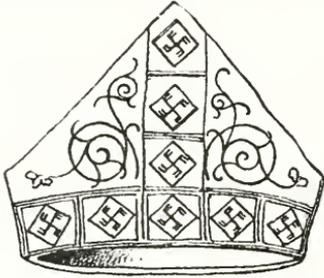
³ De Rossi in *Spicileg. Solesm.*, IV., p. 514, *Roma sotteranea*, p. 318. Cf. Stockbauer's book on the cross, p. 92, which quotes Garrucci and Buoranotti.

⁴ After Perret. From Zmigrodzki, *loc. cit.*, 132.

⁵ After Boldetti, reproduced from F. X. Kraus, *Gesch. d. chr. Kunst*, I., p. 170.

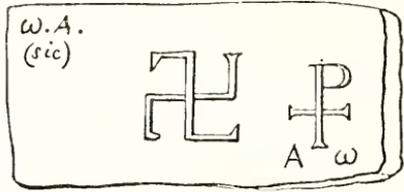
⁶ Gori, *De symb. lit.*

to mean Ζήσεις, i. e., thou shalt live.¹ This (like the Zeus monogram interpretation of the swastika) is a striking instance of the



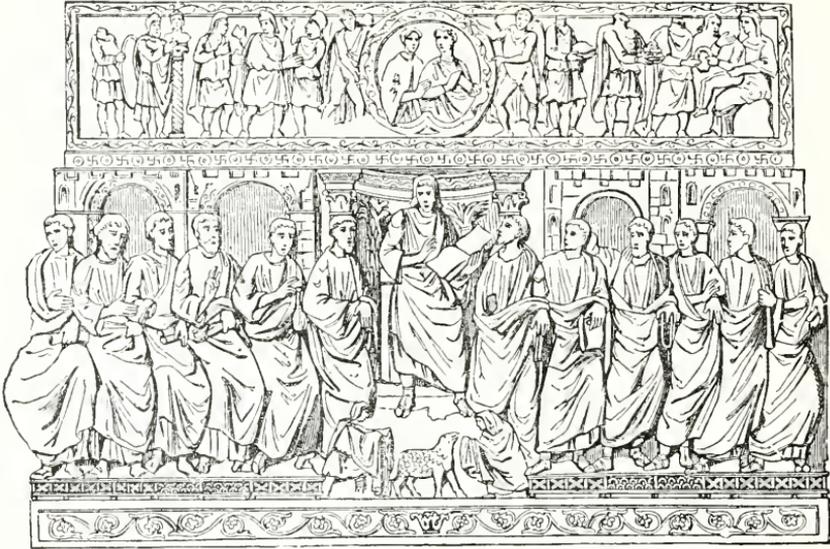
AN ABBOT'S MITRE OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY.

Cahier, *Mélanges d'Archéologie*.
(Zmigrodzki, *loc. cit.*, No. 138.)



CHRISTIAN SYMBOLS IN THE CALLIXTINE CATACOMBS.²

(The Christogram, the Swastika, and the AΩ, the latter in two forms.)



THE SARCOPHAGUS IN ST. AMBROGIO, MILAN.³

Christ with the twelve Apostles. Swastikas and solar discs are employed as ornaments.

use of an old symbol sanctioned by tradition, the explanation of which is a mere afterthought based on an incidental resemblance.

¹ A hand with the inscription ZHCEC, occurring in the catacombs, is reproduced by F. X. Kraus, I., page 117, from Martigny.

² Smith and Cheetham, *Dict. of Chr. Art.*, I., p. 497.

³ From Lübke's *Kunstgesch.*, p. 266.

The swastika, being called *gammadion*, was frequently regarded as a composition of four letters gamma (Γ). Zmigrodski (*Zur Geschichte der Swastika*, Fig. 136) reproduces from Rohault de Fleury's *L'Évangile* (Ravenna) a picture of the celebration of the mass (sixth century) where Christ is surrounded by four disciples, perhaps the Gospel writers, each one wearing a gamma.

Balsamon (*De patriarch.*, p. 446) in the enumeration of the marks of patriarchal dignity mentions the robe trimmed with gammas (*διὰ γαμμάτων στιχάριον*), saying :

"These crosses were peculiar to the white eucharistic vestments, those of a purple color being destitute of them."¹

Canon Venables (from whom we quote this extract) continues :

"In the western church the word *gammadia* is of frequent occurrence in the later papal biographies, in Anastasius, in the lists of offerings made to the basilicas



SWASTIKA AND CHRISTOGRAM IN THE CATACOMBS.

(After Boldetti, reproduced from Zmigrodzki, *loc. cit.*, No. 134.)

and churches. E. g., Leo III. among gifts to the Church of St. Susanna gave a purple vestment, 'having on the middle a cross of golden stripes . . . and four golden-striped gammadions in the vestment itself,'² and Leo IV. to the Church of St. Mary at Anagni 'a vestment with gammadions woven in gold.'³ These gammadions were of gold, others were of silver (§ 397). or of Tyrian velvet."⁴

On the appearance of the Christogram (\ast) and the definite acceptance of the cross as the symbol of the Christian faith, the swastika began to fall into disuse, yet it was never entirely abandoned, and we find it still used in the eighth century as an ornament in the embroidery of sacerdotal garments. It is difficult to say whether its reappearance in northern countries, among the Saxons, the Scandinavians, the Poles, and other Slavs, etc., must be attributed to a revival of prehistoric pagan influences or should be regarded as a lingering reminiscence of its use among the early

¹ E. V. in Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, p. 709.

² "Habentem in medio crucem de chrysoclavo . . . atque gammadias in ipsa veste chryso-clavas quatuor," § 366.

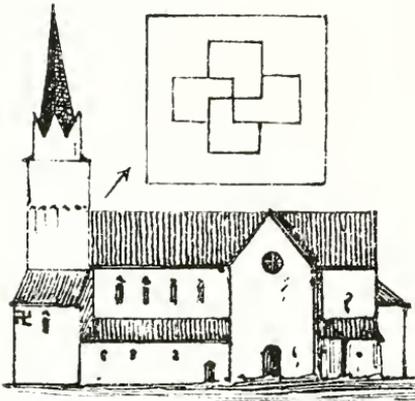
³ "Vestem . . . cum gammadiis auro textum," § 536.

⁴ Cf. Goar, *Eucholog.*, p. 315, col. 2.

Christians.¹ In either case, however, their use is a continuance of a symbol that has absolutely nothing to do with Christianity.

Thomas Wilson, curator of the Department of Prehistoric Anthropology in the United States National Museum at Washington, has published an account of the swastika² which is as complete a collection of the material as has ever been made in a printed book, and we reproduce from it with the author's permission some of the most important cuts, including the chart showing the places in which swastikas have been found. (March *Open Court*, p. 154.)

Mr. Wilson enumerates (pp. 879 ff.) a goodly number of instances of the use of the swastika among the Indians of America. It figures prominently in the four quarters of the altar of the Navajo



THE OLD CATHEDRAL OF KRUSWICA,
NEAR POSEN. (Twelfth century.
Zmigrodzki, No. 142.)³



MOLDAVIAN PRINCESS.⁴
(Silk embroidery, 14th century.)

Indians, which is a dry painting of colored sand representing a mythological chart when they sing their mountain chant.⁵ Each of these swastikas bears in its midst a cross within a circle and every one is, according to its position in the four quarters, of a different color.

¹The *Century Dictionary*, s. v. *fylfot*, publishes swastika illustrations of a brass plate of the Lewknor Church (Oxfordshire, England) and on the miter of Thomas a Becket.

²Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., 1896. It appears in the Reports of the U. S. Nat. Mus. for 1894, pp. 757-1011.

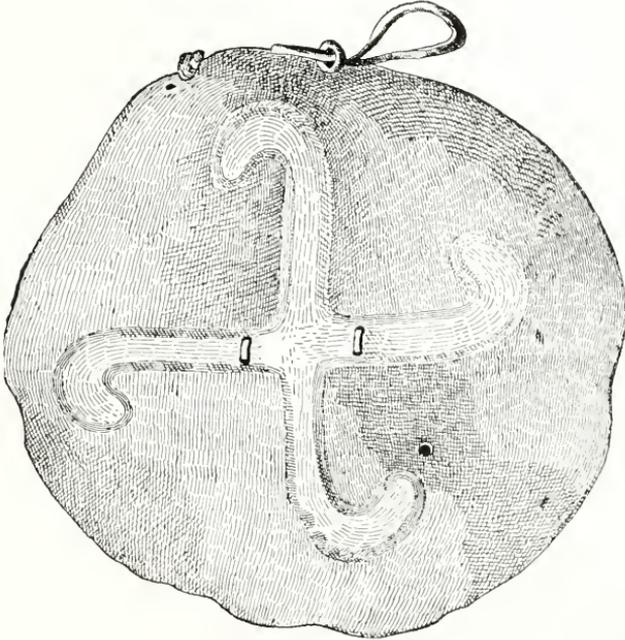
³The swastika is chiselled in granite, outside on one of its walls.

⁴This illustration is the ornament of a death-register, kept in a Greek monastery at Putna, Bukowina. The swastika on the buttons of the Princess's dress is shown more plainly above the picture. See Zmigrodzki, *loc. cit.*, No. 145.

⁵See Dr. Washington Matthews, U. S. A., essay "The Mountain Chant: a Navajo Ceremony," in *The Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 82 pp., with 9 plates and 9 figures.

The use of the swastika among the red men of the new world is the same as in prehistoric Europe and Asia. It is a symbol of good luck, of protection, of consecration. It appears therefore upon the shield, on amulets, on ceremonial vestments, and also simply as an ornament.

The appearance of the swastika among the nations of both Americas was first a surprise to anthropologists and seemed to give credence to the Chinese account of the spread of Buddhism to Fusang, a country far away East beyond the Pacific Ocean. Mr.



WAR SHIELD OF PIMA INDIANS.¹

Wilson has even discovered in an unquestionable prehistoric mound in Tennessee a figure seated in Buddha fashion;² but the evidence that it is Buddhistic is neither sufficient nor convincing.

Mr. Wilson grants (p. 882) that "one swallow does not make a summer," but he argues that, "taken in connection with the swastika," it furnishes "circumstantial evidence" to prove "the migration of Buddhism from Asia." In our opinion, the shell engraving (though it may be different in style from the usual type of

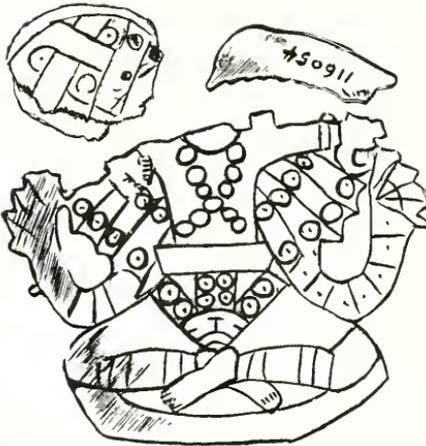
¹ Wilson, *Swastika*, p. 900. The hole on it was made by an arrow.

² See Thomas Wilson, "The Swastika" (*Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1894*, plate 10, facing page 880).

art among the mound-builders) betrays no Chinese, let alone East Indian, taste,—notwithstanding Mr. Gandhi's endorsement of the hypothesis.



THE SWASTIKA ON A SPIDER-GORGET FROM A MOUND IN ST. CLAIR COUNTY, ILLINOIS.¹



SHELL CARVING FOUND IN AN ANCIENT MISSISSIPPI MOUND. (After Wilson.)



A SICILIAN COIN WITH TRIQUETRA.



THE DAKOTA WHIRL-WIND SYMBOL.²
(Pottery decoration.)

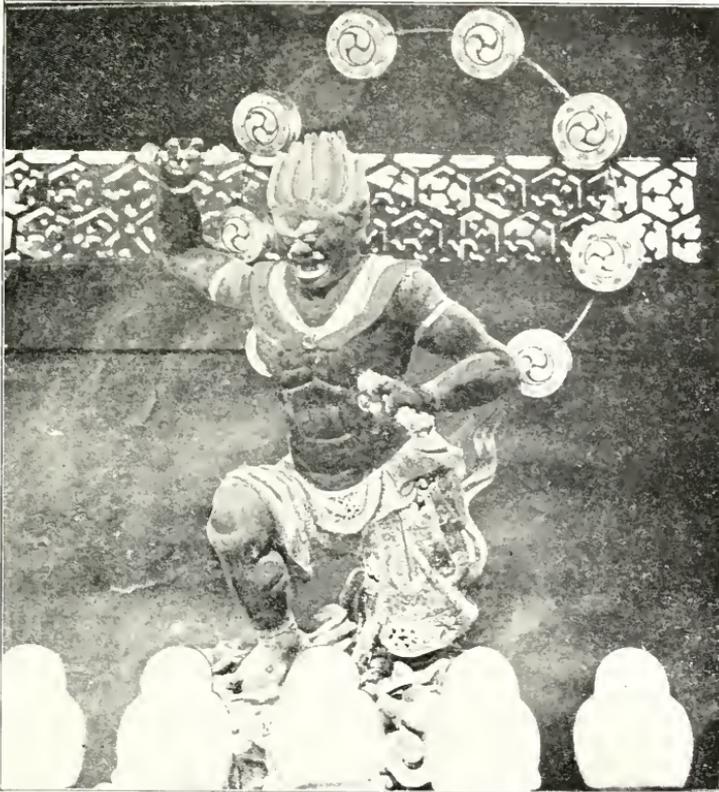
After all, the presence of the swastika in America can be no more surprising than the religious use of the cross, for the swastika

¹ *Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, 80-81, pl. LXI, facing p. 288.

² See *Second Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, Plate LXXX, fig. ii; also *Tenth Annual Report* (1888-1889), p. 605.

reaches back to the neolithic age, and the Buddha posture is simply the natural position of a seated man before the invention of chairs.

It seems probable that the use of the swastika in America is not due to importation, and we are inclined to think that the ancestors of the red man carried the symbol from their Asiatic home



THE DEMON OF THUNDER. ON THE DRUMS THE MITZU-TOMO-É.
A Japanese temple statue. (After a photograph.)

in prehistoric times when they first set foot on the soil of the New World.

It almost seems as if the swastika were of so peculiar and odd a shape that (unlike the simple cross) it could not have originated simultaneously in different places and with varying significance. But consider the symbol of the whirlwind among the Dakotas or the Japanese *mitsu tomo-é*, or three-shields-figure, commonly used as a drum emblem. The former looks like a curved swastika and

the latter reminds one of the Triquetra on ancient Greek shields and coins. While the Triquetra¹ appears to be historically connected with the swastika, being a modification of it, neither the Dakota whirlwind symbol nor the Japanese drum emblem seems to have anything to do with the swastika.²

Mr. Wilson's diligence in massing materials is outdone only by that indefatigable collector of swastikas, Dr. M. von Zmigrodzki, a Galician by birth, to whom European and especially the Slavic monuments of folklore are more accessible than to American anthropologists. But his collections are only partly published, and even they are little accessible, being published in anthropological journals of limited circulation.³

In an unpublished communication of some length Dr. Zmigrodzki mentions the Easter folk customs among the Slavs of Russia and Austria, in which eggs marked with swastikas play an important part. They are given as presents to persons of respect, exchanged as tokens of affection by lovers, and carried by the widow to the grave of her husband.

There is no need here of entering into a discussion of the theories concerning the migration and original home of the swastika, as proposed by Mr. Wilson, or its being an evidence of a primitive monotheism, a pure worship of God under the symbol of the solar light, as proposed by Dr. Zmigrodzki. We must rest satisfied with facts.

We leave the questions open whether the original home of the swastika is India or some other country; whether or not it originated in several places in the same or a similar fashion; and finally, what is its original significance: we can only insist on its being a venerable symbol of prehistoric ages which abounds among all the nations of the northern hemisphere, especially the Aryans, the Semites, the Mongolians, but seems to have remained unknown to the natives of the southern continents, the Nigritts of Oceania and the Negroes of Africa, and also the ancient Egyptians.

¹ Also called *triskeles*, i. e., "three-legged."

² The Sicilians adopted the Triquetra with special reference to the three-cornered shape of their island, just as the Chicagoans placed the Y in their coat of arms to indicate the tripartition of their city. The Triquetra is not limited to Sicily; it occurs also on coins of Pamphylia. See for instance the silver stater of Aspendus in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, Fig. 1070.

³ Dr. Zmigrodzki made two comprehensive collections of swastikas, both hand-made in the form of large charts, 1 meter in breadth and several, perhaps 10 or 12, meters in length. One was exhibited in Chicago and is now the property of the International Folklore Association, being preserved in the Walker Museum of the University of Chicago. The big scroll is neatly encased in a glass covered table and can by means of a crank easily be rolled backward or forward. Zmigrodzki's second chart was exhibited in Paris in 1900 and may have found there a similar home.

THE JESUIT UNDER THE X-RAY.

IN REPLY TO THE ARTICLE OF M. DE LADEVEZE.

BY CHARLES MACARTHUR.

IT may be said, without fear of honest contradiction from any source worthy of serious consideration, that the article "The Truth About the Jesuits," which appeared in the January issue of *The Open Court*, was written or inspired by a Jesuit, in spite of the editorial information that the author is a Protestant. The quotations are familiar to all who have ever been engaged in a controversy with them, and are their entire stock in trade. M. Henri de Ladevèze, of Nice, France, though he may nominally be a Protestant, is unquestionably what is known in this country as "a temporal co-adjutor," and in France as "a Jesuit of the short robe." He is indebted to his memory for his jests and to his imagination for his facts. Outside of this, there are but two mistakes, one each of omission and commission, for there was not even the slightest hint about "the chaste womb of the Virgin," without which no Jesuit's inspiration is complete, and then the unlucky plea *tu quoque*. When we hear a street urchin salute a companion with some foul epithet, we naturally expect the retort, "You're another"; but to think that the Jesuits, "that illustrious order of men who have illumined the world by their scientific attainments, their scholarly ability, and their profound learning," to even think that they would attempt to screen themselves behind a *tu quoque*, addressed to the other Orders, who have always filled the second rank only, should be considered rank heresy.

The dragging in of St. Liguori is more indubitable evidence of the source of inspiration. Liguori commenced life as a lawyer. Powerful family influence brought him into prominence before the public. He was uniformly unsuccessful, and in disgust he resigned from the Bar, joined the Church, established the order of Redemp-

torists, and wrote his Moral Theology. This work is mainly an indorsement of those Jesuit teachings from 1580 to 1680, which created so much trouble throughout Christendom, and it contains hardly one proposition original to the author. It is merely a rehash of Jesuit casuistry. I will here repeat a question I have asked a score of times, without any solution. "If a fourth-rate lawyer can become a saint and a theologian, to what position may a first-class lawyer aspire? Moreover Liguori, by his own testimony at least, has enabled the Jesuits to cast odium on Pope Clement XIV. who suppressed the Order, and at the same time, incidentally, to press his own claims for sanctity. The Jesuits claim God informed Clement that he would forgive all his sins except the suppression of their Order. Clement was dying, and at that moment Liguori was saying mass and was at the elevation of the host. Liguori stood in that position for several minutes during which he projected his astral body to Rome, heard the Pope's confession and then returned and finished the mass. Abbé Darras in his history of the Popes says that this visit of Liguori to Clement when "separated by a space of more than forty leagues" is both "incontestable and well authenticated." But Clement, notwithstanding all this evidence, did not revoke his bull, and in consequence several holy Jesuits have been constrained to see him roasting in the very hottest part of hell.

Before going any further, let me place myself on record as being unalterably opposed to Jesuitism, but not to the Jesuit *per se*. One does not hate a man because he has the foul-smelling catarrh, but he hates the catarrh because it has the man. This is my position, after nearly thirty years' study of the teachings and practices of this politico-religious society, and in my various discussions with them and with their friends I have invariably refused to consider their charges against the characters of their opponents. A Jesuit always evades a direct charge made against his Order, and tries to parry the blow by attracting attention to any weakness, supposititious or real, in the personal character of his opponent. I will notice only two instances of this class, in the article under review.

Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540-1609) is called "the greatest scholar of modern times." He became a Protestant, and in those days of controversy he was hotly engaged with the Jesuits. Unable to meet his arguments, the Jesuits engaged a lampooner named Scioppius to do their unsavory work, which resulted in "a quarto volume of more than 400 pages, written with consummate

ability, in the admirable and incisive style, with the entire disregard for truth which Scioppius always displayed, and with all the power of that sarcasm in which he was an accomplished master." (See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol. XXI., p. 364, article Scaliger.) Having performed his task, Scioppius demanded his pay, and when the Jesuits refused he lampooned them so severely and told so many truths about their Order that they became the laughing-stock of Europe.

The next item is the claim that the Jesuits were expelled from France owing to Martinique having been taken by the English, and that a scape-goat was necessary. This is absolutely false. In 1743, the Jesuits sent to Martinique as Inspector of Missions one Father Lavalette, who was considered a great financier. He founded a mercantile establishment which, by its connections with large houses in France and Germany, through its agents Lionci Frères of Marseilles, soon controlled the trade of that section. In a few years Lionci Frères found that they had either advanced or had become responsible for about two millions sterling, and they drew a draft on the Order for four hundred thousand pounds. The draft was dishonored, the Jesuits repudiated Father Lavalette and his transactions, although they admitted having received the profits up to date. Lavalette was dismissed from the Society, retired to the Isle of Jersey, outside of French jurisdiction, where he lived on an annuity granted him by the Society. Lionci Frères threatened suit and were begged not to do so for the sake of religion and were assured that the entire Society would pray for them; in fact, that a mass had already been offered. But the mass proved inefficacious, and Lionci Frères went into bankruptcy. A suit followed, and the Jesuits were ordered to redeem the bills of exchange of their Agent. They declined and pleaded their Constitution. This Constitution up to that time had been kept secret; they were forced to produce it, and it became one of the principal articles of the accusation which terminated in 1762 by their being expelled from France. The Official Document reads:

"As persons professing a doctrine whose consequences would tend to destroy natural law, the code of morals God himself has imprinted in the hearts of men, and consequently to break all the ties of civil society by authorising theft, falsehood, perjury, the most criminal impurity, and in general all passions and crimes, by the teaching of occult compensation, equivocations, mental reservations, probabilism and philosophical sin."

Their books were seized and extracts from their Casuists, proving these charges, were appended to the decree of banish-

ment, which was duly signed by his most Catholic majesty, Louis XV. These extracts, which were collected by a commission of Parliament, every member of which was a Catholic, are duly verified, fill four volumes, and are still preserved, not only in the archives, but in many of the public libraries, of France.

A hundred years previous to this, the Jesuits had a like experience in Spain, for their bank at Seville went into bankruptcy in 1646,—liabilities many millions,—exact amount unknown. Investigation proved they had been engaged in many large mercantile transactions, carried under fictitious names. Business secrets had been extorted in the confessional, and the unwilling lips of many a merchant, and the more susceptible ones of his wife, had been opened, and co-partnership affairs of this world had been traded for security in the next. But let Palafox, bishop of Angelopolis, tell the story. In a letter to Pope Innocent X., dated January 8, 1649, he says :

“What other Order, most holy father, from the first of the monks and mendicants, or any other of the Religious, has made a bank of the Church of God? Has lent money at interest and publicly conducted meat markets and other shops in its religious houses? A traffic which is disgraceful and unworthy of religious characters. What other Order has ever become bankrupt? Or to the great surprise and scandal of the laity, has filled almost all the world, by sea and land, with its trade and commercial contracts? Undoubtedly such profane and worldly conduct does not appear to have been dictated by Him who declares in His Gospel that no one can serve God and Mammon. All the great and populous City of Seville is in tears; the widows, orphans, students, virgins, priests and laymen, mingle their lamentations on account of having been miserably deceived by the Jesuits, who, having obtained from them above 400,000 ducats, and spent them all for their own purposes, only paid them by a disgraceful bankruptcy. But having been brought to justice and *convicted*, to the great scandal of all Spain, of acts *which in private individuals would have been capital offences*, they endeavored to withdraw themselves from secular jurisdiction by their claim of spiritual immunity, and named ecclesiastics for their judges. The matter having at length been carried before the Royal Council, it decreed that since the Jesuits pursued the same business that was pursued by laymen, they should be treated like laymen and sent back to the secular power. Thus numberless persons who are reduced to ask charity, are forced to demand from civil tribunals the money they loaned to the Jesuits, which to some is all their substance; to others, all their dowry; to others, all their savings; and in consequence they are loudly declaiming against the perfidy of these Religious and load them with execration. What will English and German Protestants, who boast of preserving such inviolable faith in their engagements, and of such scrupulous honesty in their tradings, say of these things? They certainly must mock at the Roman Catholic faith, at ecclesiastical discipline, at priests, at Regulars, and the holiest professions in the Church, and become only more hardened and obdurate in their errors. Have such proceedings as these, which are absolutely worldly and unlawful, ever been practiced by any religious Order, other than the most holy Society of Jesus?”

The Jesuits did not pay back one cent to these widows and orphans. But we are assured by M. de Ladevèze that the Filipinos do not detest the Jesuits as they do the other monks. This is granted. See Public Document 190 on the report of the Philippine Commission. But why? The Jesuit is exclusive. His training and education make him so. He may be acquainted with the common people, but he associates only with the higher classes. He uses the former as tools; he toadies to the latter. Aguinaldo boasts that he is the son of an "educated Jesuit." The qualifying term may be a libel on the rest of the Order, but may be excused on the score of filial piety.

The Jesuits own the statue of the Virgin of Antipolo, the most celebrated on the Island, and possibly the most remarkable in the world. This statue was in the habit, ever since 1650, of climbing up an Antipolo tree (hence the name) in order to see if there were need of giving assistance to any vessel in the harbor. She climbed up once too often, as a shot from an Oregon volunteer ended the exhibition, and one of the holy fathers carried his arm in a sling for over a month thereafter. Possibly a case of sympathetic affection.

Yes, the Jesuit is *sui generis*. He is exclusive in his loves and unique in his miracles.

The next question is: Have the Jesuits ever given us a first-class man? I may be unusually obtuse; mayhap their mentality is so superior to mine that I have been unable to comprehend their writings, and hence I boldly declare that they have never produced a man worthy of being considered more than second-class. Their very mode of instruction precludes their producing a genius. When a bright man is found among them, he is either squelched or he leaves the Order.

M. Cousin says: "The boasted genius of the Jesuits for education is nothing but the organisation of a vile system of spying into the conduct of the young men, and there never was one manly course of studies in their Institutions. They sacrifice substance to show, and deceive parents by brilliant and frivolous exhibitions."

Says Macaulay: "They appear to have discovered the precise point to which intellectual culture can be carried without risk of intellectual emancipation."

On February 12, 1899, the N. Y. *Times* published from its correspondent in Italy an article on "The Mondragone Controversy." Mondragone is a Jesuit College, and the query was made

why ninety-five per cent. of its graduates failed in the matriculation examination, which by law they must pass before they may enter a university.

Occasionally, we have forcible examples right here. Two of these graduates were candidates for the jury in the Molineaux case. One was asked: "Do you know the meaning of turpitude?" "Oh, yes. Turpitude is a product of turpentine." The other was asked: "Would you understand what was meant by the phrase: 'The existence of malice may be inferred from the perpetration of the deed?'" "Why, certainly. It means that if they are not married they ought to be."

Just one more. The Empress Eugenie was the niece of Father Beckx, General of the Order, and she caused the Public Schools to be placed under their control. These gentlemen of "scientific attainments, scholarly abilities and profound learning" prepared a History of the World, and in the chapter devoted to this country the French youth were informed that, "Catholic Lafayette, assisted by one Washington, secured the independence of the United States." And these are the gentlemen who desire to control our Public Schools.

As far as their founder, Ignatius, is concerned, unless Palanco, his secretary and biographer, falsifies, he was a veritable ignoramus, spoke only one language, and that a mongrel Spanish, and could scarcely read or write. Mosheim says: "Not only Protestants, but also many Roman Catholics, and they men of learning and discrimination, deny that Loyola had learning enough to compose the writings ascribed to him, or genius enough to form such a Society as originated from him. . . . Most of his writings are supposed to have been produced by Jo. de Palanco, his secretary. His spiritual exercises, the Benedictines say, were transcribed from the works of a Spanish Benedictine whose name was Cisneros." Yet Guntherode admits that the Society paid 100,000 gold florins to the Papal Exchequer to have this gentleman canonised.

Their trump-card, Bellarmine, who was created Cardinal, in order, as the General said, "to preserve the credit of our Society," never gave us a new idea. He was noted for his inhuman treatment of heretics, but we are assured he had a tender spot in his heart, at least for insects. He persistently refused to kill or even remove the vermin that infested his clothing and took a holy delight in their bites, saying with a heavenly smile: "We shall have Heaven to reward us for our sufferings, but these poor creatures have nothing but the enjoyments of this present life."

The similarity between the Jesuits and the Mohammedan Societies, the Kadyras and the Kadelyas, in their teachings and discipline has already been fully described in these columns, so I will now turn to their Casuists or Holy Doctors.

Let us get indubitable Catholic testimony first. Speaking of Stephen Banny, Jesuit Professor of Humanities and Moral Theology, Abbé Bouilliot says: "He could permit our consciences to impute crimes to our enemies without calumniating them; allow us to kill them without being a murderer; betray truth without lying; appropriate the property of others without stealing; yield to all the refinements of voluptuousness and taste all the sweetness of sin, and still keep the precept of continence; and teach us a thousand ways of gaining Heaven, while we are doing everything possible to effect our damnation."

Banny's work, *Summary of Sins* according to Jesuit custom, was duly examined and approved by four theologians of the Society, and every Provincial in whose province it was published gave it his official sanction. According to the rules of the Society, no member may publish a book or even a newspaper article except "*con permissio superiorum.*" They have had about 200 Casuists, and about 166 of these are prominent. If space would permit, equally good Catholic testimony could be brought against every one of them.

The ingenuity of the Jesuit casuist is taxed to its limit to find an excuse for every imaginable crime. It is his duty to examine every subject, to conjure up peculiar situations between inconceivably brutal human beings, whom he places in almost impossible positions, and then he gives full play to his imaginings, which are manifested by a love of unclean details far exceeding any work ever suppressed by Anthony Comstock. He looks with suspicion on every movement; the meeting of the betrothed; the kiss of a sister and a brother, father and daughter, and even the caress a mother bestows to the infant in her arms. In one word, the Jesuit Casuist knows nothing of love and its sacredness; to him, everything is contaminated with sin, and his illustrations are drawn with that one point in view.¹

¹The footnote mark at the end of the above sentence indicates the omission from the present article of fifteen closely written MS. pages, full of details and quotations from Jesuit authorities. Similar accusations from the same pen have appeared in the *Brooklyn Daily Times* and are thus not inaccessible to readers interested in the subject. Though we deem it but just to the critic of M. Ladevèze's article to allow him to present his case and to substantiate it, it is not our intention to enter into certain details which are far from pleasant reading and which, even if only half true, exhibit an unfathomable abyss of depravity and immorality.—*Editor.*

During April and May, 1901, I published two letters in the *Brooklyn Daily Times*, in answer to Father Patrick F. O'Hare, who claimed that all of my quotations taken from the Jesuits were false. I take this extract from the last letter :

"Now, my proposition is this : I will place my two volumes of Gury, in Latin, and Marottes Catechism in French, in the hands of the Editor of the *Brooklyn Daily Times* and request him to select five competent gentlemen to act, two of whom must belong to the Italian (Catholic) Church. I will present the points I have made, and if there should be the slightest doubt in regard to the genuineness of my copies, I feel safe to say that I can procure the identical books from which Senator Paul Bert quoted, which caused the expulsion of your friends, the Jesuits, from French territory twenty years ago. I will see that the reasonable expenses of the committee are paid, and all that I ask is that *you* act on the committee ; I will agree in advance to accept the decision, which is to determine whether you or I lie."

O'Hare remained as mum as the proverbial clam. This proposition has been open for twenty years. It still remains open, and will remain so till the end. Our country is filled with Societies for "Propagation of the Faith," "Truth of Catholic History," etc., etc. In Washington there is an immense Institution, the centre of Jesuitism. Large sums of money have been, are being, and no doubt will be, donated for carrying it on. So, to these professors I send my greeting. The above proposition, gentlemen, is open to you. Are my quotations correct?¹

I should much prefer to have their claims disproved, and I will be the first to lift my hat and cry out : *Hoch die Jesuiten!*

¹The bulk of these quotations has been omitted from the present article, at the place above referred to.—*Ed.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

IS SPIRITUALISM UNSCIENTIFIC?

IN CRITICISM OF LT.-COL. GARDNER'S ARTICLE.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

Some time ago I read an article, "An Evening With the Spiritualists," in *The Open Court*, and since then my attention has more than once been directed to this article, with the result that I am persuaded that in the cause of justice and right thinking the article merits a few comments. (See *The Open Court* for Dec., 1901.)

In this day when old systems and ways are being challenged, and are passing away, it behooves one who makes any pretension to scientific training to consider seriously what the Scientific Spirit is, and take thought that he do as little as possible to blind or mislead the inquirer, or bring ridicule upon science. He must remember that he is not justified in accepting or rejecting any theory or belief until he can produce the evidence and argument for or against said theory or belief; unless he make it unmistakably plain that he adopts said theory or belief unproven and merely upon hypothesis or assumption. He has neither right nor reason to make objections or give counter-explanations unless his objections and counter-explanations are more reasonable,—more consistent with Nature. And let him look well to his fundamentals.

My desire is neither to defend nor attack the writer or spiritualism,—neither is necessary to my aim and contention,—but to impress upon all that the only way not to confound and pervert, but to enlighten and direct, is to employ the true scientific method; that we had better hold our peace forever than to lift up our voice in a cry on the wrong track. Is it necessary that it forever be said that man attempts every wrong way before he will enter the right?

In the article the Judge had three visions, clairvoyant in nature, every one of which seems to have been fulfilled to the letter,—prophetic insight which was absolutely impossible to him in the ordinary, full self-consciousness of his waking state. The particularities of the visions should be noted. Now, history, from the most ancient to the most modern, gives us visions of various sorts and values. Swedenborg, Dr. Walker, and many others have foretold the date and manner or other circumstances of their own death and burial; and others have foreseen the death of friends under the most unexpected and unheard-of circumstances,—which followed to the letter. I know of such cases among my acquaintances, as does nearly every one.

It should not be necessary for me to say that I do not concede anything infallible nor supernatural in these occurrences,—nor in anything else of like nature.

Science has made the term supernatural obsolete. Cause and effect hold everywhere: orderly interaction is necessary.

But here is my question: Does the flow of more or less blood to certain centers of the brain and its cortex sufficiently explain such visions or other psychical action? Does more or less blood cause one to know and see things he can neither know nor see when in full command of his faculties (objective self), conduct the thought-current from centre to centre properly to make one see these things in their precise relation or as they will afterward actually occur? Is this sufficient cause or is it miracle?—hold my entire psychical activity in absolute subjection? hold my will-power under its magical control?—this more or less blood! Does the cart push the horse?

In such investigation, where we do not yet know the relations of the various phenomena and powers, we should always bear in mind the possibility of three very distinct relations,—primary cause, concomitant, effect. In psychical investigation the caution is particularly necessary. Now, is this flow of blood the sufficient and primary cause of hypnotism,—the hypnotic state? Does it explain those rare cases of somnambulant clairvoyance in which the subject describes and relates things not only before unknown to himself, but also unknown to all present? And if the subject fail and blunder, does the blood explanation serve here? Whatever one may mean by "thought transference," does the blood explicate all, or anything, here?

Finally, in these cases—which are authenticated beyond honest doubt—of "trance," in which competent physicians have pronounced the subject dead,—where the heart has ceased to beat, where there is no natural warmth, where the blood has ceased to circulate,—in these cases, I ask, where is this more or less blood, which must (says the writer) control and cause the thoughts of this person who is all the time conscious of the funeral preparations going on round him, who hears every word said, and who is all this time in the most exquisite mental agony, yet wholly unable to manifest any sign of life or consciousness,—who is completely unable to make the required connection between subjective and objective self,—who may exercise his "will-power" to his full limit, but cannot bring about the proper effect? I will say no more on this subject. I use it, because it is striking, on account of its infrequency; familiarity has not yet bred contempt; yet it is no harder to explain than the ordinary sleeping and waking,—requires no other principles or psychic laws.

Because one thing happens or is true that doesn't always necessarily prohibit the possibility of another thing happening or being true. It depends on conditions. Science should give everything its just and proper place. We should not get so tangled up and overwhelmed with phenomena and mechanism that we can't see or realise noumena and meaning. We must realise that "naming" isn't necessarily "explaining"—especially when the names are merely *hypothetical* labels to denote certain *unexplained* entities or actions, such as auto-suggestion, thought-transference, telepathy, and other "well known" mental phenomena and powers. Our explanations should not be still more miraculously inexplicable or mere empty names. It isn't likely that thoughts are things; nor knowledge substance.

"Will-power," says the writer, is "the ability of determinating a preponderating activity to one or more ganglia or groups of nerve-cells, and so causing nervous force to be directed or expended through *one* channel, or to *one* organ, rather than to another." Now, even granting the validity of, and the sequence of the parts in, this definition—which is unnecessary—still, whence this "ability" which determinates this "activity" which causes the direction and expense of this "ner-

vous force"? Study this definition and you will see what I mean by mechanism so filling the mind's eye that it is impossible to see, or inquire into, the meaning. Granting that the phenomena are comprehended—which is questionable—still the truth remains that both phenomena and noumena, or *both* mechanism and meaning, should be comprehended. What the definition would mean is that will-power is the ability to direct and control thoughts, I infer. But what, in his definition, has this "ability"? I can deduce only from his argument that more or less blood controls the thoughts—or, it could be differently worded, as it is in his definition, if necessary.

Now since this quantity of blood effects and controls all these thoughts, the will-power must be subject to it "in vision," so also in waking hours—if he is correct,—that is, the "ability" must belong to this more or less blood.

It is only too true that many so-called scientists not only have never known the scientific spirit, but are also much like the Irishman who couldn't "see the city, for the houses," and whose explanations are as delightfully elucidating as the small boy's information shouted at the farmer, "Mister, your wheel's turning round," and "There's spokes in your wheel."

That these psychical powers are real; that these psychological phenomena have been witnessed, and credited as bona fide, what man who has followed the developments of psychical research will question? That if they exist or occur they must necessarily be natural and entirely according to "law," what scientist will doubt? Consequently, who will hesitate to acknowledge that our duty is thorough and unprejudiced investigation, before we dogmatically assert or seem to argue concerning said powers and phenomena? And, again, be sure of your fundamentals; be sure of your accoutrement: let there be no erroneous nor senseless nor gratuitous presuppositions.

This more or less blood is undoubtedly a marvellous and venerable power if it is a sufficient explanation of visions, and likewise of all other psychical action. It must be the sufficient and easy explanation of the writer's article, and of this letter also.

Now this, while it may confound the ignorant and make amusement for the careless, cannot but grieve the scientific; and bring ridicule upon science: pray you avoid it. And let us pray that this more or less blood drive us not into too much, one way or the other.

L. M. J.

[The author of this letter is a man of wide experience in the field of spiritualistic phenomena and comes from a family of extraordinarily sensitive disposition. His father was a writing medium when four years of age, but such occult habits were not encouraged in those days, and the grandfather interfered. Mr. L. M. J. is quite familiar with the experiences of his father which he listened to in his childhood, and he thought of questioning them as little as his fairy-tales. But after graduating from college he became a zealous investigator of spiritual manifestations, for he believed that they merit first an investigation and then an explanation. He writes: "My attitude was simply that of the scientist inquiring into any phenomena, without prejudice or desire one way or other: I wanted only to understand the facts, the same as in any other case; and I have not the least feeling of partisanship for them more than any reality,—for so they seem to me. Yet there has been humbug and insufficient mediumship: and this too must be explained. I hold to no ism of any sort; and would that all be subjected to strict and impartial investigation by pure scientific methods."

Lieut.-Col. Gardner has promised to consider L. M. J.'s criticism and may

answer the same in a forthcoming number. The editor, belonging to the large class of doubters, has expressed his views on the subject in an article entitled "Spirit or Ghost," which appeared in the April *Monist*.—*Ed.*]

CHARITY.

BY THE HON. C. C. BONNEY.

Of all the angels sent us from the throne
 Of the Divine, the loveliest one is known
 By the sweet name of Charity. Her face
 Filled with the beauty of celestial grace,
 Turns from the splendors of the rich and strong,
 To seek the lowliest in sorrow's throng,
 And change their tears and wretchedness and pain
 To peace and joy. She asks no other gain
 Than the delight of making others blest
 With food and shelter, raiment, work and rest,
 Virtue and peace, pure lives and worthy deeds,
 And all the graces that the great world needs.

A SPIRITUALISTIC SEANCE.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

As an inquirer into the phenomena of Spiritualism, I was naturally interested in the article in *The Open Court* of December, 1901, written by Lieut.-Col. Gardner—"An Evening with the Spiritualists."

The account of a *séance* at Boston brought to my mind an incident which—occurring within my own experience, a few years ago—has led me to regard a great deal of present-day "Spiritualism" as about the lowest form of "Materialism" to which mankind can descend.

I was invited one evening to a *séance* in one of our New Zealand towns: about twenty persons were present (male and female, say half and half). The meeting was presided over by an individual known to the others as "Brother" Jones, who opened the proceedings by requesting "Brother" Fish to oblige the company with a prayer. Brother Fish's abilities in this direction were extraordinary indeed: he addressed Omnipotence with a fervor and unctuousness which would have done credit to a Salvation Army officer or Latter Day Saint; and at the same time gave utterance to a caricature of the "Lord's Prayer" which (could it only have been reported) would have been worthy of a prominent place in the French "Comic Bible," or the "Annals of Blasphemy." The prayer concluded, Brother Fish was invited to sing a hymn; upon which that personification of piety led the congregation in a strictly original version of "Abide with Me"; I say "strictly original," because though he knew the tune well enough, his knowledge of the words was limited to "Abide with me, fast falls the even tide," which he adapted to the tune, with consummate solemnity, from beginning to end: the effect of this "exercise" upon myself was more ridiculous than sublime. This part of the proceedings being over, Brother Jones stated that, the regular medium being absent, their friend Brother Bell would give an "inspired" address; and Brother Bell having

gone off into a "trance" (under the influence of another infliction of "Abide with me"), proceeded "inspirationally" thus :

"Jab; Jab; Jab; Yah; Yah; Yah; Yabbababba;
 "Bok; Bo—o—ak; Bok; Bok; Bokbokbok;
 "A—a—a—ah! U—u—u—u—uh!"

Then silence for a few seconds; followed by several long sighs, and most dismal groans.

Then, very quickly :

"Jabyab; Jabyab. Bokbokbokbokbok!
 "Oo—oo—oo—oo—oo—oo—oo—oo—oo!" (like a long howl).

And so on; the same repeated *ad libitum* for more than half an hour.

While this "speaking with tongues" proceeded, the company—who were sitting in pitch darkness—preserved silence; but when Brother Bell's "control" had concluded his discourse, a loud hum of conversation ensued, the burden of which was a desire to know what was the *language* of this long and entertaining address. My acknowledgment of some slight acquaintance with French, Italian, and German appeared to lead to a general agreement that it could be neither of these; and finally a "sister," who was evidently laboring under an attack of intense hysterical excitement, shrieked out :

"Oh, dear brethren, it was Persian! Persian! A—a— ah!
 (A piercing scream here.)
 "The spirit of the Lord hath been poured richly upon us!"

The company generally having apparently accepted (without any debate) the lady's "inspired" utterance, and agreed that the language was Persian, order was restored; and Brother Jones having announced that poor Brother Bell was terribly "torn," this noisy "intelligence" was helped out of him by means of a repetition of "Abide with me."

Brother Bell, having received the congratulations of his friends, volunteered a second "trance" address; and another—but milder—"spirit" having been sung into him, with the help of "Abide with me," he proceeded, after a few preliminary grunts and snorts, to edify the company with a very long and vapid sermon about nothing. When this was over, Brother Jones asked for questions; and I made so bold as to request the spirit to give us the meaning of the "Persian" address; after taking a little time for consideration, the reply was given that "the spirit did not think it proper that any explanation should be given."

After relieving Brother Bell of the second spirit by means of a final application of "Abide with me," the company dispersed, with mutual congratulations upon the amount of "psychic power" generated during the sitting. Before leaving I shook hands with Brother Bell and asked him how he felt; he replied that the "great volume of odic force generated" had made a new man of him, and that in future he intended to sit "only for healing."

Spiritualism of this type has more devotees in the English-speaking world than is generally supposed, nor is it limited only to the uneducated and simple; I am acquainted with people in most walks of life—doctors, lawyers, tradesmen, laborers, even clergymen—who are making, or playing at making, a religion of it; and yet with such barbarism flourishing in our midst we are sending away thousands of pounds every year for the conversion of Chinamen, Mahometans, and Hindoos.

No wonder the Mormons (who have the sense to regard such proceedings as

little better than devil-worship) find these Colonies a promising field for their missions, and feel that in taking their converts away to Utah and Idaho they are but obeying the commandments of the Lord, in dividing the sheep from the goats.

W. H. TRIMBLE.

DUNEDIN, New Zealand, March 10, 1902.

FROM THE ADI GRANTH, THE HOLY SCRIPTURES OF THE
SIKHS.

BY E. MARTINENGO-CESARESCO.

Be kind! Make this thy mosque—a fabric vast and fair;
Be true! Make this thy carpet, spread five times for prayer;
Be just! When art thou this, thy lawful meat thou hast;
Be good! In this behold thy God-appointed fast.

Thy cleansing rite a heart that no lustration needs,
Thy rosary a crown of self-forgetful deeds.¹

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

THE BEGINNING OF POETRY. By *Francis B. Gummere*, Professor of English in Haverford College. New York: The Macmillan Co. 1901. Pages, x, 483.

Professor Gummere has given us in this book a very interesting study. One can scarcely refrain from smiling, however, on reading his opening sentence, that it is his object "neither to *defend* poetry nor to account for it;" as though to *defend* the effusions of the muse were something that was *per se* incriminating. Yet poetry has not been without its detractors. Peacock, Plato, and Mahomet, *tres nobiles fratres*, have vilified it; Selden, in his *Table Talk*, Pascal, Newton, Lefebvre, Bentham, and Renan have been among its scoffers; and even Shakespeare had his fling at the art. But most horrible of all is the arraignment of Goethe, who, in answer to the question, "Who is driving poetry from off the face of the earth?" pertinently replied: "The poets." A defence, therefore, even after Professor Gummere's admissions, would seem to be slightly necessary.

But Professor Gummere's purpose has been different: it is "to use the evidence of ethnology in connection with the progress of poetry itself, as one can trace it in the growth or decay of its elements. . . . The elements of poetry, in the sense here indicated, and combined with sociological considerations, have," he says, "never been studied for the purpose of determining poetic evolution; and in this study lie both the intention of the present book and whatever modest achievement its writer can hope to attain." He considers rhythm as the essential fact of poetry; he finds also that poetry is communal and social in its origin, and artistic and individual in its outcome. The author has well summarised his conclusions. After remarking that we may think of poetry in its beginnings as rude to a degree, yet nobly rude and full of promise, he says: "Circling in the common dance, moving and singing in the consent of common labor, the makers of earliest poetry put into

¹ "The sounds not beaten by human hands are always sounding" (in the ears of the true worshipper).

"These *unbeaten sounds* are said to sound in the *daswa duar* as a sign that the personality is merged in the Supreme, by continually hearing these supernatural sounds (*om, om*)."

Note to text, by Dr. Ernest Trumpp (Translation of the *Adi Granth*. 1877).

it those elements without which it cannot thrive now. They put into it, for the formal side, the consent of rhythm, outward sign of the social sense; and, for the nobler mood, they gave it that power by which it will always make the last appeal to man, the power of human sympathy, whether in love or in hate, in joy or in sorrow, the power that links this group of sensations, passions, hopes, fears, which one calls self, to all the host of kindred selves dead, living, or to be born. No poetry worthy of the name has failed to owe its most diverse triumphs to that abiding power. It is in such a sense that prehistoric art must have been one and the same with modern art. Conditions of production as well as of record have changed; the solitary poet has taken the place of a choral throng, and solitary readers represent the listening group; but the fact of poetry itself reaches below all these mutations, and is founded on human sympathy as on a rock. More than this. It is clear from the study of poetic beginnings that poetry in its larger sense is not a natural impulse of man simply as man. His rhythmic and kindred instincts, latent in the solitary state, found free play only under communal conditions, and as powerful factors in the making of society." μ.

We are glad to announce the appearance of a new and cheap edition of Prof. Adolf Harnack's work, *Das Wesen des Christenthums*, consisting of sixteen lectures delivered in the University of Berlin during the winter term of 1899 to 1900. Dr. Harnack has earned a well-deserved reputation for theological erudition and his great work, *The History of Dogma*, has taken front rank among books on this subject. But he is more than a scholar; he is also a man of great religious enthusiasm who has declared that "the theologians of every country only half discharge their duties if they think it enough to treat of the Gospel in the recondite language of learning and bury it in scholarly folios." The present lectures were accordingly designed to present the essential features of the Christian religion and its historical development in a popular form for lay students of every calling. The lectures were a great success in Berlin and appear to have served their purpose admirably. The publishers of the work are the prominent house of J. C. Hinrichs, of Leipsic, which has made a speciality of theological and Oriental works of every character. It was they who issued Dr. Delitzsch's lecture on "Babel and Bible." Readers unacquainted with German may be grateful to know that Dr. Harnack's work was, on its first appearance last year, translated into English by T. Baily Saunders, under the title, "What is Christianity?", and published by G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. The price of the German edition is one mark fifty pfennigs, bound.

Mr. John Maddock has published a booklet entitled: *A Catechism of Positive, Scientific Monism. In Refutation of the Negative Monism of Prof. Ernst Haeckel*. He defines monism as "the science which teaches that all forms come forth from the great, universal, material womb—intelligent, potential matter." The dynamic force of nature Mr. Maddock calls "the Great Dynamis," which is intelligent "because its works show intelligence." But Dynamis is no God, and "the universe is governed by its own inherent laws." Eternal life is "that which is in the atoms out of which all forms are made." Man "cannot save himself," but it is the work of the Great Dynamis to fashion him and to "reach his specific goal." The "result of the scientific teaching of positive monism will be peace on earth."

Mr. Maddock endorses the Higher Criticism, and claims that his positive monism is practically based on the same principles as Christianity.

Crane & Co., of Topeka, Kas., have just published a *Life of Charles Robinson, the First State Governor of Kansas*. The author is Frank W. Blackmar, Ph. D., Professor of Sociology and Economics in the University of Kansas. He has had access to the collection of sources of the Kansas Historical Society, and his work will be one of value to those interested in the foundation and growth of this typical Western state. "From the life of Charles Robinson," says his biographer, "much of the early history of Kansas radiates in every direction as from a common center." His service to the State of Kansas is, in fact, unparalleled in the history of that commonwealth and has become an integral part of its political and social patrimony. Mr. Robinson was the founder of the now flourishing city of Lawrence and the staunchest supporter of the vigorous university of that place. He participated also in the foundation of the Territorial Government of Kansas, but most signally distinguished himself in the great struggle to make Kansas a Free State,—a struggle that was the most characteristic of all the stirring events preceding the Civil War and that ultimately led to the overthrow of slavery. The present volume is adorned with many handsome illustrations, including portraits of the ex-Governor and also of Mrs. Robinson, who still resides in the city of Lawrence.

The pretensions of biology to be the fundamental and controlling science in the construction of our views of the world have waxed so enormously of late that Dr. J. Grasset, Professor in the medical faculty of Montpellier, France, has felt called upon to refute these claims in a little volume entitled *Les limites de la biologie*. The book is the outgrowth of a lecture delivered before a convention of Catholic physicians in Marseilles. Dr. Grasset has sought to demonstrate that biology is not the universal science, that biological concepts and points of view are not the only modes of thought and knowledge, that biology has well-defined limits separating it from the other sciences and other forms of knowledge. In pursuing his plan he has endeavored also to refute biological monism, which he calls "the seductive incarnation of positivistic monism." In the claims of biology for universal control he finds old claims only, such as have been frequently put forward in the history of philosophy. The author has supported his contentions with many quotations (Paris: Félix Alcan, Éditeur. 1902. Pages, iii, 188. Price, 2 fr. 50.)

Dr. Lyman Abbott has published in book form his lectures on *The Rights of Man*, delivered before the Lowell Institute of Boston, in January and February of last year. The lectures were not rewritten for publication in book form, but were taken down in shorthand. It has been Dr. Abbott's purpose to define with approximate accuracy what the rights of man are in State, Church, and Society; to indicate the fundamental principles according to which our nation must frame all its policies,—principles which he believes are "absolute, eternal, and unalterable, because they are divine," because they inhere in the nature of man and of human society, because they inhere in the nature of God. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1901. Pages, xi, 375. Price, \$1.50 net.)

Mr. Charles Watts has replied in a brochure of 102 pages, entitled *The Miracles of Christian Belief*, to the Rev. Ballard's *Miracles of Unbelief*, which he defines to be "the best exposition and defence of Christian claims made in recent times." Rationalists will follow Mr. Watt's arguments with interest, as they are from the pen of one of their most vigorous champions. (London: Watts & Co. Price, 1 shilling.)

A book on practical psychology written in simple and colloquial language has been attempted by Dr. Edward Thorndike, of Teachers College, Columbia University, New York City. The title is: *The Human Nature Club*. The book, as its author states, merely aims to "introduce the reader to the scientific study of human nature and intelligence," and is intended "to be useful to intelligent people in general and especially to young students in normal and high schools beginning the study of psychology." Dr. Thorndike has, according to his own confession, merely paraphrased in simple language the doctrines of the leading text-book psychologists, and has adopted the unconventional form of fictitious dialogue as his means of presentation. In our opinion much of this dialogue is unnecessary and at times undignified, but it is possible that it may be of assistance to some people in acquiring a knowledge of the simpler teachings of routine psychology. The book was originally written for Chautauquan readers. (New York: Longmans, Green & Co. 1901. Pages, vii, 235. Price, \$1.25.)

F. York Powell, Regius Professor of Mediæval and Modern History in the University of Oxford, has written an inspiring preface to a little work by Charles Beard, entitled: *The Industrial Revolution*, which briefly and pointedly records the history of the economic progress of England from 1760 to the beginning of the present century. Mr. Beard believes that a reorganisation of industry is "both necessary and desirable, not that one class may benefit at the expense of another, but that the energy and wealth wasted in an irrational system may be saved to humanity, and that the bare struggle for a living may not occupy the best hours of the workers' lives." "There is yet remaining," he says, "the problem of individual development, which must find its solution in the reorganisation of our educational system on the basis of social need and morality." (New York: The Macmillan Co. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd. 1901. Pages, xiii, 105. Price, forty cents.)

The American Unitarian Association of Boston, Mass., has published for free distribution a pamphlet by the Rev. Joseph Henry Crooker, D. D., entitled: *The Unitarian Church; A Statement*. The purpose of the pamphlet is "to give briefly and clearly certain information about the Unitarian Church: its history, its characteristic convictions, its achievements, its hopes." Dr. Crooker recognises that Unitarianism is not now and probably never will be the one universal religion; but is rather a particular form of the religious life. It has been its aim to affirm the great spiritual ideals of the human soul, to "cultivate the religious spirit that includes all truth, and the religious sentiment that embraces all men." The Unitarian teaching, Dr. Crooker says, does not antagonise other forms of faith, but merely endeavors to preserve the historical continuity of the progressive spiritual life of the Christian centuries.

The Psychological Index, No. 8, for the year 1901, has just recently been issued as an appendix to *The Psychological Review*. It is a bibliography of the entire periodical and book literature of psychology and the kindred subjects of biology, pathology, general philosophy, etc., for the year 1901. It contains the titles of 2985 books, pamphlets, and articles.

The Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Congress of Religion held at Buffalo, N. Y., in June and July, 1901, are published by the Unity Publishing Co., of Chicago.

M. Fr. Paulhan's *Psychological Study of Character* met with almost unexpected success on its original appearance, the first edition having been exhausted almost immediately after its publication. It has now been reprinted, and the author has enlarged it by a preface of some thirty-six pages in reply to the numerous criticisms which were advanced against its tenets when the book was first published. M. Paulhan's conception of the subject of psychology of character is, as he claims, new and original with him. He seeks to show how the various manifestations of *abstract laws* produce different classes of psychic types; in his view, concrete psychology, or the study of the forms of character, is intimately connected with abstract psychology, of which he studies, analyses, and arranges the "different incarnations." (*Les caractères*. Par F. Paulhan. Paris: Félix Alcan, Éditeur. 1902. Pages, xxxiii, 244. Price, 5 francs.)

Dr. Lester F. Ward has contributed a report on sociology at the Paris Exhibition of 1900 to the *Report of the Commissioner of Education*, announced for speedy publication. Readers will find here admirably summarised the investigations which are being conducted in all civilised countries into the deeper problems of social life.

We desire to acknowledge the receipt of an Italian pamphlet by Icilio Vanni, Professor of the Philosophy of Law in the University of Rome. The pamphlet treats of the theory of knowledge as a sociological induction from positivism. It is published in Rome, Via Nazionale, 200.

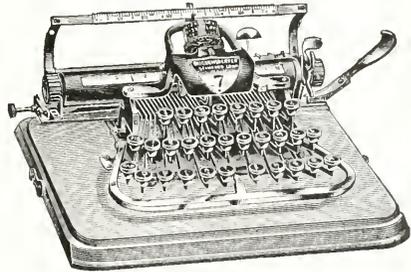
DOCTOR MARIE ZAKRZEWSKA.

Died May 13th, 1902.

While going to press, we are informed through the daily papers of the demise on May 13th of Dr. Marie Zakrzewska, of Boston, at the age of seventy-three years. She was a remarkable personality, and we wish every one of our readers had known her as well as the writer of these lines did while living in Boston many years ago. She was one of the foremost women physicians in New England, if not in the whole world. She studied medicine at a time when no one as yet knew the need of women physicians who, if not for other reasons, are sorely needed for the many ailments women are subject to, which are often neglected for lack of care because many women are reluctant to discuss their symptoms with male physicians. She was practically the founder of the Woman's Hospital in Roxbury, Mass., creditably known all over the country. But her interests were not limited to the medical profession and to the care of the physical health of her sex; she extended her help to everyone that was in need of assistance, and paved the way for young men and women to establish themselves in life, by practical advice as well as by pecuniary assistance. The present generation of women physicians in Boston look rightly to her as their foster mother, and the Woman's Hospital is a living memorial of her life and her spirit that will be more enduring, certainly more useful, than ever a monument of marble or bronze could be. Her life is finished, but the work she has done will not die; even if her name should be forgotten, the spirit of her noble aspirations, her practical methods, her charitable disposition, will not die, for it has become a living building-stone in the life of the nation, and as a woman physician she has become an ideal worthy of imitation and emulation. P. C.

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The Open Court Publishing Co. has procured from Elisabet Ney, the famous sculptress, the original model of her well-known bust of Schopenhauer, made in 1859, a year before the death of the great philosopher. (Photographs on application.)

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RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

This book is a translation of the Introduction to Professor Gunkel's great work *Commentar über Genesis*, recently published in Göttingen. The *Commentar* itself is a new translation and explanation of Genesis,—a bulky book, and in its German form of course accessible only to American and English scholars, and not to the general public. The present *Introduction* contains the gist of Professor Gunkel's *Commentar*, or exposition of the latest researches on Genesis in the light of analytical and comparative mythology.

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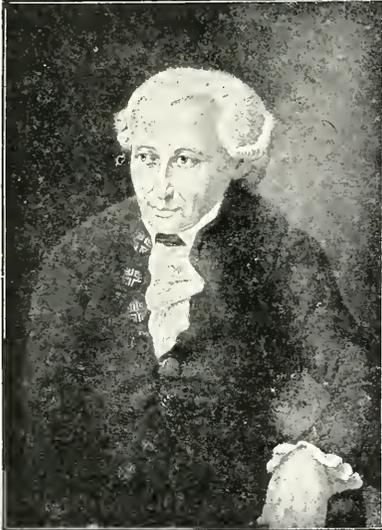
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