

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Editor: DR. PAUL CARUS,
Assistant Editor: T. J. McCORMACK.

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

VOL. XIV. (NO. 1)

JANUARY, 1900.

NO. 524

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CHICAGO

The Open Court Publishing Company

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C. C. Bonney

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THE PRINCIPLES OF THE OPEN COURT.

BY THE HON. C. C. BONNEY.

President of the World's Congresses of 1893.

IF *The Open Court* can be made a high meeting-place for Orthodox, Liberal, Oriental, and Scientist, where, with mutual respect and affection, they may present their views of the great questions of Life and Immortality, with absolute freedom from all attempts at coercion or persecution, immense good can surely be accomplished, and the Magazine could not fail to obtain a very large circulation. I have been so deeply impressed during the last few months with the importance of this mission that I have finally felt impelled to try to put in form its principles.

1. *The Open Court* stands for Liberty of Thought, Freedom of Conscience, the earnest pursuit of Truth and loyalty to the Truth under all circumstances.

2. The Truth itself is eternal, immutable and divine; but in its various manifestations it appears differently to different individuals, according to their different mental characteristics, environment and education. Hence arise varieties in Science, Religion and other matters.

3. By the Science of Religion we mean the arrangement, study and application of religious truths according to scientific methods; for in this way errors may most readily be detected and rejected and true doctrines seen, formulated and applied to life.

4. By the Religion of Science we mean that even scientific truth should be regarded as sacred, since it is an emanation from the Deity Himself; and that this scientific truth should be reverently regarded, studied and applied to life by all Religious leaders according to their knowledge and opportunities.

5. By the Religious Parliament Idea we mean the application of the Golden Rule to the things of religion; and that differences of opinion and belief should be made the grounds for friendly conference and comparison for mutual benefit; while all controversy and persecution on account of such differences should be resolutely suppressed.

6. We hold that differences of knowledge, opinion, belief and resulting lines of conduct should not be made causes of strife, but should excite sympathy and effort to be sincerely helpful.

7. We hold the obvious truth that every one must be helped, if at all, in the state in which he is, and that nothing intended to be helpful to him can be received unless it be adapted to his present actual condition.

The unlearned person who believes in the apparent truth of the rising and setting of the Sun is entitled to even more gentle and considerate treatment than he whose scientific training enables him to understand the real truth that the earth turns her face to and from the Sun. He who is color-blind to the delicate tints of the rainbow, and he who has no ear for the finer notes of music, calls for sympathy and aid, not abuse and persecution. And yet abuse and persecution in such cases would be no more reprehensible and abhorrent to the sense of justice than would be abuse and persecution because a fellow-being is unable to perceive a scientific truth or a religious truth which may be perfectly clear to other minds differently endowed and better cultivated.

8. We hold that a large allowance should always be made for the imperfections of language and the difficulties of expressing with precision the ideas which there is a desire to communicate. It is a true maxim "That no one ever means exactly what he says, because, from the imperfections of language, no one can ever say exactly what he means." This maxim applies with great force to the different religious denominations, and the terms used in their respective creeds.

9. The supreme object of *The Open Court* is to spread the light of Science and Religious Truth throughout the world, and to bring those who hold different convictions into harmonious relations in which they may be helpful to each other. Asking respect for our own convictions, and a willingness to hear and consider our views, we stand ready to accord the like treatment to all those whose views may differ from our own; thus doing to others as we would have them do to us, according to the mandate of the Golden Rule.

10. Finally we hold that while Truth, as we have said above,

is Eternal, Immutable and Divine, its manifestations have ever varied and must continue to vary, not only from age to age, but from day to day. The mighty movement of the material universe through space only corresponds to the like tremendous upward movement of Humanity, in its wonderful evolution and development. Hence arises the impossibility of framing any creed, Scientific or Religious, which shall bind and hold the truth for future ages. The creeds, like the doctrines of Constitutional Law, must expand to meet the new emergencies which continually arise.

11. We do not regard differences of opinion and belief in Science or in Religion as unimportant. On the contrary, we hold that the convictions of Truth and Duty on which the soul rests as the result of its struggles to overcome difficulties and reach the light, are among its most precious possessions. No matter how widely we may differ from those convictions, we are bound by the highest considerations to regard them with kindness and respect.

12. The interchange of religious views should be characterised by perfect frankness and sincerity, coupled with an earnest effort to avoid giving offense. In this way only can progress be made.

In order that the expressions used in this Declaration of Principles may be understood at their true value, the writer feels that he ought to state in this connexion that he holds highly orthodox views of the great doctrines of the Christian religion. As an ultra and ardent Christian he extends the love and sympathy of the Golden Rule to Brahmin and Buddhist, Parsee and Confucian, Jew and Liberal, and to all forms of the Christian faith. In the name of the Infinite tolerance of God he appeals to them all to unite against the infinite intolerance of man to secure throughout the world the abolition of religious persecution in all its forms, and the establishment of a universal reign of religious liberty; to the end that man may everywhere "act in freedom according to reason." This is the doctrine of the World's Parliament of Religions.

Fraternal conference on differences of opinion and belief is the crucible in which the dross of error is best separated from the pure metal of Truth.

How then may the Truth be made triumphant throughout the world? By love and service. There is no other way. Always the Truth is saying to the soul "Behold, I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come in and sup with him and he with me." But the Truth does not enter unbidden. It waits for the soul to open the door and bid it welcome. Thus the soul can "Know the Truth, and the Truth will make it free." And in this freedom the soul will realise the truth of the paradox that the more absolute its submission to the Truth, the more perfect will be its sense of liberty.

THE HON. C. C. BONNEY, THE INAUGURATOR OF THE PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE Honorable Charles Carroll Bonney is best known to the world as the inaugurator and president of the World's Congresses held at Chicago, in 1893, in connexion with the World's Columbian Exposition. But this famous event, which was due to his initiative, and the success of which was the result of the tact with which he managed the large enterprise, is only the crowning consummation of many previous efforts in the pursuit of various noble ideals all tending in the same direction,—the elevation of mankind and the realisation of the new Jerusalem on earth. Mr. Bonney, like so many other reformers and prophets, was enchanted with the dearest dreams of human hopes, but his aspirations were distinguished by a deep and clear insight into practical realities. He saw the vision of things hoped for, but he knew at the same time what could be accomplished. Applying the jurist's sense of justice and an unusual business ability to the dream of the millennium, he avoided visionary methods, for he knew how things ought to be done, and if the millennium has not come about we can claim without exaggeration that Mr. Bonney has accomplished much that was deemed impossible before.

That representatives of all the religions should sit in brotherly unison on one and the same platform, each one presenting what he deemed the greatest and best in his faith, has never before been realised on the earth; and some of the Old World journals actually doubted whether the Religious Parliament of Chicago was a real fact or merely the invention of the fertile imagination of American journalists. Yet the event took place and is an historical fact which will continue to exercise a powerful influence upon the religious life of mankind. Indeed, we claim that it ushers in a new period in the history of religion which will raise missionarising to a higher

level and bring about a closer and more brotherly exchange of thoughts among the different faiths of the earth—the result of which will be that the truth will prevail in the end.¹

We came first in contact with Mr. Bonney during the World's Congresses in 1893, both in committee meetings and on the platform of the World's Parliament of Religions. A closer connexion was established when the Religious Parliament Extension was founded in 1895, of which Mr. Bonney was chosen president, and the editor of *The Open Court* secretary. Soon afterwards, with the beginning of 1897, *The Open Court*, following the advice of Mr. Bonney, adopted as its object the declaration of being devoted to the Science of Religion, the Religion of Science, and the extension of the Religious Parliament Idea. Remaining faithful to an old ideal to establish religion on the safe basis of fact, we discovered not only the religious value of science, but saw also in the Religious Parliament Idea, such as it had been actually carried out under the wise management of Mr. Bonney, the best method of establishing the truth. There is no need of quarrelling about differences of faith; there is no use in ridiculing those who depart from our ways of belief; and worst of all is persecution. The method of the Parliament is presentation of the best everybody has to offer. The Parliament is not intended to make light of the differences of faith; on the contrary it emphasises them; it is not intended to bring all down to the same level, but on the contrary to leave to all the heights which the various religious leaders have attained and to measure by them the worth of each faith. Ridicule only was excluded and critique was admitted only if made in a brotherly spirit of kindness and with proper courtesy.

The managers of the Parliament of Religions exercised a strict impartiality and did not press their own views. They endeavored to be just to all, being confident that truth would take care of itself.

Mr. Bonney, who is a native of the State of New York, was born at Hamilton, September 4, 1831, was named for Charles Carroll of Carrollton, the last surviving signer of the Declaration of Independence, and was the son of a farmer. He was educated in public schools and in Hamilton Academy, but his chief source of instruction was private study. He had also many advantages in Madison,

¹We do not intend to underrate the famous religious conference of the Buddhist Emperor Ashoka, which is commonly quoted to prove the tolerance of Buddhist rulers. It was an enterprise carried out in the same spirit as the Religious Parliament of Chicago, but it was, after all, not an assemblage in which the priests of the various religions came voluntarily and out of their own hearts' desire; they came at the summons of the sovereign of the country who admonished them to settle their quarrels in an amicable spirit. Moreover, it was on a smaller scale, and apparently controversial in its nature.

now Colgate, University, though engaged in teaching instead of pursuing the regular course of instruction. From this University he received the degree of Doctor of Laws. He is a Counsellor of the Supreme Court of the United States, and has been President of the Illinois State Bar Association, and Vice-President of the American Bar Association.

In 1887 he was strongly recommended by leading legal, financial and other journals, for appointment as one of the judges of the Supreme Court of the United States, as a man who stands in the very front rank of Western lawyers and jurists, of high literary culture, of judicial temperament, undoubtedly worthy of that high position, and who would be an ornament to any judicial position in the country.

In the field of practical reform, Mr. Bonney's efforts have been important and largely successful. Among the leading reforms proposed and advocated by him are the following, with the dates when he began to write and speak in their favor, and, if carried into effect, the time of their adoption: Uniformity of State constitutions and general statutes, proposed in 1852; constitutional prohibition of special legislation proposed in 1854, and adopted in Illinois in 1870; a national banking system, proposed in 1858, and adopted by Congress in 1864; railroad supervision by State authority, proposed in 1861, and adopted in Illinois in 1871; a national civil service academy to educate selected men in government and diplomacy as the Military Academy does in the art of war, proposed in 1876; national regulation of Inter-State Commerce, proposed in 1878, and adopted by Congress in 1887; uniformity of commercial paper in Inter-State transactions, proposed in 1882, and since pending in Congress; a system of civil service pensions, proposed in 1884; State boards of labor and capital with plenary executive powers to prevent evils arising from labor strikes, proposed in 1886; the appointment of regular United States judges to hold the foreign Courts now held by consuls and ministers, proposed in 1888; and the establishment of a permanent International Court of Justice, proposed in 1889, and favored by eminent European as well as American jurists and statesmen and in all essential features now adopted by the peace commissioners at The Hague. Thus Mr. Bonney was exceedingly active as an author on reform and legal topics which prepared him excellently for the great work that was to bring him more prominently before the public.

In September 1889 Mr. Bonney brought forward the World's Congress scheme and proposed that "to make the Exposition com-

“plete and the celebration adequate, the wonderful achievements
“of the new age in science, literature, education, government,
“jurisprudence, morals, charity, religion, and other departments
“of human activity, should also be conspicuously displayed, as the
“most effective means of increasing the fraternity, progress, pros-
“perity and peace of mankind.”

After setting forth the plan, he added that :

“Such congresses, convened under circumstances so auspicious, would doubtless surpass all previous efforts to bring about a real fraternity of nations, and unite the enlightened people of the whole earth in a general co-operation for the attainment of the great ends for which human society is organised.

Mr. Bonney devoted four years to the World's Congress work, and in his closing address on October 28, 1893, he said :

“That these congresses have been successful far beyond anticipation, that they have transformed into enduring realities the hopes of those who organised and conducted them, and that they will exercise a benign and potent influence on the welfare of mankind through the coming centuries, has been so often, so emphatically and so eloquently declared by eminent representatives of different countries and peoples, that these statements may be accepted as established facts.

“That the material exhibit of the World's Columbian Exposition in Jackson Park is the most complete and magnificent ever presented to human view, is generally agreed, but a multitude of eminent witnesses have declared, after attendance on both, that the Intellectual and Moral Exposition of the Progress of Mankind presented in the World's Congresses of 1893 is greater and more imposing still.

“Thus the work of the World's Congress Auxiliary of the World's Columbian Exposition takes its enduring place in human history, an imperishable part of the progress of mankind.”

Mr. Bonney's plan was adopted, and he was made president of the World's Congresses of 1893. The success of these meetings is well known, and there is but one opinion—that the Parliament of Religions, which is but the chief congress among more than 200 conventions, was the greatest glory of the Chicago Exhibition.

It is difficult to appreciate the magnitude of the World's Congress work. Nearly six thousand speakers and writers took part in it. These participants were selected from all the continents, and represented one hundred and forty-seven nations, states, or colonies. There were twenty departments and two hundred and twenty-four divisions in which congresses were held.

Mr. Bonney, himself a conservative man, recognised the necessity of giving the Parliament a conservative character. It could be made a success only if it was liberal in principles, only if it recognised the institutions that had developed in the storm and stress of the past, and embodied the experiences of large fractions of mankind. He accordingly deemed it indispensable to have a

conservative man as chairman of the Parliament of Religions, and he selected for the place the Reverend Dr. John Henry Barrows, a Presbyterian minister of repute, of Chicago. Dr. Barrows accepted, though reluctantly, for the spirit of the Religious Parliament was in those days frequently misunderstood, and the chairman had to suffer much animadversion and was exposed to censure and even to obloquy. In spite of all difficulties and annoyances, Dr. Barrows held out, and his tact and dignified bearing contributed not a little to make the Parliament a success.

The Parliament was unique in its way, and even if it shall never again be repeated, it will remain a landmark in the history of religion. It was an event which was typically American, and is still looked upon as all but impossible in conservative Europe, where the idea still prevails that a man can mount a platform only in company with those whose opinions he would indorse. Republican institutions and the spirit of coöperating with men of different opinions has taught us a lesson in fraternity; and even the representatives of the most conservative church did not hesitate to appear on one and the same platform with heretics, Buddhists and Pagans. Forty-six congresses were held in the Department of religion, and the justice and impartiality of Mr. Bonney's management were approved by all. He made no concealment of his own views, but avowed himself "an ultra and ardent Christian," without offending any one.

The Religious Parliament is an event of history, and the Religious Parliament idea is still living and marching along, leading mankind on the road of progress.

One of the most marvellous achievements of the Parliament of Religions was the readiness with which all the Religions of the world united in the devout recital of the Lord's Prayer, happily designated by President Bonney as "The Universal Prayer." When at the opening of the Parliament Cardinal Gibbons used it, the vast audience of about four thousand people joined in it; and having been repeated on each of the seventeen days of the great convocation, the Parliament of Religions was closed with it by Rabbi Hirsch. Thus it became a deliberate expression of the world's religious unity.

The Religious Parliament Extension of Chicago, the committee of which meets from time to time under the presidency of Mr. Bonney, is only one local exponent of the movement. The main thing is that the idea has struck deep into the souls of many fervent religious minds, and works as a leaven in the dough to bring about a change in the various religious conceptions of mankind.

Thus, Mr. Bonney started a movement which will prove to have an everlasting influence upon all the generations to come.

THE IDOL AND THE IDEAL OF THE FRENCH REPUBLIC.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

THE symbolical bronze group, 'The Triumph of the Republic,' unveiled in Paris November 19, 1899, bore on that day a significance little imagined by the artist (Dalou) when he designed it. Twenty years ago he submitted to the Municipal Council of Paris a design not substantially different; ten years ago he was ordered to put it in bronze; it has long been completed, and its erection now is a reply to the assault at Auteuil on the President who unveiled it. By a republican instinct curiously prophetic the artist has omitted from it any military, clerical, or religious emblem; there is neither cross nor crown nor sword nor cannon. The Republic standing on a sphere extends her right hand earthward in benediction, her left hand resting on the fasces, symbol of strength in union. Her chariot is drawn by two lions on which reclines the Genius of the Revolution uplifting a torch. On her right is the blacksmith, hammer on shoulder, pushing the chariot-wheel, on her left Justice with her mace. Behind is Peace scattering roses in the path, and beside her Cupids with wreaths. A municipal placard invited the people to make at the unveiling a demonstration of their devotion to the Republic and their antagonism to its antagonists. These also issued their placard asking the people to despise this ceremonial which was that of a usurping Republic, and work for a true democratic Republic. Unfortunately for this placard (really issued by Deroulède just as he was imprisoned for insulting the President) the Senatorial High Court has for some weeks been revealing the insignificance of the two or three organisations hostile to the Republic, so that they could not claim any part of the 250,000 people (some papers double the estimate) who paid homage to the republican goddess. The most important feature of the demonstration however was not this vast number but

the fact that 1682 organised societies and unions had sent large delegations with banners and bands of music. Every variety of trade, work, art, was represented, and it was strange to see eight associations of Freethinkers, making a large regiment, marching along the noble Boulevard Voltaire—yes Voltaire—to unite in the new religion.

Had the unveiling occurred two days earlier it would have been an anniversary. On November 17, 1793, the artist David, in behalf of the Committee of Public Instruction submitted to the National Convention the plan for a memorial of the People's "Triumph over Tyranny and Superstition." On a foundation composed of the *débris* of the symbols (*idoles*) of Tyranny and Superstition was to stand the colossal figure of a Man, forty-six feet in height. One hand was to rest on a hammer, in the palm of the other hand should stand the figures of Liberty and Equality. "The victory will supply the bronze." That is, the destroyed statues and church-bells of the old *régime* would be melted and modelled into this mighty Man, on whose forehead was to be engraved "Light," on his breast "Nature," on his arms "Strength," on his hands "Toil." (*Lumière, Nature, Force, Travail.*)

But what had become of the third person in the revolutionary trinity,—Fraternity? She must have been guillotined along with the Girondins. Fresh from that slaughter the National Convention adopted the memorial design without amendment, and were such a Colossus now standing as ordered on the island (near Nôtre Dame) it would be the most genuinely historical monument in Europe. The worship of Nature,—“Nature red in tooth and claw,”—and of Thor, the god with the Hammer,—and of Liberty and Equality as held in the hand of a People built up out of the *débris* of crowns and altars, and giving both a new lease of power under democratic names,—all these are represented in that ideal of the Convention, after its decapitation, which to-day would seem a huge Idol.

And after another century has passed what will be thought of the "Triumph of the Republic" just set up in the Place de la Nation? That too will be interpreted by the history that shall follow it. What will that naked man on the lions do? Will his torch prove a light, or a brand? And the lions? When they lie down with the lambs will the lambs be inside them? Will Justice and Peace be inside them? Will the new memorial, artistically beautiful, when it suffers a further unveiling by events, prove to be an ideal or an idol?

Dalou's figures are fairly represented in the present government. President Loubet will stand only too well for Peace. When Minister of the Interior he stifled the Panamist prosecutions for the sake of Peace, and is now allowed no Peace on that account, though it was the act of the whole government. Justice is—ought to be—represented by Premier Waldeck-Rousseau, a great jurist. The workman has in the Cabinet Millerand, the socialist. But the foremost figures, the lions, are represented by the omnipotent Minister of War, Gallifet. These are the real heads. But who is that man couched on the lions, with his torch, or brand? That too must be Gallifet.

The angry placard of the so-called "Nationalists" promised that we should see at the ceremonial the comedy of the Municipal President (Lucipia), a member of the famous Commune, clasping hands with Gallifet the massacer of Parisiens. Gallifet's massacre of a large number of prisoners, unarmed communards, after the struggle was over, was indeed the worst deed of that time, and his only apology is the usual one for military crimes, that he "acted under order" of his superior (of course dead.) However, Gallifet was conspicuously absent from the ceremony and the banquet of November 19, and the only speech from the government was from Premier Waldeck-Rousseau. It was the timid hesitating speech of a very able and personally excellent man, conscious that at the very moment of celebrating a bronze Triumph of the Republic and the principles of the Revolution, he was trying to secure Peace by feeding the military lions from the flesh of Justice, and surrendering to plumed criminals the rights of innocent men.

Let me add to the above prologue, written after the unveiling of the memorial, a study of the present situation and prospects of France which concern the welfare of the world more than it is likely, amid its various distractions, to recognise.

THE POLITICAL EQUINOX IN FRANCE.

The official declaration of the Minister of War, Gallifet, on the morrow of Dreyfus' liberation, "The incident is finished," recalls the dying cry of the ancient Jewish martyr, "It is finished!" So it seemed to the authorities, and possibly the cry ascribed to Jesus was only a proclamation by some Gallifet—or Gallio—of the time. But no doubt it appeared to the martyr also that his God had forsaken him and his movement closed. And in an important sense he was right. Morally and spiritually the movement that arose,—mythically heralded by earthquake, darkness, and return from their

graves of the saints he had superseded,—was a new movement altogether. No longer humanised by the personal element, that being “finished by the great leader’s death,” the incident that rose with his spectre speedily became a political struggle which eventually involved the whole world.

The liberation of Dreyfus has withdrawn the personal element, —sympathy for an innocent sufferer and his family,—from this case. There is no need for pity. His honor is not involved: not only has the suffrage of mankind pronounced him innocent, but his chief persecutors now admit with bitterness that the so-called condemnation at Rennes was really an acquittal. For had the judges believed him guilty they must have found not “extenuating” but aggravated circumstances, and had guilt been proved the nation would un-animously have demanded death for a man who had added to his treason the years of agony into which France had been plunged by his much more treasonable efforts at concealment. Dreyfus is therefore no longer an object of compassion. With a record of heroic endurance for the sake of his family, beside a wife whose heroism has gained historic renown, with ample means, health nearly recovered, and surrounded by devoted friends, he occupies a position which thousands might envy of being the watchword in the great conflict of principles bequeathed by his martyrdom.

It is said that the blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church, but it is doubtful whether any canonised martyr, from Jesus down, would if alive belong to the Church claiming the sanction of his blood. Amid the many points of psychological interest in this latest martyrdom is a fact which has been veiled, namely, that whatever may be the case since the Rennes trial Dreyfus, beyond the defence of his innocence, was by no means “a Dreyfusard.” In his four-and-a-half years of silent entombment, utterly ignorant of the controversy, knowing nothing of the connotations and correlations that his case had drawn about it, nor of the moral evolutions and reversions it had caused, this victim exhibited at Rennes an attitude sufficient in itself to convince any impartial mind, however unacquainted with the evidence, of the absurdity of ascribing to him any disloyalty. The military habit was so organic in Dreyfus, deference to his superiors in command so ineradicable by any anguish or wrong, that his lawyers could not bring him to conceive the crimes committed against him by officers he had always respected. He instinctively treated them with respect in the Court even while they were bearing false witness against him. There is little doubt that the reason why Labori did not address

the Court was that Dreyfus would not consent to the exposure of the crimes and conspiracies of the officers pursuing him, an exposure which the great lawyer considered essential to success. When Labori near the close of the trial demanded a commission to obtain the testimony of the German and Italian ambassadors, he made too late a move that might have checkmated the Minister of War, Gallifet, who was passively playing the game at Rennes. It was too late because Dreyfus had previously refused his consent to the use of foreign testimony. Before the trial Joseph Reinach personally visited Germany and obtained the consent of the Berlin government to the depositions needed, but Dreyfus refused consent. An official declaration equivalent to a deposition was not used. Dreyfus would not allow it. Strong in his innocence he could not realise that it was precisely that innocence which raised over him the black cloud of mingled terror and hatred out of which fell the thunderstroke.

An impression seems to prevail in America that the martyrdom of Dreyfus was due to his Jewish blood. That is a superficial view. The recrudescence of the mediæval anti-semitic disease has been the consequence and not the cause of the Dreyfus affair. There is a potential anti-semitic mob in every continental country, but it was a sleeping bloodhound in France until the evidences of Dreyfus' innocence began to appear. When I came to Paris last year soon after the discovery of Henry's forgery, which had thrown suspicion on all the testimony against Dreyfus, the bloodhound *Judenhass* was just showing his teeth and yelping along the streets. He had a military collar round his neck, with a Roman cross pendant from it. He had been waked up because it had become clear that if Dreyfus was to be kept on Devil's Island it could not be done by any law but Lynch law. But the Jew-baiting mob was speedily silenced by the fact that some leading enemies of Dreyfus are Jews and that mob was never an important ally of the real forces represented in this historic affair, which is pregnant with issues of world-wide importance.

It is not easy to get at the heart of this Dreyfus case. The imagination of the world has been so impressed by its mountainous accumulation of anomalies, its strange incidents,—picturesque, tragical, romantic, pathetic,—not surpassed by the creations of Shakespeare or the visions of Dante, that an almost superstitious feeling invests it. Were the Dreyfus story translated from a newly-found papyrus I might at this moment be writing an essay to prove it a sun-and-storm myth. The Mithraic three-footed Sun (*Drei-fus*),

obscured by the Eastern Haze (Ester-hazy), and held in prison by the Ahrimanic "two-footed serpent of lies" (Du Paty = deux pattés), on the Devil's Island, is liberated at cock-crow (Galli-fête) on the eve of the autumnal equinox. What could be clearer? Of course I should merely smile at any scholars credulous enough to suppose that anything so impossible as the Dreyfus case could actually occur.

And yet when these marvellous facts are closely analysed a further surprise awaits the analyser, for he will find in the whole wonder, with all its figures and complications, the operation of a few commonplace forces. While following the case from day to day I sometimes thought of "the mystery of Iniquity," and almost felt as if some mystical agencies were at work—disinterested over souls of good and of evil contending,—but the phenomena always disclosed to scrutiny mere vulgar selfishness struggling against the elementary principles of justice and humanity.

Lord Bacon remarks that commotions in a State are apt to occur when political parties are nearly balanced, as storms rage at the equinoctia. Eminent meteorologists have brought the equinoctial gales into doubt, and on September 21, 1899, when the liberation of Dreyfus was announced, nature was particularly peaceful; external nature that is, but the political part of Bacon's aphorism was sufficiently justified. The tempests that attended the Rennes tribunal and the release of Dreyfus revealed the proximate equality of day and night, light and darkness, liberty and privilege, republicanism and militarism, reason and Romanism, in France. As in the biblical fable Jahve told Rebecca that it was not merely two babes that made her long for death, but "two nations are in the womb," even so in all modern countries there are contending national ideals, but in France the ideals are fairly born and organised in separate peoples. By evolutionary forces historically traceable back to the French Revolution, when the real Republic was guillotined and the military empire arose, there has been a development of irreconcilable nations in France. Each of these has intensified the other, inasmuch that in France Militarism on the one hand and Republicanism on the other have not only been evolved in mortal antagonism but to a respective consistency and completeness unknown in other countries. We hear much of the Militarism of Germany, and it is bad enough, but the Germans could not tolerate the Militarism of France. In France, with a smaller army there are a hundred more officers than in Germany. The 25,000 professional military men in France represent a hierarchy reigning by means of three millions

of non-professional soldiers over the thirty-eight millions of people from whose families the soldiers are drawn. These families pay annually 850 millions of francs to support this Power which trains their sons to be ready at any moment to massacre their parents and relatives should their officer so order. This hierarchy instead of being weakened by its German defeat gained supremacy by that defeat. Thirty years ago the clamours for Revenge and for recovery of Alsace and Lorraine were the excuse for the whole population enthroning their incompetent chiefs as absolutely over the Republic as they had been over the first empire, and when those clamours became too absurd for effect the military sovereignty was found to have built beneath and around it foundations and buttresses quarried from all the infirmities, surviving superstitions, and anti-social forces of the more ignorant populace. The old cry for Revenge was succeeded by an appeal to terror. The notion was fostered that if the nation was not kept a military camp, and the chiefs absolutely obeyed, Germany would at once enter and take possession of the country! The war with Germany was thus continued as a domestic institution, so to say, and a chronic reign of terror superinduced which enabled the military hierarchy to secure that irresponsibility to civil and moral laws which is the privilege of war. In war forgeries, lies, murders, become patriotic stratagems, and so forth.

This sort of thing operating for a generation developed the military hierarchy to a magnificence, to a power autocratic, aristocratic, and unscrupulous, which made it the centre of gravitation. To it gravitated the priesthood, for authority could restore lost authority. The host of the titled and their snobs gravitated to the only legalised aristocracy. Royalists, imperialists, Cesarians, all enemies of liberty and equality courted this military majesty, which made the Minister of War dictator of France. It made no difference whether the War portfolio was held by a General or a civilian, by a Mercier or a Cavaignac, a Freycenet or a Billot, l'État Major dictated its will to that Minister, and that Minister dictates the same to the Cabinet and the President. So it went on until on this Dreyfus case Brisson, president of the Cabinet, ventured on the most heroic step that has been taken by any French statesman within this century. For daring to insist on revision of the Dreyfus case against his Minister of War backed by other Ministers Brisson was hurled from office by a panic-stricken parliament, but his act was the first sign that the Republic meant to struggle for its independence.

Militarism has no wish to subvert the present French constitution, which is well adapted to its purposes. At the opening of the Senatorial Court for trial of the conspirators against the Republic the president of the instruction and the republican journals remarked with satisfaction that not one military man was found among them. This however was really an indication of the subjugation of the Republic. At the time of that conspiracy l'État Major was Dictator over the Republic, utilising its machinery, receiving its wealth and monopolising all legalised pomp and privilege. Why should they transfer all this to some interloping Duke of Orleans or some demagogue Deroulède?

However, the brain of French Militarism proved not equal to its opportunities. There was but one part of the Republic's machinery which was not under its control,—the Judiciary. If it had possessed the wit, when Henry's forgery was confessed, to revise the Dreyfus case by another Council of War, l'État Major would have risen even higher. But it determined to vindicate the infallibility of a War Council against overwhelming evidence of its error, and Militarism was compelled to accept solidarity with all of the parties that wished to rule or ruin the Republic. The strongest parties wished to ruin it, namely the royalists and the Deroulèdistes. This the military chiefs did not wish, but they had to share the disgrace of their allies in the anti-Dreyfus struggle. The effort of Deroulède to induce General Roget to take possession of the presidential mansion, the personal attack on the new president (Loubet) at the races, excited wide-spread anger throughout the nation. It was felt in Parliament. The servile Minister of War, Freycenet, was hissed, and when he resigned it was really the resignation of the Ministry.

The Military Power could not escape from the disgrace of these really insignificant groups which on their side, without caring much about the Dreyfus affair, had made common cause with l'État Major for ends of their own. As the reaction set in it was found that besides the few eminent officers who had taken up independent positions,—Picquart, Hartmann, Frœystetter,—there were others that gathered courage to dissent, and a considerable number of lay Catholics renounced the leadership of their priesthood. Then there is a large commercial class which without caring much about the Dreyfus case recognised that the Antidreyfusards were indifferent to the fate of the Exposition. The royalists and related leagues were evidently anxious to wreck an Exposition which would bring *éclat* to the Republic, and the military chiefs wished the republicans

to understand that the festival must depend on their protection and co-operation. Over that suburb of extemporised palaces and domes rapidly rising beside the Seine a sword is suspended. A military *coup d'état*, or even preparations for one, would keep all foreign contributions and exhibits at home. In England commerce is in alliance with Militarism, which only acts abroad, and conquers new markets, but in France the merchants and manufacturers are unfriendly to Militarism which only acts at home and keeps up in every part of the country a menace of the domestic peace needed by industry and trade.

Thus the martyrdom of one Jew, breaking up the old political groups and turning their leaders into fossil remains (e. g. Meline, Dupuy, Freycenet,) divided the nation into two great parties. Their issue is: shall the Republic be ruled by civil or by military authority? On one side four fifths of the army (including the police), all the priesthood, and all the Catholic peasantry who obey their priests, all the royalists, bonapartists, anti-semites, snobs, and rowdies. Against these all the scholars, professors, protestants, artists, authors, socialists, freethinkers, real republicans, merchants, skilled workmen, manufacturers.

The first of these parties presents a remarkable example of reversion. The best brains having been republicanised, since the fall of the second empire, and abandoned the military profession, the army has been left to the control of an inferior class who have given it a retrogressive development towards the powers and privileges militarism enjoyed under Bonaparte. But a brainless Bonapartism is a new thing. So far as mental ability has been tested by the Dreyfus case the brightest head in the French army was Esterhazy! It has been shown that few of the chief officers know any language but French, that many of them are ignorant of all sciences, even about guns, and that ethical, legal, or constitutional instruction is unknown to their military schools. It was made a point against Dreyfus that he was given to scientific investigations; against Picquart that he sought the truth and would not conceal it; and it has been established that in the Council of War (1894) which condemned Dreyfus there was not one officer who was aware that it is illegal to submit to judges evidence unknown to the party they were judging. Not one realised until some years later, and most of them do not yet realise that their action on those secret pieces transformed them into a bench of lynchers. Their ideas of honor are superstitions: a military inquiry found that Esterhazy in entering into the business of supplying a brothel to make money had

done nothing contrary to military honour, but a penalty was inflicted on him for some act of "indiscipline." It was a superstition that saved Dreyfus from being shot instead of degraded and tortured. The uniform so sanctifies the body that has worn it that it carries a degree of immunity even to a traitor, as in the case of Bazaine. They tried to induce Dreyfus to kill himself, and his refusal, because of innocence, produced on some subordinate officers an impression that he must either be innocent or the most hardened of criminals. As to this it is difficult to credit the crusaders against Dreyfus with sincerity, for occasionally they have been surprised into a revelation of their belief in the victim's innocence: e. g. in their panic lest the original documents mentioned in the bordereau should be obtained from Germany. Had they believed the documents to be from Dreyfus they would have been eager to obtain them.

While this reversion has gone on in the Militarist party, an evolution has proceeded among the civilian republicans which renders them to-day, in my opinion, the most thoroughly instructed and trained political party in the world, and their publicists the most accomplished interpreters of republican principles.

Unfortunately the intellectual and moral disproportion between these antagonists can not determine the issue in favor of the wise and just cause. Unscrupulousness sometimes has a physical advantage over scrupulousness. Among political gamblers logic is a "suspect." If you once begin to deal with institutions and politics by rules of logic and pure reason where will you stop! "At the base of every institution is a fiction," says Renan. The completeness of the facts and the arguments adduced by the defenders of Dreyfus proved so much more than his innocence, proved such fundamental faults in the whole military system, that the army felt itself under siege and has for several years resorted to the stratagems of war. These stratagems admissible in war become malignant lies, false witnesses, and forgeries in time of peace, and the great complication arises from the fact that the civil laws theoretically hold the military men accountable for their avowed crimes, committed because they felt themselves at war. The only treason of Bazaine was that having gone out to defend the empire he did not regard the Gambettist republic as any France at all, and would not fight for it. The difference between him and the present Generals is that they do not regard a republic in which l'État Major is subordinate as any France at all, but are loyal to a "republic" in which l'État Major is Dictator.

The fatal superiority of Militarism is that it is armed. After the fall of the Dupuy ministry a government could not be formed without military co-operation, but it is now pretty clear that General Gallifet accepted a portfolio only on conditions: Dreyfus was to be recondemned, in order that the criminal officers might be shielded, and then pardoned on a plea for pity coming from the military Minister of War. He must not owe the initiative for his liberation to the civil powers.

I remarked a little thing which escaped notice here: President Loubet in his decree did not use the word "pardon" but *remitted* the penalty: "*Il est accordé à Dreyfus (Alfred) remise du reste de la peine, etc.*" There is no regular formula for pardons, and the mission of the word (*grâce*) may have been without significance. But it is not I believe without significance that the Minister of War in publishing the decree gave it the endorsement: "Decree pardoning (*graciant*) the condemned Dreyfus (Alfred) etc." It was boasted by the enemies of Dreyfus that he admitted his guilt in accepting pardon, but Loubet may have foreseen this and so worded his decree that the prisoner accepted only release from a penalty illegally inflicted.

Gallifet then hastened to announce to the army officially that the Dreyfus "incident" (!) was "closed"; that there would be "no reprisals"; and that the army must be silent about it, by compulsion if necessary. This was followed by the mild disgrace of General Negrier and several others who did not conform to the order. But on the other hand officers who had testified in favor of Dreyfus at Rennes—Hartmann and Frœystetter—were virtually punished, and it now appears that in order to shield Generals who have committed crimes against the common law there are to be "reprisals" against those who secured the revision. The "amnesty" which the government has demanded of the Senate does not mean merely that the officers who have committed forgery and perjury, and who have destroyed vital documents belonging to the State, shall not be prosecuted but that they shall remain commanders of the army. Nay, it means that the effect of their avowed crimes shall continue permanently. Dreyfus shall be prohibited from vindicating his innocence and honor; Picquart shall be left without redress for his eleven months imprisonment and without possibility of proving the falsity of the charges maliciously brought against him; Zola shall be rendered unable to recover the money seized in his house, or to reverse the sentence pronounced against him on evidence admittedly false. The "amnesty" will thus be really a

confiscation of the actual rights of citizens such as was rare even in the worst days of feudal tyranny, and a prolongation of the recent scandals to eternity.

There will be some conflict in the Senate, but the debate will be under the suspended sword of Militarism held in the hand of Gallifet, who regards this measure as the only means of fulfilling his promise to the guilty officers that there shall be "no reprisals." The eminent jurist nominally at the head of the Ministry has exacted in payment a reform of Military tribunals and procedure providing that the judges must have studied law, and that all offences under the common law shall be tried in ordinary courts, but the prospective advantages of this measure can by no means reconcile the conscience and justice of France to an "amnesty" which amounts to a third and irreversible sentence against Dreyfus, and includes with him the noble men, Picquart and Zola, who delivered him from his living tomb. Nay, which amounts also to France taking on herself the guilty burden of the accumulated crimes which have kept her in agony for years and finally disgraced her in the eyes of mankind.

It is possible that the Premier, while fulfilling a contract with Gallifet by proposing the amnesty, is riding for a fall. Little is said about any "appeasement" to ensue. Gallifet knows perfectly well that the object of the amnesty is not the peace of the nation but the protection of certain felons by making the nation their accomplice. He is therefore advertising all who may be unwilling to take their share in the felonies of what they may expect, by demanding five years' imprisonment for a powerful editor and author, Urbain Gohier, whose attacks on military abuses and plumed criminals are claimed to be insults to the army. Freycenet, late Minister of War, and Lockroy late Minister of Marine, prosecuted Gohier for his book *L'armée contre la Nation*, but the jury would not assist this official attack on liberty, and the trial only increased the circulation of the terrible collection of facts in that brilliant work. But where the civilian Ministers failed the military Minister may succeed, for Urbain Gohier's pen steadily continues (in *l'Aurore*) its vivisections of Militarism. This he regards as the survival of ancient tyranny over the army of the Republic to which he and all citizens belong. There are many republican optimists who regard all this reactionism as a feint, and point to the perpetual attacks of the anti-dreyfusards on Gallifet. He too, they say, is riding for a fall against Urbain Gohier and freedom of the press, so as to say to the army, "I have done my best, but the country is against

you." If that shall prove to be the case, and if the amnesty is deprived of its outrageous features, there will be nothing to fear beyond some military menaces, for the royalist leaders will be in disgrace or in prison, and the political plots against the republic are exploded. The officers generally will have no recourse but that of Offenbach's Grand Duchess of Gerolstein, "If you can't get what you set your heart upon, you must set your heart upon what you can get." They can get from the Republic their 850 millions of francs per annum for a minimum of work. There is no prospect of their getting from any pretenders what they now have.

But I am unable to share the optimistic view. I see perils ahead. Along with the monumental "Triumph of the Republic" is going up a monument to the confessed forger Lieutenant Henry, who committed suicide, thereby saving his accomplices. On the day when the "Triumph" was unveiled, and the proposed "amnesty" published, General Mercier was proclaimed president of the Henry monument committee. Mercier is the criminal from whom proceeded all these woes and convulsions of France. His admitted crimes constitute Mercier's only fame, for he is otherwise an insignificant creature. This exaltation of confessed crime when committed in the interest of a handful of commanders regarding themselves as France, indicates a cynicism, a moral recklessness, a secession from humanity, from which Gallifet may happily prove to be free. The anti-dreyfusard press evidently so believes and he must so far be credited by hope. Moreover he has a stain to wash out,—that massacre of the communard prisoners. But I ponder the words of Confucius, "You cannot carve a statue out of rotten wood." I also recall Zola's words, "Military injustice cannot be redressed by military justice, because this is not free." Gallifet is a man of little knowledge, and his intellect may be estimated by his considering a struggle that has moved the world an "incident," and as "closed" by the absurd declaration of a military court that there are extenuating circumstances for high treason! He has given no sign of interest in the question of right and wrong, nor of any knowledge of or care for the opinion of mankind. The crisis is one requiring the greatest intelligence, wisdom, virtue, possible to man, and the supreme guide in it is one whose long record excites but the hope that advanced years may have made him conscious of the blots on it, and stimulate him to efface them by some great service to the country his comrades have afflicted, degraded, crucified. Either this salvation will he bring, or an intellectual and moral desolation to be called "appeasement."

TANTE FRITZCHEN'S LAST HOUR.

A SKETCH BY HANS HOFFMANN.

[A portion of the first and all of the last of a series of sketches entitled "Tante Fritzchen," in Nos. 4-7 of *Deutsche Rundschau* for 1899.]¹

I KNEW Tante Fritzchen in my boyhood, and again later when I was a grown man and she was in her last years. But I must say, the two pictures in my memory harmonise but poorly, coincide in only a few points; the picture from my youth is severe and bitter and really terror-inspiring; the later one is that of a whimsical old lady with a heart of gold. So it seems that the instinct of the child, which is usually so reliable, may in exceptional cases be entirely at fault. To be sure, Tante Fritzchen herself was an exception to all reasonable rules.

And so it came about that other people of the little seaport village, depending on their individual experiences, judged her so differently that it was a wonder to hear them talk; she was credited with absolutely all the possible human qualities, from exquisite malice to the most unselfish and angelic kindness. But the sum and substance of all these opinions amounted to about this: After all she is not so bad as she seems to be.

The explanation of this contradiction, simple as it was, occurred to me only after some time, only after I had zealously collected a number of tales about her that were current gossip, and compared them with my own experiences and observations. And the explanation was this: that she was by nature of such a tender and amiable spirit, so sentimental, in the good sense of the word as used in the last century, that it amounted to helplessness. And since it was inevitable that such kindness should be abused over and over again, she had gradually equipped herself with artificial spines and thorns for her own protection, and these had grown

¹ Translated by W. H. Carruth.

longer and sharper in the course of time so that they often hid almost entirely from superficial eyes the true nature of her soul.

But in the nature of things superficial eyes are in a majority, and as the many who had shared her benefactions did not always feel moved to proclaim this fact in the market-place, there was no proper counter-balance laid upon the scales of public opinion. Tante Fritzchen was always more feared than loved by the good villagers.

And it must be admitted that she had a way of wrinkling up her face which seemed to give abundant justification for such fear, and the lightnings which she shot forth in pretended or genuine wrath from behind her great horn spectacles were calculated to terrify even the most courageous. That she was physically a slight and delicate figure was entirely forgotten in the presence of such wrinkles and such lightnings; indeed, this rather added to the dread of her a certain supernatural smack, just as a wicked dwarf is apt to seem to us more uncanny than a threatening giant.

As to station and business Tante Fritzchen was the childless widow of a sea-captain who by his capacity and fortunate voyages had accumulated a considerable fortune, but had early died a genuine seaman's death in the faraway ocean. He had invested all his savings in ships, and the widow continued to manage with great prudence and vigor the difficult details of this extensive shipping-business, so that her income increased constantly despite her almost extravagant but unobtrusive charities.

THE LAST HOUR.

Several days before the incidents happened which I am now about to tell, a rumor had floated about the city that Tante Fritzchen was dead, and the rumor held its own persistently despite the declaration of the portly doctor that she was still alive. True, he must be supposed to know; but on the other hand, others knew that the coffin had been carried into her house, for they had seen it with their own eyes. And where there is a coffin there is also a corpse; that is as certain as to infer fire from smoke.

But nevertheless the doctor had been right until now. To-day, at last, he hastened with a very grave face and with quickened pace to the house of old pastor Rathke and told him that she was now really approaching her end; medical skill had done all in its power and could now surrender the field to the consolations of the clergy. He warned the pastor not to be deceived if he found her

perhaps cheerful and even animated, for the familiar fact of a last revival of vitality was to be seen in a very intense form in the case of this wiry nature.

Old Rathke put on his clerical robe, drew his official cap over his white hair and set out as rapidly as his seventy-eight years permitted; he and Tante Fritzchen were almost exactly of an age.

As he approached her bed he was astonished at her appearance; all at once her pale and sunken features had apparently lost all their sharpness, keenness and fierceness, the mocking and malicious aspect which so many people had been afraid of, and were transfigured with amiability and serenity, save for a faint touch of melancholy that came over them now and then like a veil.

The nurse left the room in silence as soon as the pastor entered; it was evident that she had been directed to do so.

"The end is coming," said the sick woman positively and with a firm voice, "we must make haste to consider what I still have to talk over with you. True, it isn't much, but after all something. I thank you, pastor, for coming so promptly. It is strange, after having had nearly a century in which to live one's life, that the hours seem too few at the close."

Affected and almost confused by her calmness, the pastor mumbled some words as to its being reserved for the grace of God to say whether her days might not yet be extended, and that human knowledge and prognostication was very deceitful; for himself he considered her looks to-day very vigorous and natural.

But Tante Fritzchen shook her head placidly and said, pointing to the door of the adjoining room:

"Just look in there, then you will know; you need not practise any deceptions upon me. I am ready to go; my baggage is in order."

Old Rathke opened the door and could scarcely suppress a cry of horror: what he saw was a neatly trimmed coffin ready for occupancy.

"Now you will believe me, won't you?" said Tante Fritzchen, as he came back to her side deeply shocked. "I am in earnest about dying, and should be so even in case the good Lord asked after my wishes in the matter. I had the thing in there made recently in order to have all my accounts in order. I never liked to burden others with my personal affairs if I could attend to them myself. Every man should look out for himself, and so must every woman, especially if she is a widow. And then, I like to supervise the workmen; otherwise they are seldom to be relied on, and one

likes to see what he is getting for his money. Now my mind is at rest on this subject; Master Klemm has done a thorough job. And now, dear pastor, now there is really only one thing more that I would like to see, or rather to hear, and that is your funeral sermon. For of course *you* must give it; for God's sake don't allow young Mr. Hülsbach to do it; I never could endure him, not even his wedding addresses, and then, to think of a funeral! Promise me that, dear Rathke; I tell you, if you don't I will knock on the lid of my coffin, and the people shall have one more good fright on my account. You know how I can act. But I suppose I cannot expect to hear you give it; one cannot order a funeral sermon in advance, since it is no mechanical job, at least not in your case, though it might be in Hülsbach's. But just for that reason I do not wish to hear anything clerical from you now,—so please do me the small favor to lay off your robe, dear pastor. In church I always liked to see you in it, and with the bands, too, as you well know; but here in my chamber,—it would seem as though I were already laid out and you were delivering the sermon. And that is just what I don't want. For the few hours that may yet be allotted to me I want to feel really alive."

And when the old man had obeyed her wish in silence and laid off his black official robe she continued her requests with something like a roguish smile:

"Now one thing more: you have said A, say B too; put on my dear departed husband's dressing-gown. It is in the clothes-press yonder; it has been hanging there unused for forty-five years.—I have saved it from the moths all that time.—Do you see, it fits you very well, although my husband had somewhat broader shoulders.—And now light one of his pipes,—you know them well, and know that I keep them in order for an agreeable visitor.—So; now I am satisfied, now you look comfortable."

In fact the pastor had followed her directions almost mechanically, and now sat facing her as he had sat so many a time on his pleasant Sunday visits. But yet his heart was not entirely at ease, for he could not adapt himself right away to the circumstances. The pastoral consolations which he had had ready prepared seemed to get lost in the dressing-gown or to float aimlessly away into the air on the mighty clouds of smoke.

So there was a long silence, during which Tante Fritzchen looked at him at first rather curiously and then quite mournfully.

"Well, think of it, Rathke," she said at last; "just this way my husband ought to have been sitting beside me,—at least, until

within a few years,—but that happiness was not allotted to me ; he has been dead so long, so fearfully long—”

Here the tears came to her eyes and there was a gentle convulsion of the waxen pale features.

“Be of good cheer, dear friend,” the pastor quickly interrupted her, “the time of waiting and longing will soon be over. You will live for ever united with him in Abraham’s bosom.”

Suddenly Tante Fritzchen half shut her eyes in a curious way, and said with an almost comical contortion of her mouth :

“Oh please don’t put your official robe on again, dear pastor ! You know well enough that I am no free-thinker, or whatever you call them ; I have always attended church steadily, as long as I was able, and always listened to your sermons gladly and devoutly, and believed the most of them,—but precisely with Abraham, it’s like this : I never could get up any real confidence in him. I admit that it is sinful to talk so, but it would be more sinful still to begin lying now just before the closing of the gate. In the first place, the very name,—I can’t help it, I keep thinking of that infamous scoundrel of an Abraham in the Wiesenstrasse, who paid such a ridiculously low price for my departed husband’s old trousers and afterwards worked them off on the poor people at such a scandalously high figure. To be sure, the old patriarch is not to blame for that, and it is stupid to think of him in this connexion ; but I can’t get rid of the thought. And then, after all, you see this old patriarch is really to blame, at least for my being unable to get very enthusiastic about him. The affair with Isaac is altogether incomprehensible to me : that he was willing to sacrifice him. No ! And even if God commanded it ten times, it was his place to say : Take my head, my life and my soul, but I shall not commit such an atrocity upon the innocent child ! Not even a god has a right to command me to commit such cruelty, or at least I have no right to obey !—But there’s the trouble. Abraham seems to me like one of these fawning tuft-hunters ; we have them too, always looking up to those in authority, and saying and doing everything that those in authority wish, and afterwards getting for it their decoration or their title, just as Abraham was made patriarch for it. Our former mayor was just such a contemptible creature ;—well, he may very likely be resting now in Abraham’s bosom. But I have little desire to meet him there ; our quarrels would begin again right away. True, it would be a satisfaction to me to go on harrying him there.”

“Beloved friend,” the pastor interrupted her here, after several vain attempts, “you surely should direct your thoughts to

other things in this solemn hour. At least, let those old quarrels rest. Remember the petition: And forgive us our debts as we forgive our debtors."

"All the world, if you will," said Tante Fritzchen vigorously, "but not the mayor. The fellow was a blackguard and a liar; I have not forgotten what my husband always said of him: He lies even when he has no need to. No, actually, I can't forgive him; and I think the Lord will excuse me in his case. I don't intend to set up for a saint before Him. I wish simply to go quietly along with the rest as average-good."

The pastor drew a deep sigh.

"The Lord will not lay up your impenitence against you too severely," he said in a troubled tone; "He will consider that your heart has always been gentler than your tongue. But yet, think of the solemnity of this hour, dear friend! Turn your thoughts to love and peace! Try to soften your heart by thinking of the reunion with your husband, that excellent man who was taken from us, alas, so soon. But God surely must have raised him to Himself in glory."

"He has! He must!" exclaimed Tante Fritzchen with ardent conviction. But then her face assumed suddenly an expression of sadder reflexion, even of melancholy.

"And I shall not see him again!" she said softly yet positively.

"What talk!" said the pastor with feeling; "dear friend, why will you not put your faith in the mercy of God, who has promised eternal bliss even to sinners if they believe and repent?"

Tante Fritzchen looked up at him with a strange, firm, clear and resigned expression.

"But I do not wish to live on after my death," she said quietly, "and God will not compel me to against my wish."

"Gracious heaven!" exclaimed the pastor in dismay, "is it possible that you do not believe in eternal bliss? And if you believe in it, how can you help desiring it?"

"I believe in it," she answered calmly; "every one will receive eternal bliss whose heart longs for it. But God cannot force any one to it. And I do not wish it. I do not care to live longer. I am weary and I want to sleep."

"The Lord will refresh your soul and make it rejoice unto life," said the pastor, not without silent horror. But she shook her head emphatically.

"He must not do that," she replied hastily, and as though in

secret anxiety, "and He will not do it either ; for He knows that I have nothing to seek and nothing to find in His heaven."

"And your husband?" exclaimed the old man, confused and shocked, "whom you loved so much and mourned so deeply ; is it possible that you do not wish to see him again? Dear friend, what talk is this?"

"No, especially not him," she said sharply and quickly, her eyes growing strangely troubled ; "I don't want it to come about that I shall have to meet him again."

"Inconceivable ! Impossible !" cried the pastor, quite overcome with amazement ; "then did you really not love him? Was your heart really not attached to him? But how can I believe this, after all that I have seen in you in the olden times and then on throughout your long and faithful widowhood?"

"I loved him with all my soul and with all my strength," said the dying woman solemnly, "and when he was taken from me I should never have survived my grief but for the sure hope of meeting in heaven. This belief, and this alone, supported me. But that is such a long, long time ago. Forty-five years, what an immeasurably long time that is ! People become total strangers in forty-five years if they are not living together. He was a young, joyous man when he passed away, and I was a very young woman. And now I have come to be a shrivelled old woman, and have entirely different notions, different hates and different loves, from those we shared together. And he knows nothing of all that has come to me since. How shall I get on in heaven with such a young person? There is no help for it, we have grown apart in the many, many years. I can no longer understand such young people, nor they me. Why should he have to go about in heaven with such a wrinkled rag? If he should look at me there with wide, strange, frightened eyes—I couldn't bear that. And he would seem to me like a good and foolish boy ; why, I was old enough long ago to be his grandmother. No, dear Rathke, you see that would not do. He has eternal bliss, and I want him to keep it ; and therefore I must lie down and sleep for eternity ; I don't want to be in his way there. And I am perfectly sure that the dear God will grant me my desire. He cannot give one any other bliss than what he wants ; and mine is sleep. I am tired of life and do not care to wake again. God will hear my prayer."

She ceased and closed her eyes and looked so weary that it seemed as if she were really on the point of sleeping over into eternal rest.

The old pastor had long since let his pipe go out ; he was torturing the long stem with his nervous fingers, and sighed and sighed, but almost inaudibly.

“Strange! Strange! Strange!” he kept murmuring to himself, shaking his head.

Finally Tante Fritzchen opened her eyes again and asked in a clear voice: “What is there so strange in this?”

He stroked softly the shrunken hand that lay on the coverlet, and said:

“You surely ought to know that in heaven there is neither marrying nor giving in marriage; we shall lay off the earthly and go thither in transfigured bodies. The Lord will make us like His holy angels.”

“Yes,” replied the old woman, smiling, “I know all that. I always gave good heed to your sermons, especially at funerals. And that may fit others, but not me. You see, dear Rathke, it is a good deal of a job to transfigure such a person as I am into an angel. To be sure, there is no doubt, that our God can do it, for He is omnipotent; but if it were done I should be something entirely different from what I have been on earth in youth or age; I should no longer be the wilful, foolish person whom my husband loved; I should be in his eyes an entirely different creature. And so would he be to me. Here on earth he was an excellent fellow, but by no means an angel. I can tell you, dear Rathke, that he could be as rough as a hedge fence, even to me, when I occasionally got too silly. And do you know when I liked the man best? Just when he got so downright rough. Then was when he seemed to me so strong, and I wanted to kiss his hands as those of my faithful protector. And now consider: As a transfigured angel he cannot of course be rough,—that will not do in heaven,—and so I should never see him any more as I liked him best. And I am afraid that I wouldn't really like him any longer in that case; for this is my way once for all: you see there are people here on earth who have already something of the transfigured angel about them, especially pastors and pastors' wives, and many others too; and just such people I could never take to in my life. I always thought to myself: They may be good angels, but probably not useful men. And must I meet my husband again and find him that sort of a person? Why, I cannot; that would not be my husband as I knew him.—Don't take offence, dear Rathke, at my talking thus; you don't need to apply it to yourself, you were never of the transfigured sort; that is the reason I always got along well with you.

—And so I think we will not quarrel now at the close over things about which each of us will stick to his own opinion after all. Many things one can take on faith from others, especially from pastors, but other things again one can only work out for himself. What is in the Scripture we all believe, but each one must in the end settle for himself how it is to be interpreted. For my part, I am weary and want to sleep. . . . My goodness gracious, dearest Rathke, your pipe has gone out! Light it again, and then sit a while longer and puff away vigorously. But don't talk any more of hard matters; I have said my say and don't want to think any more; I am already beginning to feel distress."

The old man lighted his pipe again obediently and smoked in silence, occasionally stroking her hand gently. She was lying quite still now and looking at him with pleased eyes.

"Why, it really seems to me now," she resumed after a long silence, "almost as if my dear husband were sitting here beside me and puffing away. Ah, just think, if I could see him so in heaven with his pipe and dressing-gown! But of course that would not do; it isn't transfigured enough.—And in any case, if he could have grown old along with me, and we could go over together, or nearly together! It is awful, when two grow apart so and one of the two has to realise and know it. O God, I am tired, and want to sleep, just to sleep."

She closed her eyes again and relapsed into slumber or silence.

The sun shone through the window upon the curling clouds of smoke, for the old man was smoking very hard; but it was probably not the smoke that caused him to draw his hand across his eyes every now and then.

All at once she exclaimed with animation:

"But dear Rathke, when you get to heaven,—you can't last very much longer either,—greet him from me, and tell him what I said to day. He will surely understand me; he always understood me best just when I had my own peculiar notions which other people thought foolish or queer. And he cannot have forgotten me so far that he would be different in this.

"And then tell him to remember sometimes how we met that day at pike-fishing on the Haff, sixty years ago now, he in his boat and I in mine. And how the boats gradually got nearer together, we didn't know how, and how we kept getting redder in the face, both of us, until suddenly he was sitting in my boat, we didn't know how again; and then all at once we were saying 'Du' to each other, quite as though it came of itself, as though it had always

been so ; and yet we hadn't been acquainted so very long. And it seemed to us as though there were no sweeter word in the whole language than that. And then again—well, you see, dear Rathke, you only need to remind my husband of that hour, and then watch and see what eyes he will make ! And really it was very beautiful on the wide water all alone together. I am very sure such things will not be forgotten even in heaven, for they still warm me on earth despite my seventy-eight years.

“So, dear pastor, now I am through with my confessions. And now you will be so kind, won't you, as to leave me alone a little. Before I die I would like to dream a little of those old times ; and one can do that only when one is all alone with himself. But there is one who will be with me,—you know well, who. And afterwards give him my greetings and tell him all about it.

“And meantime you can smoke out your pipe in the next room, and be thinking out a new and vigorous lecture to give this old sinner. So, farewell, old friend, dear Rathke, dread homilist !”

The old pastor obeyed, and left after a gentle pressure of her hand. As Tante Fritzchen watched his back, she murmured quite delighted : “The old dressing-gown ! The old dressing-gown !” And then she closed her eyes with a cheerful smile.

When Pastor Rathke looked in softly a half hour later, she had fallen asleep forever. But the smile was still upon her lips.

THE YEAR ZERO.

THE questions collaterally involved in "the last year of the century" controversy possess a scope and interest quite independent of the seeming triviality of the main problem, and the considerations which F. Pietzker recently advanced in the *Naturwissenschaftliche Wochenschrift* may be found worthy of notice from both a scientific and an educational point of view.

While almost perfect harmony prevails among chronologists as to the main point at issue, namely that the year 1900 really belongs to the nineteenth century and not to the twentieth, a more serious controversy has arisen, which affects the general correctness of our method of reckoning time backwards and forwards from the beginning of the Christian Era. By the common method of computation the year just preceding the beginning of the Christian Era is denoted by -1 . The astronomers see in this practice an ambiguity, and by them this year is denoted by 0 .

The difficulties which arise here are apparent. In introducing a year numbered 0 there is no more reason for adopting the year preceding Christ's birth than there is for adopting that succeeding his birth; in fact, the latter would seem preferable, although then the nineteenth century would cease with the year 1899 and not with the year 1900; just as the twelfth number of Volume XII of *The Open Court*, which began with No. 500, was called No. 511. In order to avoid this inconsequence it has been suggested that since the date of Christ's birth did not coincide with the ending of the year, the year zero should be defined as that in which the date of Christ's birth actually fell. If this view were accepted, the year zero would not be the first year before our era, but would be the first year of that era itself, and we should then again be compelled to adopt a method of reckoning which is quite opposed to that accepted by astronomers.

But the matter has been still more complicated by certain ac-

cidental and arbitrary circumstances which accompanied the introduction of our chronology.

The originator of the Christian Era, Dionysius the Little, a Roman abbot who lived in Italy during the sixth century, selected as the starting-point of his enumeration, the first day of January of the 754th year of the so-called Varronic Era of the Romans; that is, of the year in the last weeks of which according to his belief Christ was born. This year was made "the year one" because it was nearest to the date of the Annunciation (the twenty-fifth of March), from which date it had been the practice of the ancient fathers to reckon the Incarnation of our Lord. The Dionysian Era was not universally accepted until the ninth century, and during the interval which elapsed between its suggestion and adoption the date of the beginning of the year oscillated between the twenty-fifth of March and the twenty-fifth of September. But the inconveniences which arose from so undecided a state of affairs speedily made themselves felt, and the New Year's day of Caesar, the first of January, was at last definitively adopted.

We see thus that we do not reckon time from the birth of Christ, but from a point in the old chronology indirectly related to the date of Christ's birth. In fact, however, it is quite indifferent whether we regard the first of January after Christ's birth or the day of the Annunciation selected by Dionysius, as the beginning of our era, because our entire chronological system is, owing to the uncertainty of the date of Christ's birth, in error by several years.

Regard it how we will, the method is fraught with inconveniences, but these inconveniences are inherent in the nature of the question and would not be removed by the introduction of a year zero. A few practical examples will render the case clear.

It is asserted by the astronomers that we are compelled by the accepted method to resort to a double manner of computing time in many instances. In computing the interval of time which has elapsed between two given dates, we employ a different rule when the years have the same signs from what we should if they had different signs. For example, if we had to determine the age of Frederick the Great in years, we have only to subtract the year of his birth, 1712, from that of his death, 1786, to obtain his age, which was 74 years. If we desired to determine the age of Augustus, however, we should not be permitted to subtract the year of his birth (-63) directly from the year of his death (+14), for in that case we should obtain 77 years as the length of his life, which was actu-

ally only 76 years; but we should have to reduce the first number by 1, and employ the equation :

$$14 - (-62) = 76.$$

And this diminution of the number of years prior to Christ's birth by 1 is precisely what is effected, say the astronomers, by the introduction of the year zero.

But here again the astronomers have reckoned without their host. The object which they wish to attain would be reached in quite the same manner, and would be historically more justified in the Dionysian view, if the positive years were decreased by 1, and the reckoning took the form :

$$13 - (-63) = 76.$$

But the argument involves a gross breach of logic. By this method, which operates with whole years, the result would never accord with the actual facts unless the points of time with which the comparison is conducted were situated exactly at corresponding places in the years compared. But in the case of Frederick the Great this is not the fact. If the fractional parts of the year be taken into account, the length of his life will be found to be 74 years and 7 months nearly, which by the accepted rules of computation would be counted as 75 years. If Frederick the Great had been born in the first minute of the year 1712 and had died in the last minute of the year 1786, his life would reckon up 75 years exactly; whereas, if he had been born in the last moment of the year 1712 and had died in the first moment of the year 1786, the length of his life would be 73 years only. In other words, the reckoning with whole years as units may involve an uncertainty of two full years, and it would seem incredible that a scientific rule should ever become established upon so inexact and crude a practice.

The method of computing time with whole years could be employed only if there were no smaller divisions of time than full years. In the case of quantities which increase interruptedly and always by the same finite amount, that is to say in the case of discrete quantities not admitting of subdivision, it is quite proper to select one of these elements as the starting-point and to give to it the number 0; but this procedure would lose all justification whatsoever and would be absolutely unmeaning, if it were applied to a set of quantities which change continuously and which are therefore composed of minor quantities smaller than the element designated zero. Even now in the method of reckoning adopted by

astronomers, errors and contradictions arise whenever months and days are considered instead of whole years; but the embarrassments are still more increased in calculations connected with the year zero. According to Dionysius, we have one starting-point of time only, from which we count both backwards and forwards. If we introduce a year zero, we have two starting-points: (1) the end of this year for the time after the birth of Christ, and (2) the beginning of this year for the time before the birth of Christ. From which one of these points events falling within the year zero itself would have to be reckoned is quite indeterminable; and by this very fact alone the reasons for the introduction of the zero year fall to the ground.

The whole matter of reckoning time is in fact in no wise distinguishable from the reckoning of temperatures with the thermometer. We have no "zero-degree" on the thermometer, but only a zero-point, and alterations of temperature are always determined by the same arithmetical rule, whether the quantities entering into the computation are degrees with positive or degrees with negative signs. In like manner, the number of years which Frederick the Great lived may be determined from the following computation:

$$(1785 \text{ years, } 7 \text{ months, } 17 \text{ days}) - (1711 \text{ years, no months, } 24 \text{ days}) \\ = 74 \text{ years, } 6 \text{ months, and } 23 \text{ days;}$$

and that of Augustus may be determined by the following:

$$(13 \text{ years, } 7 \text{ months, } 19 \text{ days}) - [-(62 \text{ years, } 3 \text{ months, } 7 \text{ days})] \\ = 75 \text{ years, } 10 \text{ months, and } 26 \text{ days.}$$

In *both* instances we reckon with the number of years decreased by 1; that is, with the number of *whole* years involved in the problem, in the minuend as well as the subtrahend. The *signs* prefixed to the number of the years give rise to no difference in the computation.

It remains to notice another inconvenience inevitably associated with our chronology. The selection of an initial point from which time is computed is necessarily arbitrary and artificial. It does not fairly square with the events which have happened *previously* to the zero-point selected. The negative sign of the intervals of time prior to this epoch represents the point of view of a future generation; the people who lived during these "negative periods" naturally counted their years forward, and we have adopted their method of computation to the extent of employing

the same day of the month for the fixing of dates within a negative year. To be logical, we ought to count the years prior to Christ's birth, not from their beginning but from their end, as being nearer to the zero-point of our system. That we do not do so is illogical, but it is quite intelligible. The inconvenience which follows from this fact is very slight, particularly as it can be removed by an easy calculation, and it is certainly not sufficient to justify in the slightest the introduction of a year zero, which would increase and not diminish the contradictions now involved in our practical methods of reckoning time.

NAMES AND NUMBERS.¹

BY PROF. ERNST MACH.

A NAME is an *acoustic attribute*, which I *add* to the other sensory attributes of a thing or complexus of things, and which I *engrave* in my memory. Even in themselves alone, names are important. Of all the attributes of a complexus of things, they are the most invariable. They constitute thus the most convenient representative of that complexus as an entirety, and around them the remaining and more variable attributes cluster in memory as around a nucleus.

But the facility with which these attributes called names permit of being spread and communicated is more important still. Each observer is likely to discover different attributes in a thing; one person will notice this, another will notice that; with the result that they will not necessarily come to an understanding regarding the thing, or for that matter even be able to come to an understanding. But the name, which always remains the same, is imprinted as a *common* attribute in the memories of *all* persons. It is like a label that has been attached to a thing and is known to all persons. But it is not only attached to things, it is also preserved in the memories of men, and leaps forth at the sight of these things, of its own accord.

The importance of names in technical fields has never been a subject of doubt. The possibility of procuring things which are not within our immediate reach, the producing of effects at a distance through a chain of human beings, are attributable to names. The ethical achievements of names are perhaps even more important still. Names particularise individuals; they create personalities. Without names there is neither glory nor disgrace, neither defensible personal rights, nor prosecutable crime. And by the

¹ Translated from the German by T. J. McCormack.

use of written names these marvellous performances have been enhanced to a stupendous degree.

When two persons part company, each soon shrinks for the other to a mere perspective point. Without names it would be almost impossible for the one to find the other. The fact that we know more of some men than of others, that some men mean more to us than others, is owing to names. Without names we should be utter strangers to one another, as are the animals.

Fancy for a moment how I should be obliged to mimic, caricature, and portray a person that I was seeking, in order that some small group of people, who were perfectly familiar with my methods, could assist me in my search. But if I know that the name of the person I am seeking is Jacques Montmartre, that he lives in France, and in addition in Paris, at No. 45 Rue St.-Pierre Fourier, then I am always in a position to find him by means of these names,—names which countless numbers of different individuals associate with the *same* objects, although they may know these objects under entirely different aspects and in greatly varying degree, sometimes themselves *by name only*. I can thoroughly appreciate the marvellous achievement involved in these performances by imagining myself making such a search without a knowledge of names. I should then have to travel from country to country and from city to city, like the people in *The Arabian Nights*, until I found by accident the person whom I was seeking,—which happens only in fairy tales. I should be in the situation of the lost child who could tell no more than that she belonged to the “mother” who “lived in the house.”

A name is the product of a convention, reached unconsciously under the favoring influence of accident, by a limited circle of people having common interests, and gradually communicated by that circle to wider groups.

* * *

What are numbers? Numbers are also names. Numbers would never have originated had we possessed the capability of picturing with absolute distinctness to ourselves the members of a set of like objects as *different*. We count where we desire to make a distinction between like things; in doing so, we assign to each of the like things a name, a distinguishing sign. If the distinction to be made between the things is not effected, we have “miscounted.” To accomplish our purpose, the signs employed must be better known and must admit more readily of distinction than the things to be designated. Counting, accordingly, begins with the use of the fa-

miliar objects known as fingers, the names of which have in this manner gradually come to be the names of numbers.¹ The association of the fingers with the things is accomplished, without effort or design, in a definite *order*. In this manner, numbers are quite unconsciously transformed into *ordinal* symbols.² As a consequence of this invariable order, and as a consequence of it alone, the last sign associated with the things comes to represent all the previous associations; this last sign is the *number* of the things counted.

If there are not enough fingers to associate with the things, the original series of associations is simply repeated, and the *several* series of associations so obtained are then themselves supplied with ordinal symbols, as before. Our system of numbers becomes in this manner a system of purely *ordinal signs*, which can be extended at pleasure. If the objects counted be made up of like parts, and in each of these parts there be discovered parts which again are alike, and so on, the same principle may be employed for the enumeration of these parts of parts. Our system of ordinal signs, accordingly, admits of indefinite refinement. Numbers are an orderly system of names which admit directly and readily of indefinite extension and refinement.

Where a few objects only are to be designated, and these are readily distinguished from one another by salient attributes, proper names as a rule are preferred; countries, cities, friends, are not numbered. But objects that are numerous and which constitute in any way a system in which the properties of the individual things forming the system constitute a gradation, are always numbered. Thus, numbers and not names are given to the houses of a street, and in regularly laid out cities, also to the streets themselves. Degrees on a thermometer are numbered, and proper names are given to the freezing and boiling points only. The advantage here, in addition to the mnemotechnic feature of the plan, consists in the fact that one can easily discover by the sign of the thing the position which it occupies in the system,—an advantage not appreciated by the inhabitants of small towns, where the houses are unnumbered and where there are consequently no municipal co-ordinates to assist a stranger in finding his way.

The operation of counting may again be applied to the numbers themselves; in this manner, not only is the development of the number-system carried to a point considerably beyond that of

¹ Cantor, *Mathem. Beiträge zum Culturleben der Völker*. Cantor, *Geschichte der Mathematik*. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*. Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*.

² Mach, *Mechanics*, page 486.

its original simplicity, as by the formation of the decimal system of writing and of performing operations with numbers, but the entire science of arithmetic, the entire science of mathematics, takes its being from this application. The perception, for example, that $4 + 3 = 7$, arises from the application of the ordinal signs or numbers of the upper horizontal row of the following diagram, to the numbers of the row which is beneath :

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1 2 3 4 1 2 3

I conceive the truths of arithmetic to be propositions that have been reached by experience, understanding by experience here inner experience ; and I long ago characterised mathematics as a system of economically ordered experiences of counting, made ready for immediate use, and designed to replace direct counting, which is frequently impossible, by operations previously performed, and hence accomplishing a great *saving* of time and trouble.¹ I am here substantially in accord with the views which Helmholtz expressed in 1887.² This is of course not as yet a theory of mathematics, but merely a programme of such a theory. The interesting psychological questions presented here may be seen from the work of E. Schröder³ who was the first to inquire why the *number* of the objects is independent of the order in which they are counted. As Helmholtz remarks,⁴ in any succession of objects that have been counted in a definite order any two adjacent objects may be interchanged, whereby ultimately any order of succession whatever of the objects may be produced without changing the succession of the numbers, or causing either objects or numbers to be dropped. The non-dependence of the sum on the order of the things added follows from this consideration. But this inquiry cannot be pursued farther here.

Although in the first instance counting supplies the necessary means of distinguishing objects which are in themselves difficult to

¹ Comp. " Ueber die ökonomische Natur der physikalischen Forschung," *Almanach der Wiener Akademie*, 1882, p. 167. (Engl. trans. in *Popular Scientific Lectures*. Chicago, 1898, p. 186.) Also, *Mechanik* (1883), p. 458. (Eng. trans., Chicago, 1893, page 486.) Also, *Analyse der Entfindungen*, 1886, p. 165. (Eng. trans., Chicago, 1897, page 178.)

² Helmholtz, " Zählen und Messen," in *Philosophische Aufsätze, Eduard Zeller gewidmet* Compare especially pp. 17 and 20.

³ *Lehrbuch der Arithmetik und Algebra*. Leipzig, 1873, p. 14. I became acquainted with Schröder's book, which is based upon Grassmann's work, through a quotation in the aforementioned paper of Helmholtz.

⁴ *Loc. cit.*, pp. 30 et seq. Conf. also Kronecker, *loc. cit.*, p. 268.

distinguish, it is nevertheless afterwards applied to objects which, while clearly distinguishable, are yet in some certain respect regarded by us as the same, and so are interchangeable in this respect. The properties with respect to which objects may be considered the same differ greatly and vary almost from mere existence at a given point of space or moment of time to absolute undistinguishability. We count *different* objects as the same *only in so far* as they are the same; dimes, dollars, shillings, sovereigns, francs, marks, and gulden are counted, not as dimes, dollars, shillings, etc., but as coins. Thermometers and induction coils are counted as physical apparatus, or as items of an inventory, but not as thermometers and induction coils.

Objects counted, which are alike in some particular respect, and which may replace one another in this respect, are called units. What is it that is counted, for example, by the number representing a temperature? In the first place it is the divisions of the scale, the real or apparent increments of volume or of pressure of the thermometric substance. *Geometrically* or *dynamically* regarded, the objects here counted may be substituted for one another, indifferently; but with reference to the thermal state these objects are signs or indices merely of that state, and not equivalent, enumerable parts of a *universal* property of the thermal state *itself*.

This may be made very clear by the consideration that the number measuring a potential for example does quantitatively determine a universal property of the potential. If I cause the electric potential of a charged body to sink from 51 to 50 or from 31 to 30, I am able by so doing to raise the charge of any other body having the same capacity one degree, indifferently whether it be from 10 to 11 or from 24 to 25. Different single degrees of potential may be substituted for one another.

A relation of like simplicity does not exist for scales of temperature. A thermometer is raised *approximately* one degree of temperature when some other thermometer of the same capacity is lowered one degree of temperature in some other part of the scale. But this relation is not exact; the deviations vary with the thermometric substance selected for either one or both thermometers, and with the position of the degrees in the scale; the deviations are furthermore individual in character, according to the substance and to the position in the thermometric scale; they are vanishingly small only in the gas scale. We may say that by cooling off a gas thermometer one degree in any part of the scale, any other body may be made to receive always the same alteration of thermal

state. This property might have served as a definition of equal degrees of temperature. Yet it is worthy of remark that this property is not shared by all bodies whatsoever that pass through the course of temperature-changes indicated by the gas thermometer, for the reason that their specific heat is in general dependent upon the temperature. It is no less deserving of mention that this principle was not intentionally embodied in the construction of the temperature-scale, but subsequently proved itself by accident to be substantially fulfilled. The conscious and rational introduction of a scale of temperature having universal validity analogous to the potential scale was first made by Sir William Thomson. The temperature-numbers of the common scale are virtually inventorial numbers of the thermal states.

THE NEW YEAR IN CHINA.¹

BY ARTHUR H. SMITH, D. D.,
(P'ang Chuang, Shantung, China.)

THE very first aspect in which Chinese New Year presents itself, no matter in what part of the world we happen to meet it, is that of noise. All night long there is a bang! bang! bang! of firecrackers large and small, which, like other calamities, "come, not single spies, but in battalions." The root of all this is undoubtedly connected with religion, as in other similar performances all over the world. But though the explosion of gunpowder is the most prominent, it is far from being the most important, act of New Year worship. There is the dispatch of the last year's kitchen-god, generally on the twenty-third of the twelfth moon, and the installation of his successor at the close of the year. On the last evening of the year, there is the family gathering either at the ancestral temple, or should there not be one, in the dwelling-house, for the worship of the tablets of the past few generations of ancestors. In some parts of China ancestral tablets are comparatively rare among the farming and working people, and the place of them as regards the practical worship at New Year's eve, is taken by a large scroll, containing a portion of the family genealogy, which is hung up, and honored with prostrations and the burning of incense. On the morning of the second day of the new first moon, perhaps at other times also, all the males of a suitable age go to the family or clan graveyard, and there make the customary offerings to the spirits of the departed. There has been considerable controversy among foreigners expert in Chinese affairs as to the true value of these various rites from a religious point of view, but there is no doubt on the part of any one that they constitute a most essential ingredient in a Chinese New Year, and that in the present temper of

¹ From *Village Life in China*. A Study in Sociology. Fleming H. Revell Co., Publishers of Evangelical Literature. New York, Chicago, Toronto. 1899.

the Chinese race, a New Year without such rites is both inconceivable and impossible. We do well, therefore, to place Religious Rites prominently in our catalogue.

It requires but a slight acquaintance with the facts, however, to make us aware that while the ceremonies connected with the dead are important, they are soon disposed of once for all, and that they do not form a part of the permanent New Year landscape. It is quite otherwise with the social ceremonies connected with the living. The practice of New Year calls, as found in some Western lands, is a very feeble parody of the Chinese usage. We call on whom we choose to call upon, when we choose to go. The Chinese pays his respects to those to whom he must pay his respects, at the time when it is his duty so to do, and from this duty there is seldom any reprieve. For example, not to press into undue prominence local practices, which vary greatly, it may be the fashion for every one to be up long before daylight. After the family salutations have been concluded, all but the older generation of males set out to make the tour of the village, the representatives of each family entering the yard of every other family, and prostrating themselves to the elders who are at home to receive them. This business goes by priority in the genealogical table, as military and naval officers take rank from the date of their commissions. Early marriages on the part of some members of a collateral branch of a large clan, late marriages on the part of other branches, the adoption of heirs at any point, and other causes, constantly bring it about that the men oldest in years are by no means so in the order of the generation to which they belong. Thus we have the absurd spectacle of a man of seventy posing as a "nephew"—or, if worst comes to worst—as the "grandson" of a mere boy. One often hears a man in middle life complain of the fatigues of the New Year time, as he being of a "late generation," is obliged "to kotow to every child two feet long" whom he may happen to meet, as they are "older" than he, and in consequence of this inversion of "relative duties," the children are fresh as a rose, while the middle-aged man has lame knees for a week or two!

If the first day is devoted to one's native town or village, the succeeding ones are taken to pay calls of ceremony upon one's relatives living in other towns or villages, beginning with the mother's family, and branching into relationships the names of which few foreigners can remember and which most cannot even comprehend. That all this social ceremony is upon the whole a good thing cannot be doubted, for it prevents many alienations, and heals in their

early stages many cases of strained relations. Yet, to us such a formal and monotonous routine would prove insufferable.

To the Chinese, these visits are not only an important part of New Year, presumptively they are in real sense New Year itself. Every visit involves a "square meal," and (from the Chinese point of view) a good time. To omit them, would be not only to deprive oneself of much pleasure, it would be to commit a social crime, which would almost certainly give great offence.

The customs of different parts of the wide empire doubtless vary, but probably there is no part of it in which either dumplings or some similar article are not inseparably associated with New Year's Day, in the same way as plum-pudding with an English Christmas, or roast-turkey and mince pie with a New England Thanksgiving. As compared with Western peoples, the number of Chinese who are not obliged to practice self-denial either in the quantity or the quality of their food, and in both, is small. The diet of the vast mass of the nation is systematically and necessarily abstemious. Even in the case of farmers' families who are well enough off to afford the year round good food in abundance, we do not often see them indulging in such luxury. Or if the males of the elder generation indulge, the women and children of a younger generation are not allowed to do so. Hereditary economy in the item of food is a marked Chinese trait. To "eat good things" is a common phrase denoting the occurrence of a wedding, a funeral, or some occasion upon which "good things" cannot be dispensed with. To eat cakes of ordinary grain on New Year's Day, and not to get any dumplings at all, is proverbially worse than not to have any New Year.

No feast-day in any Western land—the two previously mentioned not excepted—can at all compare with Chinese New Year, as regards powers of traction and attraction. We consider the gathering of families on these special occasions as theoretically desirable, and as practically useful. But we have this fatal disadvantage; our families divide and disperse, often to the ends of the earth, and a new home is soon made. Whole families cannot be transported long distances, especially at inclement seasons of the year, even if average dwellings would hold them all.

But in China, the family is already at home. It is only some of its male members who are absent, and they return to their ancestral abode, with the infallible instinct of the wild fowl to their southern haunts. If vast distances should make this physically impossible—as is the case with the countless Shan-hsi men scattered over the empire doing business as bankers, pawn-brokers, etc., or as happens with many from the northern provinces who go "outside the Great Wall,"—still the plan is to go home, perhaps one year in three, and the time selected is always at the close of the year.

A cat in a strange garret, a bird with a broken wing, a fish out of water, are not more restless and unhappy than the average Chinese who cannot go home at New Year time.

THE OX AND THE ASS IN ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE NATIVITY.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE December number of *The Open Court* contains an article on the Nativity of Christ as contrasted with other Nativity stories, especially those of Mithras and Dionysus. We had occasion to refer to the presence of the ox and the ass in Christian pictures and legends which begin to make their appearance in the fourth century. In speaking of similar modes of religious art, we omitted to mention a remarkable illustration which ought not to be



PROMETHEUS FORMING HUMAN BEINGS.¹

overlooked in this connexion, because it may throw light on the traditions and help to decide claims of priority.

It is a Prometheus sarcophagus reproduced by Visconti and representing the creation of mankind by the great fore-thinker.²

¹ From Visconti, *Mus. Pio. Clem.*, IV., 34, reproduced from Thomas Taylor's *Eleusinian Mysteries*, p. 11. The ass and the steer, the sacred animals of Dionysus are represented as present while Prometheus forms human beings. The figure of a man lies on the ground and a woman is just being chiselled. Mercury brings Psyche, the soul, with which the bodies shall be animated. The three fates, Clotho, Lachesis, Atropos, assist, and a lamb crouches by the side of Prometheus.

² Prometheus means literally *forethinker*, that is, the man who thinks ahead, looking to the future and making his designs accordingly. He is contrasted with Epimetheus, the man of after-thought, who is possessed of the famous aldermanic wisdom of those township councillors who

Judging from the pure style of the composition, the relief dates back to the best times of classic art; but its most remarkable feature consists in the traces of the Bacchic cult, which like the Orphic and Eleusinian mysteries served during the last two or three centuries before the Christian era to satisfy man's aspiration for immortality. Dionysus, the liberty-bringing God, the twice born (so called because Semele bore him, and Zeus too), the eternally resurrected, is worshipped as the God of Nature, annually resurrected in spring, and typifies the conquest of mind over matter as it reveals itself in ecstatic states, both in intoxication and in the visions of prophets.

Dionysus is not himself pictured on the present bas-relief but is represented by his animals only, the steer and the ass. These two animals, which are unmistakable symbols of Dionysus worship, are standing right above the statue which is just being completed under the chisel of Prometheus. Mercury, the herald of the gods, brings down Psyche, the soul, a gift Zeus sends as his contribution to the formation of mankind, and the three Fates, Clotho, Lachesis



DIONYSUS ON THE ASS.

Antique terra-cotta of Attica, ancient style.¹

and Atropos, are ready to take the destiny of the newly-created human beings into their hands. Clotho is the spinster that starts the thread, Lachesis receives and unravels it, while Atropos, the inevitable doom of every mortal, cuts it off.

The donkey is the animal on which Dionysus makes his triumphal entry. We reproduce the picture of an archaic terra cotta group (crude but very ancient) which shows the liberty-bringing god with a wine cup in his right hand and the thyrsus in his left,

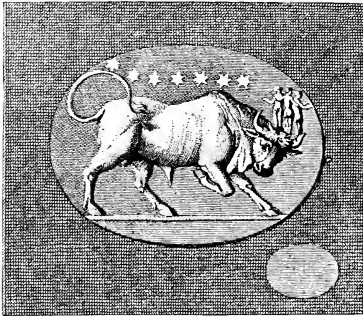
know how they should have spoken and voted when they descend the stairs of the town hall hence the term "staircase wit," or, as the Germans call it, *Treppenweisheit*.

¹ After Clarac, Pl. 675, 1600 A., cf. Baumeister, p. 433.

supported by Silenus or a satyr. There is a certain humor in the group, as the god is represented as being under the influence of his spirit-freeing drink.

The steer of Dionysus, which corresponds to the Egyptian Apis and to the primal bull of the Zoroastrian religion, represents the fertilising power of nature. He makes his appearance in spring, and decks the rejuvenated world with fresh verdure and flowers. Hence he is said to carry on his horns the three graces. The constellation Taurus to which the Pleiades belong was dedicated to him. We here reproduce a fine gem, one of the finest extant, on which the Dionysian steer carries on his horns the three graces and shows on his back the seven stars of the Pleiades.

Dionysus was the son of Zeus and Semele. Juno, jealous of her rival, induced her to request Zeus to show himself in his divinity, which led to her destruction. The God, on account of his promise could not help appearing to Semele, but he took pity on the child that was not yet born and when the mother in the presence of his heavenly thunderbolts died, he hid his little son in his own thigh until it grew strong enough to be handed over to the nymphs of the Nysene grotto for nursing. This scene in the infancy



THE DIONYSIAN STEER.¹ (Antique Cameo.)

of Dionysus is represented in a beautiful relief on an antique water-urn.

Our illustration represents the divine child as carried down by Mercury to a woman who represents all the nymphs of the Nysa grotto that took charge of the child. To the right we see three figures who are commonly supposed to be: first, Silenus, second, Mystis according to Welcker, and Telete according to Gerhard; and finally, Opora, or as Wieseler interprets it, Oinanthe; Silenus being the educator of Dionysus, Mystis the priestess of the Dionysian mysteries; Telete (i. e., initiation into the mystery) would practically mean the same and Opora or Oinanthe are representations,

¹ After Köhler *Ges. Schr.*, Vol. V., Plate 3, cf. Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, I., p. 377.

the former of the grape juice, the latter of the vine. While the group on the right hand is dignified and restful, the three corresponding figures on the left hand are full of Bacchantic enthusiasm. One Satyr plays the double flute and another moving in a graceful dancing step carries the thyrsus. Between them is a Bacchante beating the tympanum. The scene encircles a bell-shaped marble vase, and bears the inscription: "Salpion of Athens made it." The vessel, which belongs to the best times of the revival of the Attic school (compare Brunn, *Künstlergeschichte*, Vol. I, p. 599), served for a long time as a baptismal font in a church at Gaeta, and is now preserved in the museum of Naples.¹



MARBLE URN IN THE MUSEUM AT NAPLES.

The birth of Dionysus was celebrated in Greece with great rejoicings and formed an essential part in the Bacchic mysteries. The nativity of the God who was called the saviour, the rescuer and liberator, the bringer of joy, is frequently represented in Greek art and must have been celebrated all over Greece, especially in the rural districts. The cradle of the child is always a winnowing fan (called *vanus* in Latin and *liknon* (λίκνον) in Greek) which is sacred to the God, and his



THE NATIVITY OF DIONYSUS ON A MARBLE URN IN THE MUSEUM AT NAPLES.²

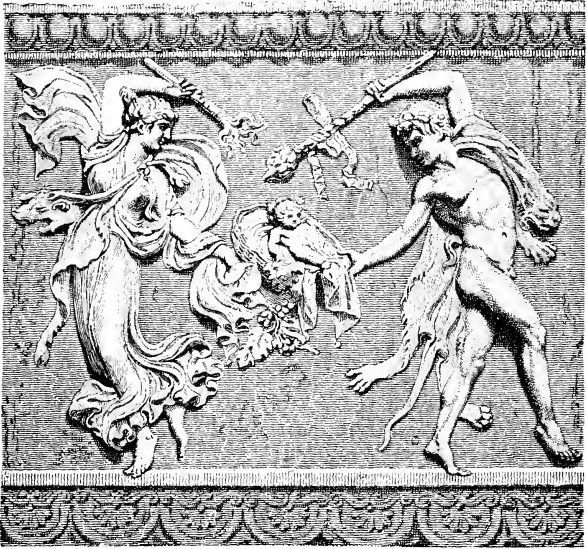
worshippers carried it, filled with sacred utensils or fruit, on their heads at his festivals. Liknites, i. e., "he who lay in the winnowing fan" is quite a common name for Dionysus.

The presence of the ox and the ass at the birth of Christ is not mentioned in the New Testament and may very well have originated under the influence of the Bacchic mysteries the recollection

¹ The illustration is reproduced from Baumeister, Vol. I., p. 438.

² After *Mus. Borb.*, I., 49, from Baumeister, Plate I., p. 448.

of which like those of the legends of Mithras, the story of the magi, the slaughter of the innocents, etc., was merged into the religious



LIKKNITES.

The Dionysus child in the liknos or winnowing basket. Antique relief in terra-cotta. British Museum. Reproduced from Baumeister, Plate XVIII. After Combe's *Terra-Cottas*.

notions of the Christians as to the circumstances that must attend the nativity of a saviour.

THE BREADTH OF BUDDHISM.

BY TEITARO SUZUKI.

BUDDHISM is more intellectual, though on this account by no means less religious, than any other religion, and faith and knowledge are intimately interrelated and equally emphasised. Observe how Buddha exercised the ten virtues (Pâramitâs) in his previous lives as well as in his last existence, to attain perfect enlightenment ; observe how he discussed all those great philosophical problems with Brahman sages, which have been puzzling mankind ever since the dawn of intellectual thought. The intellectuality of Buddhism has contributed much to the peculiar fascination that it exercises on speculative minds.

One of the practical results of the philosophical tendency in Buddhism is the predominance of a spirit of tolerance towards its opponents. It is the pride and glory of the followers of Çâkyamuni that its development and propagation among one third of the world's population took place without bloodshed, burning at the stake, or any other of the cruel methods which were committed by other religions in the name of God and from the sheer love and zeal of saving souls. Whenever it was necessary to overcome opposition, Buddhism used the peaceful method of persuasion by argument. Tradition tells us how brilliantly Âryadeva, the eminent and talented disciple of Nâgârjuna, achieved a victory over thousands of tîrthakas, simply by his superior dialectics and ingenious logic.

Buddhism thus calmly and patiently found its way from the East to the West, but never assumed a hostile attitude towards those religious and ethical systems which were already established. It adapted itself to new conditions and assimilated at the same time other views, so that the people could understand the new truths without experiencing any feeling of repugnance. Every nation has its peculiar needs, inclinations, and traditions which, however superstitious they may appear at first glance, contain some germs of

truth and should for that reason be respected. Buddhism always endeavors to point out those germs of truth, to nourish them, and to give them a new and better interpretation. Being more speculative than any other vehicle of salvation, Buddhism is less aggressive and less impassioned, and does not decry others as false, infidel, perfidious, and idol-worshipping, or apply other offensive epithets which are indifferently used by those pious propagandists who I fear love God too much and their fellow beings too little.

So when Buddhism was introduced into China officially (67 A. D.), it did not try either to suppress the mystic Taoism or the utilitarian Confucianism, although the transplantation of Buddhism into a climate profusely impregnated with practicality and optimistic thought, must have at first excited a great commotion in the intellectual field. What a contrast between the highly abstract philosophy of the Mahâyâna and the positivistic ethical teaching of Confucius! Nevertheless Buddhists worked on, steadily and peacefully, side by side with the followers of Kun Fu Tze and Lao Tze, till Buddhism took root, and, starting a fresh development there, gave such a great impetus to Confucianism as to produce in it some deep thinkers, among whom the most noted were Luh Siang San, Chu Tze, and Wan Yang Ming.

In Japan we have a singular instance which characteristically illustrates the rather over-tolerant spirit of Buddhism, if such a term be allowable. The Japanese are a people in whose minds the idea of ancestor-worship is deeply imbued, partly I think because they were islanders secluded from intercourse with the world, and partly because there was not much intermixture of races in Japan. When a statue of Buddha and a few Sûtras were first presented to the Japanese court by a Korean king 552 A. D., some of the ministers declared that they had no need of worshipping a foreign god as they had their own divine ancestors. Buddhists, however, did not disparage the sacred traditions of the Japanese by proclaiming that they revered false gods; but at once made a practical application of one of their fundamental doctrines, to wit, the Jâtaka theory. All Japanese ancestor-gods were then transformed into Bodhisatvas, or Avatâras (=incarnations) of the primordial Buddha, who, divining the natural inclinations of the nation, assumed the forms of their gods. And thus Buddhism and Shintoism, which strictly speaking is not a religion, were reconciled, and cherished no enmity towards each other. How ingeniously they interpreted Shinto doctrines! And in doing this they were perfectly consistent and sincere.

Enlightened Buddhists in Japan are still of the same opinion when they say that they feel friendly towards Christianity, for Christ, its founder, is an Avatâra (= incarnation) of the Dharmakâya, just as is Buddha himself. Independently of the religious significance of this attitude, it seems to me that in making such a statement they are uttering what is probably the truth; namely, that Christ himself, or at least early Christianity, was influenced quite a little by Buddhism, whose missionary activities are to be found in the very cradle of Christianity and its vicinity, long before the establishment of the latter there. Granting that differentiation is a necessary product of different circumstances, we are confronted with many similarities, nay, I am tempted to say, we find almost the same things in Buddhism and Christianity regarding dogma and ritual, and considering that the Japanese Sukhâvatî sects and Chinese Tien Tai sect, Dhyâna sect, and others so very different from the Buddhist churches of Siam, Ceylon, and Burma, are all comprised under the general name of Buddhism; I then feel strongly inclined to assert that Christianity with all its Jewish, Greek, and Roman traditions may be a Buddhism so metamorphosed as to suit itself to the soil and climate of transplantation. The differences between the Sukhâvatî (Jôdô) and the Dhyâna (Jen) sects are greater than between the Sukhâvatî and the Protestant Christians or the Tien Tai and the Roman Catholics. Whether or not a future discovery of some historical facts concerning this point confirms this view, it matters little; theoretically it is absolutely true that Christianity and Buddhism, each in its own way, sprang out of the unfathomable depth of the human heart which is everywhere the same. Take away their prejudices, intellectual as well as historical, and we have the essence of religion in all its purity and magnificence.

What makes a religion assume false appearances and exposes it to the gross miscomprehension of unsympathetic critics, is its local coloring and the popular superstitions that are so easily mixed with its purer doctrines. Buddhism as a faith for the masses has suffered this fate. While intellectual minds earnestly study it in all its essentials and find satisfaction therein, uneducated people and ignorant priests busily occupy themselves in heaping up superstitions. But outsiders should not judge Buddhism from these excrescences, and when they discover superstitious practices should not forget the scientific spirit and ethical grandeur of pure Buddhism.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE NEW YEAR.

I saw the gates of the Celestial Land
Uplifted, and the everlasting doors
Opened before a Throne.

So marvellous
In grandeur and in beauty was the scene,
That human language hath no words in which
Its glory may be told.

Before the Throne
The Old Year stood, with grave and solemn mien
Waiting the judgment; and beside him knelt
The New Year, in the attitude of prayer.
And, while I stood and wondered, lo! he spoke;
And the broad streams of splendor from the throne
Bore to my eager ear his earnest words
Of supplication. Thus the New Year prayed:

“Vouchsafe, O King of kings, and Lord of lords,
To give me wisdom, strength and fortitude
To do with all fidelity the work
To which Thou callest me, whate'er it be;
Whether of joy or sorrow, peace or pain;
Whether in tempest, and in wilderness,
Or in the calm, and in the smiling field.

“If Thou shouldst deem it best to try my soul
With fire, or sword, or other dreadful thing,
Oh! strengthen me to bear it patiently,
And bravely fight the battles of Thy truth,
And give me safe deliverance from all
The perils into which my pathway leads.

“Or if Thou wilt not order that I bear
Any heroic burden, under which
I might achieve a martyr's sacred fame;
But that my troubles shall be little things

Too small for strength or courage—such as fret
 And chafe the spirit with temptations sore—
 Oh ! give me patience, cheerfulness, and hope,
 To bear and overcome them, though there be
 No outward glory in my victory,
 Nor aught to lift me up in human eyes.

“And oh ! my King, grant that, throughout the world,
 My reign may be distinguished by increase
 Of peace among the nations, and good-will
 Among the men of all communities.
 Grant that there be no war to dye the seas
 With human blood, or desolate the land
 With carnage. But may ev'ry people beat
 Their swords to ploughshares, spears to pruning-hooks,—
 And every field, by war made desolate,
 Be sweet with bloom, and rich with growing grain ;
 And every spot where ruined houses lie,
 Ring with the laugh of children, and the song
 Of maiden, waiting lover's step and voice.

“And oh ! my Father, most abundantly
 Give me the disposition and the means
 To help the poor and the unfortunate ;—
 To aid them, not alone by kindly words,
 But with relief of urgent present needs,
 And means and opportunities to rise
 To better state, in which they may provide
 By their own work for their necessities.

“And grant me, Lord, most potent influence
 To heal domestic discord everywhere ;
 To lessen envy, pride, and selfishness ;
 To check extravagance and indolence ;
 To turn estranged affection to its own ;
 To bring the erring back to virtue's ways ;
 To foster love, and truth, and industry ;
 To brighten all the blessed charms of home ;
 To warm all hearts with holy charity ;
 To make the young obedient and pure ;
 To make the old benevolent and wise.

“And, gracious Governor of Nations, grant
 That all who make, expound, or execute
 The laws of human government, may be
 Inspired by Thee with purpose to obey
 The righteous mandate of the golden rule ;
 To serve the truth, by doing what is good ;
 To seek their fame in the prosperity,
 And happiness and glory of the lands
 O'er which, by Thy permission, they preside.

"And above all, O Father, King, and Lord!
Grant me to lead Thy creatures to Thy throne;
To fill their hearts with Thy celestial love;
To fill their minds with Thy celestial truth;
To fill their lives with Thy celestial power;
And thus, with Thine own glory, fill the world."

I saw the radiant face of the New Year
Uplifted to the Lord, and heard him say,
"Amen! O King of kings, O Lord of lords!"

I heard no more his earnest words of prayer;
I saw no more the vision of the Throne;
But from the world, upswelling like the tone
Of a most grand and solemn anthem, came
The echo of the New Year's prayer: AMEN! AMEN!

My grateful heart took up the sweet refrain;
My grateful voice, the blessed anthem caught;
And my exultant soul re-echoed back
The closing words of the angelic prayer:
AMEN! O FATHER, KING, AND LORD, AMEN!

CHARLES CARROLL BONNEY.

"TANTE FRITZCHEN."

The present number of *The Open Court* contains a thoughtful sketch entitled "Tante Fritzchen," which is not only interesting to the psychologist as delineating an original character, but also to the philosopher and theologian as discussing the problem of immortality. The heroine of the sketch has a definite idea on the subject, and it is developed with great lucidity by the author, Hans Hoffmann, one of the rising novelists of Germany. The solution appears rather negative, and seems to be a flat denial of immortality, but a closer inspection will prove that it only criticises a wrong conception of the nature of the continuance of after-life,—a conception which we may fairly grant is very common throughout the world.

We may assume that our own views are known to the readers of *The Open Court*, and may abstain here from restating them; but we would say that answers and criticisms of Dr. Hoffmann's exposition of the problem will be welcome, on the condition that they be brief and to the point, and they must state the positive aspect of immortality, setting forth what will survive after death and in which way.

Hans Hoffmann, the author of "Tante Fritzchen," was born in Stettin in 1848; he attended the Gymnasium in his native city, studied classical philology and Germanistics in Bonn, Berlin, and Halle, in addition making a specialty of literature and the history of literature. He took his degree at Halle in 1871, and was appointed teacher in his native city. He interrupted his career for a journey through Italy, Greece, and Turkey, and held positions as a teacher successively at the Gymnasias at Stolp, Dantzic, and Berlin. He gave up his profession as an educator for the more congenial work of an author and editor. He published in 1884 the *Deutsche Illustrirte Zeitung*. His present residence is Wernigerode, in the Harz Mountains.

COL. ROBERT INGERSOLL'S POSTHUMOUS POEM.

Colonel Robert Ingersoll wrote, during the last months of his life, a prose poem inspired by our war with Spain. Recent events had awakened in him memories of the War of Secession, and prompted him to jot down some sixty lines of that poetry without rhymes for which the great agnostic orator has justly become famous. The poem does not contain a word alluding to his favorite topic, religion, and almost carefully avoids giving offence to those who would differ from him. It has been illustrated by H. A. Ogden in the style of Prang's calendars and Christmas greetings, and is printed in highly artistic style.

As a specimen showing the beauty of Col. Ingersoll's thoughts, we quote the last paragraph which sounds like part of a Memorial Day speech :

"These heroes are dead. They died for liberty—they died for us. They are at rest. They sleep in the land they made free, under the flag they rendered stainless, under the solemn pines, the sad hemlocks, the tearful willows, and the embracing vines. They sleep beneath the shadow of the clouds, careless alike of sunshine or of storm, each in the windowless palace of rest. Earth may run red with other wars—they are at peace. In the midst of battle, in the roar of conflict, they found the serenity of death. I have one sentiment for soldiers living and dead: Cheers for the living, tears for the dead." (New York: C. P. Farrell. Price, \$1.00.)

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

VILLAGE LIFE IN CHINA. A Study in Sociology. By *Arthur H. Smith, D. D.* With Illustrations. New York, Chicago, Toronto: Fleming H. Revell Company. 1899. Pages, 360. Price, \$2.00.

Dr. Arthur H. Smith, President of the American Board of Missions in China, is a long-time resident of the Celestial Empire. His knowledge of the Chinese extends to their literature and general culture as well as to the life of the people in both palace and hut. What he says about China is based upon his own actual experience and can be relied upon. His book will prove of interest, but will do more: it is a valuable contribution toward the solution of the great Chinese problem which is no easy task.

Dr. Smith selects as his subject, village life, and a knowledge of the village life is for all practical purposes the most needed. "The Chinese village is the empire in small, and when that has been surveyed, we shall be in a better condition to suggest a remedy for whatever needs amendment. It cannot be too often reiterated that the variety in unity in China is such, that affirmations should always be qualified with the implied limitation that they are true somewhere, although few of them may hold good everywhere. On the other hand, the unity in variety is such that a really typical Chinese fact, although of restricted occurrence, may not on that account be the less valuable."

While the author is fully aware of the shortcomings of Chinese civilisation and institutions, he appreciates the character of the people as it shows itself in their private and public life. He confesses that he "has come to feel a profound respect for the numerous admirable qualities of the Chinese, and to entertain for many of them a high personal esteem. An unexampled past lies behind this great race, and before it there may lie a wonderful future."

The difficulty consists in the transition from the present conditions to a new

one which will allow the Chinese to assimilate Western influence and not to break down under its weight. The latter would be a misfortune for both the Chinese and the Western invaders. But if a general ruin could be warded off by wise and cautious reforms, the Chinese might take a place among the nations of the world that would be worthy of their past." "Ere that can be realised, however, there are many disabilities which must be removed. The longer one is acquainted with China, the more deeply is the necessity felt. Commerce, diplomacy, extension of political relations, and the growing contact with Occidental civilisation have all combined, proved totally inadequate to accomplish any such reformation as China needs."

The book describes the construction of the Chinese village, the roads of the country, ferries, wells, shops, theatres, schools, religious observances, co-operative as well as sectarian societies, weddings, funerals, festivals, its government through the village head-man, family life, and finally proposes the question "What Can Christianity Do for China?" He says: "Christianity will revolutionise the Chinese system of education. Such a revolution might indeed take place without reference to Christianity. The moral forces which have made China what it is, are now to a large extent inert. To introduce new intellectual life with no corresponding moral restraints, might prove far more a curse than a blessing, as it has been in the other Oriental lands.

"Christianity will make no compromise with polygamy and concubinage, but will cut the tap-root of a upas-tree which now poisons Chinese society wherever its branches spread.

"The theory of the Chinese social organisation is admirable and beautiful, but the principles which underlie it are utterly inert. When Christianity shows the Chinese for the first time what these traditional principles really mean, the theories will begin to take shape as possibilities, even as the bones of Ezekiel's vision took on flesh. Then it will more clearly appear how great an advantage the Chinese race has enjoyed in its lofty moral code."

It goes without saying that Mr. Smith is too optimistic in his hopes as to what Christianity will do for China. The vices of the Chinese are common all over the world and are by no means absent in Christian lands. The introduction of Christianity in China would not so much mean a change in morality as a change in ritual. For genuine Christians are as rare in Christian countries as they are in pagan lands. That Christianity is superior to the superstition of the Chinese popular beliefs cannot be doubted and it would be a blessing for the people if a sober, Protestant Christianity could be introduced in China without antagonising the national traditions and the customs of Chinese family life which in their bulk are excellent. Protestant Christianity is the Christianity of the Teutonic races, the Germans, the Dutch, the Saxons, the Norse; the problem in the present case is whether or not Christianity can adapt itself to the conditions of the national character of the Chinese, and if it can it will produce a typically Chinese Christianity. It seems to me that the missionary problem consists in discovering a scheme which would so adapt the form of Christianity as to make it as thoroughly Chinese as Protestantism is Teutonic.

The book is illustrated with fifteen reproductions of photographs which will assist the reader's imagination in forming a correct notion of the Chinese village life. We reproduce in the present number a few pages from the chapter "New Year in Chinese Villages," which happens to be in season and will serve as a good sample of the contents of Dr. Smith's book.

WALT WHITMAN. Two Addresses by *William Mackintire Salter*. Philadelphia: S. Burns Weston. 1899. Pages, 46. Price, 25 cents.

Walt Whitman has many enthusiastic admirers and as many severe critics, and the reviewer must confess that he belongs to neither class. That there must be something in Walt Whitman appears from the fact that one of the keenest thinkers, a scientist and mathematician, Prof. W. Kingdon Clifford, speaks of him with great respect and trusts that he will be better appreciated in the future. Most of the admirers of Walt Whitman belong to the class of eccentrics whose indorsement of a cause is not always a recommendation, and therefore we hail the publication of this little tract which comes from the pen of a calm and judicious sympathiser. If any one Mr. Salter, with his impassionate laudation of the natural nobility of the poet of Long Island, would be able to change the indifference of our attitude. The reviewer cannot say that Mr. Salter succeeded in this, but the task of perusing these two addresses was an actual pleasure; so skilfully is the subject presented and so neatly is the wreath woven which he places on the head of this remarkable innovator in the realm of song.

The reviewer's objection to Walt Whitman is not to his innovations, not to his lack of verse and rhyme, not to his repudiation of rule and discipline, not even to the expression of immoral *penchants* (for greater men than he have written far more immoral poems and are guilty of worse breaches of etiquette); our objection is his lack of poetical strength and genuine sentiment. Long strings of enumerations are not poetry; the mentioning of all the states of the Union or of all the limbs of the body is the task of text-books of geography and anatomy, but not of poetry. We wonder how anybody has the patience to read them through. The botanist will find instructive lessons in the story of a blade of grass, but the gardener will not wind it into garlands for a bride. Walt Whitman's poems possess to us a great psychological interest, but we cannot discover in them any beauty, and that in spite of our sympathy with the poet's scorn for traditional rules, simply on the ground that the mass of his lines are mere talk, sometimes pleasant, sometimes dreamy, sometimes thoughtful, and sometimes shallow. Take, for instance, a passage of which Mr. Salter says, "How simple and truly human!" Walt Whitman says:

"Stranger, if you passing meet me and desire to speak to me, why should you not speak to me? And why should I not speak to you?"

Surely there is no objection to a conversation between strangers. Walt Whitman's sentiment is quite natural, but it seems to me that the thought is trivial and not worth incorporating in a poem.

As to the questionable passages of Walt Whitman's poetry, our opinion deviates from that of Mr. Salter. He passes them by without either approval or excuse, and proposes to leave them alone. Quoting the lines in which the passage occurs, "I am for those who believe in loose delights," Mr. Salter adds the following comments:

"The simple fact is that it is not necessary to admire the passages here in question, it is not necessary to defend or justify or even to excuse them—I mean on Whitman's own theory of the matter; it is no more necessary to do so than to defend or justify the moods or actions of which they are the copies. If a man says he *speaks simply as nature prompts*—using nature to mean any impulse within him—then it is a matter of accident whether what he says is worthy or unworthy; we are few of us without impulses, that if they were left unruled, would not make us beasts; and if Whitman sings the low sometimes as well as the high, we can

simply so far leave him out of account, pass him by, forget him, remembering thankfully at the same time that he gives us so much else, so much more, that uplifts the soul, and is of permanent value to man."

The questionable passages of Walt Whitman, in our opinion, deserve full attention and close study. We will not quarrel with Mr. Salter as to the advisability of setting up a poet as a great man whose thoughts are at the mercy of circumstances, as "he speaks simply as nature prompts," so as to make it "a matter of accident whether what he says is worthy or unworthy;" but we would call attention to the fact that novels which idealise, not free love, but prostitution, and whose heroines recruit themselves from the Quartier Latin of Paris or similar places can always count on a tremendous success and will command great sales. The indignant moralist who points out the lack of decency helps to advertise the book by his wild criticism. Such productions sink soon into oblivion, but their authors attain fame and their publishers earn good profits.

We think that neither purity of morals nor naturalness makes a poet great; to say it bluntly, impropriety cannot detract from him, if he be great. The nervousness, however, with which questions of sexual morality are discussed only proves how little as yet they have been settled! We do not propose to enter into the subject now; be it sufficient to point out what seems to us a fact that Walt Whitman's fame and his success as a poet are closely connected with the stir which will always be unfaillingly produced by any free discussion of this much mooted problem.

P. C.

SAMMLUNG GÖSCHEN. KLEINE MATHEMATISCHE BIBLIOTHEK: Nos. 88, 97, 99, and 102. Leipsic: G. J. Göschen, Johannissgasse 6, 1. 1899. Price, 80 Pfennigs each.

Four new volumes have appeared in the miniature mathematical series of the *Sammlung Göschen*. The first is on *Stereometry*, or *Solid Geometry*, by Dr. Glaser, of Stuttgart, containing 126 pages and 44 figures, and divided into three parts devoted respectively to the consideration, (1) of points, lines, and planes in space, (2) surfaces and solids, and (3) the mensuration of surfaces and solids. The examples are more numerous than in the other text-books of the series, and much attention has been paid to the practical applications of the theorems of solid geometry, which from its importance in the technical sciences is not as thoroughly studied in our schools as it should be.

The second volume is a brief treatise on *Geodesy*, by Dr. C. Reinhertz, Professor in Bonn, containing 179 pages, with 66 illustrations. This little book is intended as an introduction to the main problems involved in the measurement of the earth's surface and in ordinary surveying. The subject is a very interesting one, and is concisely and competently treated. There are few branches of applied mathematics, not excluding astronomy, that may lay claim to more serious consideration on the part of the general public, or which present a greater variety of attractive problems; and yet despite the fact that international research in geodesy is better organised and more comprehensive than that in any other science, this study is still but slightly cultivated by general students. Dr. Reinhertz's little book is eminently fitted for giving the reader who is acquainted with elementary trigonometry an insight into the historical development of this science, and also a survey of the main methods and instruments by which that development has been accomplished.

The third work is a treatise on *Plane and Spherical Trigonometry*, by Dr.

Gerhard Hessenberg, of Charlottenburg. Within the brief compass of 165 pages the author has clearly and connectedly developed the main fundamental propositions and formulæ of elementary trigonometry, and upon the whole furnished an excellent little manual of the subject. The solution of triangles has been made to precede the explanation of the theorems for the addition and division of angles and the simplest practical applications of trigonometry are thus made apparent to the student from the start. "Polygonometry" and "Tetragonometry" are also briefly treated in connexion with examples which are quite characteristic and general in form. In the case of all the theorems, one or two examples have been carefully worked out, and a brief collection of exercises added in an appendix. Another noteworthy feature of the book is the emphasis which is laid upon general points of view; trigonometry is seen to emerge naturally from the mensuration formulæ of plane geometry, and the analogies existing between plane and spherical trigonometry are also well brought out. The figures, like those of Dr. Mahler's geometry in the same series, are in two colors. They are 69 in number.

The fourth volume is the conclusion of the second part of the treatise on *Higher Analysis*, by Dr. Friedrich Junker, Professor in Ulm, and treats of the *Integral Calculus*. (205 pages, 87 figures.) The treatment is quite similar to the little treatise on the *Differential Calculus*, by Dr. Junker. It is very brief, and contains no exercises. It is extremely convenient, however, as a manual of reference for the main developments and for illustrative examples of a simple type. It treats of: (1) Integration of Simple Differentials, (2) Integration of Rational Differentials, (3) Integration of Irrational Differentials, (4) Integration of Transcendental Differentials, (5) Definite Integrals, (6) Applications of the Integral Calculus to Plane Geometry, (7) Applications of the Integral Calculus to Solid Geometry, (8) Applications of the Integral Calculus to Statics, (9) Double Integrals and their Applications, (10) Ordinary Differential Equations.

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L'AVENIR DE LA PHILOSOPHIE. Esquisse d'une synthèse des connaissances fondée sur l'histoire. By *Henri Berr*. Paris: Librairie Hachette et Cie., 79 Boulevard Saint-Germain. 1899. Pages, viii, 511.

It is seldom that one meets with a work in which the author's principles and purposes are stated with the same candor and lucidity as in *The Future of Philosophy* of Dr. Henri Berr, Professor in the Lycée Henri IV. "It is a book written in faith," he says, "and it is written of Faith. It is less a book than a deed, a fragment of life. . . . It has always seemed to me that absolute sincerity, that candor which should be the very law of thought, could do much to offset the weakness of any book. . . . Yet, I do not hesitate to promise more than sincerity."

M. Berr is not confident of possessing all the truth. Further he aspires not to originality of ideas, but to breadth and exactness of view, and is ambitious of comprehending rather than of innovating. To him, philosophy has been cultivated too much in the dark and in mystery. Why should the last word of life be an incomprehensible thing, save to the elect few? The effort towards truth will in time unfaillingly be an effort for clearness. Philosophy is not above life nor outside of

life; nothing could be more important to life. "Its study," says Descartes, "is more necessary to regulate our conduct than is the use of our eyes to guide our footsteps." Kant, too, who was himself so obscure, predicted that it would become the patrimony of all.

To contribute in a modest but forceful way to the realisation of these dreams is the object of M. Berr's book. He would base the applications of philosophy to practice upon a profound religious conviction. "I have gradually felt awakening in me a powerful and active faith,—a faith which is not vague and obscure but a faith which has been rendered precise and illuminated by thought. I have earnestly longed to be able to say, and I think that I can say: *Credo quia lucidum.*"

M. Berr, then, reviews some of the various methods which have been propounded for reaching the truth and examines in broad outlines the history of modern philosophy. As the result of his investigations, he finds that philosophy is constantly progressing through the elimination of untenable hypotheses, and by the amassing of the proper materials for a definitive solution. The instrument for the resolution of philosophical problems, the active method for the establishing of truth, is *science*. From a profound study of existing positive knowledge, that is to say of subjective and objective science so called, and of their relations, we shall be able to establish precisely the value of the monistic conceptions, to weigh the existing pretensions of dogmatism, and to determine the measure of existing ignorance as well as the means of vanquishing it.

The result of the collective thought of the ages has been a passage from dogmatism to scepticism, and from scepticism, by a still further dogmatic effort, it has advanced to *monism*, the affirmation of unity, the search for unity, and the establishment of a precise method for estimating the value and functions of unifying conceptions. Monism is the basis of science, and all science demonstrates and completes it, as well as defines its value. All positive knowledge is resolved into psychology and objective science.

Such are some of the many results of M. Berr's examination of the history of philosophy. As to the further developments of his book, we can only mention his remarks upon the main problem of psychology, namely, as to the nature of the ego, and also those upon the future of religion.

It is correct, he maintains, to assert with the empiricists that the ego is not "given" to itself, and exists for itself only in a succession of phenomena. It is right to say with the critical philosophers that the only unity which is known of the ego is that of a law imposed upon phenomena, and which binds them together. It is also right to say with the psychologists that this law is itself a reality. We do not *know* that reality in the common acceptance of the word, but we *are* that reality. The reality is the foundation of the law, the law expresses the reality. Further, it is incorrect to say: "That is *my* thought"; we must say, "That is what time has thought in me."

The main outcome of the author's thought is the enunciation of a *synthesis* of the collective and growing knowledge of the ages as the ideal in which are merged all science and all belief. This crowning Synthesis, this great collective Synthetic Science, presupposes and demonstrates in all existence that unity and harmony which is at the heart of all things, and which either is or is in making. In it religion is absorbed; the reign of the Synthesis is the religious blossoming and fruition of humanity. As the totality of all acquired knowledge, of all social and scientific activity, this Synthesis reproduces the elements of religion; it destroys religion only to restore it. Science is the foundation of ethics. The Divine disappears only

to reappear as Unity conceived in thought and desired by the will. Faith is no longer based upon an illusion, but is the unconquerable affirmation of the Unity of all existence, which is the very heart of religion. "To act is to believe and to know, if but obscurely; but science justifies and illuminates action. *To seek* is to possess faith, and to act for one's faith. And this is precisely what the majority of 'believers' do not see; they oppose their faith to science instead of discovering in science the foundation of faith."

From the preceding *résumé* it will be apparent that the views of Dr. Berr are at many points in accord with the tenets of *The Open Court*, and we are glad to be able to call attention to a work which contains so much that is stimulating and good. We are far from agreeing with the author on all points, (e. g., as to the significance of the Parliament of Religions) and would certainly not accept his explanation of the religion of *The Open Court*, made on page 498, as a sort of "perfectionment of the positivist religion," from which it differs fundamentally.

Erudite but withal quite lucid and comprehensible, and certainly frank in its utterances, the volume of M. Berr is sure to find numerous American readers.

T. J. McC.

TORA'S HAPPY DAY. By *Florence Peltier Perry*, Editor of Children's Department in *Mind*. Illustrated by Gaingero Yeto. New York: The Alliance Publishing Company. 1899. Pages, 47. Price, 50 cts.

This booklet is in album form and executed in Japanese style, but with American workmanship, and by a Japanese who has to some extent adopted American style. It describes the day of a Japanese boy who invites a poor companion to take his place in his father's carriage for a drive into the country, to enjoy himself under the beautiful blossoms of the cherry-trees. It is apparently an imitation of a Japanese book of the same character, *Mitzu*, and is quite pleasing in its way; but we doubt whether it would not be better to have retained the purely American style—at least original Japanese art seems to us more captivating, and will probably be regarded as more artistic. People interested in American-Japanese style may like the booklet as a Holiday gift.

MAGIC. STAGE ILLUSIONS AND SCIENTIFIC DIVERSIONS, INCLUDING TRICK PHOTOGRAPHY. Compiled and edited by *Albert A. Hopkins*. With Four Hundred Illustrations. New York: Munn & Co. 1898. Pages, xii, 556. Price, \$2.50.

This book of more than five hundred pages, with four hundred illustrations, is an elaborate treatment of the art of sleight of hand, giving full explanations, also, of kindred subjects, such as the Greek-temple tricks described by Heron, and the mechanical means of producing remarkable stage effects. The book cannot fail to be interesting, especially as in its line it is almost complete; and the price of the book, \$2.50, must be regarded as cheap considering its size and the profuseness of its illustrations.

In 1892-1893, Prof. Émile Boutroux, now a member of the Institute, delivered at the Sorbonne, in Paris, a course of lectures on the *Concept of Natural Law*.¹ The lectures seem to have been in considerable demand, and were reprinted some years ago in separate form. The reader will find in them a concise and good *résumé* of ancient and modern speculation on the character and functions of the

¹ *De l'idée de loi naturelle dans la science et la philosophie contemporaines*. By M. Emile Boutroux. Paris: F. Alcan, 108 Boulevard Saint-Germain. 1895. Pages, 143. Price, 2 fr. 50.

concept of natural law, even though he may not be prepared to accept Professor Boutroux's individual opinions, some of which are open to criticism. The author has analysed the various types of natural law furnished by science, considering successively logical, mathematical, mechanical, physical, chemical, biological, psychological, and sociological law. He does not accept in its fullest extent the doctrine of absolute determinism in nature as based upon the Greek conception of mathematics. For him the necessity of mathematics itself is not altogether unconditioned, and a parallelism of the necessity of natural law with the necessity of mathematics can be conjectured only. This opens the way to the introduction of "liberty."

Dr. Raoul de la Grasserie, Laureate of the Institute and a judge of the City of Rennes, Brittany, has just written a work on *The Psychology of Religions*¹ which will naturally claim the attention of many readers of *The Open Court*. Dr. Grasserie does not enter upon the problems of the science of religion from the purely logical and objective point of view, but takes up their study from the subjective point of view of each religion itself. He does not inquire whether any given religion or any given group of religions is objectively true, but he regards each as an actual product of the evolution of human society and of the human mind. Eliminating the sociological factors, Dr. Grasserie studies the development of religions in their psychological aspects only, viewing them as purely mechanical reflexes of mental evolution. He finds in their manifold sweeping similarities the law of the unity of the human mind, and observes that religion *is cast in the mould of the mind*, of which it preserves all its depressions and reliefs. The search for the fundamental unity in the apparent diversity constitutes the task of the psychology of religions.

The work is divided into three parts, the first being devoted to the genesis, evolution and mechanism of religious dogmas, ethics and systems of worship; the second to the formulation of the psychological laws which obtain in the development of religions; and the third to an exposition of the psychological mainsprings and causes of religious evolution.

One of the ingenious conceptions which the author makes use of, is the psychological law of capillarity, or the principle by which the individual is attracted or sucked to higher social, ethical and religious levels.

Among the calendars published by the Taber Prang Art Co. our eye is attracted mainly by the *Calendar of Centuries*, which is a historical review of the last five hundred years in five tableaux. The first shows Columbus's ship with sails spread and in the corner the coats of arms of Columbus, Amerigo Vespucci, and Cabot. The second picture illustrates the invasion of Central America, some knight holding up the Spanish flag and receiving offerings from American natives. The coats of arms of Cortez, Pizarro, and Drake indicate the heroes of the sixteenth century. The next illustration introduces us into a pilgrim home with the coats of arms of Raleigh, Bradford, Standish, Lord Baltimore, Eliot, and Winthrop. The century ending with the Declaration of Independence illustrates the Revolution and shows the coats of arms of Washington, Franklin, Madison, Hamilton, and Lafayette. The nineteenth century serves as a cover and represents Columbia and the industrial development of the present age. Other calendars in the same style are *Our Navy*, *Maids of Olden Time*, *Fair or Fowl*, etc.

¹ *De la psychologie des religions*. By Raoul de la Grasserie. Paris: Félix Alcan, 108 Boulevard Saint-Germain. 1899. Pages, 308. Price, 5 francs.

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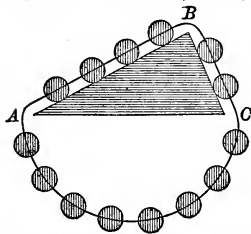
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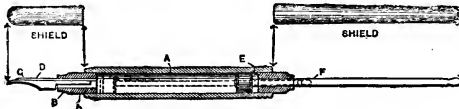
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