

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. XVI. (NO. 10)

OCTOBER, 1902.

NO. 557

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RICHARD WAGNER.

From a drawing by Franz Von Lenbach ; owned by Frau Cosima Wagner.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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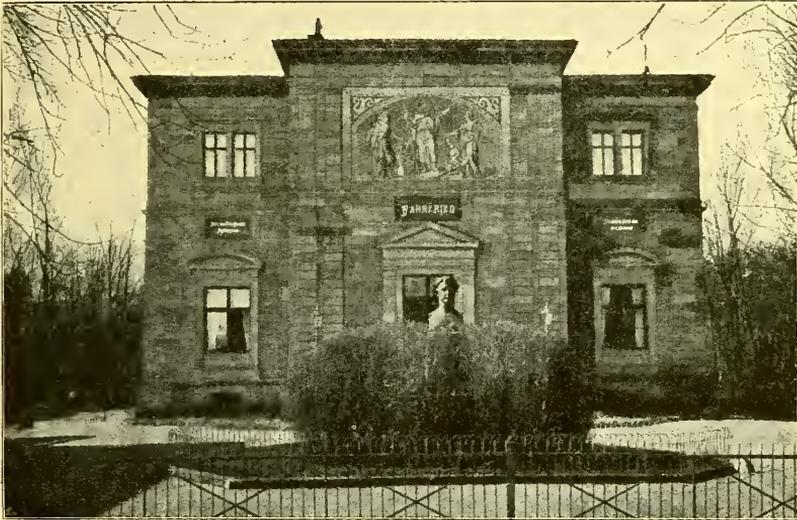
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RICHARD WAGNER.

BY E. P. EVANS.

MORE than twenty years ago a German physician and psychiatrist, Dr. Puschmann, then residing in Munich, Bavaria, published a study of Richard Wagner, in which he endeavored to



VIEW OF WAGNER'S HOUSE WAHNFRIED IN BAYREUTH.

From a photograph by Bruckman.

prove that the distinguished composer was suffering from a variety of mental disorders and especially from that peculiar form of insanity called *Grössenwahn* or megalomania. The publication of such a pamphlet during the life-time of the person subjected to so

ruthless dissection was denounced as impertinent and in very poor taste even by those who thought there might be some truth in it, and did not add to the reputation of its author, who, if he had treated Ludwig II. of Bavaria in the same manner, as he might have done with far better right, would have been convicted of lese-majesty and sent to prison, "There's such divinity doth hedge a king," even when his wits begin to turn.

The evolution of the musical drama and the growth of public appreciation of it since 1873 have also rendered many of Dr. Puschmann's statements not only wrong, but ludicrously wrong, and sapped the foundations of the reasoning by which he arrived at his startling conclusions. Thus we are told that a characteristic symptom of megalomania is a sort of psychical degeneration, which is often the forerunner of more deep-seated disturbances of the intellectual powers. The patient is in a state of exaltation, entertains extravagant notions of his own importance, and indulges in strange illusions concerning his own personality, believing himself to be a prince or prophet, a reformer and redeemer of the world, and cherishing impossible plans and projects, the execution of which seems to him perfectly easy. This hallucination becomes more intense and absorbing in direct proportion to the decay of the intellectual faculties, so that when the afflicted man imagines himself to be a god, he is really a hopeless idiot.

Dr. Puschmann quotes several authorities in confirmation of his general diagnosis and then proceeds to make a practical application of it to the case in question. *Die Meistersinger von Nürnberg, Tristan und Isolde, Rheingold*, and the rest of the tetralogy, so far as then completed, are adduced, not only as indicating sad aberrations in artistic taste, but also furnishing conclusive evidence of psychical deterioration and decrepitude. With the exception of occasional echoes of his earlier works, they are all said to bear the stamp of mental mediocrity, hastiness, incompleteness and "wild dilaceration," and are very far from reaching the height attained by *Lohengrin* and *Tannhäuser*, being "both in substance and form, in text and tone, ill-favored, shabby and slipshod." "If Wagner once unjustly pronounced *Rienzi* an 'artistic sin of his youth,' we should like to know what judgment he would pass upon his most recent productions; for the artist is evidently extinct in him and only the ambitious and imperious courtier remains." Dr. Puschmann even grows melancholy over the result of his researches and exclaims in a minor strain of sentimental regret—"Alas, the Wagner we loved is dead; he expired with the swan-song in *Lohen-*

grin; and the form which we now see before us is that of an unhappy and imbecile old man, to whom we listen with compassion as he painfully seeks to revive faint reminiscences of the departed master." The anxiety of our humane and tender-hearted psychiatrist is not confined to the illustrious lunatic himself, but generously extends to his deluded disciples, who have

"eaten of the insane root
That takes the reason prisoner,"

and are rapidly becoming candidates for bedlam. He expresses the hope that his admonition may be heeded by those who are not already incurably infected and that they may thereby be freed from this amazing infatuation and through sobermindedness recover soul's health.

It would be hardly necessary to call attention to this queer little treatise, which, if ever read by its author in the light of subsequent events, must have an extremely depressing effect upon his mind, were it not for the completion and recent translation into English of Max Nordau's *Entartung* (Degeneration), in which Richard Wagner, Henrik Ibsen, Leo Tolstoy, and Friedrich Nietzsche are chosen as the most conspicuous illustrations of his theme and the most striking examples of modern degeneracy and mental decay. Nordau's allegations and analyses do not differ essentially from Puschmann's, but he makes a more sweeping application of them, stigmatising nearly the whole intellectual evolution of the present time, especially in its literary and artistic development, as "degenerate," and selecting the representative men just mentioned as the most painful exemplifications of this decadence. Wagner, however, stands in this respect supreme and is declared in not very elegant phraseology to be "full-laden with a greater mass of degeneration than all the others put together." He discovers in the famous composer distinct marks or "stigmata" of this morbid condition, that are astonishingly complete and quite "uncanny" in their rankness and rancidity. Of course, these abnormal manifestations are all pathognomonic symptoms of the central malady megalomania or what in common parlance would be called inordinate and chronic self-conceit. Springing from the tap-root of egotism and ramifying in various directions are such secondary indications of mental disease as excessive subjectiveness, the fixed idea of being unappreciated by the public and persistently persecuted by unknown enemies (*Verfolgungswahn*), emotional eccentricity showing itself in confused and quixotic notions of philanthropy and impossible schemes of social and political reform,

anarchism, erotomania and semi-religious sentimentalism, intense contumaciousness and opinionativeness, "graphomania" vulgarly termed scribbler's itch, *cacoethes scribendi* in an aggravated form, resulting in the lack of logical continuity of thought, flightiness and the oracular utterance of bombast and balderdash.

Having thus formulated his accusations Nordau proceeds to substantiate them by a bitter and extremely invidious criticism of Wagner's works, denouncing them as obscene and debasing and denying that they give the slightest evidence of creative genius or of genuine musical talent. He deems it very creditable to the native simplicity and moral purity of the German nation that Wagner's operas can be represented on the stage without exciting a storm of indignation. "How innocent must be the matrons and maidens, who can witness these pieces without turning fire-red and sinking into the earth for very shame! How guileless are the husbands and fathers, who permit their wives and daughters to be present at the theatrical performance of such bawdy scenes! Evidently they find nothing offensive in the conduct of these persons, and have not the slightest conception of the feelings awakened in them, the meaning of their words and actions and the end they have in view. In a less naïve and childlike public no one would venture to lift his eyes to his neighbor or be able to endure his glance." The enjoyment of these musical dramas by the cultivated classes of other nations, including the French, would imply that they too are still living in a state of primitive innocence. Of course there are exceptions everywhere, like our author, persons of superior culture and intimate knowledge of the world and demi-world, whose scent of obscenity has grown overkeen and to whom the purest things savor of nastiness. The accusation that Wagner glorifies incestuous passion on account of the relations of Siegmund to Sieglinde in *Die Walküre* is a criticism as absurd as the assertion that his cannot be "the music of the future" because his themes are taken from a remote and legendary past. Deductions of this sort imply an amazing confusion of ideas and lack of logical discrimination. Indeed it may be justly questioned whether this tendency to discuss art and literature from a psycho-pathological point of view is not in itself symptomatic of "a mind diseased."

It is not the purpose of the present paper to vindicate the character of any of these men, whether mystics, or neocatholics, or preraphaelites, or symbolists, or other degenerate scions of German romanticism, as Nordau calls them. Whatever may be the essence and influence of "Tolstoy-ism" or the merits of Nietzsche

as a philosopher ; whether Ibsen's dramatic creations are real men and women or mere homunculi conjured into semblance of life by a cunning magician, "theses on two legs" intended to illustrate certain extravagant theories of their author; whether Wagner is a born poet, musician, and dramatist, or merely a superior playwright endowed with the picturesque imagination of "a first-class historical painter" and a marvellous talent for the scenical grouping of costumed lay figures in imitation of life, are all of them subjects proper to critical investigation, but lying wholly outside of the province of the psychiatrist. Let us take the case of the composer, to which Nordau gives special prominence, and try to trace in outline the course and continuity of his intellectual and artistic evolution.

* * *

Richard Wagner was a peculiarly interesting, if not altogether admirable, character. Unfortunately his real personality has been greatly obscured and distorted by the persistent efforts of his friends to conceal, and of his enemies to magnify, his faults. He was a Saxon by birth and possessed in a marked degree the physical and mental qualities which distinguish that branch of the German race and are due in part to an intermixture of Slavonic blood. He was eminently typical of the stock from which he sprung, just as Bismarck is the foremost representative of the Prussian or Brandenburg type with a possible tinge of Vandal blood in his veins.

Wagner was a man of low stature with a large and remarkably intellectual head, an abnormally long occiput, a lofty brow finely arched, a protuberant nose of the aquiline type, rather deep-set eyes, high cheek-bones, a firm but somewhat sensual mouth, and a strongly projecting and exceedingly stubborn chin, which seems to have been a family heirloom. His body, which was of the average length and breadth and evidently planned for a person of middle size, was supported by short and slender legs, quite elegant in themselves, but not suited to the superincumbent frame, so that the whole figure resulting from this union of incongruous parts produced an unpleasant impression of squattiness. When seated he looked like a gentleman of ordinary dimensions, but underwent a surprising transformation and dwindled into comparative dwarfishness as soon as he rose to his feet. He was uncommonly agile and far more athletic than many a giant; in his youth he was an accomplished gymnast and age did not destroy his muscular vigor and elasticity; in his sixtieth year he could turn somersaults and

stand on his head with as much ease as when he was a schoolboy at the Kreuzschule in Dresden.

The photographs taken at different periods of his career naturally vary in expression, since they represent passing phases in his many-sided development. In this respect there is a marked contrast between "the counterfeit presentment" of the revolutionist in Dresden, the fugitive in London, the exile in Zurich, the royal favorite in Munich, and the world-renowned denizen of Bayreuth enjoying the realisation of his artistic ideals in a cosmopolitan circle of incense-burning worshippers. It is in the portrait of Hubert Herkomer that the permanent traits which form the essential character of the man are most completely and harmoniously combined and can be most satisfactorily studied.

Wagner was constitutionally good-natured and tender-hearted, as shown in his conspicuous kindness to animals and in his readiness to relieve the necessities of his fellow-men even at the sacrifice of his own material comfort, never failing to share his bread with the hungry, although he might not have a penny with which to buy another loaf. His capability of strong and enduring attachment is beautifully exemplified by his ardent and adoring affection for his mother. The shabby treatment of his first wife presents a less pleasant picture of this side of his nature; and it is one of the most pernicious and persistent effects of his wrong-doing that his biographers have systematically traduced the lady as the best means of extenuating his conduct towards her. It is doubtless true that Frau Minna did not fully appreciate the genius of her husband and failed perhaps to understand the immense significance of his musical and poetical achievements, but she was by no means the simpleton than many Wagnerites would fain make us believe her to have been, and in the complicated relations of private and public life showed herself in several important instances far superior to him in keenness and clearness of insight. It is also to Wagner's credit that he never sought to palliate his desertion by depreciation of her and resented any attempt of flatterers to disparage her in his presence. It would be well if his admirers would imitate him in this *ex post facto* loyalty, which is good so far as it goes.

Wagner's extreme sensitiveness rendered him easily excitable and somewhat touchy, and in later years, as he grew nervous from overwork, degenerated into a chronic irritability that made him at times anything but a cheerful and congenial associate. This morbid irascibility was aggravated by an equally morbid ingenuousness and utter lack of consideration for the conventional cour-

tesies and diplomatic arts and polite evasions, which lubricate the machinery of society and diminish the friction incidental to conversational intercourse between positive and pertinacious opposites. In this respect he was the very antithesis of the urbane and well-bred Liszt, whom he frequently embarrassed by his blunt behavior and painful plain-speaking and the unconscious perverseness with which he thwarted the cleverest attempts to turn the current of discourse into less perilous channels.

A prominent trait of Wagner's character was an utter contempt of money inconsistently combined with an intense love of the luxuries which money alone can procure. It was not the philosophical indifference of the sage nor the ascetic aversion of the saint that inspired him with so deep disdain of filthy lucre, but a constitutional want of common thrift and an eager desire to gratify extravagant tastes, which he was ever ready to indulge to the utmost limit of his own pecuniary means or of the generosity of his friends and patrons; in short he was in such matters a queer union of Skimpole and Sardanapalus. He hated the sight of the "pale metal" and hastened to get rid of it as soon as possible without the slightest thought of an economical provision for the future. He had a feminine fondness for rich attire and the lustre of silk and satin, adorned his rooms with costly furniture, gorgeous hangings and rare objects of *virtù* and declared that a sumptuous environment was essential to give an elevated tone to his thoughts and to put him into the proper frame of mind for the creation of his musical dramas. It was this passion for finery and ostentation of grandeur that led superficial observers to look upon him as a clever charlatan and to speak of him as a "musical Cagliostro"; but nothing could be more unjust than such a judgment.

Numerous attempts have been made by Wagner's countrymen to trace the successive stages of his evolution as a man and an artist and to discover what the Germans call his *Weltanschauung*, a concise and convenient term for the philosophical lenses through which he was wont to view the universe at different periods of his life and from which his conceptions of it took form and color. The most elaborate and comprehensive effort of this kind is Dr. Hugo Dinger's biographico-philosophical work to be completed in two volumes, of which only the first has as yet appeared.¹

Herr Dinger divides Wagner's career into two principal periods: that of his bondage to operatic traditions and conventionalities and his struggle out of them, extending to 1849, and that of

¹ *Richard Wagners geistige Entwicklung*. Von Hugo Dinger. Leipzig: Fritsch. 1892.

his artistic independence, extending from 1849 to his death in 1883. It is hardly necessary to state that such a chronological periodification cannot be strictly correct and must be accepted and applied only in general terms. It is impossible to measure spiritual growth in this way or to define the limits of intellectual development by hard-and-fast lines of demarcation. Besides the evolution of the mental faculties determining the individual's advancement in different directions is seldom coetaneous and symmetrical; progress in one department of thought does not imply a corresponding progress in another department of thought, just as Strauss was a radical in religion and a conservative in politics.

In early life Wagner's religious creed was a sort of musical mysticism, which he himself characteristically summed up as follows: "I believe in God, Mozart, and Beethoven."¹ This comprehensive confession of his faith was not a mere *jeu d'esprit*, but a serious declaration of the inestimable value and the extreme importance which he attached to music as a divine revelation. Elsewhere he exclaims: "Three cheers (*Dreimal hoch!*) for music and its high-priests! Eternally revered and adored be the God of joy and happiness, the God who created music! Amen!" His conception of the Deity seems to have been that of an infinite Beethoven, who composed and now conducts that sublime and ethereal cosmic symphony, the music of the spheres, and has sent great creative musicians into the world as his inspired apostles and truest interpreters. Gradually he came to regard himself as the predestined prophet of this exalted Being especially commissioned to proclaim the glad evangel of the music of the future and to exhort men everywhere to turn from the trivialities of French and Italian operas and to receive the new gospel of the musical drama.

Like all mystics, Wagner was inclined at this time to follow the leadings of the spirit and had strong faith in the efficacy of prayer, not only as an edifying and elevating influence, but also as an actually wonder-working power. Thus Rienzi fervently entreats the "Almighty Father" to endue him with strength for the accomplishment of his mission and not to permit the work which he has undertaken to perish from the earth; Elsa's pure orisons are answered in the form of an immaculate and invincible knight of the Holy Grail hastening to her rescue; Lohengrin bends his knee in mute supplication on the shore before his departure, thereby calling down the miraculous dove from heaven and breaking the evil en-

¹ *A Pilgrimage to Beethoven.* With Portrait of Beethoven. By Richard Wagner. English translation. The Open Court Pub. Co.

chantments of the sorceress Ortrud; the prayer of Elizabeth at the Virgin's shrine saves the polluted soul of Tannhäuser, overruling the hard decision of the pope, who had declared his sin to be unforgivable. In Wagner's journal and other records of his early life, as well as in his poetic and musical compositions, the mystical virtue of prayer is everywhere assumed and constantly acted upon. He describes the pilgrim to Beethoven's home as fasting and praying two days before venturing to enter the house of the revered master; and here, as in the earnest and sublime prayer of the Roman Tribune, he gives utterance to his own devout thoughts and feelings. During his first stay in Paris he suffered all sorts of privations, and was once reduced to such destitution as to be compelled to subsist upon roots, which his wife dug in a suburban forest; but love presided over his "dinner of herbs" and consoled him for the absence of the "stalled ox."

It is said that Frau Minna was driven by stress of poverty to ask alms on the Boulevards; a grocer to whom she applied for aid and who did not know that she was married, tried to take advantage of the necessities of the handsome young woman, but on learning the true state of the case was inspired with a nobler and more generous admiration and supplied her gratuitously with food for her household as a reward for conjugal devotion and fidelity. It was this faithful woman whom Wagner had the heartlessness to repudiate as soon as he began to be celebrated, because he thought she failed to comprehend the greatness of his genius and the grandeur of his artistic creations, and whom his overzealous followers have been busy in slandering ever since. Meanwhile Wagner felt deeply humiliated in being compelled to earn such sour and scanty bread as he could by composing gallopades, quadrilles, and pieces for the cornet-a-piston and selling them for what he could in a market already glutted with wares of this sort.

These distressful circumstances naturally served to stimulate and strengthen his religious emotions, which, more or less blended with his passion for music, often rose to enthusiasm, taking a visionary and ecstatic character and pouring itself forth in a medley of pious and poetic rhapsody. In his *Pariser Fatalitäten für Deutsche*, first published in the periodical *Europa* (1841, III., p. 433 sqq.) under the pseudonym W. Freudenfeuer and reprinted in the *Bayreuther Taschenkalender* for 1892, he says: "It is a glorious thing to be a German sitting cosily at home with Jean Paul and discussing Hegel's philosophy and Strauss's waltzes over a mug of Bavarian beer;" but the life of a struggling artist in the

French metropolis proved to be a very different matter. Such a pitiful career is portrayed in *Ein Ende in Paris*, purporting to be the autobiography of a striving and starving German musician, in which Wagner describes in the form of a novel his own aspirations and adversities and what threatened at one time to be his own unhappy fate. He sums up his own firm though fantastic faith in the words uttered by the dying hero of his story, who exclaims: "I believe that I shall be rendered supremely happy by death. I believe that I was on earth a dissonance, which after my bodily dissolution will be resolved into a glorious and pure accord. . . . I believe that the true disciples of our sublime art will be transfigured into a heavenly unison of bright and balmy tones and be eternally united with the divine source of all harmonies."

Nothing was more common than for Wagner to give utterance to these transports of joy and hope in a prospective life of perfect bliss beyond the grave free from all the discords and deficiencies incident to the present state of existence. It was not until he read Ludwig Feuerbach's little volume entitled "Thoughts on Death and Immortality"¹ that he underwent a sudden revolution of thought and violent revulsion of feeling on this subject, completely losing the faith which had comforted and consoled him under the severest trials and which as the pervading motive of Tannhäuser finds its purest and most poetical expression in Elizabeth's prayer and Wolfram's song to the evening star.

As early as 1834, when Wagner was only twenty-one years of age, he strongly sympathised with the radically democratic and socialistic aims of the secret association known as "Young Europe." As the fermentative period in German literature known as "Storm and Stress" took its name from Maximilian Klinger's drama *Sturm und Drang*, so Heinrich Laube's novel *Das junge Europa* was greeted as the gospel in which the spirit of this international and cosmopolitan movement was most fully embodied and most freely and fearlessly expressed. The German branch of this revolutionary organisation, of which Mazzini was the founder and director, was called "Young Germany" and numbered among its members Wienbarg, Gutzkow, Mundt, Stifter, Laube, Heine, Börne, and Auerbach. The aim of the secret league, which was controlled by a central committee at Paris, was to establish an international republic or United States of Europe on a democratic-socialistic basis. In Germany the movement took not only its

¹ *Gedanken über Tod und Unsterblichkeit*. First published anonymously at Nuremberg in 1830.

name, but also its moral tone, from Laube's novel, which taught as the true philosophy of life a cynical, frivolous and lascivious hedonism, the gratification and glorification of what was called "genial and healthy sensuality," and sought in this sort of "freedom" the individual and political regeneration and salvation of the race.

Wagner was a warm personal friend of the author of this fantastic and licentious fiction and became an ardent apostle of the new scheme of human redemption, to the proclamation of which in the domain of music he now devoted himself with passionate enthusiasm. He had already written *The Fairies*, a shallow and utterly conventional production in the romantic style of Weber and Marschner, which since his death has become the exclusive property of the Munich stage, where its success has been due solely to the splendor of the scenic decorations and must be regarded as a tribute to the theatrical genius of Lautenschläger rather than to the musical genius of Wagner. It was under the powerful influence of the ideas and aspirations of "Young Europe" that he composed his second opera, "The Interdiction of Love" (*Das Liebesverbot*), which he himself afterwards justly characterised as "a wild, revolutionary, recklessly sensuous transformation of Shakespear's serious 'Measure for Measure.'" This work, which in its decidedly indelicate treatment of an extremely delicate subject is scarcely more than a coarse caricature of the English play, has never been printed or represented on the stage and is known to the public chiefly through references made to it by Wagner in the first volume of his "Collected Writings" (pp. 20-31). A brief critical analysis of the plot is also given by Dinger, who had an opportunity of studying the entire opera in a manuscript copy revised by the composer himself and now the property of Professor Kietz of Dresden.

In Laube's novel one of the principal characters expresses his firm conviction that all nationalities will gradually disappear and give place to a universal cosmopolitan republic, one and indivisible,—a visionary prospect, the realisation of which is about as probable as that all languages will die out and be superseded by Volapük. As this ideal was to be attained by the diffusion of political liberty through the establishment of liberal constitutions, and as France had already advanced farthest in this direction, it was thitherward that the faces of "Young Europe" were turned radiant with hope. Wagner confesses that Germany seemed to him at that time "a very small part of the world," "the schoolroom of Europe," as he called it, a nursery of theories, for the practical application of

which they looked to Paris. It was therefore quite natural and almost inevitable that Wagner should renounce his early enthusiasm for Beethoven as narrow and provincial, and that his second opera should be musically a mere echo of the favorite French and Italian masters, Auber, Bellini, Rossini, etc. It was under the same strong impulse that he soon afterwards wrote "Rienzi," which he intended to be represented at the Grand Opera at Paris, and which both in conception and execution marks the culminating point in this transition period of his artistic development. With this rash and quixotic purpose in view he sailed from Riga in 1839 and after a long and tempestuous voyage, during which, as the ship was driven by the storm along the Scandinavian coast, he heard for the first time from the sailors the weird legend of "The Flying Dutchman," he reached the French capital, the goal of his eager desires and destined to be the scene of bitter disappointments.

In Paris the illusions which he had so fondly cherished were as quickly and completely dispelled as were those of Luther on his pilgrimage to Rome. His artistic instincts revolted against the unartistic and conventional dilettanteism and degrading commercial spirit, which surrounded him on every side and looked down with disdain on his loftiest ideals. His letters written at this time reveal his profound disgust at the prevailing state of things. Art, he says, is the mere handmaid of politics, and the director of the Grand Opera holds his place as a sinecure for services rendered to the ministry. The holy of holies in this temple of the Muses is the ticket office; all persons connected with the theatre, manager, singers, musicians, souffleurs, scene-shifters, and claque are alike animated by the sole and absorbing purpose of making money. The only composer whom he did not find kneeling in abject worship before the shrine of mammon, was Berlioz, who paid the penalty of his independence by almost utter neglect. The vocal gymnastics of Italian tenors, the chief of whom, Rubini, then the favorite of the Parisian public, excited the wildest enthusiasm by his famous trill on B, provoked Wagner's intense disgust and convinced him that there could be no true development of dramatic music so long as it was overladen with floriture and specious flitter of this sort. "If I should compose an opera answering my idea, people would run away from it, for they would find there no arias, duets, and trios, and none of the stuff with which operas nowadays are patched together, and what I should put in the place of them no singer would sing and no public would listen to." Here we have

perhaps the first clear and concise statement of his conception of the musical drama, together with a certain fearful looking forward to the manner in which it would probably be received.

Meanwhile he wrote "The Flying Dutchman," the ghostly mariner, whose fruitless search for his long-lost home symbolised Wagner's own revived longing for his native land. This work marks an epoch in his career and is the forerunner of a new era in the history of German music, not on account of any striking peculiarity or originality of composition, for in this respect it is essentially a romantic opera in the style of "Der Freischütz," but be-



THE FLYING DUTCHMAN.

After a painting by Hermann Hendrich.

cause of the nature of the theme, which powerfully impressed his imagination and turned his thoughts towards that wonderful world of German legend, whose treasures it was henceforth to be his artistic mission to rediscover and reveal. His cosmopolitanism, which was in reality only a thinly disguised Gallomania and usually found expression in some high-flown galimatias, now gave place to an ardent and emotional patriotism, which he frankly confesses he had never before felt or even dreamed of and which he declares to have been free from every political tinge.

[TO BE CONCLUDED.]

THE MISINTERPRETATION OF TOLSTOY.

BY AYLMER MAUDE.

THE July number of *The Open Court* contains an article fatuously entitled "A Nearer View of Count Leo Tolstoi" (with the name spelt wrong) by Mrs. Evans, founded on a German book by Frau Anna Seuron.

Nobody who knows and understands Tolstoy has ever, I think, taken Frau Seuron's book seriously; but as this is not the first time a magazine of good standing¹ has admitted an article based on her work, a short explanation may not be out of place.

The fact is first to be remembered that Frau Seuron was summarily dismissed by the Countess for disgraceful conduct, and that her unsupported testimony is contradicted by all the Tolstoy family and by every one else who knows Tolstoy well enough to be a competent witness.

One of the people referred to by Frau Seuron once asked one of Tolstoy's daughters to mark in the book the statements she personally knew to be untrue. I am told that they numbered *sixty*, and as they only represented the misstatements *one* person happened to be able to detect, the total number is probably very much larger.

As to the letter from Tolstoy which Frau Seuron parades as evidence of her competence to speak, the fact is that she was naïve enough to send part of her manuscript to Tolstoy for his correction—and he being much too busy to read and re-write all the nonsense that is sent him returned the manuscript with a good-natured note saying, in effect, that she might write whatever she liked and that he felt sure she would not write what should not be written. That, in the event she did not come up to his estimation of her, can hardly be put to his debit.

¹ G. Calderon's article in *The Monthly Review* of May, 1901, for instance.

Frau Seuron's book, and the articles concocted out of it, are not worth many pages of refutation, and I will therefore confine myself to passages reproduced in the article now under review.

Almost at the start we are told that Tolstoy published his first writing "when he was only twenty years old. He was then an ensign in the army, engaged on active service," etc. Now Tolstoy was born in 1828, entered the army in 1851, and his first work, *Childhood*, appeared in 1852, when he was twenty-four. What are we to think of the accuracy of a work that begins so carelessly? But no careful reader, after perusing a few pages, will expect accuracy from Frau Seuron; she tries merely to be sarcastic and smart.

Mrs. Evans, from whose article I take my quotations, remarks: "Her narrative, divested of its fantastic setting and subjected to chronological order and to condensation of form, *displays various salient aspects of Tolstoy's character which constitute sufficient explanation of his course!*" And she has other remarks which all tend to show that she has read Frau Seuron's book and made use of it, without in the least suspecting its real character.

Frau Seuron was a German governess in the Countess Tolstoy's employ, but Mrs. Evans should tell us what reason she has for supposing that she had Tolstoy under "daily and *hourly*" observation, was a "trusted companion," and "apparently" assisted the Countess in publishing his works.

We are not likely to get "sufficient explanation" of Tolstoy's course from information such as the following: "A school was opened in which members of his family gave regular lessons, also an A-B-C book for the people was prepared and published; but the proceeds were small, and the whole enterprise was allowed to dwindle and fall into disuse."

Now, the fact is that Tolstoy organised *several* schools in his neighborhood, devoted much time and attention to them, engaged masters to assist him in the work, wrote articles on the theory of education, and gave himself up largely to educational work for several years. The schools were not abandoned until one generation of children of a school-going age in the neighborhood had learned pretty well as much as they and their parents thought necessary, nor until the Government by vexatious restrictions had begun to make it almost impossible to continue the work, and Tolstoy's own health had broken down so that he needed a complete change and rest.

The undertaking, besides being an expense to Tolstoy, was a

tax on his time and strength which, had it continued, would have deprived the world of works we could ill spare. The A-B-C book has had, and still has, a very large circulation.

Now for a specimen of Frau Seuron's profound reflections.

"He (Tolstoy) is first and above all a *man of moods*; . . . because he has a mind that is continually growing, and *growth implies change*." This is as true as that $2 + 2 = 4$; all who do not stagnate are "men of moods," if one pleases to use the words in that unusual way. But what are we to think of a woman who, like Mrs. Evans, supposes that such remarks help us to "a sufficient explanation" of Tolstoy's course? Mrs. Evans kindly assures us that "it is greatly to Tolstoy's (I correct her orthography) credit that . . . this *unprejudiced and severe critic* admired and revered him and was able to retain her faith in his entire honesty of purpose." But really if anything could shake one's assurance of Tolstoy's sincerity it would be this unsolicited testimonial from Frau Seuron,—for she is so frequently wrong, and so seldom right, that anything she says is open to suspicion for the very fact of her having said it.

We are asked to believe that Tolstoy's whole movement is "confusion, mystical dogma, disease," out of which some "pearl of truth may be developed," but "not in this century."

We have often been told by hostile critics that, except as a novelist, Tolstoy had little influence in Russia until almost the time of his excommunication last year: let us hear, however, what this German governess, who lived at the Tolstoy house from about 1882 to 1888 has to say on that subject.

"Many young noblemen deserted their rightful places in society and married peasant women, or lived with them unmarried, descending to their level and finally drinking themselves to death. Others . . . devoted themselves so ardently to menial work . . . that they lost their health and strength and perished by the way . . . It was no unusual sight to see nobly born ladies going out in the early morning . . . to fill dung carts and spread manure upon the dewy fields. In short, there were abundant instances of . . . disaster . . ." And she tells us of "aristocratic families who by this means had lost promising sons or been socially disgraced by the eccentric behavior of sisters and daughters."

That certainly does not sound as if Tolstoy had no influence, but it does not seem to occur to Frau Seuron that Russian noblemen ever drank themselves to death before Tolstoy denounced the use of stimulants! Tolstoy writes books, and noblemen die of excess: both things happen at the same time and in the same coun-

try, and as that is the extent of Frau Seuron's knowledge, and it is impossible to maintain that Tolstoy wrote because other people drank, there is, it seems, nothing left but to assert that the people drank because Tolstoy wrote! Frau Seuron's thoughts are delightfully simple. There is never any complexity or hesitation: when she dislikes anything (and she dislikes very much indeed the views she attributes to Tolstoy), she never hesitates to assert that every misfortune she hears of is the direct result of the things she dislikes.

The lapse of time since Frau Seuron had Tolstoy under her "daily and hourly observation" has played havoc with some of her pet theories, and it is a little hard on her that Mrs. Evans should drag them into further publicity at this time of day. For instance, we are told that: "*Once* he made trial with the vegetarian system. For more than a year he followed the rule, yielding only now and then so far as to partake of bouillon. His health suffered from the change, and he was persuaded to include poultry in his bill of fare." Then follows a delightful touch, thoroughly characteristic of Frau Seuron and her methods of "hourly observation": "Often, too, the roast beef... was found to have been well eaten into during the night, and the Count *was suspected of being* the eater, *although he never would acknowledge the deed!*"

The real fun of this passage, to those who know Tolstoy's open nature and readiness to tell a good story at his own expense, lies in the fact that Frau Seuron does not notice that this record of suspicions reveals, not Tolstoy's character, but her own.

But let us hear her further on the same subject: "This plan of living soon lost its force, and the Count returned gladly to the fleshpots... A few years later he made another attempt... also the daughters of the house resolved to try, but in less than a year the girls grew thin and pale, and the whole company of converts went back to their former mode of living."

It is not wonderful that Tolstoy, who was then well over fifty, and whose wife was opposed to the change, should not have succeeded with a vegetarian diet at the first attempt. When I knew them in 1894-97, his two eldest daughters were vegetarians and Tolstoy himself was a very strict vegetarian. He had then been so for some years and has not altered since. He was also a remarkably vigorous man for his age.

With reference to the use of tobacco the case is similar. Anna Seuron's evidence, if we accept it, merely goes to show that he did not break the habit easily or at the first attempt. Subsequent

events show how entirely mistaken she was in supposing that what Tolstoy could not do easily he would never succeed in doing at all.

Frau Anna Seuron has a curious trick, common to loquacious people who have never taken pains to think correctly, of mixing up into one sentence a number of heterogeneous errors, so that while one fallacy is being elucidated the others have a chance to escape. It would need several large volumes completely to expose the sophistries she has packed into her one small book. Let us take, however, as a fair average specimen, a single paragraph and submit it to analysis :

“His whimsical industries, such as lighting his own fire, blacking his own boots, working as a shoemaker, digging in the fields, driving the plough, carting manure, were so many ways of refreshing his mental energies through bodily exercise.”

That is just what Tolstoy had said in his writings: he found he could do better mental work when he varied it with a large amount of manual labor. But the particular point Tolstoy insists on, viz., that it is better to do useful rather than useless work, Frau Seuron carefully avoids. The work he approves of seems to her “whimsical,” and the paragraph proceeds: “He gave up riding after being obliged to sell his favorite horse; he gave up hunting after adopting vegetarian principles,—he says too that he dared not go out alone with a gun, for fear he should be tempted to shoot himself,—and so he turned to more plebeian methods of letting off steam, so to speak, for the health and safety of his spiritual as well as physical nature.”

But why not tell us what “obliged” him “to sell his favorite horse”? And why jumble that up with the fact that when he felt it wrong to take life he abstained both from eating flesh and from hunting? And why, again, mix all these up with a totally different matter: the fact that *several years previously* Tolstoy had, as he tells us in *My Confession* (1879), been so baffled and perplexed in his efforts to discern the meaning of life (quite clear to him in the years Frau Seuron is writing about) that he had been tempted to commit suicide? Perhaps Frau Seuron cannot help writing in this way—it may be due to something peculiar in the formation of her brain—but if she does it on purpose she is a most accomplished sophist.

Here is another specimen of her critical methods :

“He (Tolstoy) was naturally inclined to be superstitious, and this habit of mind, together with a lack of thorough education, in-

terfered with the ability to form just conclusions respecting the social problems which he was trying to solve."

What she means is that she disagrees with his opinions and wishes to discredit them. She first says (what is probably untrue) that he is "naturally superstitious"; she then assumes (what is ridiculously and evidently untrue) that superstition is his present "habit of mind," and, finally, she asserts that he suffers from "a lack of thorough education," which is a safe assertion, for no one knows what a "thorough" education is. If the possession of a university diploma be the test, then poor Tolstoy stands condemned as incompetent "to form just conclusions respecting the social problems." But before we brush him and his works quite aside as valueless, let us recall the fact that he has shown some capacity for expressing himself in his own language, and has also written an article or two in French; that he can converse in four languages, and reads at least seven (not counting Hebrew, in which tongue he, with the aid of the Moscow Rabbi, read much of the Old Testament); that he made a prolonged and ardent study of Russian history, as a preparation for three historical novels (of which only one, *War and Peace*, was ever written); that he has been an omnivorous reader of Russian and of foreign literature; that he has studied the problems of education for years, both practically and theoretically; that he is a keen lover of music, and used to be an admirable accompanist on the piano; that the problems of art, in all its branches, have received his careful attention; that he has analysed the dogmas of the Church and written a very able work on the subject; that his knowledge of comparative religions—Eastern and Western—is considerable, and that he has devoted earnest and unremitting labors to the translation and interpretation of the Gospels. To the investigation of social and economic problems, therefore, he brings a mind neither unexercised nor over-specialised, and if he still lacks the "thorough education" which would enable Frau Seuron to feel confidence in his conclusions, he has at least gone through a fairly extensive preliminary course: a fact which may, perhaps, be pleaded in mitigation of her sentence that the mind he possesses is "not a highly cultivated mind; hence his conclusions are necessarily empirical."

But enough! Frau Seuron is not the only silly woman in the world. Instead of exposing any more of her nonsense, let us rather ask what gave her her bias and shut her out from all comprehension of Tolstoy's meaning.

She almost answers the question herself. She lets us see,

plainly enough, that she was a very narrow-minded German woman of strong class-prejudices, mentally and morally incapable of escaping from the social superstitions in which she had been brought up, and also that she did not at all understand the Russian life that went on around her. For instance: fires are very frequent in Russian villages; the houses are of wood, and the peasants are careless. A fire occurred in the village of Yásnaya Polyána, and Frau Seuron wondered, "Why did he (Tolstoy) not *ensure safety by the purchase* of a fire-engine?"—quite oblivious of the fact that buying a fire-engine does not ensure the safety of a Russian village! The peasants have their own way of doing, or not doing, things; and a fire-engine in a Russian village would be pretty sure to be entirely neglected and to be unusable by the time it was wanted. Tolstoy knows what he is talking about when he says that the economic distress in Russia is caused by the superstitions of the Church. What is wanted, even to prevent fires, is, primarily, not the purchase of fire-engines, but the growth of a different spirit among the peasants.

In some places it is difficult to understand what Frau Seuron wants us to believe, e. g., we are told: "There was a gathering place for poor people seeking advice or assistance. . . . It came generally; but not from the head of the family. The Countess dealt out medicine and lint; other members of the family gave clothing and money; but the Count remained invisible, or *passed through the waiting group unrecognised, with a scythe over his shoulder, or an axe in his belt.*"

The suggestion that Tolstoy is to blame for not doing everything and being everywhere, is quite characteristic of Frau Seuron; but does she seriously wish us to believe that when he took his scythe over his shoulder he ceased to be recognisable by the peasants who had known him almost all his life and among whom he frequently worked in the fields?

She has some funny stories about Tolstoy's dislike of using money: and we need not doubt that the inclination to avoid the use of money did, with a man of his strength of will and tenacity of purpose, give rise to strange scenes—even though he never made a hard and fast rule for himself on the subject. She tells us of a poor boy to whom the Count promised, but failed to give, fifty kopéykas (equal, by the bye, to twenty-five cents, and not "about thirty-two cents"). Frau Seuron herself gave the boy "what she could spare," but he went away and never came back again, and "died not long afterwards of consumption in the hospital," but

whether because Frau Seuron's gift fell too far short of Tolstoy's promise, is not expressly mentioned.

Tolstoy once wanted an overseer for his Samára estate and Frau Seuron "came to the rescue" by trying to get him to engage a German, whom she introduced. The man came three or four times from some place about fifteen miles distant, but did not secure the post, having roused Tolstoy's suspicions by wanting money in advance. Frau Seuron makes the most of her compatriot's disappointment, and tells us that though he "had long been in charge of an important estate in another part of Russia" and "was furnished with abundant testimonials, . . . it was two years before he secured a situation for the support of his family. From which one is tempted, in spite of Frau Seuron's testimony, to conclude that, in other people besides Tolstoy, the man failed to inspire confidence. Indeed, Frau Seuron's own ideas of honor are somewhat peculiar, as one gathers from a little story she tells:

"A stranger came to see Tolstoy and to offer him his immense fortune for benevolent purposes." A friend of Frau Seuron had a large forest to sell and was willing to pay a commission of five thousand dollars if a purchaser could be found. So Frau Seuron calmly requested Tolstoy to "mention the matter to his visitor." "But the Count only laughed, and said: 'Are you trying to make money?' and did not say a word to the man. . . . And so the opportunity was lost," and in due course Frau Seuron's memoirs were written and the world was told how strongly she disapproves of the Count's ideas and practices. But as the man came to consult Tolstoy—whom he trusted—it would have been outrageous to hand him over to the tender mercies of Frau Seuron.

But Frau Seuron, in her condemnation of Tolstoy is strengthened, she lets us see, by the support of people in the best society. Her son wished to be engaged as a tutor for the sons of "a Prince, occupying an influential position at Court," but when this Prince "heard that the young man had lived several years in Tolstoy's house he broke off the negotiations immediately." Now, after a Prince, "influential at Court" had disapproved of Tolstoy, and Frau Seuron herself had seen him doing "plebeian" work in the fields, what respect could she be expected to feel for his books or his opinions? And what better use could she make of her opportunities than to write a spiteful book about him, thereby perhaps recovering a little of the five thousand dollars to which he might so easily have helped her?

But there are few things in this world so bad that one can find no good in them if one looks for it. Even Frau Seuron's book—poor stuff as it is—is not altogether valueless. In the first place it rightly contradicts the hasty conclusion some people jump to, that all the practices Tolstoy commends in any of his books have been thoroughly tested in practice by him and have completely succeeded. She overshoots her mark, but when she says that visitors "found a luxurious home, a generous table, servants, equipages, in short, the usual surroundings of a wealthy and titled landed proprietor," she is only exaggerating somewhat. The property belongs, now-a-days, not to the Count but to the Countess and to the children, but it has neither been distributed broadcast nor allowed to go to ruin. Even such a sentence as this: "What did it matter if Tolstoy wore a blouse, and made his own shoes and drove a plough, when he had only to return home to find himself surrounded by all that makes life enjoyed by the rich and envied by the poor?" serves at least to contradict the common misconception referred to above; though it might have occurred to a more intelligent woman that when a man spends little on himself, eats and dresses with great simplicity, and tries, without coercion, to influence his own family and others in the same direction, devoting, moreover, his time and talent, quite freely to the service of others,—it does matter a great deal! In fact, the more conspicuous external changes that are, from time to time, accomplished in society would not come about were it not for the moral efforts of those who persevere in spite of partial failure, and many discouragements, and of much misunderstanding at the hands of those who do not discriminate between the externalities that surround a man and the spirit that animates him in his work.

Another merit of the book is that Frau Seuron tells some good stories; though these she too often spoils by thrusting in remarks of her own which have neither wit nor sense. For instance: Tolstoy "went once to the Institute where her son was a pupil in order to escort the boy to his mother, who was ill." Frau Seuron "telegraphed . . . that the Count would arrive at a certain hour, and, accordingly, the Director and the whole corps of teachers waited at the main entrance to receive the distinguished guest. But nobody came, excepting an old man in a sheepskin jacket, who was told to sit down on a bench in the hall, while the teachers passed up and down, wondering why the Count did not appear." Not till the boy turned up and, exchanging greetings in French with the man in the sheepskin coat, went away with him, did it dawn on the minds

of the Faculty that the bearded man in the sheepskin was Tolstoy himself! "The Count added the story to several other similar incidents for the amusement of the home circle, deducing the conclusion that rank is not written on the face." And then followed Frau Seuron's own comment, "by way of a hit at Tolstoy's peasant costume,—'No, but on the back!'"

Now and then she makes a remark worth making, as when she speaks of the keen glance of Tolstoy's grey eyes, and says that his manner of scrutinising people reminded her of "a photographic apparatus"; nor does she omit from time to time to testify to his kindliness and keen sense of humor, as well as to his sincerity and desire to do good.

If one were tied down to give a short, simple, clear report on Frau Seuron's book, one would have to say it was a very worthless production, grossly inaccurate, and written by a woman evidently quite incapable of appreciating Tolstoy's view of life. But, looking more closely at the matter, I have tried to show that there are some crumbs and scraps of digestible matter to be found in it. And so strangely complex is human nature that it is possible Frau Seuron, together with the prejudices and personal motives that influenced her, may have been, to some extent, moved, in her attacks on Tolstoy, by a desire that right (as she saw it) should triumph.

Let me try to make this complex supposition plain. Frau Seuron, I take it, saw that many people read Tolstoy and were moved by what they read. Whether it was by the force of the arguments, or by the spiritual fervor of his appeals, or by the artist's gift of compelling the readers to share his feelings, certain it is that Tolstoy stirred many men and women as no other writer stirred them. Further than this, Frau Seuron saw that the people who yielded to his influence did not usually become more amiable, more reasonable, or easier to coöperate with. She saw, in Tolstoy's own family as well as elsewhere, that the new movement caused strife, misunderstandings, and distress. She probably saw also (what any one may see who cares to look) that the movement—like any strong intellectual or spiritual movement—seemed sometimes to tear people from their roots, to rush them along, and then to leave them stranded in some backwater, uprooted and out of place. And with that lack of discrimination which is so common a failing: that eagerness to consider things absolutely good or bad,—white or black,—which so hinders us from getting at the real truth of things, she seems to have made up her mind that Tolstoy's teaching was harmful. His arguments did not appeal to her, and the

test of experience seemed to her decisively against him. So she has,—perhaps,—told her fibs with a moral purpose. She has done what harm she could to Tolstoy's reputation as a thinker, in order to prevent people from coming under his sway, and marrying beneath them or drinking themselves to death!

But her end does not justify her means. We do not want the pendulum swung violently backwards and forwards; but would rather see where it will finally hang in equilibrium.

Still,—putting Frau Seuron aside,—now that some twenty years have passed since Tolstoy began to expound his system of Christian Anarchism, experience—that great verifier of theories—does not show us that, in the qualities of cohesion, tolerance, capacity to coöperate, and mutual helpfulness, his most ardent followers are superior to other men. And those of us who are not mere partisans, but are honestly and primarily in search of *truth*, have to ask themselves how it is that the practical result of so great a teaching is, in our own case, not better.

We do not get any satisfactory reply from our friends, the extremists: the people who, like Frau Seuron, try scornfully to laugh Tolstoy off the scene, or those fervent disciples who would still seek to extract from Tolstoy's works some rigid *external* code of rules and tests, by urging which upon mankind they would inaugurate the millennium. We have, I think, rather to look for a sane criticism which, while gladly recognising the immense value of Tolstoy's colossal work (which amounts to nothing less than the elucidation of the relation in which the various sides of our modern life stand to one another and to true progress) will not be afraid to discriminate between the first, second, and third quality flour that comes from his mill, or to remove the grit which prevents the mill from grinding smoothly.

It is as though we had a wonderful new machine that works with much friction and has caused sad accidents. Quite a number of hysterical people denounce it, and say (like Frau Seuron) that it will certainly do no good until it has been left to rust for a hundred years. Others are in such ecstasies over the machine that their one and only idea is to get up more steam and to drive it harder and faster. What is really wanted is, to get practical mechanics carefully to overhaul the machine, to test the parts, to see they are well adjusted, to lubricate the bearings, and to see that the friction is minimised.

Mrs. Evans, who wrote the article in *The Open Court*, apparently knows nothing about Russia and nothing about Tolstoy. She tells

us that Rs. 150 equal about \$100. They really equal about \$75 and never, since the Russo-Turkish war of 1877, have equalled the amount she names. There is no excuse for this blunder now that the value has for some years been fixed on a gold basis of a trifle over 50 cents for 1 ruble.

She adds a couple of pages of her own criticism of Tolstoy's opinion, and she succeeds in making it abundantly evident that she either has not read his later works, or has failed to understand them.

Tolstoy does not, as Mrs. Evans erroneously states, decline to recognise evolution, but he says that the upward evolution in human conceptions of duty is not—like the heel of certain rubber goloshes—"self-acting," but is one in which we should all play the part, not of automata, but of conscious and willing co-workers with the Eternal.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE MITHRAIC MYSTERIES.¹

BY PROFESSOR FRANZ CUMONT.

[CONCLUDED.]

THE god with whom Mithra first measured his strength was the Sun. The latter was compelled to render homage to the superiority of his rival and to receive from him his investiture. His

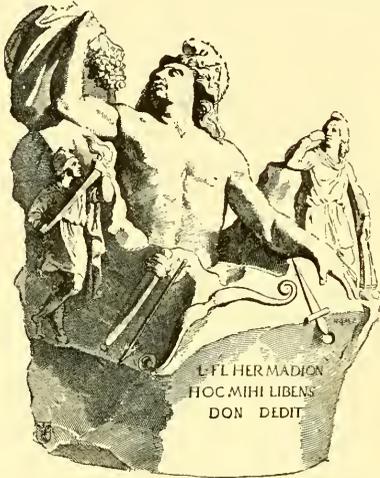


Fig. 1 a. MITHRA BORN FROM THE ROCKS.

Holding in his hand the grapple which replaces in the West the Haoma of the Persians.



Fig. 1 b. SOL THE SUN-GOD

Installed by Mithra as the governor of the world. To the right the globe of power.

conqueror placed upon his head the radiant crown that he has borne in his daily course ever since his downfall. Then he caused him to rise again, and extending to him his right hand concluded

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

with him a solemn covenant of friendship. And ever after, the two allied heroes faithfully supported each other in all their enterprises.

The most extraordinary of these epic adventures was Mithra's combat with the bull, the first living creature created by Ormuzd. This ingenuous fable carries us back to the very beginnings of civilisation. It could never have risen save among a people of shepherds and hunters with whom cattle, the source of all wealth, had

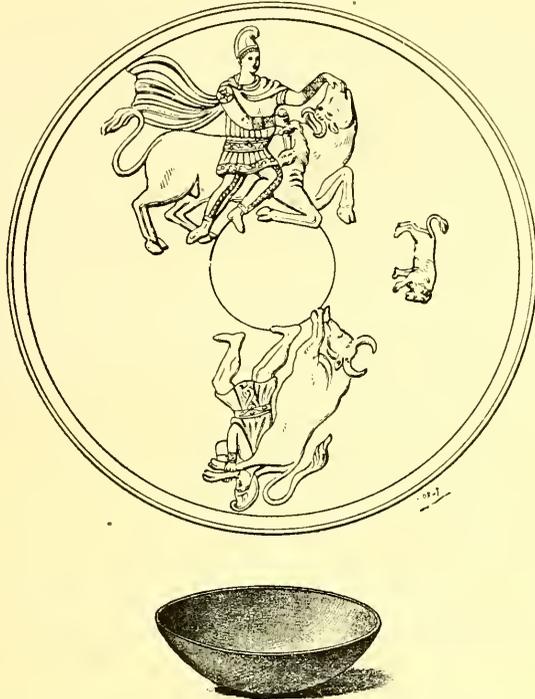


Fig. 2. THE TAUROCTONOUS (BULL-SLAYING) MITHRA AND THE TAUROPHOROUS (BULL-BEARING) MITHRA; BETWEEN THEM THE DOG.

Clay cup found at Lanuvium.

become an object of religious veneration. In the eyes of such a people, the capture of a wild bull was an achievement so highly fraught with honor as to be apparently no derogation even for a god.

The redoubtable bull was grazing in a pasture on the mountain-side; the hero, resorting to a bold stratagem, seized it by the horns and succeeded in mounting it. The infuriated quadruped, breaking into a gallop, struggled in vain to free itself from its

rider; the latter, although unseated by the bull's mad rush, never for a moment relaxed his hold; he suffered himself to be dragged along, suspended from the horns of the animal, which, finally exhausted by its efforts, was forced to surrender. Its conqueror then seizing it by its hind hoofs, dragged it backwards over a road strewn with obstacles (Fig. 2) into the cave which served as his home.

This painful Journey (*Transitus*) of Mithra became the symbol of human sufferings. But the bull, it would appear, succeeded in making its escape from its prison, and again roamed at large over the mountain pastures. The Sun then sent the raven, his messenger, to carry to his ally the command to slay the fugitive. Mithra received this cruel mission much against his will, but submitting to the decree of Heaven he pursued the truant beast with his agile dog, succeeded in overtaking it just at the moment when it was taking refuge in the cave which it had quitted, and seizing it by the nostrils with one hand, with the other he plunged deep into its flank his hunting knife.

Then came an extraordinary prodigy to pass. From the body of the moribund victim sprang all the useful herbs and plants that cover the earth with their verdure. From the spinal cord of the animal sprang the wheat that gives us our bread, and from its blood the vine that produces the sacred drink of the Mysteries. In vain did the Evil Spirit launch forth his unclean demons against the anguish-wrung animal, in order to poison in it the very sources of life; the scorpion, the ant, the serpent, strove in vain to consume the genital parts and to drink the blood of the prolific quadruped; but they were powerless to impede the miracle that was enacting. The seed of the bull, gathered and purified by the Moon, produced all the different species of useful animals, and its soul, under the protection of the dog, the faithful companion of Mithra, ascended into the celestial spheres above, where, receiving the honors of divinity, it became under the name of Sylvanus the guardian of herds. Thus, through the sacrifice which he had so resignedly undertaken, the tauroctonous hero became the creator of all the beneficent beings on earth; and, from the death which he had caused, was born a new life, more rich and more fecund than the old.

Meanwhile, the first human couple had been called into existence, and Mithra was charged with keeping a watchful eye over this privileged race. It was in vain the Spirit of Darkness invoked his pestilential scourges to destroy it; the god always knew how to balk his mortiferous designs. Ahriman first desolated the land by

causing a protracted drought, and its inhabitants, tortured by thirst, implored the aid of his ever-victorious adversary. The divine archer discharged his arrows against a precipitous rock and there gushed forth from it a spring of living water to which the suppliants thronged to cool their parched palates.¹ But a still more terrible cataclysm followed, which menaced all nature. A universal deluge depopulated the earth, which was overwhelmed by the waters of the rivers and the seas. One man alone, secretly

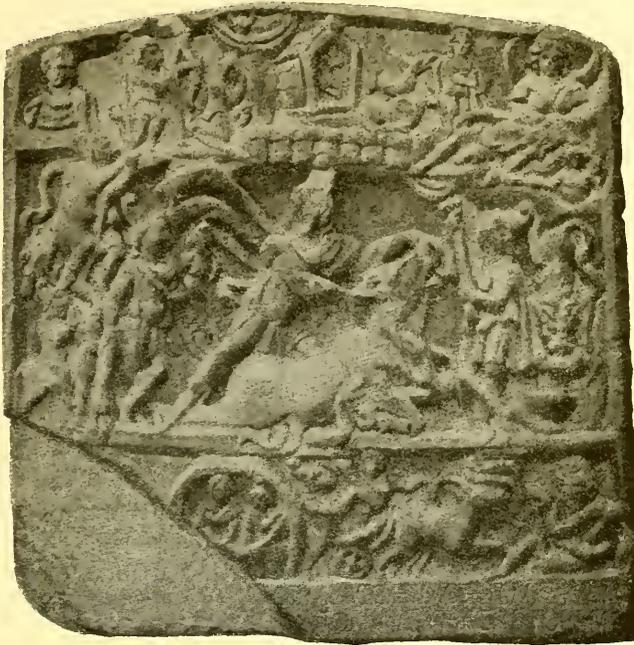


Fig. 3. BAS-RELIEF OF APULUM, DACIA.

In the center, the Tauroctonus Mithra with the two torch-bearers ; to the left, Mithra mounted on the bull, and Mithra taurophorous ; to the right, a lion stretched lengthwise above a cup (symbols of fire and water). Upper border : Bust of Luna ; new-born Mithra reclining near the banks of a stream ; shepherd standing, with lambs ; bull in a cabin and bull in a boat ; underneath, the seven altars ; Mithra drawing a bow ; bust of the Sun. Lower border : Banquet of Mithra and the Sun ; Mithra mounting the quadriga of the Sun ; the Ocean surrounded by a serpent.

advised by the gods, had constructed a boat and had saved himself together with his cattle in this ark buoyant upon the broad expanse

¹See the curved border in centre of frontispiece to *The Open Court* for June, 1902, and the picture of the bas-relief of Mayence, to be published in a subsequent number.

of waters. Then a great conflagration ravaged the world and consumed utterly both the habitations of men and of beasts. But the creatures of Ormuzd also ultimately escaped this new peril, thanks to celestial protection, and henceforward the human race was permitted to wax great and multiply in peace.

The heroic period of history was now closed, and the terrestrial mission of Mithra accomplished. In a Last Supper, which the initiated commemorated by mystical love feasts, he celebrated with Helios and the other companions of his labors the termination of their common struggles. Then the gods ascended to Heaven. Borne by the Sun on his radiant quadriga, Mithra crossed the ocean, which sought in vain to engulf him, and took up his habitation with the rest of the immortals. But he never ceased from the heights of Heaven to protect the faithful ones that piously served him.

This mythical recital of the origin of the world enables us to understand the importance which the tauroctonous god enjoyed in his religion, and to comprehend better what the pagan theologians endeavored to express by the title "mediator." Mithra is the creator to whom Jupiter Ormuzd committed the task of establishing and of maintaining order in nature. He is, to speak in the philosophical language of the times, the Logos that emanated from God and shared His omnipotence; who, after having fashioned the world as demiurge, continued to watch carefully over it. The primal defeat of Ahriman had not reduced him to absolute impotence; the struggle between the good and the evil was still carried on on earth between the emissaries of the sovereign of Olympus and those of the Prince of Darkness; it raged in the celestial spheres in the opposition of propitious and adverse stars, and it reverberated in the hearts of men,—the epitomes of the universe.

Life is a battle, and to issue forth from it victorious the law must be faithfully followed that the divinity himself revealed to the ancient Magi. What were the obligations that Mithraism imposed upon its followers? What were those "commandments" to which its adepts had to bow in order to be rewarded in the world to come? Our incertitude on these points is extreme, for we have not the shadow of a right to identify the precepts revealed in the Mysteries with those formulated in the Avesta. Nevertheless, it would appear certain that the morals of the Magi of the Occident had made no concession to the license of the Babylonian cults and that it had still preserved the lofty character of the ethics of the ancient Persians. Perfect purity had remained for them the cult

toward which the life of the faithful should tend. Their ritual required repeated lustrations and ablutions, which were believed to wash away the stains of the soul. This catharsis or purification both conformed to the Mazdean traditions and was in harmony with the general tendencies of the age. Yielding to these tendencies, the Mithraists carried their principles even to excess, and their ideals of perfection verged on asceticism. Abstinence from certain foods and absolute continence were regarded as praiseworthy.

Resistance to sensuality was one of the aspects of the combat with the principle of evil. To support untiringly this combat with the followers of Ahriman, who, under multiple forms, disputed with the gods the empire of the world, was the duty of the servitors of Mithra. Their dualistic system was particularly adapted to fostering individual effort and to developing human energy. They did not lose themselves, as did the other sects, in contemplative mysticism; for them, the good dwelt in action. They rated strength higher than gentleness, and preferred courage to lenity. From their long association with barbaric religions, there was perhaps a residue of cruelty in their ethics. A religion of soldiers, Mithraism exalted the military virtues above all others.

In the war which the zealous champion of piety carries on unceasingly with the malign demons, he is assisted by Mithra. Mithra is the god of help whom one never invokes in vain, an unfailing haven, the anchor of salvation for mortals in all their trials, the dauntless champion who sustains in their frailty his devotees in all the tribulations of life. As with the Persians, so here he is still the defender of truth and justice, the protector of holiness, and the intrepid antagonist of the powers of darkness. Eternally young and vigorous, he pursues them without mercy; "always awake, always alert," it is impossible to surprise him; and from his never-ceasing combats he always emerges the victor. This is the idea

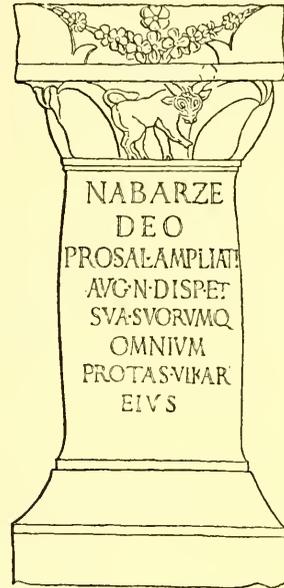


Fig. 4. DEDICATORY INSCRIPTION OF MITHRA NABARZE (VICTORIOUS).

Found at Sarmizegetusa.

that unceasingly recurs in the inscriptions, the idea expressed by the Persian surname *Nabarzes* (Fig. 4), by the Greek and Latin epithets of ἀνίκητος, *invictus*, *insuperabilis*. As the god of armies, Mithra caused his *protégés* to triumph over their barbarous adversaries, and likewise in the moral realm he gave them victory over the instincts of evil, inspired by the Spirit of Falsehood, and he assured them salvation both in this world and in that to come.

Like all the Oriental cults, the Persian Mysteries mingled with their cosmogonic fables and their theological speculations, ideas of deliverance and redemption. They believed in the conscious survival after death of the divine essence that dwells within us, and in punishments and rewards beyond the tomb. The souls, of which an infinite multitude peopled the habitations of the Most High, descended here below to animate the bodies of men, either because they were compelled by bitter necessity to fall into this material and corrupt world, or because they had dropped of their own accord upon the earth to undertake here the battle against the demons. When after death the genius of corruption took possession of the body, and the soul quitted its human prison, the devas of darkness and the emissaries of Heaven disputed for its possession. A special decree decided whether it was worthy to ascend again into Paradise. If it was stained by an impure life, the emissaries of Ahriman dragged it down to the infernal depths, where they inflicted upon it a thousand tortures; or perhaps, as a mark of its fall, it was condemned to take up its abode in the body of some unclean animal. If, on the contrary, its merits outweighed its faults, it was borne aloft to the regions on high.

The heavens were divided into seven spheres, each of which was conjoined with a planet; a sort of ladder, composed of eight superposed gates, the first seven of which were constructed of different metals, was the symbolic suggestion in the temples, of the road to be followed to reach the supreme region of the fixed stars. To pass from one story to the next, each time the wayfarer had to enter a gate guarded by an angel of Ormuzd. The initiates alone, to whom the appropriate formulas had been taught, knew how to appease these inexorable guardians. As the soul traversed these different zones, it rid itself, as one would of garments, of the passions and faculties that it had received in its descent to the earth. It abandoned to the Moon its vital and nutritive energy, to Mercury its desires, to Venus its wicked appetites, to the Sun its intellectual capacities, to Mars its love of war, to Jupiter its ambitious dreams, to Saturn its inclinations. It was naked, stripped of every

vice and every sensibility, when it penetrated the eighth heaven to enjoy there, as an essence supreme, and in the eternal light that bathed the gods, beatitude without end.¹

It was Mithra, the protector of truth, that presided over the judgment of the soul after its decease. It was he, the mediator, that served as a guide to his faithful ones in their courageous ascent to the empyrean; he was the celestial father that received them in his resplendent mansion, like children who had returned from a distant voyage.

The happiness reserved for these quintessentialised monads in a spiritual world is rather difficult to conceive, and doubtless this doctrine had but feeble attraction for vulgar minds. Another belief which was added to the first by a sort of superfœtation offered the prospect of more material enjoyment. The doctrine of the immortality of the soul was rounded off by the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh.

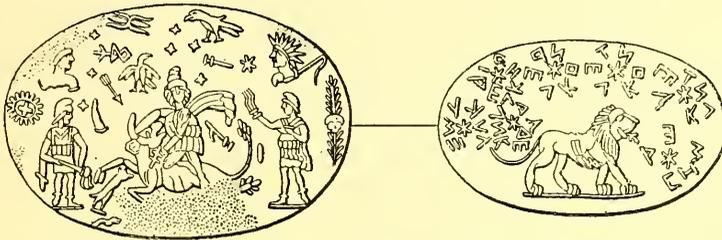


Fig. 5. MITHRAIC CAMEO.

Showing Mithra born from the rocks between the Dioscuri, surrounded by Mithraic symbols, among them the cup and bread of the Eucharist.

The struggle between the principles of good and evil is not destined to continue into all eternity. When the age assigned for its duration shall have rolled away, the scourges sent by Ahriman will compass the destruction of the world. A marvellous bull, analogous to the primitive bull, will then again appear on earth, and Mithra will redescend and reawaken men to life. All will sally forth from the tombs, will assume their former appearance, and recognise one another. Humanity entire will unite in one grand assembly, and the god of Truth will separate the good from the bad. Then in a supreme sacrifice he will immolate the divine bull; will mingle his fat with the consecrated wine, and will offer to the just this miraculous beverage which will endow them with immor-

¹This Mithraic doctrine has recently been compared with other analogous beliefs and studied in detail by M. Bossuet. "Die Himmelfahrt der Seele" (*Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, Vol. IV., 1901, p. 160 ff.)

tality. Then Jupiter Ormuzd, yielding to the prayers of the beati-
fied ones, will cause to fall from the heavens a devouring fire which
will annihilate all the wicked. The defeat of the Spirit of Darkness
will be consummated, and in the general conflagration Ahriman
and his impure demons will perish and the rejuvenated universe
enjoy unto all eternity happiness without end.

We who have never experienced the Mithraic spirit of grace
are apt to be disconcerted by the incoherence and absurdity of this
body of doctrine, such as it has been shown forth in our recon-
struction. A theology at once naïve and artificial here combines
primitive myths, the naturalistic tendency of which is still trans-
parent, with an astrological system whose logical structure only
serves to render its radical falsity all the more palpable. All the
impossibilities of the ancient polytheistic fables here subsist side
by side with philosophical speculations on the evolution of the uni-
verse and the destiny of man. The discordance between tradition
and reflection is extremely marked here and it is augmented by the
contrariety between the doctrine of fatalism and that of the efficacy
of prayer and the need of worship. But this religion, like any
other, must not be estimated by its metaphysical verity. It would
ill become us to-day to dissect the cold corpse of this faith in order
to ascertain its inward organic vices. The important thing is to
understand how Mithraism lived and grew great and why it failed
to win the empire of the world.

Its success was in great part undoubtedly due to the vigor of
its ethics, which above all things favored action. In an epoch of
anarchy and emasculation, its mystics found in its precepts both
stimulus and support. The conviction that the faithful ones formed
part of a sacred army charged with sustaining with the Principle
of Good the struggle against the power of evil, were singularly
adapted to provoking their most pious efforts and transforming
them into ardent zealots.

The Mysteries exerted another powerful influence, also, in fos-
tering some of the most exalted aspirations of the human soul :
the desire for immortality and the expectation of final justice. The
hopes of life beyond the tomb which this religion instilled in its
votaries were one of the secrets of its power in these troublous
times, when solicitude for the life to come disturbed all minds.

But several other sects offered to their adepts just as consoling
prospects of a future life. The special attraction of Mithraism
dwelt, therefore, in other qualities of its doctrinal system. Mithra-
ism, in fact, satisfied alike both the intelligence of the educated

and the hearts of the simple-minded. The apotheosis of Time as First Cause and that of the Sun, its physical manifestation, which maintained on earth heat and light, were highly philosophical conceptions. The worship rendered to the Planets and to the Constellations, the course of which determined terrestrial events, and to the four Elements whose infinite combinations produced all natural phenomena, are ultimately reducible to the worship of the principles and agents recognised by ancient science, and the theology of the Mysteries was, in this respect, nothing but the religious expression of the physics and astronomy of the Roman world.

This theoretical conformity of revealed dogmas with the accepted ideas of science was calculated to allure cultivated minds, but it had no hold whatever upon the ignorant souls of the populace. On the other hand, these were eminently amenable to the allurements of a doctrine that deified the whole of physical and tangible reality. The gods were everywhere, and they mingled in every act of life; the fire that cooked the food and warmed the bodies of the faithful, the water that allayed their thirst and cleansed their persons, the very air that they breathed, and the light that illuminated their paths, were the objects of their adoration. Perhaps no other religion ever offered to its sectaries in a higher degree than Mithraism opportunities for prayer and motives for veneration. When the initiated betook himself in the evening to the sacred grotto concealed in the solitude of the forests, at every step new sensations awakened in his heart some mystical emotion. The stars that shone in the sky, the wind that whisped in the foliage, the spring or brook that babbled down the mountain-side, even the earth that he trod under his feet, were in his eyes divine; and all surrounding nature provoked in him a worshipful fear for the infinite forces that swayed the universe.

THE TRINITY.

BY THE EDITOR.

LUCIAN mentions in his interesting essay *De Syria Dea*, § 33, the fact that in a temple at Hierapolis there stood the statues of Zeus and Hera and between them a third one called *σημείον*, viz., a sign or token. Obviously Zeus and Hera are the Hellenised names of Syrian divinities, the god-father or heaven, and the god-mother, the *magna dea* or the deity of life and love and fertility. But what can have been the sense of having a Semeion or a sign erected between them, and what may have been its shape? Was it a pole or *ashera*, a stone pillar, or any other monument? Who can tell? The sense of the passage seems lost beyond redemption. Yet the idea suggests itself that the word Semeion may have been the name or a corruption of the name of a god for whom Lucian could not find an appropriate Greek expression, and this suggestion finds good support in the fact that בעל שׁמׁן, i. e., the Lord Shaman, is the Syrian Hercules, the divine god-child and saviour, who corresponds to the Babylonian Samas, the Hebrew Samson and the Greek Heracles.

If this conjecture is tenable, the three statues at Hierapolis were nothing else than a representation of the ancient trinity which was revered almost all over Hither Asia.

The trinity conception is very ancient and is based upon natural as well as human analogies. It represents the sky, the earth, and the sun; god-father, god-mother, and god the son, the creator and ruler of the world, the life and fertility of the earth, and the god-man, or the hero-god.

This trinity conception was not always nor in all countries of Hither Asia clearly retained. As the religious notions were not scientific but mythological, the sun-god and sky-god were frequently identified, which produced confusion. The *dea magna* was now the earth goddess, now the moon goddess, and again a Pros-

erpine, a vegetation-goddess. Local modes of worship made prominent here one, there another, trait, and the differences of local names served to obscure the original identity of different versions of the same dogma.

Zoroastrian rigor antagonised the old forms of paganism, yet even under Persian rule the old trinitarian belief came to the front. The trinity Ahura Mazda, Anahita, Mithra is in its origin decidedly un-Zoroastrian and may be regarded as an adaptation of the Persian monotheism to the prevalent trinitarianism of their conquered nations.

The same notions prevailed in Egypt where the trinity of Osiris, Isis, and Hor is probably the echo of still older views of the same kind.

In the Book of Wisdom, Sophia or Wisdom (originally a synonym for *Logos*) is spoken of as the spouse of God, being privy to his counsels; and the Messiah is her son.

We know from the Koran that the Christian trinity conception known to Mohammed was the trinity of the family, God, Mary, and Christ, and a quotation from the lost Gospel of the Hebrews speaks of the Holy Ghost as the mother of Christ.

The trinity conception of God-father, God-mother, and God-son was apparently rejected by the Western Church for the sake of the sanctification of family life implied thereby. Primitive Christianity was strongly biased by asceticism and monachism, and woman was regarded as temptation incarnate. Nothing could be more pagan to an African or Roman monk than the belief in a God-mother, and thus the Holy Ghost lost its sexual character and developed into a neuter whose definite relation to God the Father and God the Son was rendered indistinct and finally formulated as an influence proceeding from both of them. The less offensive names God-father and God-son, with the omission of God the Mother, i. e., her replacement through the uncompromising Holy Ghost, have been retained to the present day.

Mary, the mother of God, so called by both the Greek and Roman Catholic Churches, practically still plays the part of the God-mother, the θεὰ ἁγία, the holy goddess of the ancient nations; and this persistency of the trinity idea is not surprising at all, first because of conservatism in matters religious, but then also on account of the natural foundation which it finds in the facts of life.

THE HOPE OF THE NEGRO.

BY JOHN L. ROBINSON.

WHAT are the possibilities of the negro? What is the duty of the white man toward him?

These questions can best be answered by a careful study of the negro's past and present. We turn to the family tree of humanity and find that the negro is on the lowest lateral branch which is supposed to indicate, on the theory of evolution, the greatest simplicity of organisation. On examination we find that there are in the negro, not only fewer convolutions of the brain but other characteristics which show that he is less highly organised than some other races.

In no period of time and in no country has he built up a civilisation. He has domesticated no animal, has made no important discoveries or developments, and has made no use of iron or stone in the construction of walls, aqueducts, or temples. In the ten thousand years or more that he has been on the earth no one of the race has reached the heights of statesmanship, barring the possible exception of Toussaint L'Ouverture whose friends claim that he was a pure-blooded negro.

It is not necessary, however, to reach the conclusion that the negro has not a future of indefinite improvement; but these are the plain facts of history which we cannot ignore, nor explain away, and which must be taken into account in the study of the subject before us. It makes a difference whether or not a race in all the years of its past has accomplished these things.

There is another preliminary subject which we must briefly consider; namely, race prejudice, or race antipathy. Race prejudice is not something of recent growth, but is one of the most notable features of ancient history. It is not a peculiarity of Anglo-Saxons, nor is the negro the only race against whom it is directed. The Jews, the Chinese, and other races have felt its poisonous

shafts or unwelcome blows. Race antipathy has grown out of dissimilarities in color, religion, mode of life, and intelligence. Multiply the number of points in which people differ and you intensify the antipathy; reduce the points and you increase the possibilities of sympathy and social contact. We dislike the Chinaman largely because he wears a cue, dresses differently from us, eats differently, is of a different color, and is different in his religious beliefs. The same things in greater or less degree underlie all race prejudice.

Whether there is a good and indispensable element in race prejudice or not, or how far it may be used without abuse, are subjects not necessary to discuss here. But race prejudice has existed some ten thousand years, and whatever may be the unreason in it we must take it into account in our dealing with different peoples. It has been here so long, is so wide-spread and so persistent, that it would be folly to ignore it. Attempts to do this invariably end in deepening the prejudice and in delaying the good which was intended to be accomplished.

With this much premised as a basis upon which to build let us consider the things which lie nearest to the negro in the development of his character and usefulness.

The hope of the negro lies in his own self-respect, and in his efforts to maintain it. If a people be content to live thriftlessly—in dirt and rags—it will create no surprise if the world withhold that mead of respect which would otherwise be due. The negro must have, of course, the moral and financial support of his more prosperous neighbor, the white man, but it must be drilled into him from every quarter that his salvation depends upon himself. He must begin at the lowest round of the ladder, as all races have done, and not look upon it as menial. There is nothing in the negro's past to warrant the belief that he can advance speedily to the ranks of scholarship and statesmanship. Forced efforts in these respects end in humiliating defeat, and leave the whole situation worse. He must first be master of small things before he can master large things. He must improve his material surroundings before he can hope to make great progress in things intellectual.

The things he needs to teach himself at the present time more than all else are cleanliness of person, cleanliness of surroundings, a clean moral life, how to raise good crops, how to take care of a horse or a cow, how to husband his resources, and at the same time carry with him the conviction that he is not degrading his manhood in doing these simple things. President Booker T. Wash-

ington is doing the negro race an inestimable benefit by his intelligent insistence that these things come first.

Whether the negro should look no higher than a good practical knowledge of industrial affairs and a good English education is a question entirely premature. Let these things come first and come surely, and then other so-called higher things will follow naturally, if they follow at all. Until the negro has made substantial progress in the things indicated above, his motto should be: "This one thing I do."

The negro must be made to see—the whole world for that matter—that no good thing is menial as the word is commonly used—that there is nothing low except in a moral sense. The day-laborers in the common walks of life, the men who make clean, healthy, and beautiful our cities, are as necessary and as worthy, as far as their vocation is concerned, as the men who make our laws, or the minister who proclaims the Gospel. Sensible people must cease making invidious distinctions between men of different occupations and different wages, when those occupations are absolutely essential to human health, happiness, and well-being. The man who lives an upright life, and adds something to the food supply, the health, or happiness of the world is a nobleman, and should be made to feel it. The negro is filling a worthy place now. The vast majority of the race can never rise higher than day-laborers; but in this respect millions of their white brothers are no better off.

Much of the restlessness and unhappy discontent in the world is due to the flattering, vague exhortation "come up higher," when it is very evident that the only possibility of coming up higher with a vast number of people is the attainment of more thoroughness, more skill, more self-respect, and more rational contentment in those things which some inconsiderate people call menial.

Politics has many snares even for those races which have longest been accustomed to political affairs; and the novice is confronted with extraordinary temptations to play the part of the "cat's paw" for unscrupulous politicians. The negro's elective franchise, so far, has been of little help to him, if not a positive disadvantage. He should not be deprived of his right to vote, but he must show to the world that he appreciates the responsibility of suffrage by taking an honorable, unbiased interest in the affairs of government.

Mistaken philanthropy has contributed its share toward obstructing the progress of the negro. This was perhaps quite natural. The help which has come to the negro since his emancipa-

tion was intended to offset as far as possible the years when his labor counted nothing for his material prosperity. But the philanthropist must see to it, as far as it is in his power, that his help does not end in pauperism—a dreadful evil. When the leading seminaries in this country are exercising more than usual care in the distribution of their benefactions to white students surely it is not out of place to exercise equal care in our help of the negro. The best help we can give any one is to enable him to help himself.

The negro must be taught to seek his well-being among the white people with whom he lives. He should vote with them and for their best interests, for the interests of both are identical. He will never be numerous in the North. The climate and the products of the soil are against him. Long summers, and cotton, corn, rice, potatoes, and tobacco are the things upon which he thrives. His greatest opportunities are in the South. There thousands of negroes own farms, stores, and are otherwise prosperous. Nor are his educational needs neglected. I quote from the *Boston Transcript's* special correspondent at Tuskegee, Alabama, February 21, 1902 at a conference of educators: "He (Mr. George Foster Peabody) thought that the people of the North were coming to see how great a mistake had been made in not understanding the attitude of the white people of the South in the matter of education, and their earnestness for the education of all the people of the South, of both races.

"It was an interesting commentary on what Mr. Peabody had said that later in the meeting Pres. W. H. Lanier, of Alcorn College, Mississippi, reported that whereas the State appropriation for his school had been \$27,000 a year for the last two years, it had just been raised to \$50,000 a year for the next two years. This amount is so very generous that it attracted special attention, and I am told that Mississippi among Southern States has always been notably liberal for its support of its negro institutions."

The South needs the co-operation and sympathy of the North; for the negro question is a national one. The South should not object to criticism if that criticism is discriminate and friendly. In years past there has been too much of a disposition in both sections of the country to make war on each other over the negro's shoulders, and the result has been hurtful to all concerned. A better day has dawned. The best people are seeing things together, and Pres. Booker T. Washington has had a large share in bringing about this condition of things, for in a straightforward,

manly way he is giving the former slave-owners and their sons credit for sympathy and help in his work at Tuskegee.

The friend of the negro must see to it that he does not come into sharp competition with the white man for his bread. This is not a sectional question. It is as true in Illinois and Indiana as it is in any Southern State. There is no necessity for hurtful competition. There is plenty of room and work for all. Dotted here and there all over the South are farms of eighty, a hundred, acres or more upon which negroes are living happily, and they are not in the white man's way. This class of negroes are good citizens. They are the ones upon whose sons the white farmer can depend for his hired man, and upon whose daughters the white farmer's wife can depend for nice clean laundry.

In the towns, too, quite a number of negroes have groceries and dry-goods stores. Some are doctors, and some school-teachers, and they are not in the way of the white man.

A mistake is made by some unthinking people in looking upon negroes as the advance guard of the negro race. Negroes are a class to themselves, and in no true sense representatives of the negro race. Upon the theory that negroes are representatives of the negro race too much is expected of negroes, their possibilities are overrated. In this country it is only the negroes who have been intrusted with responsible positions in education and government affairs.

The statement has recently been made that "no two races have ever lived in the same country on terms of equality and mutual respect unless they were capable of intermarriage." In reply it was said that "the races must remain on terms of inequality or, by the intervention of a higher law, equality and mutual respect will come without the necessity of intermarriage." The crux in these statements is the word "equality." What does it mean? It is used in a very loose sense—sometimes rhetorical, often sentimental. The statement must be re-written with the word "equality" left out, for it is very plain that no matter how much respect and consideration one race may have for another yet if that race refuses close social intercourse and intermarriage with the other race equality is logically and necessarily excluded.

There will never be much social and marital contact between the two races. That has been settled ten thousand years or more. The North is no more in favor of a closer social union than the South, and I am glad to say the negroes do not want it. What is

needed is that the white man treat the negro with patience, kindness, and justice.

The progress of the negro lies in the gradual improvement of human nature. Everything cannot be done in one generation or several. The people among whom he lives will improve and he will improve with them. Neither mob law nor sentimental philanthropy has come to stay. They will both give way before intelligence and wisdom. The greatest lesson of all the ages is that from time immemorial there has been well-nigh unbroken progress in human nature and in human institutions. But this progress has been very gradual. It is the unwise philanthropist who would force human nature and human institutions as one would force a hot-house plant. It is the philosopher who knows that the great laws of evolution are true, that the permanently good is slow in coming, and he is therefore willing "to labor and to wait."

ALPHA AND OMEGA.

BY THE EDITOR.

IN the catacombs the *Chrisma*¹ is commonly combined with the letters α and ω , the latter for unknown reasons always written in cursive script, not α but ω , while the former is a capital. The α and ω are intended to symbolise him who says, "I am the alpha and the omega, the first and the last" (Rev. i. 11).

The idea of comparing God to letters of the alphabet is foreign to the Greek mind and reminds one of the arguments of Brahman sages who philosophise on the letters of the syllable *Aum*, the first letter of the alphabet in whose praise hymns were sung, as containing seed-like all the revelations of the Vedas.

The sanctity in which the Egyptians held the sound *Iao*, as being the god with the Adorable Name (i. e., Abraxas) may have impressed the early Christians. Observe that the name $\text{I}\alpha\omega$ is also (like the Christian symbol $\alpha\omega$) spelt with a cursive ω , not with the capital Ω . We can easily understand that the *I*, being a mere dash, was dropped.

There are a great number of Abraxas gems bearing the name of $\text{I}\alpha\omega$ in a script which closely resembles the Christian symbols $\alpha\omega$. Since the *Iao*-worship is older than Christianity we may assume that Christians being reminded thereby of the passage in St. John's Revelation, adopted the use of the letters.²

It seems probable that the $\alpha\omega$ is a symbol that is older than Christianity and had a pagan significance before it was interpreted as an illustration of Revelation i. 2, but nothing definite is known and we can only make suggestions.

¹ In the catacombs the earliest well-dated inscription with the *Chrisma* is of the year 71 A.D., the last ones belong to the sixth century.

² Another hypothesis which, though less probable, is by no means impossible, may find a place in a footnote. The soul (called in Egyptian $\kappa\alpha$) is spelled in Koptic script $\kappa\omega$ which bears close resemblance to the Greek $\alpha\omega$. But a derivation of the symbol $\alpha\omega$ from *Iao* seems more probable than from $\kappa\alpha$.

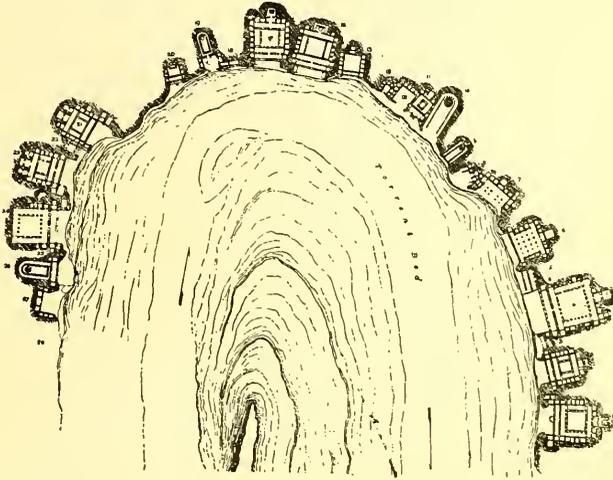
MISCELLANEOUS.

MAHĀYĀNA DOCTRINE AND ART.

COMMENTS ON THE STORY "AMITĀBHA." ¹

(CONCLUDED.)

The story *Amitābha* characterises that phase in the development of Buddhism which may be called "the rise of the Mahāyāna," or "the origin of Buddhist theology." The age in which this process took place is the beginning of the Christian era, and the main events of our story are based upon historical traditions.



THE GENERAL PLAN OF THE AJANTĀ CAVES.

The philosophy of the Mahāyāna which finds expression in the philosophy of Aṅvaghosha may be regarded as orthodox Buddhist metaphysics. King Kanishka is a historical personality. His war against Magadha is mentioned in the *Records of the Western World*, written by the Chinese pilgrim Hsüen Tsang. The conditions of peace imposed upon the king of Magadha are related in our story exactly as they are mentioned by this Chinese author.

¹ See *The Open Court* for July, August, September.

The monastic life described in the first, second, and fifth chapters of the story *Amitâbha* is a faithful portrayal of the historical conditions of the age. The admission and ordination of monks (in Pâli called Pabbajja and Upasampada) and the confession ceremony (in Pâli called Uposatha) are based upon accounts of the Mahâvagga, the former in the first, the latter in the second, Khandaka (cf. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XIII.).



A MOTHER LEADING HER CHILD TO BUDDHA.
(Ajanta caves.)

Kevaddha's humorous story of Brahma (as told in *The Open Court*, No. 554, pp. 423-427) is an abbreviated account of an ancient Pâli text. The verses as well as Brahma's speech and most of the other details are all but literally translated. (Cf. Warren, *Buddhism in Translation*, § 67.)

The period of transition from the old Buddhism to the Mahâyâna is repre-



THE CALF-BEARING HERMES.
Archaic Prototype. (From Baumeister,
Denkm. des cl. Alt.)



A CHILD OFFERING GIFTS
TO BUDDHA.
(Fresco in the Ajanta caves.¹)



THE GOOD SHEPHERD OF THE
LATERAN.²



LAMB-BEARER IN THE
GANDHĀRA SCULPTURES.

¹ Reproduced from a photograph kindly lent me by Prof. Charles S. Lanman.

² From Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst.*

sented by the "Milindapañha" (Questions of King Milinda), a famous treatise full of deep thought in which the Buddhist philosopher Nagasena discusses the several problems of psychology, philosophy, and ethics with the Greek King Menandros, or, as the Indians called him, Milinda. This Greek King lived in the second century before the Christian era and is known to have favored Buddhism. He, or kings of his line, seem to have encouraged Buddhist art, for Greek artists were imported into India to work out in marble the ideals of the new religion. Greek influence is especially noticeable in the formation of the face of Buddha, which (as Huc and Gabet remark) bears decidedly Western features, even in those regions of Thibet and Tartary where the artist never could have seen a European.



RAM-BEARING HERMES.

The Greek prototype of Christian and Buddhist Sculptures.¹

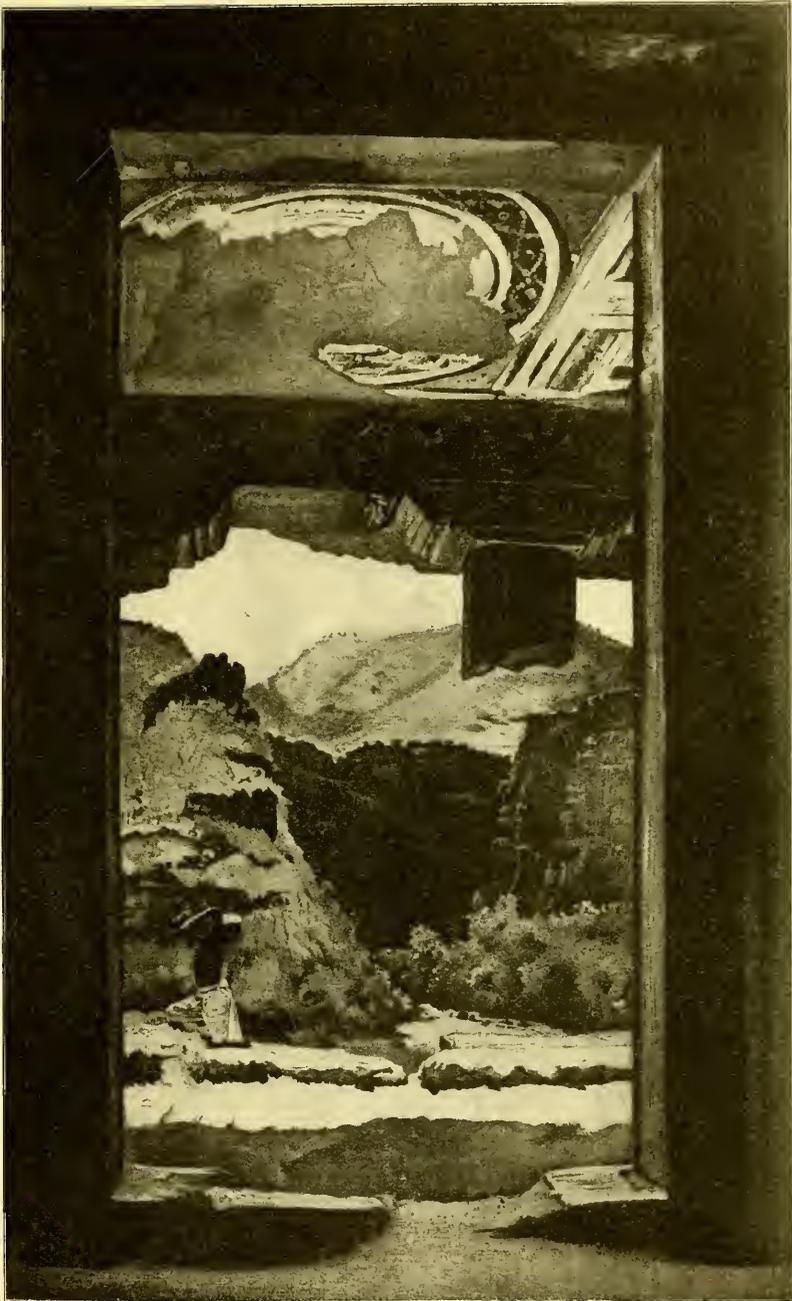
regarding both as chiseled after a common Greek model which must have been analogous to the *Hermes Kriophoros*.²

¹ For other illustrations in the same line see *The Open Court*, Vol. XI, pp. 710-730.

² For further details see *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien* (Berlin: W. Spemann, 1893), by Albert Grünwedel, who proves not only the Greek influence on the Gandhāra school, but also that the Greek artists must have found an Indian prototype of Buddha. They modified it, however, according to the notions of Greek art and modeled their conception of Buddha after the type of Apollo. The signs of Buddhahood on the Buddha statues (which are Hindu conceptions) are preserved, but modified when they would otherwise have an unartistic effect, especially the intelligence bump on Buddha's head which is covered with a Grecian knot after the Greek fashion of hair dressing at the time when first the original of the Apollo Belvedere was made.

The Gandhāra sculptures presuppose in their turn an older school of painting of which little can be surmised and nothing is positively known; for the halo of the Gandhāra Buddha statues cannot (as Grünwedel has pointed out) have been invented by sculptors, but can only be considered as an imitation of a painted halo which is known to have been first used in the Alexandrian period as an attribute of the solar deities and luminary heroes of ancient Hellas.

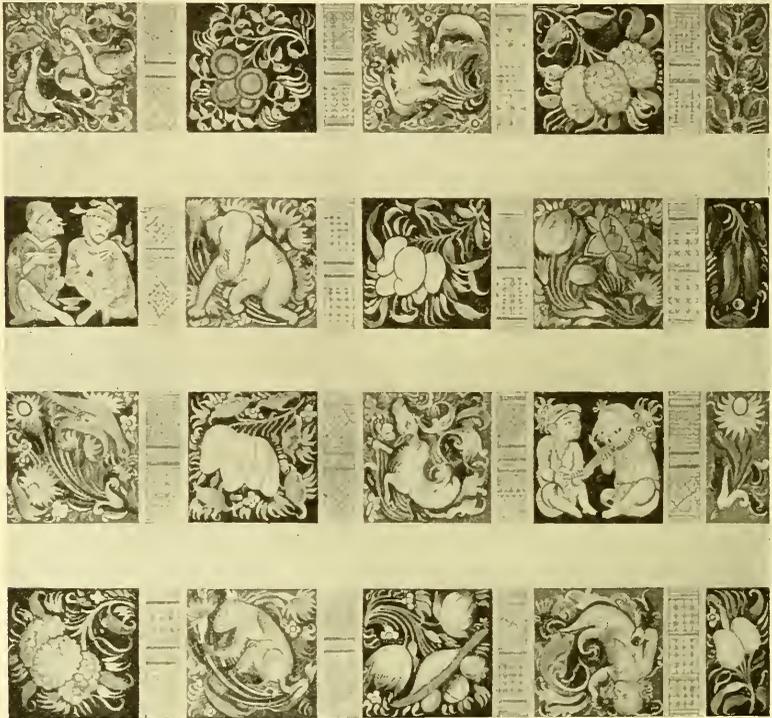
Monasteries, such as the one which Charaka entered, were frequent in India, and the art of ornamenting them with statues and wall paintings is an obvious imitation of the Gandhāra style, showing traces of Greek influence. It cannot be accidental that the lamb-bearing Christ of the Lateran has an exact equivalent among the ancient Gandhāra sculptures which can scarcely be younger than the first century before the Christian era. We can only explain this striking similarity by



VIEW FROM A GALLERY IN THE AJANTA CAVES.

There are ruins of many ancient Buddhist monasteries still preserved, all of the same style and inspired by Gandhâra prototypes, the best ones being the so-called cave temples of Ajantâ. They are much later than the Gandhâra sculptures and some of their ornaments may be as late as the sixth century.

We here reproduce a general map of the site of the place with its twenty-eight chaityas (i. e., churches or assembly rooms), surrounded by cells and having ornamental portals and verandas. They are fast falling into decay and only part of their wall decorations have been preserved in Griffith's valuable two-volume *édition de luxe*, from which we here reproduce a few of the most interesting pictures.



SAMPLE OF CEILING-DECORATIONS.
(Ajanta caves.)

The artistic work in the cave temples is most attractive, and, in spite of their shortcomings in perspective and other details of technique, decidedly superior to most Oriental work of a similar kind. Mr. Griffiths says:

"After years of careful study on the spot, I may be forgiven if I seem inclined to esteem the Ajantâ pictures too highly as art. In spite of its obvious limitations,

¹ Material in the same line, illustrations of Gandhâra sculptures, Christian representations of the Good Shepherd, etc., will be found in the author's article entitled "The Nativity, Similarities in Religious Art," published in *The Open Court*, Vol. XIII., No. 12, pp. 710-730.

¹ The Paintings in the Buddhist Cave Temples of Ajantâ, by John Griffiths. Made by order of the Secretary of State of India in Council. London, 1896.

I find the work so accomplished in execution, so consistent in convention, so vivacious and various in design, and full of such evident delight in beautiful form and color, that I cannot help ranking it with some of that early art which the world has agreed to praise in Italy.

THE TEMPTATION. (From Scenes in the Life of Buddha in the Ajanta caves.)



“Mr. Fergusson, who visited the caves in 1838–1839, wrote:

“The style of the paintings cannot, of course, bear comparison with European painting of the present day; but they are certainly superior to the style of

Europe during the age in which they were executed: the perspective, grouping, and details are better, and the story better told than in any painting anterior to Orcagna and Fiesole. The style, however, is not European, but more resembles



TYPES OF WORSHIPPERS.
(Ajanta caves.)



NOBLE WOMEN WITH FLOWER OFFERINGS.
(Ajanta caves.)

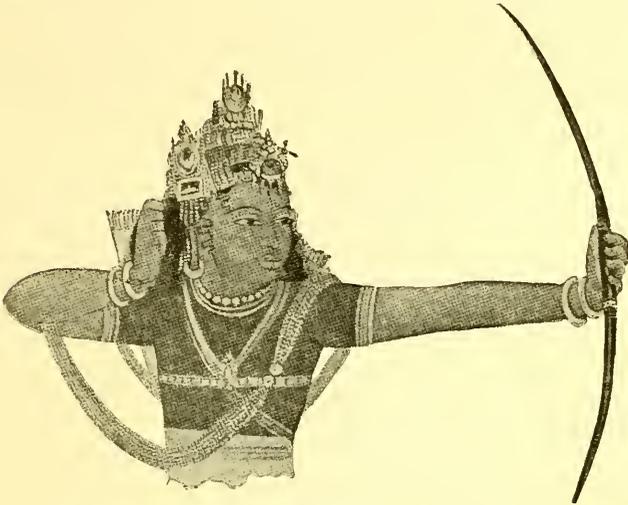
Chinese art, particularly in the flatness and want of shadow. I never, however, in China saw anything approaching its perfection.'

"With regard to the painted ornament, the same authority said:
" 'It is not at all unlike that still existing in the Baths of Titus.' "

As to the patience displayed in the excavation of these caves, Mr. Griffiths says:

"It is only when face to face with the basalt cliff, case-hardened at the time of the fiery birth, that a just appreciation of the enormous labor, skill, perseverance, and endurance that went to the excavation of these painted palaces can be formed. We are accustomed to associate a gentle and tranquil indolence with what we know of Buddhist creed. But here, at least, is evidence of a different range of qualities, combined with surprising boldness of conception, and a hardy defiance of difficulty foreign to our experience of modern Oriental character.

"Taking Cave 1 as an example, it may be possible by a mere enumeration of its dimensions to give some idea of the labor undertaken in only one—and that by no means the largest—of the series of excavations. They must have begun by marking out on the rock the width of the cave front, sixty-five feet, and then proceeded to cut away the face, leaving in the first place a projecting mass about fourteen



PRINCE SIDDHĀRTHA DISTINGUISHING HIMSELF IN MANLY EXERCISES.
(From the Ajanta caves.)

feet wide and nineteen feet high to form a porch, surmounted by an elaborately carved entablature and supported by two columns. The porch projected from a verandah formed of six columns and two pilasters with bracket capitals. This open verandah was ten feet from the front wall of the hall, which was pierced with three doors and two windows. The central door had an opening of five feet wide by ten feet high, and was richly carved. The great hall, nearly sixty-four feet square, with a colonnade of twenty pillars marking surrounding aisles ten feet in width, was next attacked. Then opening from the aisle, the numerous cells for the accommodation of the monks were excavated. Beyond the great hall was hewn an ante-chamber nineteen feet wide and twelve feet deep, with elaborately carved pillars and doorway leading still further into the sanctuary itself, where was fashioned a colossal statue of Buddha. By the time that this is reached a total depth of a hundred and twenty-one feet had been excavated."

Whatever we may think of Mr. Griffiths's estimate as to the artistic value of

the Ajantâ cave paintings, they reflect a noble and refined culture. Mr. Griffiths says:

"In striking contrast to most early Hindu work is the entire absence, not merely of obscenity, but of any suggestion of indecency or grossness. Modern England is perhaps somewhat eager to condemn the ancient fashion of regarding certain facts of humanity revealed in the sculptures of Hindu temples, but at Ajantâ there is absolutely nothing to shock the purist."

The purity and decency of Buddhism, the loftiness of its tone, is so unique that in this respect the Buddhist scriptures are superior to any other religious literature, the Bible not excepted. The artistic work of the cave temples proves that the purity of thought inculcated by Buddhism exercised its influence even upon the artist whose profession naturally inclines toward the sensuous.

The samples here reproduced from the specimens selected by Mr. Griffiths are considerably reduced and can give only an approximate idea of the originals; yet they will give a better description of the taste displayed in ancient Buddhist art than can be done in words, and may help our readers to form a vivid conception of the spirit of the age in which the Buddhist Mahâyâna prospered in India.

The decorations of the Ajantâ caves are an artistic expression of the moral loftiness of Buddhism, best characterised in the Dhammapâda, from which we translate stanza 183 in these lines:

"Commit no evil. But do good
And let thy heart be pure.
That is the gist of Buddhahood,
The lore that will endure."

P. C.

CONFERENCE OF THE ASIATIC CREEDS.

A religious conference of the Asiatic creeds will be held at Kioto, Japan, the middle of October next, under the name "Prajna Paramita Meeting." The tenor of the meeting will, as the name indicates, be Buddhistic, for *Prajna Paramita* is the title of a Buddhist canonical book which is considered as orthodox by almost all the Mahâyâna Churches. *Prajna Paramita* means "the perfection of intelligence," and among the many Paramitas, or virtues of the Buddha, the *Prajna Paramita* is his chief attribute. It has been personified as a kind of female deity, whose picture we published as a frontispiece to *The Open Court*, for June, 1901. She plays a similar part in Buddhist literature as *Sophia* or *Wisdom* plays in early Christian and Gnostic literature. She is the companion of the Buddha, privy to his councils in forming the creation. As such she is a kind of female counterpart of the eternal *Logos*.

The Buddhist canonical book entitled *Prajna Paramita* belongs to the Mahâyâna school; it is supposed to date back to the very beginning of Buddhism, and the followers of the Mahâyâna regard it as inspired. At any rate, the book dates back to the beginning of the Christian era, for in the second or third century after Christ *Nagarjuna*, a famous Buddhist philosopher, wrote a commentary to it which is still extant and regarded as orthodox.

The *Prajna Paramita* has been lost and forgotten in its original home India, but it is preserved in Nepal and also in Chinese and Thibetan translations. It has not yet been translated into English, but the contents are very similar to other Mahâyâna publications, some of which have been published in the *Sacred Books*

of the East, and the "Diamond Cutter"¹ is supposed to come closest to its philosophy, the underlying idea being that Buddha existed from the beginning as the primitive principle of the world to become incarnated in Gautama Siddhartha. Prajna Paramita, however, is the spirit (similar to the Christian Holy Ghost) through whom the world-formation takes place and in whom the divine dispensation of the course of events finds a representation.

At the Prajna Paramita Conference other Asiatic religions are welcome, and among them the Hindus of East India have been especially invited. Mr. Babu Norendronath Sen will be the authorised delegate of the Hindus, and he, although a Brahman, is for this occasion very probably the most appropriate representative of his country, for on several occasions he has exhibited his friendliness toward Buddhism; when the Maha Bodhi Society, on the full moon day of May, celebrated the Buddha's enlightenment, he presided over the meeting and made the following remarks: "We have no cause of quarrel with Buddhists. Let us be friends and brothers once more. The study of Buddha's life and teachings will do Hindus nothing but good. Considering the relations that obtained between them for many centuries, Hindus and Buddhists should try to be friends again. Hinduism and Buddhism remained side by side in peace and amity throughout India for several centuries."

ELISHA BEN ABUYA.

The Chicago Israelite with reference to the Rev. Bernard M. Kaplan's article² on the famous Jewish apostate Elisha Ben Abuya, surnamed Acher, says:

"Following the modern method of essay writing, and combining, as Rabbi Kaplan did, the historical and the romantic, I am rather surprised that he did not take advantage of the character of Elisha's daughter, mentioned in at least two places in the Talmud. I look for an amplification of this article by Rabbi Kaplan, or by some aspiring Zangwill, who is searching for rich and original material in Jewish folklore."

We agree with our contemporary that the character of Acher is an exceedingly good subject for a historical novel; but in calling attention to this tempting project we venture to state our own conception of the famous Jewish apostate. The strange fact that to his dying day he remained a friend of the greatest and most prominent rabbis of his age, in our opinion contradicts the statement made that he turned traitor to his own kin and served as a spy to the persecutors of his people. A man of his enormous learning cannot have been a vulgar criminal, nor if he remained in constant friendly contact with the leading men of his race, can he have been a traitor of Jewish tradition and nationality. The easiest explanation of the contradictory character seems to be that being a philosopher and probably a radical free thinker, he was hated and despised by the Jewish bigots who denounced him as an unbeliever, an atheist, and a traitor to Jewish tradition. We know very well how far the hatred went against Spinoza, and fanatics never distinguished between unbelief and crime. The suggestion that he would be capable of betraying his countrymen would easily change into an actual denunciation that he did it; and if Roman persecutors succeeded in discovering that the Jews continued in their Jewish habits and customs, they would naturally turn on him and declare that he had been the man who betrayed them. He may have had faults, he may even

¹ *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XLIX.

² Published in *The Open Court* for August 1902 under the title "The Apostate of the Talmud."

have been a libertine, but in my opinion it is not probable that the report of his treason is reliable, or its historicity even probable.

Rabbi Kaplan calls gnosticism the last flicker of dying paganism, and in this connection we call our readers' attention to our articles on gnosticism and kindred subjects which appeared some time ago in *The Monist*. Gnosticism, in our opinion, is indeed a last flicker of paganism, but it is at the same time the dawn of Christianity. Gnosticism is a religious movement which may be regarded as the initiation of a new faith. When through the conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great, the barriers of the several nationalities, especially that between the Greeks and the Asiatics, broke down, people of different race and religion met for the first time in a friendly exchange of thought, and by contrasting their different beliefs a powerful fermentation set in which, moreover, was fertilised by thoughts of Indian missionaries who preached the doctrines of the great religious leaders of Brahmanism, Buddhism, Jainism, and other Eastern faiths. Thus, the doctrines of the ancient Babylonian religion, purified by Zoroastrian monotheism, were mixed with Indian, Syrian, Jewish, Greek, and Egyptian notions, and the result was a movement the intensity of which came to a climax in the time of Christ. Gnosticism antedated Christianity, and when Christianity appeared Gnosticism at once fell in with it, but with the growth of the Christian Church it soon came to be considered as a mere Christian sect.

That Elisha Ben Abuya was affected by gnosticism is but natural; that it should have been the cause of his apostasy may be true according to our conception of gnosticism, for gnosticism is different according to our definition of it. If we consider it as the whole movement in its full breadth, we ought to look upon it as one of the most powerful factors that produced Christianity. If, however, we take it in the sense in which the Church Fathers understood it, it is a mere Christian sect the vagaries of which provoked criticism and caused its early disappearance from the pages of history.

That the story of Elisha Ben Abuya is a most exquisite subject for a Zangwill or a Franzos, or any scholarly author who writes novels depicting Jewish life, there is no doubt; but if anyone undertook the task it would be highly desirable that he should delineate the character of Acher in a sympathetic spirit and in the light of analogous Jewish characters, viz., Spinoza, Mendelssohn, Heine, etc.,—men who dared to advance far beyond their own time, who read the traditions of their people in the light of a higher philosophical understanding, and thus became suspected as apostates, without necessarily thereby becoming traitors to their own people.

BOOKS FOR THE YOUNG.

Vast as juvenile literature is, selection for critical and classical taste is not easy, and a glance at the ordinary publishers' or literary list will show that the emphasis is only too seldom placed on what is best and noblest in literature. We are glad therefore to be able to commend to the attention of our readers four books from recent juvenile literature that meet the most exacting requirements. Three of these books are new prose versions of the classic tales of the *Odyssey*, the *Æneid*, and *King Arthur*; the fourth is a new compilation,—*A Book of Verses for Children*, by Edward Verrail Lucas.¹

This anthology of verse for the young is not the first successful compilation

¹ Henry Holt & Co., New York. Pp., 548. Price, cloth, \$2.00.

that Mr. Lucas has attempted, and it bids fair to rival his former and later ventures. The selections cover a wide range, and are drawn, in overwhelming majority, from British, as distinguished from American, literature. While this is intelligible in the case of the great poets, we wish that Mr. Lucas had spared us some of the effusions in the style of Elizabeth Turner and Ann and Jane Taylor; surely, something more virile, and yet perfectly suited to the infantile mind, might have been found even in American literature, to match the real gems of children's poetry which the author has selected. But we will not be captious: there is so much here that is of highest value, culled from the purest and soundest sources, and all so difficult of access in its diffusion, that the book must be regarded as a decided boon to parents and teachers desirous of cultivating, as all from a real religious duty should, the nascent germs of a taste for poetry in children. The infantile in this book is easily separated from the juvenile, and so a wide range of choice suited to all the ages of childhood is possible. As a gift to a child, one could not imagine a more sensible one. Mr. Lucas's work is far from definitive; its volume could, without loss of quality, probably be doubled (only one of the numerous songs and ditties of Shakespeare is included). But what has been done, has been done well, and no one is more conscious of the limitations of the book than the compiler himself. He says:

"I want you to understand there is a kind of poetry that is finer far than anything here; poetry to which this book is, in the old-fashioned phrase, simply a 'stepping-stone.' When you feel, as I hope some day you will feel, that these pages no longer satisfy, then you must turn to the better thing."

Dr. Edward Brooks has retold for boys and girls the stories of the *Æneid*¹ and King Arthur.² Dr. Brooks has not minced his English, nor stooped to his audience. His "boys and girls" must know the language if they are to enjoy his stories. But the human interest of these famous classics is so intense that younger readers will be carried by sheer enthusiasm over the difficulties of the vocabulary. Of the *Æneid* we need not speak,—it has both delighted and bored centuries of readers, The original story of King Arthur is much less read. Let us hear Dr. Brooks's comment on it: "The Story of King Arthur is a tale of absorbing interest to both young and old. It tells of knightly encounters and valorous deeds and acts of courtesy, that touch the imagination of youth and inspire their hearts with heroic impulses. Youth is a time for hero-worship, and nowhere in literature can be found nobler examples of lofty heroism than in this story. The events, moving in a shadowy past, give the work a charm of romance and mysticism that appeals to the youthful mind which delights in peopling wood and dale with the creations of its imagination."

Then again the doctor speaks of its moral influence: "The work not only affords a story of surpassing interest for youth, but one that carries with it an influence for noble ideals and actions. While it deals with the conflicts of arms where the spear and the sword are in constant evidence, yet it does so usually for high and noble purposes,—to deal justice and to right the wrongs of the weak and unfortunate. Nearly all the characters are moved by noble impulses and are types

¹ *The Story of the Æneid, or The Adventures of Æneas*. For Boys and Girls. By Dr. Edward Brooks, A. M., Superintendent of Schools of Philadelphia. Philadelphia: The Penn Publishing Co. Pages, 366.

² *The Story of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table*. For Boys and Girls. By Dr. Edward Brooks, A. M., Superintendent of Schools of Philadelphia. The Penn Publishing Co. Pages, 383.

of courage, courtesy, and generous actions. The noble order of the Table Round was a shrine of virtue in that early age of darkness and injustice. King Arthur, Sir Galahad, Sir Percivale, and others are model knights of worthiness who are ever striving to act 'worshipfully' and to be true to their knightly vows; and Sir Launcelot, 'the flower of chivalry,' was a model of courtesy, gentleness, and courage,—possessing all those traits that call forth the admiration of the young for noble and heroic deeds. No boy can read the story of King Arthur as here presented without having aroused within him a noble purpose of true and knightly living. That it may bring many happy hours to those who may chance to read it, kindle in their hearts a love of truth and virtue, and awaken high ideals of a life of courtesy and courage and knightly deeds, is the sincere wish of the author."

Dr. Brooks has also told the tales of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Many are yet to know the fund of inspiration and ennobling thought that lies in these olden epics, and how necessary a knowledge of them is to an appreciation of the world's literature and culture. Yet it is not too much to say that young people can gain more of this inspiration from such versions in their own language as these we have here noted, than they can from the garbled study of a few books or passages of the originals.

We turn to a version of the *Odyssey*¹ for boys by Walter Copeland Perry. Mr. Perry's tale was written for his son Evelyn when in his seventh year. It is based on the translation of Messrs. Butcher and Lang,—being carried in the same style and affecting the same archaic diction: Evelyn must have been, indeed, a precocious youth. Why a modern translation of the *Odyssey*, intended for modern readers, should be couched in the language of the Bible and of Chapman, with much of which we are not familiar save through literature, is difficult to understand. Chapman would scarcely have made his translation into Anglo-Norman; and the translators of the King James's Bible would doubtless not have viewed the proposition with favor to translate the Bible into Anglo-Saxon. But to literary fetishism there be no bounds. And one cannot deny that there is to it all (to its *gat him up's*, its *yea now's*, and its *dight's*) a certain æsthetic titillation. Mr. Perry has, fortunately, preserved but little of Mr. Lang's sixteenth century English, though possibly more than was necessary to impart flavor, vigor, and dignity to his style; and while versions in the style of Charles Lamb's (which should not be forgotten) are more to our taste, yet so conscientious has Mr. Perry's work been, and so sure his emphasis on the vital parts of the story, that no one can err in selecting for their children's reading this version of the immortal Greek classic.

T. J. McCORMACK.

MR. MAUDE'S ARTICLE ON TOLSTOY.

The article on the "Misinterpretation of Tolstoy," by Mr. Aylmer Maude, in reply to Mrs. Evans's article on the Russian reformer, published in *The Open Court* for August, was forwarded to the editor by Mr. Ernest Howard Crosby, of New York City. Mr. Crosby, while returning to New York from an international appointment in Alexandria, Egypt, visited Count Tolstoy at his home in Russia, and has, since this meeting, under the influence of Tolstoy's writings, devoted considerable attention to social reform. Mr. Crosby writes that the author of the article

¹ *The Boy's Odyssey*. By Walter Copeland Perry. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1901. Pages, 204.

Mr. Aylmer Maude, a prominent and well-to-do business man of Moscow,—an Englishman,—became interested in Tolstoy's writings some ten years or more ago and is now an intimate friend of the Count. Under the influence of his teaching he abandoned his business and is now living near Chelmsford in Essex, England engaged among other things in bringing out a complete edition of Tolstoy's works, of which two volumes, *Sebastopol* and *Resurrection*, have already been published by Grant Richards. He is also the author of *Tolstoy and His Problems*, and is recognised as the Englishman who stands closest to Tolstoy. Mr. Maude's work is indispensable to the student of Tolstoy's life and labors. It is published, in America, by the A. Wessels Company, 7-9 W. 18th St., New York, and in England by Grant Richards. In view of the recent alarming reports concerning Tolstoy's health, it may be interesting to our readers to learn from a letter from Mr. Maude, dated August 26th at Tolstoy's home, Yásnaya Polyána, Russia, that while Tolstoy is still far from strong, he can write three or four hours most days and walks sometimes two or three miles at a time. A doctor is, however, in constant attendance, both in case of emergency and to check Tolstoy's rashness; he having been so strong and active until two years ago, finds it difficult to exercise due moderation in his exercise and to follow a strict régime.

BOOK REVIEWS.

PRINCIPLES OF WESTERN CIVILISATION. By *Benjamin Kidd*. New York: The Macmillan Company. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1902. Pages, vi, 538. Price, \$2.00.

Mr. Benjamin Kidd created a considerable stir by his first work, *Social Evolution*, and he has doubtless been moved by the success of this venture to give to the world a system of philosophy. The first volume of this series lies before us entitled *Principles of Western Civilisation*. It may appear paradoxical to say that it is necessary to read Mr. Kidd's work in order to determine precisely what his purpose in writing it has been, for he has given us neither preface, introduction, nor conclusion explanatory of his motives or of what "Western civilisation" has to do with "evolutionary philosophy." This critical state of affairs is heightened by the fact that Mr. Kidd's language in the present work is more distinctly metaphysical and artificial than it was in his first work, assuming at times even a mystical strain,—at least such is the impression that a superficial reading of his work gives.

The idea dominating Mr. Kidd's discussions, while in many respects sound and lofty, does not appear to us to be novel. After remarking that the entire life and activities of our Western civilisation have begun to be involved in a tumultuous conflict, he affirms that the principle which shall evolve order out of this chaos (and its most characteristic results are already visible) is what he terms the law of projected efficiency by "which, in human society, the present is destined to be in the end controlled, not by its own interests, but by interests in the future beyond the limits of its political consciousness." As in the biological world, so analogously in the social and political world, "the interests of the existing individuals, and of the present time, as we now see them, are of importance only in so far as they are included in the interests of this unseen majority in the future."

The ascendancy of present interests in the economic processes of the past and in our own time has been the real clog on genuine endeavor in national and inter-

national spheres. Upon the party representing the cause of progress in Western history devolves the task of lifting this conflict to a higher stage,—a stage where the future shall dominate the present. This is the goal which has been inherent from the beginning in the organic process of development of Western civilisation : it is the principle "with which the advance of the peoples destined to maintain a leading place in Western civilisation must continue to be identified. No human foresight could, even at a period recent in history, have predicted, without insight into such a cause, the world-embracing future to which, irrespective of race, position, population, wealth, or natural resources, the action of this principle was about to raise in a comparatively brief period of time the small group of English-speaking peoples, otherwise so insignificant a component in our Western civilisation."

Nevertheless, all attempt to judge the future from the past are vain and meaningless. In the ancient civilisations, the universal empire toward which the world moved had one meaning that controlled all others, viz., the culminating fact of the "ascendency of the present" in the process of human evolution. But "the universal empire towards which our civilisation moves—that universal empire the principles of which have obtained their first firm foothold in human history in that stupendous, complex, and long-drawn-out conflict of which the history of the English-speaking peoples has been the principal theatre in modern history—has a meaning which transcends this. It represents that empire in which it has become the destiny of our Western Demos, in full consciousness of the nature of the majestic process of cosmic ethics that has engendered him, to project the controlling meaning of the world-process beyond the present. All the developments that have hitherto taken place in our civilisation are but the steps leading up to the gigantic struggle now closing in upon us, as the ruling principle of a past era of human evolution moves slowly towards its challenge in the economic process in all its manifestations throughout the world." μ.

The Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for the year ending June 30, 1900, has just appeared with its usual interesting essays in general science. The papers describe and illustrate collections in the United States National Museum, but they embrace much material and many experiences only indirectly connected with these collections. Thus, Mr. William Henry Holmes has supplied an extensive study of the Anthropology of California, giving many excellent pictures of the household arts and industries of the aborigines of the Pacific Coast. Mr. Otis Tufton Mason has contributed a study in ethnic distribution and invention entitled "Aboriginal American Harpoons," analysing the primitive yet complicated mechanism of these important weapons of coast tribes. Mr. Alfred E. Hippiusley, commissioner of the imperial maritime customs service of China, has given us an illustrated sketch of the history of the ceramic art of China; Charles Kasson Wead has made some contributions to the history of the musical scales; Walter Hough has written briefly on Hopi ceremonial pigments; and Mr. Wirt Tassin has given a minute catalogue and description of the collection of gems in the United States National Museum. The Smithsonian Institution has also issued, as Bulletin 26 of the Bureau of American Ethnology, a collection of Kathlamet texts and translations made by Frank Boas. These texts were collected by Mr. Boas from 1890 to 1894. The Kathlamet is a dialect of the upper Chinook, spoken in the region from Astoria and Gray's Harbor to Rainier. When it is remembered that so far as Mr. Boas has been able to ascertain there are only three persons that speak the Kathlamet dialect, the importance of his having rescued from oblivion the texts of these

stories will not be underrated. It is seldom that three lone Indians receive so much Government attention as to have an expensive monograph devoted—to the *memory of their language*. (Government Printing Office: Washington, D. C.)

Students of contemporary German literary activity may be pleased to have from the pen of Dr. Eduard Lessen a little pamphlet treating of the life and labors of Adalbert Svoboda, an Austrian polyhistor and critic of high standing. Svoboda it was that discovered the poetic talent of Peter Rosegger, one of the foremost of living German writers. (16 pages.)

We have from Watts & Co., 17, Johnson's Court, Fleet St., E. C., London, a copy of the 101st edition of George Jacob Holyoake's pamphlet *The Logic of Death*, first issued a half century ago; and also the first installment, in the form of a brochure, of a rationalistic free-thinking story entitled *The King Who Wouldn't be a Pagan*, by Rashleigh Cumming Forward. (Pages, 32. Price, Sixpence.)

Readers with a leaning to mysticism will find material in justification of their faith in a German pamphlet by Dr. Rudolf Steiner, entitled *Die Mystik*, as considered in connection with the intellectual life of the present. Dr. Steiner believes that one may still be a passionate votary of scientific method and doctrine while pursuing "studies of the soul" directly leading to mysticism as properly understood. The book deals with the mysticism of the Middle Ages, and expounds the ideas of Jacob Boehme, Eckhart, Paracelsus, etc., with a view of rendering them acceptable and helpful to the science and religion of to day. (Berlin: Verlag von C. A. Schwetschke und Sohn. Pages, 118. Price, 2 M.)

The Heretic is the title of a new novel published by the Abbey Press, of New York, and written by Irwin Burnett. It is a semi-historical novel presenting in incident and example the rigid type of religion which pervaded the United States to a great extent soon after the close of the Revolution. The plot of the story is laid in New Jersey, A. D. 1799. The author has shown the hopes, fears, delusions, and illusions of fanatical religious belief; the heart-aches, trials, and disappointments which came, and come frequently to-day, where love is defeated, happiness is turned to bitterness, and high hopes are blasted, because of credulity and un-reasoning faith in an un-christlike religion. (Pages, vi, 347. Price, cloth, \$1.50.)

The Missouri Botanical Garden has issued its thirteenth *Annual Report* containing, in addition to the administrative statements of the officers, the results of research work performed by the Garden staff or in connection with the institution. The Missouri Botanical Garden is located at St. Louis, and is not a State establishment, but a gift to the community by a wealthy and philanthropic citizen, the late Henry Shaw. It is considered a great natural ornament of the city of St. Louis, and is an exemplary institution of its kind in all the United States. The scientific paper presented in connection with the present report is on the Yuccæ, plants of the lilly family native in the southern United States, Mexico, and Central America. Most of the species of these plants are in ornamental cultivation and are known as "Adam's needle," "bear grass," "Spanish bayonet," etc. The paper is profusely illustrated.

S. Laing's work on *Modern Science and Modern Thought* has earned a deserved reputation for the clear and concise view which it gives of the principal results of modern science and of the revolution which they have effected in modern thought. The book never pretended to be more than an exposition, and as such it has served its purpose admirably. Recently it has been revised and brought to date by a well-known scientific author, Edward Clodd, who has supplied a brief biographical note, and published in cheap paper form at the price of 6d. by Watts & Co., 17, Johnson's Court, Fleet St., London.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of the fourth volume of the proceedings of the International Congress of Philosophy, held in Paris during the World's Exposition of 1900. The volume is devoted to the history of philosophy and contains essays by: M. E. Boutroux on "Object and Method in the History of Philosophy"; M. J.-J. Gourdon on "Progress in the History of Philosophy"; M. René Berthelot on "The Idea of Mathematical Physics Among the Greek Philosophers"; and similar studies by MM. Victor Brochard, Lionel Dauriac, Louis Couturat, David G. Ritchie, F. C. S. Schiller, Paul Tannery, Georges Lyon, François Picavet, P. Landormy, J. Delvolvé, Henri Delacroix, Victor Delbos, Reinhold Geijer, Gustave Belot, and H. Vaihinger. (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 5, rue de Mézières. Pages, 528. Price, 12 fr. 50.)

Dr. S. Karppe publishes a work entitled *Essai de critique et d'histoire de philosophie* which may interest students of the history of religion and formal philosophy. The subjects treated are such as the following: Philo and the Patristic Philosophy; The Ideas Current at the Birth of Christianity: Maimonides and Spinoza; Monotheism and Monism; and the Spinozism of Goethe. The author has discovered in Herder a precursor of Darwin, but this discovery is by no means a new one, as Herder has long been known to have held in common with Kant, Goethe, and Oken ideas which adumbrated the theory of evolution. (Paris: Félix Alcan, Éditeur. 1902. Pages, 224. Price, 3 fr. 75.)

The same house has issued a second edition of an extensive philosophical treatise on *The Reality of the Sensible World*, by Dr. Jean Jaurès; it is in itself a recommendation for this purely metaphysical treatise that a new impression of it should have been called for. (Paris: Félix Alcan, Éditeur. 1902. Pages, 429. Price, 7 fr. 50.)

At last we have a comprehensive study of Nietzsche from a purely objective and philosophical point of view. This study has been furnished by the Russo-Belgian philosopher M. Eugène de Roberty, author of many well-known works and inaugurator of a system of philosophy. M. de Roberty has studied, not Nietzsche's personality, but his work and the more durable elements of his philosophy and sociology. Not to say that he has not had due regard for Nietzsche's mobile and disturbed temperament, his alert artistic imagination, his excessive sensibility, but he is of the opinion that it is more fitting to pass readily over the eccentricities which have fascinated the majority of Nietzsche's critics, in order to show forth the net result and ultimate product of this strange and extraordinary case of intellectual and psychical fermentation. He is far from believing that he has given a definitive estimate of Nietzsche's labors, but he is convinced that he has some conclusions to offer which bear lessons of instruction for the present generation. (Paris: Félix Alcan, Éditeur. 1902. Pages, 212. Price, 2 fr. 50.)

Good Without God is the title of a rationalist pamphlet by Robert Chamblet Adams, President of the Montreal Pioneer Freethought Club. It is an arraignment of current Christianity from the standpoint of the freethinker, technically so called. (New York: Peter Eckler, Publisher. Pages, 113. Price, 25 cents.)

The phallic derivation of religion has been briefly and vigorously treated by Jabelon in a pamphlet published by Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton Kent & Co., of London. Many of the author's analogies are far-fetched and uncritical. The exposition is not without its pertinent remarks, but it is hard to understand that from the 1400 books and papers which the author says he used in the preparation of his essay more apposite material could not have been adduced and sounder conclusions reached on this important subject. (1902. Pages, 48.)

The literary diary of Ezra Stiles, President of Yale College during the Revolutionary War, having recently been issued by Scribner's of New York, Mr. George Alexander Kohut has taken advantage of the occasion to cull from the work passages relating to the Jews and Judaism. It appears that Dr. Stiles was a passionate Hebraist, going so far as to compel his family to learn the sacred language, and presenting his graduates on graduation day with a small edition of the Bible in Hebrew and Greek. His diary, therefore, has afforded much material in commendation of Jewish ideals and traditions. (New York: Philip Cowen, Publisher. 1902. Pages, 155.)

NOTES.

We just learn on the authority of Prof. A. H. Sayce, that the Assyriological scholar Father Scheil is said to have unearthed the Code of Laws of Hammurabi, the Biblical King Amraphel and contemporary of Abraham. A picture of Hammurabi was published in *The Open Court* for April, 1902, page 210, in the article "Babel and Bible" by Professor Delitzsch.

We learn from *The Indian Mirror* of July 26th last that the orthodox Hindus have agreed to discuss the evils of Hindu child-widow remarriage at Benares, in a conference where the orthodox as well as the liberal partisans shall be duly represented. Several Maharajahs will be present, and the Maharajah of Calcutta will preside. Three English gentlemen well versed in Sanscrit and Hindustani will be appointed as umpires, and all parties have agreed to accept their decision. The Vedas will be used as authoritative books, and no other language will be spoken except Hindi and Sanscrit, the latter for purposes of quotation.

Attempts have been made to reform the Hindu customs through laws, but the best course seems to be that the reforms should come from the Hindus themselves, and be endorsed by representatives of the orthodox parties.

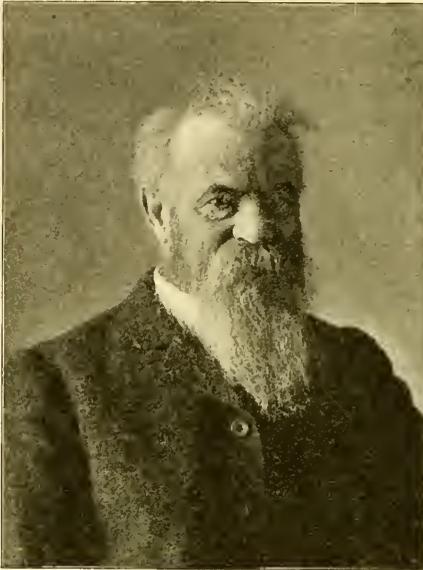
MAJOR JOHN WESLEY POWELL.

DIED SEPTEMBER 23, 1902.

As we are going to press, we find in the daily papers the following dispatch from Washington, dated September 23:

"Prof. John Wesley Powell, director of the bureau of ethnology, who died to-day at Haven, Me., was well known in Illinois, where he lived in early life,

In the last quarter century he won for himself a high standing in scientific circles as director of the geological survey and by his researches in American ethnology.



JOHN WESLEY POWELL.

He was born at Mount Morris, N. Y., March 24, 1834; attended school in Ohio, Wisconsin, and Illinois, graduating at the Illinois Wesleyan University and occupying the chair of geology there. He served through the Civil War in the Second Illinois Artillery, reaching the rank of major and losing the right arm at Shiloh.

“Major Powell’s most notable scientific work, from the viewpoint of scientists here, was his exploration of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado in the sixties. His fellow-workers say that he was not only the first man who ever went through the Colorado canyon, but the only one who so far ever has travelled its entire length from Green River station to the mouth of the canyon. This exploit, scientists say, was one of the most notable geographical, geological, and ethnological explorations and surveys in the history of North America.

“In 1879 he was appointed director of the bureau of ethnology. In the following year he also became director of the geological survey, and discharged the dual duties until 1894, when he retired from the geological survey, retaining his position at the head of the bureau of ethnology.”

Major Powell was a rare man, a brave soldier, a clear thinker, a great leader and path-finder, an amiable superior, a faithful friend, and a gifted speaker. He held the foremost rank among the geologists and anthropologists, not only of this country, but of the world, and was identified since the early sixties with the scientific work of the United States government. His philosophy, which forms the corner-stone of his scientific views, is embodied in a book entitled *Truth and Error*,¹ and he shows himself here, as in his scientific labors, both original and suggestive. As may be expected from the idiosyncracies of his mind, Major Powell was also a poet, and his poems are distinguished by loftiness and a trend of scientific thought. He was conscious, however, that his muse would not cater to a large public, but appealed only to a few thinkers, which caused him to withhold his lines from publication, and therefore the greatest part remained unpublished.²

We intend to publish in *The Open Court* at an early date a sketch of Major Powell’s life which will contain many interesting facts that throw light upon the career of this extraordinary man.

¹ Chicago, 1898.

² One long philosophical poem, “The Soul,” by Major Powell was published as an Appendix to Vol. V., No. 3, of *The Monist* (April, 1895).

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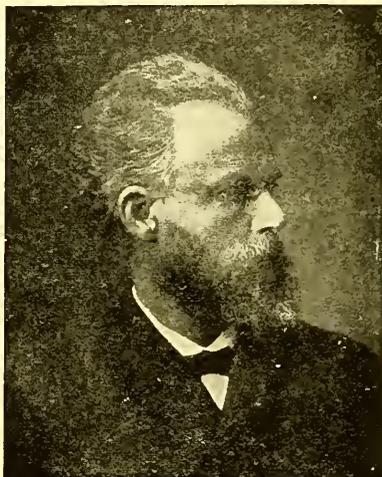
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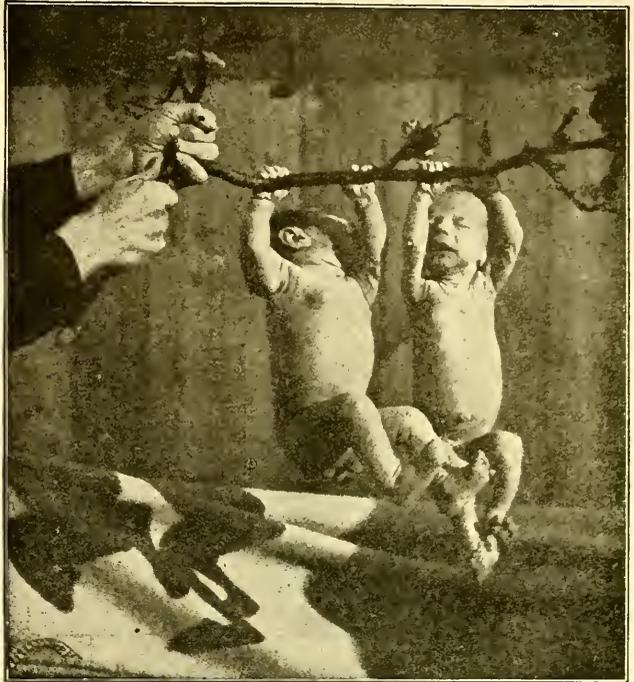
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—*Science*, New York, Sept., 1896.

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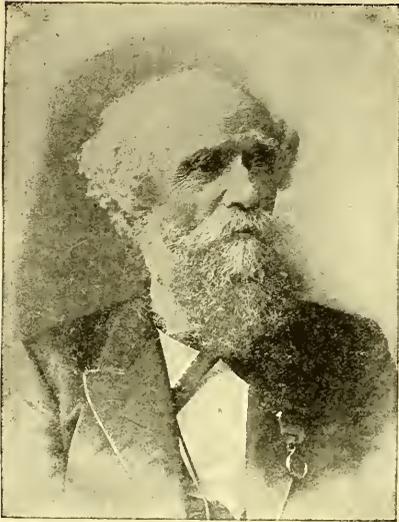
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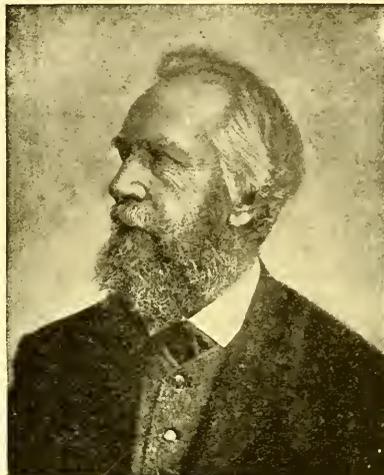
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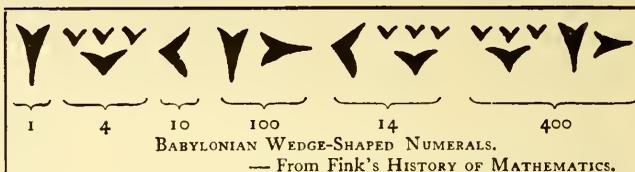


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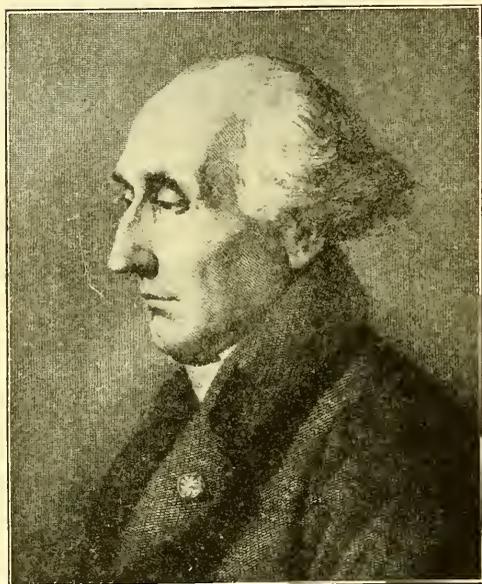
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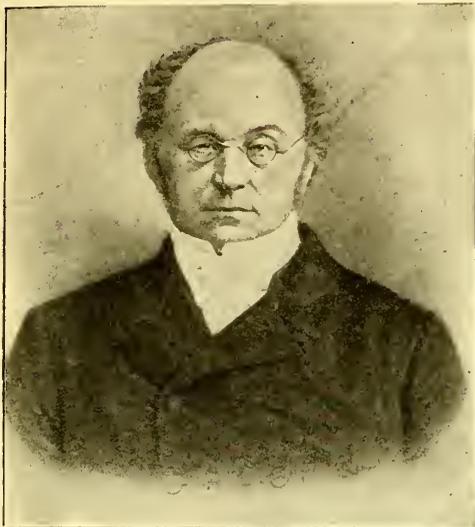


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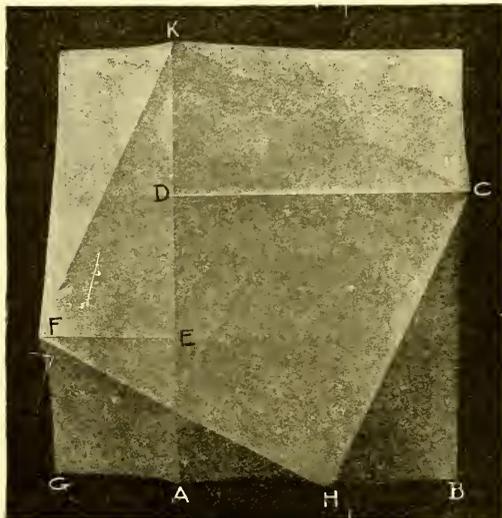
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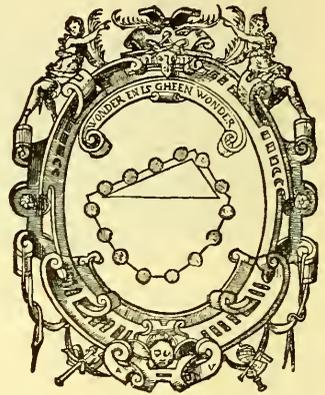
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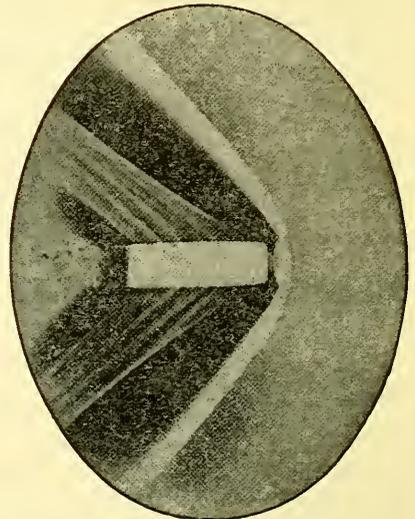
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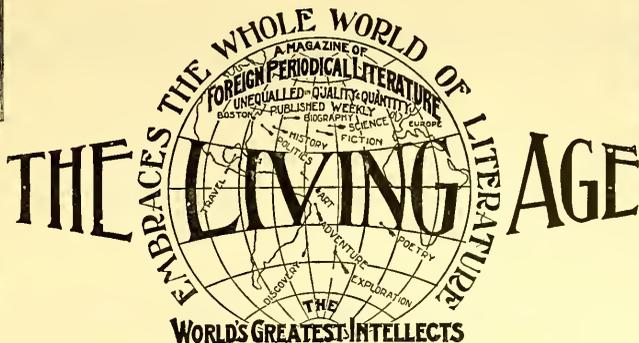
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