

# 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

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

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VOL. XVIII. (NO. 4)

APRIL, 1904.

NO. 575

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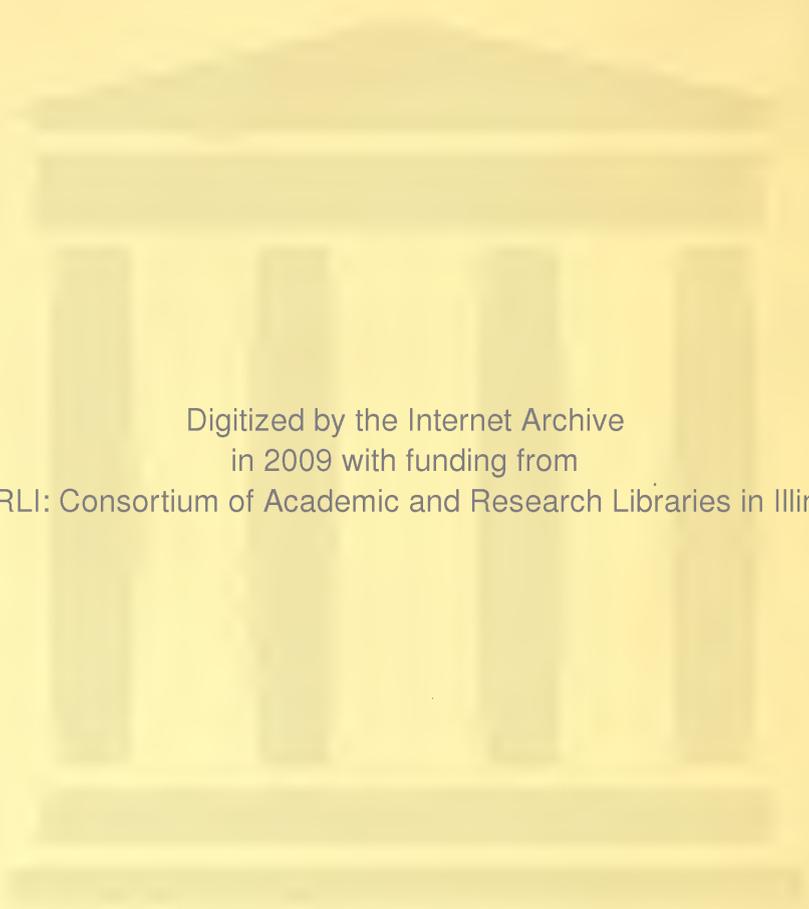
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CHICAGO

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HUGO DE VRIES.

Professor of Botany in Amsterdam.

*Frontispiece to The Open Court*

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## A NEW THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF SPECIES.

BY J. ARTHUR HARRIS, PH. D.

OF the making of theories there is no end, but of theories very few are destined to influence profoundly all phases of thought throughout the civilized world. Such a one was that, proposed by Charles Darwin about the middle of the century just gone, which attempted to explain the origin of species by natural selection and the survival of the fittest. Merely a theory, it explained so many facts otherwise inexplicable and explained them so logically and clearly and satisfactorily that it found, immediately, champions of the greatest ability. And while it seems hard, indeed, to suggest an hypothesis which cannot be proven to the perfect satisfaction of a large number of people, the ability of the men who upheld it, the rapidity with which it spread and made its influence felt and the bitterness with which it was opposed, at once clearly proved that the theory proposed by the now illustrious naturalist did not belong to the same class as those conceived, accepted, and championed by fanatics, but that it was to be a consideration of the most universal and vital importance. That opposition has ceased no one who is at all acquainted with the facts would suggest, any more than he could deny that for years among those whose opinions are most worth consideration the Darwinian theory in its broad sense has had almost universal acceptance. At first, besides those whose general learning or special knowledge of the subject in hand lent no weight to their bitter denunciations, there were many of the older and most able of scientists who accepted the new explanation of the development of organisms only in the most conservative way or who opposed it altogether, but time has since taken these men from the

ranks of the world's scientific investigators and their peers who now occupy the scientific chairs in the great universities of Europe and America accept in one form or another the theory of the evolutionary development of the forms of animals and plants, not as a working hypothesis but as a well established theory, or, to be perhaps more exact, they think of the *fact* rather than the *theory* of evolution. That "Evolution" is accepted by all or even a moderately large majority of people, especially in many localities, is certainly not true, but it has passed the period of bitter controversy, being so generally accepted among well-educated people as to cause little discussion, while those who might oppose it most bitterly are often so ignorant of the subject as to be unaware that the little discussion they hear is not due to lack of interest, but to the fact that the theory in its broad sense is almost universally accepted, and that now the attention of scientists is being devoted to profound investigation of the method of evolution rather than to controversies to establish its possibilities.

While few scientists of note of our present day have doubted the general correctness of Darwin's theory, there have been many who have been very conservative in accepting it just as he left it. Darwin recognized a universal variability in the animal and vegetable kingdoms. He laid great stress upon the fact of the generation of more individuals than could possibly develop to maturity and emphasized the idea that those which were weakest—that is to say, the most poorly prepared to meet their life conditions—would be the first to perish, while those which fortuitously varied in a way to fit them for life in the conditions under which they lived would reproduce their kind, and so, by a slow and gradual process, species with sharply differentiated hereditary characteristics would develop. In nature it was impossible to observe this process, but in domesticated plants and animals, where a much keener artificial selection might be supposed to replace the slower process of natural selection, the great modifications suffered by characteristics were easily demonstrated and advanced in illustration of the process which might occur more slowly in nature. Of course other points are considered, but this is the central idea. Since the appearance of the *Origin of Species* many attempts have been made to prove or disprove the possibility of the origin of species by such a process. Some have insisted with greater boldness than Darwin that natural selection in the production of species and artificial selection in the production of garden varieties are similar processes, while others have maintained that the step from natural to artificial selection is one entirely

too great—"the true danger reef of the Darwinian theory is the transition from artificial breeding selection to natural selection."

It has been supposed that the theory of the origin of species by an evolutionary process must rest on comparative studies—that is to say, it must remain merely a theory, since the process by which species originate by natural selection is so exceedingly slow that the changes are below the limits of direct observation. The strongest point of those who have opposed the Theory of Evolution has always been that the origin of a species has never been observed. I think I have the quotation not far from correctly stated: "Natural selection may explain the survival of the fittest but it cannot explain the arrival of the fittest."

In a theory advanced by Professor De Vries it is maintained that the experimental treatment of the problem of the origin of species is not impossible but that this important process may be the subject of direct observation.

The title of this paper is misleading in so far as it might suggest that it deals with a proposition entirely new, but its use is considered legitimate since it is only within the past few months that an exhaustive work devoted to the promulgation of a theory of the origin of species fundamentally different from that generally held has been given to the public. This work, *Die Mutationstheorie. Versuche und Beobachtungen über die Entstehung von Arten im Pflanzenreich*, by Hugo De Vries, Professor of Botany in Amsterdam, is certainly one of the greatest importance and universal interest—an epoch-making work, perhaps,—so that a review of the salient points of the theory which it so carefully elaborates may be well in place. In the first volume is considered the theory of the origin of species by mutation, while the second volume is devoted to Elementary Hybridity, a subject which I do not care to discuss at this time, so that the theory in its essential points is now open for consideration.

The sense in which the term *species* is used by the elaborator of the present theory is a restricted one. It is a fact recognized by everyone that species, as such, do not exist in nature, but that they are simply artificial groups of forms of individuals, the limits of such groups depending upon the judgment of the author. After the more noticeable groups in the flora of any region have been observed and characterized in the systematic literature, a careful study of the more adequate herbaria available as the region is more thoroughly explored, and especially field study of the living plants, showing many clearly defined characteristics which are lost in the

preparation of material for herbarium purposes, reveals the fact that the species in its wider sense is composed of a large number of forms showing small but clearly defined differences, not of one organ alone, but often of many or all the parts, so that a careful description must often be quite extensive. So long as the problem is one of purely descriptive systematic botany there seems to be no way of definitely determining what rank should be accorded to these forms, and the matter must necessarily remain one of judgment on the part of the person occupied with the elaboration of any group; and how widely at variance such opinions may be is only too well known to those acquainted with the literature of systematic botany, for the "species question" has always remained one of the most vexed. Long ago an attempt was made to solve accurately some of the questions by experimental means, and many of these minor forms were brought into the garden and cultivated for sometimes many years and it was found that under this treatment the offspring showed itself perfectly true to the parental characteristics, and the conclusion was warranted that the "small species" or "varieties" just as truly merit the designation of *species* as do the larger group of forms. Probably the best known example of this kind is that of the European *Draba verna*, a species described by Linnaeus himself, which has been split up into about 200 minor species, the most of which have shown themselves true to seed under cultivation. It is of the origin of these minor species, "small species," which Professor De Vries treats in the large volume just published. He does not insist that general systematic works should be made too cumbersome for use by increasing their size five or ten-fold to include ample descriptions of all the clearly differentiable forms which compose a species in the Linnean sense, but he does emphasize the idea that "species," as they are commonly recognized, are only groups of a greater or less number of clearly distinguishable forms which are true to seed, just as genera and the higher groups are only artificial conveniences.

A sharp distinction must be made between the origin of species in the broad and in the limited sense. In its limited interpretation the species is the smallest differentiable unit which is true to its characteristics in reproduction. In its broader sense the species is a group of such forms which have been united under a generic and specific name for convenience of reference. The origin of one, the origin of specific characters, ought to be, if one accepts the Mutation Theory, capable of experimental treatment; while the other, being an historical process, as will be explained later, can never be a

matter of direct observation. Many examples to illustrate this point are known to systematists. Many species are "compound" in that they are composed of a number of forms distinguished by small but clearly defined differences. When material is scant only certain of these forms may be available to the botanist, and since his series of material show great gaps in places where those which have not been collected are absent, he must make two or more species each containing one or more of the smaller units. But collection in other regions, sometimes hundreds of miles distant, may bring to light the missing elements and the whole becomes one complete series of very slightly differing types and must be recognized as *one* species, even though it shows a wider range of form than do all the other species of the genus to which it belongs. The Mutation Theory is concerned with the origin of these minor species, or of specific characters, not with the origin of the species in its broader, Linnean, sense, for this must be an historical process and consist in the breaking of the continuity of the slightly differing series by an elimination of some of its parts.

It may be readily seen that a number of separate groups of forms might originate by the loss of certain regions of a large and quite uniform series. This may account for the origin of species in the broader sense as it is considered in historical or morphological descent, but the origin of the differences in the original series must be explained. To do this it is necessary to examine very carefully the constancy and variability of plant characteristics.

"No two individuals of any planting are entirely alike" expresses the universal variability of living forms, but variability must be divided into two kinds—variability in its narrow sense, and mutation. The first is known as common, individual, fluctuating, or gradual variability, and from it mutation is distinguished by occurring not flowingly but in steps, without transition, and by being much more rare than the common variations universally present. In common variability there is present a continuous series of forms, while mutation occurs in steps or starts and transition forms connecting the parental and daughter forms are absent. "The contrast between the two kinds at once appears if one considers that the attributes of organisms are built up of fixed and sharply defined units. These units combine in groups, and in the kindred of species the same units and groups are reproduced. Every addition of a unit to a group constitutes a step, originates a new group, and separates the new form sharply and fully as an individual species from the one out of which it has been produced. The new species is at once

such, and originates from the former species without preparation and without gradation."

In evolutionary speculation so much stress has been laid on the evidence offered by domesticated forms that a consideration of this subject is necessary. There are to be distinguished in artificial plant breeding two different processes, the improvement of races and the production of new forms. The improvement of races may occur by crossing with a type more desirable in some respects or by selection of only the best individuals for the purposes of propagation. By the latter process forms may be very greatly improved, as may be well illustrated by the sugar beet in which the percentage of sugar contained has been about doubled in half a century. In the improvement of cultivated plants by selection, however, the process is not a uniformly gradual or unlimited one. The greater part of the betterment may be secured in a very few generations, after which the smallest desirable change is obtained only with the very greatest difficulty. In the case of the sugar beet the most of the remarkable modification was in the first few of the fifty years of selection, while to maintain the high percentage of sugar which has been secured during this time requires the keenest selection, hundreds of thousands of specimens being polarized each year for the purpose of choosing examples for propagation in a large sugar manufactory. What is true of the sugar beet seems to be true of other forms brought into cultivation—a very great improvement may be obtained in the first few generations, after which any further improvement is secured only by means of the most careful and persistent selection. In general, from three to five generations is sufficient to bring the betterment of any characteristic to its maximum, after which selection can maintain the degree of perfection attained, but cannot carry the modification on indefinitely, so that by natural or artificial selection the origination of a new characteristic is impossible. After the attainment possible in the first few generations, selection can only maintain what has already been secured and so soon as this persistent selection is removed the subject reverts, in the same time or less time than that required for its improvement, to the original type. In general, little more than a doubling of the value of any characteristic can be obtained by selection, and no matter how sharp or long the selection this value drops to that of the original type so soon as selection ceases to act.

With the improvement of forms by hybridization we need be concerned no further than to call attention to the fact that this means is one of great importance and that many of the examples

which have been offered of common variability exceeding the limits of specific characters may be referred to accidental crossing.

The origination of new forms in horticultural work is a matter quite different from the improvement of races. This is entirely beyond the direct control of the plant breeder. Sometimes the new form may occur as a bud variation, one branch showing characteristics markedly different from the others, in which case propagation is continued by cuttings in a purely vegetative manner, or there may occur among a large number of typical plants one or more individuals with distinct characteristics, in which case they may be freed from crosses with other forms and propagated by seed. In either case the origin of the new form is an unexpected and unmediated one. All the cultivator knows of his find is that it is there and may be preserved and will reproduce true.

Before leaving the discussion of cultivated plants, attention may be directed to one point upon which Professor De Vries in his book lays great emphasis. This is the danger of drawing scientific conclusions from work which is carried on merely for practical ends. The plant breeder wants new and improved sorts and cares nothing about the way in which they originate so long as they are satisfactory and profitable. For the most part his extensive experiments are carried on without adequate record for any scientific conclusions, and except where data are complete and unimpeachable there should be the greatest hesitancy in using as evidence in theoretical biology results which have been obtained for other purposes and by methods which gave thought only to the practical side of the result and not to its theoretical significance.

Since in cultivation the materials offered to selection in the form of common or universal variability cannot form the basis of new and constant characteristics while many examples of sudden and unmediated appearance of new and sharply distinguished forms which reproduce true are known, the idea that species have originated in nature in this same manner, by mutation, seems very suggestive.

Over fifteen years ago Professor De Vries, convinced of the validity of the hypothesis that elementary species originate by sudden starts, or mutations, and not by the selection of individuals varying gradually in some direction, began a search for material favorable for direct observation, and, while the task seemed almost a hopeless one, he has been successful in a very gratifying and convincing degree. About one hundred species of plants from the local and foreign flora were transferred to his garden, not for the purpose

of selection or horticultural improvement but merely to have them in a convenient condition for observation. The account of these experiments occupies a large part of the ponderous volume before us and can only be touched on here. One species, an Evening Primrose, *Oenothera Lamarckiana*, of American origin, seemed to offer favorable material for his purpose; so almost all the others were discarded and the most painstaking observations made upon this species for fifteen years. His results may be stated very briefly. During this time several new species were produced. These appeared suddenly, with no transition forms, and were so sharply distinguished from the typical plants that they could in some cases be recognized even in the seedling stage of development. Some forms occurred only a few times, others were produced anew year after year and in considerable numbers. Not only do these new species show themselves sharply distinguished from the parent type, but when fertilized with pollen from the same species reproduce true year after year with no tendency to revert to the type from which they were derived. The original species during this time shows no change, but the most of the offspring are true to the ancestral characteristics. The new forms are not produced from the old by gradual modification but are sharply differing side branches, so to speak, of the parent stem, given off year after year according to some law not yet understood, and capable of continuing their sharply defined characteristics generation after generation, just as the original species does.

Observations of great interest were also made on other subjects, especially abnormalities which usually originate suddenly and show themselves in a high degree heritable, but these cannot be discussed in this brief review.

While the discussion given here is inadequate as representing the scope of the volume which has appeared it indicates some of the more important considerations and must suffice, for the little space still available must be used in summarizing the principal conclusions and contrasting them very briefly with those of the prevailing theory.

Professor DeVries holds the view that a species is always subject to common or fluctuating variability, but only at certain times is it in a mutable condition. Most species are in an immutable condition, and, while selection may take the material offered by universal variability and produce local races or secure acclimatization, the development of new characteristics is impossible. But when a species enters the mutable state a large number of new species may

be produced from it in a comparatively short time. The length of this mutable period is not known, but in the Evening Primrose it was studied for fifteen years and this may represent but a small part of its duration. If one accepts the Mutation Theory the universal variability of organisms has no significance so far as the origin of species is concerned, while the statement, "species have originated by natural selection in the struggle for existence," falls into two parts for consideration. The struggle, or competition, for existence occurs between the individuals of one elementary species and also between the different species as such. In the first case individuals best adapted to their environment are least liable to perish, and so local races, or, where artificial selection replaces natural selection, improved sorts, are developed and acclimatization is possible; but so soon as the special selective influence is removed there occurs a reversion to the type of the constant species. In the second case the weakest species, as in the first the weakest individuals, are the first to perish. In the same way the classic expression, "the survival of the fittest," embraces two distinct and clearly defined propositions: the survival of the fittest individuals in the constant species, and so the production of local races or the securing of acclimatization by selection, and the survival of the fittest species. But in order to enter the struggle for existence—to come into competition for existence—or to survive, species, as individuals, must exist. These species originate not by the gradual modification of a parent type during the course of hundreds or thousands of years, but by sudden steps, and since the new characteristics which they show are in a high degree heritable the individuals of the new form multiply and a struggle for existence ensues in which the weaker species are rooted out. But the struggle for existence has nothing to do with the origin of the new form, for, if one accepts the Mutation Theory, species have not originated but perished in the struggle for existence. In the Evening Primrose studied some species were formed which were entirely too weak to survive in a life of competition, and it seems altogether probable that vast numbers of such have originated during past ages and have been crowded to the wall by stronger forms.

Each point might be considered in greater detail and with more elaborate statement of the data upon which it is based, but the essentials of the new theory which has been so carefully developed have been stated. What the ultimate decision of biologists as to its value may be, time only can tell. Here, I have made no attempt to give a criticism of the theory, but have sought to present it from

the point of view of the author. But whatever may be the ultimate judgment of the scientific world concerning the theory, it is presented in such an elaborate and painstaking form that it is bound to receive the careful attention of all concerned with evolutionary theory. While the acceptance of the Mutation Theory necessitates a very profound change in some of our ideas, one must not forget that it is simply a difference in the method of evolution which the new theory postulates, and, while the conception of the method of the origin of species is fundamentally different from that so generally held, the fact of the evolutionary origin of living forms still stands as ever.

## THE SHAKESPEARE CONTROVERSY.

BY EDWIN WATTS CHUBB.

IN analyzing General J. Warren Keifer's Shakesperean creed as declared by himself at the beginning of his article, "Did William Shakesper Write Shakespeare?" in the January number of *The Open Court*, one is delightfully confused upon finding that Mr. Keifer really believes what every simple-minded and orthodox believer in Shakespere believes,—I say confused because a full reading of the article leads to the conclusion that Mr. Keifer thinks he thinks differently. What is his creed as plainly published to the world?

1. "I do not believe that any known contemporary of Shakesper wrote them or was, alone, capable of writing them."

2. "And I more than doubt whether Shakesper, unaided, wrote them."

I confess myself to be what Mr. Keifer would call a simple-minded and credulous believer in the old-fashioned notion that Shakesper is Shakespeare, and yet I believe in Mr. Keifer's creed. For instance, I do not think that any contemporary of Shakespere wrote the dramas. I think Shakespere himself wrote them, so we agree on article *one* of the creed; then *second*, I do not think that Shakespere unaided wrote all the plays attributed to him, and I have never found anyone familiar with the Shakesperean drama that did think so. We know that he used old plays, re-writing them; that he laid hands upon everything from historical chronicles to fiction and tradition and made the common the uncommon by the power of his genius.

But the general trend of Mr. Keifer's paper is to show that some "Great Unknown" wrote the dramas commonly called Shakesperean. How much shrewder our doubters are now than they were some years ago. They no longer have the cocksurenness of Judge Holmes, one of the High Priests of the Baconian cult, who said in

1884: "A comparison of the writings of contemporary authors in prose and verse proves that no other writer of that age, but Bacon, can come into any competition for the authorship." The doubter has become more wary. As long as Bacon was the great "It," it was easy for modern scholarship to show that Bacon as Shakespere is an absurdity; that it is just as probable that Shakespere wrote the *Novum Organum* as that Bacon wrote *The Merchant of Venice*. When Spedding, the great biographer of Bacon, the man who knew more of Bacon than was known by any other man in the 19th century, was challenged by Judge Holmes as to his opinion, he replied: "I have read your book on the authorship of Shakespere to the end, and . . . I must declare myself not only unconvinced but undisturbed. To ask me to believe that Bacon was the author of these dramas is like asking me to believe that Lord Brougham was the author not only of Dickens' novels, but of Thackeray's also, and of Tennyson's poems besides. I deny that a *prima facie* case is made out for questioning Shakespeare's title. But if there were any reason for supposing that somebody else was the real author, I think I am in a condition to say that whoever it was, it was not Bacon."

The doubters have been so mercilessly and completely driven from their first position that the more wary have repudiated Bacon as the author of the plays. But here the plays and poems are, and a hard-headed world insists that they must have been written. When we ask who is the author, your nimble doubter looks wise and with Delphic solemnity announces "The Great Unknown." In his conclusion Gen. Keifer writes that he does not intend "to give an opinion as to the authorship of the greatest of literary contributions to the world." Of course he does not. I challenge him to name any man other than William Shakespere of Stratford, England. Every repudiator of Shakespere knows that he is under the necessity of naming somebody as the author. Judge Webb, Regius Professor of Law in the University of Dublin, in a book on the Mystery of William Shakespeare, published in 1902, intending to prove that Shakesper is not the author, comes to the same conclusion. "But the only thing that will satisfy the world that he was not the author of the plays is a demonstration that another was."

But if Shakespere wrote the dramas, why did he not let the world know it? Presumably Shakespere thought the world did know that he was doing business in London and accumulating enough money to make his latter days days of prosperity. Evidently the Baconians think Shakespere should have left a signed statement

attested by a notary public that he and not some other person was really the author of his writings. Like the late governor of a great state who, upon signing an obnoxious bill, sent out the statement, "I was not bribed," so Shakespere should have anticipated criticism by scattering documents about certifying to his character as a *bona fide* author. And Mr. Keifer intimates pretty strongly that just before his last illness he should have hired a stone-cutter to engrave the same fact upon the slab covering his tomb. This concern the Baconians and agnostics have about Shakespere's carelessness about posthumous fame is certainly delightful. It is Falstaffian in its humor and suggests what Saintsbury calls the "subsicious absurdity" of man. For if Shakespere was careless, what shall we call the conduct of the "Great Unknown?" Where is his record?

One begins to doubt General J. Warren Keifer's Shakesperean learning when he unreservedly prints: "William Shakespere was born at Stratford, April 23, 1564." Where did the General get this information? Fifty years ago the school-texts and primers of literature contained that statement, but no accurate modern scholar says Shakespere was born on the 23d of April. All we know is that he was baptized on the 26th. This inaccuracy, slight as it is, casts some doubt upon the General's familiarity with his subject. I also wish Mr. Keifer had given his evidence in support of his declaration that Emerson, Oliver W. Holmes, and Dickens are on the side of the Baconians, or at least among the doubters. It has always been a matter of interest to me that I have never found a well-known man of letters who sided with the Baconians. Nor has ever to my knowledge a prominent professor of literature in England or America been found in their camp. Emerson uses Shakespere as his representative poet in his *Representative Men*; and Charles Dickens was a member of the London Shakespere Society and often attended its meetings. His intimate friend and best biographer—Forster—relates that when a committee was formed to undertake the purchase of the Shakespere house in Stratford—this was before the Town Corporation decided to make the purchase—Dickens entered heartily into the project. More than this, he played the part of Justice Shallow in the *Merry Wives of Windsor* in a company organized to raise funds for the purchase of the house. The company gave nine performances in the principal cities of England and realized 2551£ 8d. after deducting all expenses. Does this make Dickens a doubter? No, the Baconian is not a man of letters nor is he a specialist in literature. The Baconian, and I use the term with sufficient latitude to include the doubter who believes in the Great

and Mystrious Unknown as the author of the dramas, is usually a lawyer, or some one engaged in non-literary work. George Brandes is more forceful in his characterization than I care to be. He writes: "It is well known that in recent days a troop of less than half-educated people have put forth the doctrine that Shakespere lent his name to a body of poetry with which he had really nothing to do. Here it (literary criticism) has fallen into the hands of raw Americans and fanatical women." But even if Emerson and Dickens were Baconians or doubters—which remains to be proved—the weight of their testimony could be met by that of a hundred literary men from the time of Ben Johnson down to Browning.

William Cullen Bryant echoes the sentiment of a thousand fellow craftsmen of ten generations when he writes: "I am sure that, if those who deny to Shakespere the credit of writing his own dramas, had thought of ascribing them to the judicious Hooker or the pious Bishop Andrews instead of Lord Bacon, they might have made a specious show of proof by carefully culling extracts from his writings. Nay, if Jeremy Taylor, whose prose is so full of poetry, had not been born a generation too late, I would engage in the same way to put a plausible face on the theory that the plays of Shakespere, except, perhaps, some passages wickedly interpolated, were composed by the eloquent and devout author of *Holy Living and Holy Dying*."

The assumption throughout Gen. Keifer's paper is that the plays display so much erudition that Shakespere could not have written them. Even if the assumption were true, our friends are placed under the necessity of showing why it was impossible for Shakespere to have acquired this learning. Because there is no record of his attendance at one of the Universities are we to infer that he could not become learned? But some of the profoundest scholars have not been University-bred. Is the assumption, however, true? Is Shakespere a learned writer? No modern Shakesperean scholar pretends that Shakespere was a learned man. The plays abound in evidence to the contrary. When in the *Taming of the Shrew* (1 l. 167) he quotes from Terence he is using a modified form as found in the commonly used Lilly's grammar. No scholarly man would be likely to take his Latin from a school-boy's grammar. Shakespere's plays are not learned in the sense in which *Paradise Lost* and the dramas of Ben Johnson are learned. In his Roman plays his characters are men and women with English customs. Shakespere makes many mistakes in allusion, in history, in geography, in classical reference. Had he been a scholar like Bacon

or Jonson he would "not have introduced clocks into the Rome of Julius Cæsar, nor would he have made Hector quote Aristotle, nor Hamlet study at the University of Wittenberg, founded 500 years after Hamlet's time; nor would he have put pistols into the age of Henry IV., nor, cannon into the age of King John; and we are pretty sure he would not have made one of the characters in *King Lear* talk about Turks and Bedlam. Shakespere is one of the wisest and profoundest of men, but he is not learned. And in acknowledging this, I am not saying that Shakespere was illiterate. Ben Jonson acknowledges he knew Latin and Greek. Of course he intimates that Shakespere had not gone very far into either, but to a classical scholar like Johnson, "little Latin and less Greek" would be enough to explain all the classical lore we find in the writings of the dramatist. Nor are we bothered or excited because Shakespere would be incompetent to serve as a professor of penmanship in a business college, and because his name is spelled in different ways. Richelieu, Montaigne, Hugo, H. Greely, and Rufus Choate were all miserable penman. And as to the various ways in which the name is spelled, John Fiske says: "The real ignorance, however, is on the part of those who use such an argument. Apparently they do not know that in Shakespeare's time such laxity in spelling was common in all grades of culture. The name of Elizabeth's Lord Treasurer, Cecil, and his title, Burghley, were both spelled in half a dozen ways. The name of Raleigh occurs in more than forty different forms, and Sir Walter, one of the most accomplished men of his time, wrote it Rauley, Rawleyghe, Raleigh, and in yet other ways."

Another illustration of the falsity of the assumption that Shakespere is too learned to be the author of the dramas is found in the statement that his knowledge of law is too exact and varied to be the knowledge of a layman. But is Shakespere's knowledge of legal phraseology greater than that of some of his contemporary dramatists? The passage in *Hamlet*, so frequently quoted, can be matched again and again with more technical use of legal knowledge in the Elizabethan dramatists. An American judge has well said that if Bacon wrote *Hamlet* then Coke himself must have written some of the dramas accredited to other Elizabethan writers.

But is Shakespere's knowledge of law superhuman? Is it even humanly accurate? He knows no more law than a bright man of business, a buyer of land, part owner of theatrical establishments, interested in legal proceedings against theatres and sometimes at law for the recovery of debts and no stranger to proceedings in chancery, would be expected to know. Judge Allen, of the Supreme

Bench of Massachusetts, has carefully examined every legal term used by Shakespere and he finds many inaccuracies. He finds that the *Merchant of Venice* is full of bad law. "By the will of Portia's father, all of her suitors must submit to the test of the caskets, and if unsuccessful must forever renounce marriage. This testamentary provision in restraint of marriage, with no means of enforcing it, would seem to have been the invention of a story teller rather than of a lawyer." Again: "The condemnation of Shylock to death, without presentation of charges against him, or giving him any chance to be heard, is probably the most summary, informal, and irregular judicial trial for a capital offense known to history or fiction." "Portia's rules of law will not bear examination. Such a condition of a bond probably would not even at that time have been valid, as it involved a homicide. But if valid, it would be in no violation of the condition to cut off less than a pound, and the incidental flowing of blood could not make Shylock's act unlawful, since the cutting could not be done without it. Shylock would not lose the right to accept money by a refusal at the outset of the tender in court." So also we find in *Julius Caesar*:

"On this side Tiber; he hath left them you,  
And to your heirs forever, common pleasures,  
To walk abroad and recreate yourselves."

"In a devise or dedication of lands to the public," says Judge Allen, "the words 'to your heirs forever' are misplaced, as they would imply individual ownership, instead of a right invested in that indefinite body, the public. As these particular words are not found in any of Shakespeare's authorities he likely inserted them. No good lawyer would thus have phrased it."

As an illustration of how easily Shakespere's reputed learning can be explained we have the passage of Henry V. in which we hear:

*Canterbury.*

There is no bar  
To make against your highness' claim to France  
But this, which they produce from Pharamond,—  
'In terram Salicam mulieres ne succedant;'  
'No woman shall succeed in Salique land;'  
Which Salique land the French unjustly gloze  
To be the realm of France, and Pharamond  
The founder of this law and female bar.  
Yet their own authors faithfully affirm  
That the land Salique is in Germany,  
Between the floods of Sala and of Elbe;

Where Charles the Great, having subdued the Saxons,  
 There left behind and settled certain French ;  
 Who, holding in disdain the German women  
 For some dishonest manners of their life,  
 Establish'd then this law ; to wit, no female  
 Should be inheritrix in Salique land ;  
 Which Salique, as I said, 'twixt Elbe and Sala,  
 Is at this day in Germany call'd Meisen.  
 Then doth it well appear the Salique law  
 Was not devised for the realm of France :  
 Nor did the French possess the Salique land  
 Until four hundred one and twenty years  
 After defunction of King Pharamond,  
 Idly suppos'd the founder of this law,  
 Who died within the year of our redemption  
 Four hundred twenty-six ; and Charles the Great  
 Subdued the Saxons, and did seat the French  
 Beyond the river Sala, in the year  
 Eight hundred five. Besides, their writers say,  
 King Pepin, which deposed Childeric,  
 Did, as heir general, being descended  
 Of Blithild, which was daughter of King Clothair,  
 Make claim and title to the crown of France.  
 Hugh Capet also, who usurp'd the crown  
 Of Charles the duke of Lorraine, sole heir male  
 Of the true line and stock of Charles the Great,—  
 To fine his title with some shows of truth,  
 Though, in pure truth, it was corrupt and naught,  
 Convey'd himself as heir to the Lady Lingare,  
 Daughter to Charlemain, who was the son  
 To Lewis the emperor, and Lewis the son  
 Of Charles the Great. Also King Lewis the Tenth,  
 Who was sole heir to the usurper Capet,  
 Could not keep quiet in his conscience,  
 Wearing the crown of France, till satisfied  
 That fair Queen Isabel, his grandmother,  
 Was lineal of Lady Ermengare,  
 Daughter to Charles, the foresaid duke of Lorraine :  
 By the which marriage the line of Charles the Great  
 Was reunited to the crown of France.  
 So that, as clear as is the summer's sun,  
 King Pepin's title and Hugh Capet's claim,  
 King Lewis his satisfaction, all appear  
 To hold in right and title of the female.  
 So do the kings of France unto this day ;  
 Howbeit they would hold up this Salique law  
 To bar your highness claiming from the female,  
 And rather choose to hide them in a net  
 Than amply to imbare their crooked titles  
 Usurp'd from you and your progenitors."

Here we have what the doubters would call another evidence of learning impossible to the Stratford player. This presupposes intimate acquaintance with French, with Latin, with the law of succession, with obscure history, and no one but a scholar could write like that. But in this case we need presuppose nothing of the kind. Turn to *Holinshed's Chronicles*, the second edition of which was published in 1586-87, and read and compare:

"The verie words of that supposed law are these, In terram Salicam mulieres ne succedant, that is to saie, into the Salike land let not women succeed. Which the French glossers expound to be the realme of France, and that this law was made by King Pharamond; whereas yet their owne authors affirme that the land Salike is in Germanie betweene the rivers of Elbe and Sala; and that when Charles the Great had overcome the Saxons, he placed there certaine Frenchmen, which having in disdeine the dishonest maners of the Germane women, made a law, that the females should not succeed to any inheritance within that land, which at this day is called Meisen, so that if this be true, this law was not made for the realme of France, nor the Frenchmen possessed the land Salike, till four hundred and one and twentie years after the death of Pharamond, the supposed maker of this Salike law, for this Pharamond deceased in the yeare 426, and Charles the Great subdued the Saxons, and placed the Frenchmen in those parts beyond the river of Sala, in the yeare 805.

"Moreover it appeareth by their owne writers that King Pepine, which deposed Childerike, claimed the crowne of France, as heire generall, for that he was descended of Blithild, daughter to King Clothaire the first: Hugh Capet also, who usurped the crowne upon Charles Duke of Loraine, the sole male heire male of the line and stocke of Charles the Great, to make his title seeme true, and appeare good, though in deed it was starke naught, conveyed himself as heire to the ladie Lingard, daughter to King Charlemaine sonne to Lewes the emperour, that was son to Charles the Great. King Lewes the tenth, otherwise called saint Lewes, being verie heire to the said usurper Hugh Capet, could never be satisfied in his conscience how he might justlie keepe and possesse the crowne of France, till he was persuaded and fullie instructed that queene Isabell his grandmother was lineallie descended of the ladie Ermengard daughter and heire to the above Charles duke of Loraine, by the which marriage, the blood and line of Charles the great was again restored to the crowne and scepter of France, so that more cleare than the sunne it openlie appeareth that the title

of king Pepin, the claime of Hugh Capet, the possession of Lewes, yea, and the French kings to this daie, are derived and conveied from the heire female, though they woude under the cover of such a fained law, barre the kings and princes of this realme of England of their right and lawfull inheritance."

I have quoted these parallel passages at length as they show how easily much of Shakespere's reputed learning can be explained. Shakespere, wide-awake, energetic, living in London and coming in daily contact with its throbbing life, had means of gaining information that was as valuable to him as a university training. Because we can not always tell where he got his information is no proof that he could not get it.

"I am inclined to envy those who have faith and cannot doubt. I almost regret I have investigated the subject far enough to become a doubter." So writes Mr. Keifer as he nears the conclusion of his paper. This is certainly almost pathetic in its *naïveté*. In much knowledge there is always much grief. The penalty of learning is that we lose our illusions. Then again it may be that a little learning in Shakespere is a dangerous thing. Perhaps if Ben Jonson, and Milton, and Goethe, and Coleridge, and Carlyle, and Schlegel, and Furness, and Lowell, and John Fiske, and a hundred others, scientists, philosophers, critics, and actors, had only investigated this matter as deeply as Mrs. Gallup and General Keifer, they too could envy those simple-minded who are so credulous, and blissful in their harmless illusion.

The truth, however, is that the credulous are not the believers in the accepted belief; the Baconians and they that put their trust in the mythical "Great Unknown" are the gullible. Their argument is always based upon a "suppose." What do they ask us to do? It is this:

To cast aside as worthless all the weight of tradition extending in unbroken line back three hundred years; to believe that all Shakespere's contemporaries were grossly deceived; that the writer of the greatest literary productions in the English language, perhaps in all languages, could live and write and grow in power and yet not leave the slightest evidence of his existence, not even a grave.

What is the evidence presented to cause a reversal of our present opinion? Surely here we should expect some positive evidence of a most convincing character. But what is our astonishment to learn that we are to disbelieve in Shakespere because his daughters were not well-educated, because he does not mention his plays in his

will, because the verse serving as inscription on the slab covering his grave does not testify to his authorship, and, usually the most astounding of all, because it is rumored he was concerned in a poaching lark in his youth and lived in a town whose streets were apt to accumulate Elizabethan filth! Surely the children of darkness ask the children of light to exercise a faith that is childlike indeed. If there are thirty-nine reasons against believing in Shakespere and forty equally good for believing, the reasonable man will be obliged to believe where the forty good reasons are found. But in this case the Doubters have been unable to produce one sound argument based on fact. When the Doubters can agree as to who the "Great Unknown" is, and persuade us that Ben Jonson was either a fool or a knave," says Henry Irving, "or that the whole world of players and playwrights at that time was in a conspiracy to palm off on the ages the most astounding cheat in history, they will be worthy of serious attention."

## THE JAPANESE FLORAL CALENDAR.

ERNEST W. CLEMENT, M. A.

### IV. THE CHERRY.

THIS is the prince of flowers in Japan.

*"Hana wa sakura;*

*Hito wa bushi."*

*"The flower [is] the cherry;*

*The man [is] the knight."*

Just as the *bushi*, or *samurai* (knight), was the *beau ideal* among Japanese men, i. e., the "gentleman" of the nation; so the cherry, with its spotless blossoms, "symbolizing that delicacy of sentiment and blamelessness of life belonging to high courtesy and true knightliness," is the Chevalier Bayard of Japanese flowers.

The wild cherry is said to have existed in Japan from time immemorial; and from this "have been developed countless varieties, culminating in that which bears the pink-tinged double [*yae-sakura*] blossoms as large as a hundred-leaved rose, covering every branch and twig with thick rosettes. A faint fragrance arises from these sheets of bloom." (Scidmore's *Jinrikisha Days in Japan*.)

The pale pink is the only one that takes first rank among cherry blossoms. "When, in spring, the trees flower, it is as though fleeciest masses of clouds faintly tinged by sunset had floated down from the highest sky to fold themselves about the branches. \* \* \* The reader who has never seen a cherry-tree blossoming in Japan cannot possibly imagine the delight of the spectacle. There are no green leaves; these come later: there is only one glorious burst of blossoms, veiling every twig and bough in their delicate mist; and the soil beneath each tree is covered deep out of sight by fallen petals as by a drift of pink snow." (Hearn's *Glimpses of Unfamiliar Japan*.)

It is also to Prof. Hearn that we are indebted for the following: "About this mountain cherry [*yamazakura*] there is a humorous saying that illustrates the Japanese love of puns. In order fully to appreciate it, the reader should know that Japanese nouns have no distinction of singular and plural. The word *ha*, as pronounced, may signify either 'leaves' or 'teeth'; and the word *hana*, either 'flowers' or 'nose.' The *yamazakura* puts forth its *ha* (leaves) before its *hana* (flowers). Wherefore, a man whose *ha* (teeth) project in advance of his *hana* (nose) is called a *yamazakura*. Prog-



BLOOMING CHERRY TREES ON SUMIDA BANK.

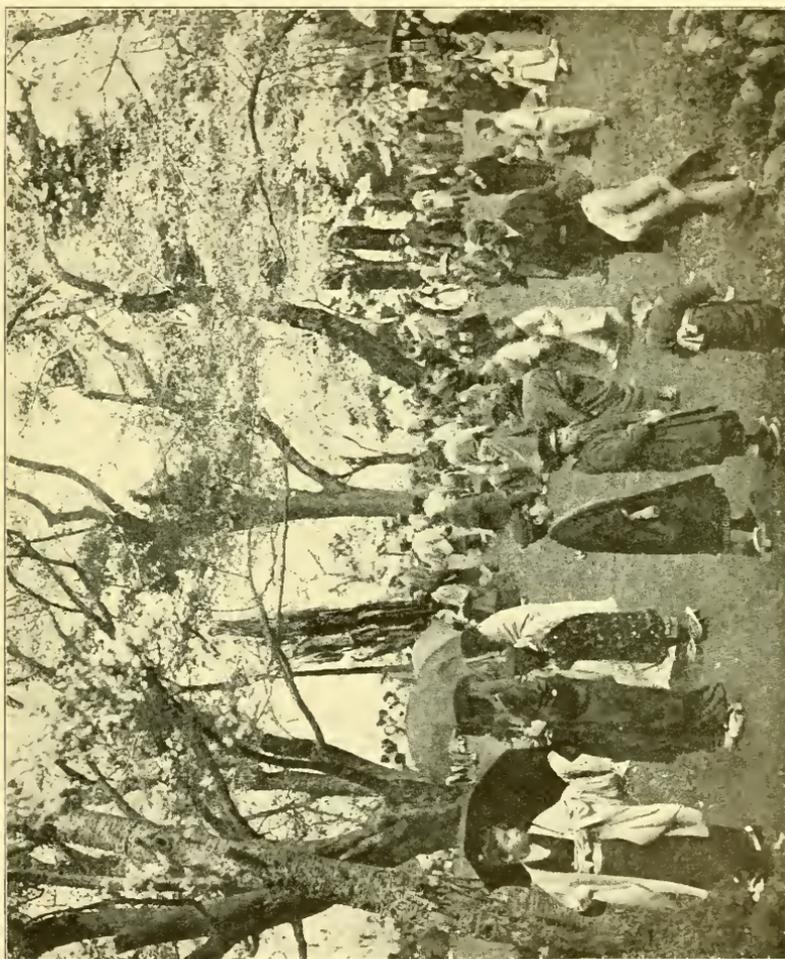
(After a photograph.)

nathism is not uncommon in Japan, especially among the lower classes."

The cherry blossom is symbolic of loyalty and patriotism, and is generally associated with the pheasant.

No important locality in Japan is without its special park or grove with cherry trees, to which the people resort in immense crowds at the proper season. The inhabitants of Tokyo, for instance, flock to Ueno Park, or Mukojima, or Koganei, or Asukayama; while the Kyoto people visit Arashi-yama. But a more than local reputation attaches to Yoshino in the province of Yamato:

there "a thousand trees line the patch and cover the hillside." And some poet has said: "The cherry blossoms on Mount Yoshino deceive me into thinking they are snow." But Yoshino's fame is disputed by other places: Asukayama, near Tokyo, is called the "new Yoshino;" and an Imperial poet has said that "not second to Yo-



VIEWING THE CHERRY BLOSSOMS AT UENO PARK, TOKYO.

shino is Arashiyama, where the white spray of the torrent sprinkles the cherry blossoms."

It is unfortunate that cherry-viewing is marred by dissipation, and that its "carnival rivals the Saturnalia of the ancients." It is almost dangerous, for instance, to visit Mukojima on account of

therude and boisterous conduct of those who have been freely imbibing *sake*, beer or whiskey. The following story (Conder's *Floral Art of Japan*) tells the origin of the connection between *sake* and *sakura*: [The Emperor Richiu] was disporting himself with his courtiers in a pleasure-boat, on a lake of the Royal Park, when some petals from the wild cherry trees of the adjoining hills fluttered into the wine-cup from which he was drinking. This circumstance is said to have drawn His Majesty's notice to the beauty of this neglected blossom, and from this time arose the custom of wine-drinking at the time of cherry-viewing. To the present day there is a popular saying: "Without wine, who can properly enjoy the sight of the cherry blossom?"

"No man so callous but he heaves a sigh  
When o'er his head the withered cherry-flowers  
Come fluttering down. Who knows? The spring's soft showers  
May be but tears shed by the sorrowing sky."—Chamberlain.

The Koganei cherry trees, which, for two miles and a half, line both sides of the aqueduct conveying water into Tokyo, are said to have numbered originally ten thousand, but there are now only a few hundred. They were planted there with the idea that they had "the virtue of keeping off impurities from the water."

Night cherry flowers [*yozakura*], "seen by the pale light of the moon," are a great attraction, one of the special sights of the year.

It may readily be understood that so popular a blossom as this would figure largely in Japanese literature. The famous "Hundred Poems" contain five on that subject; and several are included in the *Manyoshū*. But we have room for only two, of which the first is remarkable for its brevity, and the second is Motoōri's famous one, dear to all Japanese:—

1. "A cloud of flowers!  
Is the bell Uyeno  
Or Asakusa?"

Or, expanded, "The cherry-flowers in Mukojima are blossoming in such profusion as to form a cloud which shuts out the prospect. Whether the bell which is sounding from the distance is that of the temple of Uyeno or of Asakusa, I am unable to determine." (Aston's *History of Japanese Literature*.)

2. "*Shikishima no*  
*Yamato-gokoro wo*  
*Uto towaba*  
*Yama-zakura-bana:*"

"Isles of blest Japan!  
Should your Yamato spirit  
Strangers seek to scan,  
Say—scenting morn's sunlit air  
Blows the cherry wild and fair!"  
—Nitobe's *Soul of Japan*.

(Or) "If one should ask you concerning the heart of a true Japanese, point to the wild cherry flower glowing in the sun."

## COREA.

BY THE EDITOR.

JAPAN has received the use of Chinese script, the arts, the sciences, culture, and religion by way of Corea which in the tenth century, A. D., was the seat of a highly developed civilization and the most prosperous country of Eastern Asia. Many inventions in which both the Chinese and Japanese excel to-day were made in Corea at the time of the country's golden age.

At the end of the fourteenth century a revolution broke out and Ni-Tai-Jo, a private soldier, succeeded in 1392 to the vacated throne. His successors, however, did not show great military ability, for Corea succumbed to Japan during a protracted war (1592-1598), and the independence of Corea was saved only through the intervention of China, but it was not of long duration. Very soon the Manchu invaded the country (1637) and the Korean king was obliged to swear allegiance to his warlike neighbors who soon carried their victorious army against Peking, where in 1644, the Manchu chief was crowned Emperor of China under the name of She-Tsu.

Under Manchu rule, Corea fell into decay. Foreigners were kept out just as much as from the other parts of the Chinese Empire, and thus the country became a shadow of its former prosperity.

The present emperor, I-Höng, a descendant of Ni-Tai-Jo, was born in 1852, and succeeded in 1864. Japanese influence increased and the jealousy between the Japanese and Chinese led to the Sino-Japanese war in 1894-1895. Japan was victorious, but owing to a general jealousy of the European powers, especially Russia, she could not maintain her conquests on the continent. The independence of Corea was recognized by both Japan and China, and the King of Korea assumed the title of Emperor.

M. de Nezières, a French artist, has painted I-Höng, seated on the throne in the Imperial reception hall of his palace. In the background rise the five sacred mountain peaks of Corea and above

them appear the sun and the moon, emblems of his Imperial sovereignty.

The coat of arms of Corea is a philosophical emblem, the *Tai K'ih*, the symbol of the great origin, representing the aborig-



I-HÖNG, EMPEROR OF KOREA.

inal, undifferentiated state of existence from which all things have arisen. It is composed of two portions representing the positive and the negative principles which on the Corean coat of arms are colored red and blue. This symbol of the great origin is surrounded

by four *kwas*, or trigrams, figures consisting each of three lines, some being whole, and some broken, and in the present case these four *kwas* surrounding the Tai K'ih mean the four quarters of the world, viz.:



|               |              |           |             |
|---------------|--------------|-----------|-------------|
| ☰             | ☷            | ☰         | ☷           |
| <i>Ch'ien</i> | <i>K'wun</i> | <i>Li</i> | <i>K'an</i> |
| East          | West         | North     | South       |

THE GREAT ORIGIN.

The *kwas* or trigrams are also composed of the two principles, the positive and the negative, contained in the *Tai K'ih*, the symbol of the great origin. The entire lines represent the positive principle, the broken lines, the negative principle, and by combination of these two, all the myriad things of this world are believed to have originated.\*

The highest decoration of Corea is the order of the Golden Rule. Others are the orders of the Plum Blossom, of the National Flag, of the Purple Falcon, and of the Eight Kwas.

\* For details see Carus's *Chinese Philosophy*.

## A MODERN WICLIF.

BY THEODORE STANTON.

IT is reported that on one occasion Dean Swift, after giving out as a text of a Charity Sermon: "He that hath pity on the poor lendeth to the Lord," opened, developed and concluded his exhortation with the single sentence: "If you are satisfied with the security, my brethren, down with your money." Some historians will have it that "down with your dust" was the expression employed. It may be so, for the author of *Gulliver's Travels* had a fondness for the picturesque.

After a lapse of nearly two hundred years, a successor to Dean Swift seems to have arisen in the Anglican Church, who also believes that brevity is the soul of wit, not only in talking but in preaching. And this successor has his own claim to originality besides, since he has discovered a pulpit where not even the Dean of St. Patrick's would have dreamed of seeking. He has discovered it in the "Agony Column" of the *London Times*. Here for the last half dozen years or more, perusers of the great London daily have been able to read, if so inclined, in this particular corner, almost weekly homilies, compressed into a couple of lines, and containing a consistent doctrine. The phenomenon is a sufficiently curious one to merit notice, especially as the preacher of these sermonettes, the Rev. T. G. Headly, is a man with a history, a fully ordained clergyman who entered the Anglican Church some thirty years ago and has ever since been working at the Herculean task of converting it, bishops and all, to what he conceives to be the only true conception of Christianity.

Unfortunately for the Rev. Mr. Headley, his protest comes at a time when the average-minded layman, in presence of the hundred and one creeds that each claim to be the only genuine religion, is disinclined to regard their difference otherwise than as tweedle-dums and tweedle-dees. Whether the average-minded lay-

man is right is another question. If he is not, he may at least urge as an excuse that these differences are more subtle and more difficult to be appreciated than in Wiclif's days or in Luther's, when the issues were more visible. Friars or no friars, pope or no pope, every one understood what the two alternatives meant.

In justice to Mr. Headley, it should be admitted that his contention is not one of straw-splitting. With a large measure of truth he may be likened to the early reformers, since he arraigns what orthodox Churches, up to the present day, have concurred in accepting as the basis of their faith, namely, that the sacrifice of the cross was a scheme planned and required by the Almighty for the redemption of the human race. This Mr. Headley denies, and, in his denial, bases his arguments on the language of the Bible itself, a book which, as he says in a brief summary of his life, has always been his favorite study.

"Some boys," begins our modern Wiclif, in a letter that he once wrote me, "are born with a bent, gift, mind or taste for engineering, music, painting, singing, etc. Mine was for the Scriptures. But after leaving Rugby, instead of my parents educating me for the Church as I expected, they educated me for the Law. However, I afterwards entered the University of Cambridge with the idea of taking Orders, only to be diverted from my purpose by the breaking out of the Crimean War, during which I served in the Hants Militia. Subsequently I became engaged in stock broking, and enjoyed for a time great expectations, which were ultimately disappointed. A friend, to whom I went for advice, reproached me for not having entered the Church Ministry, which he said was my true vocation. I listened to his exhortations, studied theology at King's College, London, and presented myself for ordination as an ultra-broad Churchman and archheretic, after the manner in which St. Paul was accused of heresy.

"Bishop Jackson of London accepted and ordained me, without assenting to or dissenting from my views, in which I declared it was not Christ's work to confirm a sanguinary religion as good and true, by giving himself as a sacrifice after the manner in which Abraham was tempted to offer Isaac; but it was Christ's work to spare no sacrifice to deliver and save the world from such a sanguinary worship, as being evil and false, by leaving nothing undone that love could do or suffer, to persuade the world to believe that this testimony was of God. This was the Gospel of glad tidings which I was ordained to teach. But my first Vicar, the Rev. G. H. Wilkinson, of St. Peter's, Great Windmill Street, took alarm on my

hinting at my views, and, when he understood them, he stopped me from preaching. Soon after, he forbade me even to read the lessons in church, and then altogether boycotted me. I appealed to the Bishop, but in vain, and from that date until now my life has been one long struggle to get a hearing in the pulpits of the Church to which I belong."

This struggle, prolonged for thirty years, has not been so far a very successful one; as a rule, incumbents of churches have been chary of lending Mr. Headley their pulpits. Last year, it appears that the Rev. A. W. Oxford, of St. Philip's Church, Regent Street, consented to open his pulpit in the week-day to Mr. Headley, who preached on ten consecutive Wednesdays in June and July "without the aid of choir, organ, or the presence of the Vicar," he remarked to me on one occasion. The attendance was good, and the sermons popular, so much so that a second series was arranged for the months of October and November. But this time the Bishop of London stepped in and forbade the Vicar to allow Mr. Headley the use of the church, unless the latter obtained a special preaching license. This license, of course, the Bishop refused, when application was made. "I told the Bishop," says Mr. Headley when relating this incident to me, "that he was an assassin and as guilty of crucifying me as Caiaphas was of crucifying Jesus, but he did not seem to care one straw about wrecking a brother clergyman's life."

It was this exclusion from ordinary pulpits that made Mr. Headley resolve to seek a hearing elsewhere. "In despair," he writes me, "I have put doubly-distilled, condensed essence of sermons at the top of the Agony Column in the *Times*, on Saturdays, as 'Ecclesiastical rockets' indicating that a vessel is wrecked and needs help, not money, but to be heard." Even this modest manner of proclaiming his conception of the truth—it is a fact that the sermonettes do not always use the mildest language—has procured Mr. Headley a fair share of anonymous replies, "vile, filthy, abusive cards and letters," as he characterises them. Mr. Headley acknowledges himself to be a fighter. The abuse he should accept, therefore, as a tribute to his strength.

This first series of *Times* sermonettes were in prose, and so continued for two or three years. Out of a long list before me, I select two or three as typical of Mr. Headley's style and method. The subject of each, he announces in a head line; sometimes, it is an antithesis, such as

"A False and True Church;"

followed by the exposition: "A false Church is ever fearful of discussion and forbids it! Jesus challenges discussion! Who dare follow Christ? Who? When? Where?"

Sometimes, it is a simple title, with a regular sub-division of the matter; for example:

"Christ's sacrifice! A false view of Christ's sacrifice passes current as truth, which

"*a.* mars Christ's Gospel!

"*b.* divides the Church!

"*c.* bars all progress: and makes it a stumbling-block to the Jews and foolishness to the Gentiles."

Some of the sermonettes are decidedly bizarre in their wording: "The Echo," for instance, the development of which is: "Liberté, Egalité, Fraternité, for the dead to rest everywhere! But for the living to speak in the church, bah! nowhere!" or again, "Christianity checkmated: The World's abject submission is demanded by Rome! Who dares allow a sermon to be preached on the removal of the checkmate?"

In 1895, Mr. Headley began his rhyming couplets in the *Times*. After reading a very fair sample of our modern Wiclif's second manner, I have come to the conclusion that the couplets are better than the rhymes, the verses more remarkable for force than rhythm. Take, for instance, the one on "Christ's Gospel."

"Though sinful, yet forgiv'n, uncondemned!  
Sure, such love from heaven must descend."

Or the one on "Saints and Sinners."

"When a Saint is beguiled to be a deceiver:  
The greater the Saint, the greater the Sinner."

I think when Mr. Headley wrote this, he must have been half-conscious of another couplet:

"When the Devil was sick, the Devil a saint would be:  
When the Devil got well, the devil a saint was he."

But somehow he has missed the lilt of the latter verses. The next I select is still less perfect in form. It is the one on "Controversy":

"Divisions breed diversity, needing controversy,  
Ere there can be either peace or unity."

Much the same is the one on "A Rotten Church."

"When evil's called good, and good is called evil,  
That Church, though it's fair, is rot at the kernel."

I have quoted, I believe, the worst. Some are much better. The opening one on "Antichristians" is not at all bad:

"They slay the just : they add a lie,  
Then boycott all who dare reply."

The next, on "Hear all sides," is about up to the same mark :

"Whilst the churches, like foes, each other deny,  
Where's freedom for truth to be heard in reply?"

Perhaps the best is the one on "False Prophets."

"The coward that fears to meet the face of man  
Knows nought of God or of his holy plan."

Occasionally Mr. Headley becomes slightly Hegelian. I have tried to comprehend the following, and humbly confess that it is beyond me. It is on "The Christ."

"If not miraculous! 'Tis more miraculous,  
So much miraculous is not miraculous."

Now and again, too, he becomes tragic and sombre in his tone, asking, for instance, in his "Conspiracy of Silence" :

"Must a man either murder or be murdered  
Ere he is either heard or considered?"

Since I am not writing as a controversialist, I prefer not to take sides in the Rev. Mr. Headley's quarrel with the Church. There is one thing, however, I should like to point out to him, and which he seems to have overlooked, namely that he would probably have met with a readier hearing, if he had left bishops and parsons alone, and opened a church for himself.

There is another remark which I cannot forbear making, to wit, that Mr. Headley is too profuse in his accusations. He does not seem to realise that the Anglican body may be quite sincere in its enunciation of the dogma of sacrifice, the Roman Catholic body quite sincere in its dogma of transubstantiation. These things may be attacked as contrary to reason and absurd, or as not being justified by the Bible, without the men who teach them being considered assassins, anarchists, anti-Christians, etc. I grant that in the good old times Mr. Headley should have risked figuring in a bon-fire for my lord the bishop of some diocese or other. But to-day these reverend gentlemen have mended their manners. They curse him in church, it is true; but I imagine they do it only in a Pickwickian sense; and little by little, under the influence of beneficent dissent, they are coming to the view that orthodoxy is "my doxy," heterodoxy, "your doxy," a consummation devoutly to be hoped for, and which our modern Wiclif may contribute to hasten by establishing a conventicle of his own, or even by his *Times* sermonettes, if the rhymes continue to improve.

## GUNKEL VERSUS DELITZSCH.

BY THE EDITOR.

ASSYRIOLOGY came prominently before the public when Professor Delitzsch delivered his lectures on Babel and Bible before the Emperor. It was an unprecedented advertisement for higher criticism and Biblical research in general, and many good Christians were in this way, for the first time in their lives, informed that a new conception of the Bible was all but universally acknowledged within the academic circles of theological scholars.

We have published Delitzsch's lectures on "Babel and Bible" because they are one of the most interesting publications of the present time and give us much food for thought. In order to enable the reader to form his own opinion, we incorporated in our edition the letter of Emperor William and the most significant criticisms of Delitzsch's position, partly entire and partly in extract. A few weeks ago we took occasion to notice a translation of Koenig's "Bible and Babylon," and now find that some anonymous scholar has ventured into translating Professor Hermann Gunkel's reply to Delitzsch, which appeared some time ago under the title of "Israel and Babylon." Gunkel is a representative theologian, well versed in both Babylonian religion and Old Testament theology, and if any man ought to be called upon to have his say on the subject, it is he.

The pamphlet as it lies before us is a painstaking and even pedantic translation of Gunkel's essay. The translator seems to be aware of the shortcomings of his labors. In the preface he says of his translation:

"In the first place it has been made to conform to the original as closely as possible. Hence what is to our eyes an unusually lavish use of italics and exclamation points. The long paragraphs have been interfered with but little, but occasionally it has been necessary to split some sentence into two or three. In the second place, remembering that the results of the higher

criticism are not very familiar to most persons in this country, many notes have been inserted (in square brackets) to explain references known usually to the expert alone."

In addition to the preface and the supplementary note, these insertions in square brackets, here referred to, are the only indications which we have of the position of the translator. Sometimes he applauds a successful argument of Professor Gunkel as if a second accompany the blows of his own champion with the shout, "Well hit!" Here are some instances:

"And most dogmatically it is by Delitzsch."

"The justice of the point made is unquestionable."

"Prof. Delitzsch's ignorance of the whole theory appears to be absolute."

Gunkel is sometimes hard on Delitzsch, but the translator is severe. When Gunkel chastises him with whips, the translator applies scorpions. When Gunkel blames Delitzsch for quoting a verse from the New Testament without reference to a critical edition of Mark, the reading of which differs from the current version, the translator speaks of "a blunder in quoting the New Testament that a German school boy should be ashamed to make."

When Professor Gunkel goes a little far in his radicalism, the translator softens his exposition by quoting more conservative theologians, among them Steuernagel and Driver are favorite authorities.

When Gunkel speaks of the old conception of revelation imbibed by Delitzsch in the circles from which he comes, as "rather mythological," the translator sees in this comment a disparagement of Delitzsch's father, the venerable theologian, Franz Delitzsch, and adds:

"The present translator feels bound to say that if Prof. Gunkel could have avoided this apparent insinuation, it would probably add to the good temper of all parties concerned. However, the reference was needed to emphasize his argument here."\*

The translator does not conceal his delight at having found a man of Gunkel's learnedness who enters the lists against Delitzsch. He trusts that he has found the David who will smite Goliath. He introduces Gunkel as the champion of theology. But Gunkel's

\*There is no evidence that Gunkel actually referred to Franz Delitzsch, the father. It is more probable that he thought of the general atmosphere which prevailed in theological circles in the younger days of Friedrich Delitzsch. Franz Delitzsch, although devout and reverent, was quite broad and also progressive for his time, and the son, Friedrich, simply continued to develop in lines laid out by his father. We do not hesitate to claim that the older Delitzsch would not have disapproved of the attitude editorially maintained in the columns of the *Open Court*.

theology is not the translator's theology and the latter will soon discover that he caught a Tartar.

Anyone who knows Gunkel's thoroughness will understand that he is serious in the application of science to religion. Delitzsch is a mere dilettante in the domain of Higher Criticism when compared with Gunkel.

We have called the attention of the philosophical public to the fact that theology has become a science of late,\* and Gunkel is one of the best representatives of modern theology. We have further pointed out that modern theology employs a language of its own. It uses the old terms, "God," "Christ," "miracle," "revelation," etc., and fills them with a deeper and a more spiritual meaning. Every theologian does so, and he has to do so because the world is conservative. Those who are initiated into the craft understand one another perfectly, while the uninitiated are sometimes misled. We fear that the translator of Gunkel belongs to the latter class. Undoubtedly he has studied theology, but he must be very unsophisticated to play out Gunkel against Delitzsch.

Professor Delitzsch's lectures made a great stir not only in the circles of old conservative believers who were greatly astonished that the Emperor, well known for his sincere Christian convictions, could countenance these heterodox views, but also among the colleagues of the lecturer, among professors in theology, and representatives of the higher criticism, the cause of which Delitzsch himself had espoused.

The reason of this "storm in a tea-kettle" is not far to seek. Professor Delitzsch is an ingenious orator and his lectures are distinguished by their elegance of diction. They are calculated to be impressive for an unschooled audience, but they contain many mistakes and reflect much superciliousness. Obviously they were carelessly prepared, and the men who knew better felt indignant to see a number of statements become current which were obviously untenable and even indefensible.

The antagonism which Professor Delitzsch roused is very different in different quarters. There are, first, the conservatives who are opposed to what they consider the destructive character of Delitzsch's views. This party still holds to the idea of a special revelation in contrast to the natural development of evolution. In addition, there are scholars who have no fault to find with the principles of Delitzsch's scientific convictions, but who feel compelled to pro-

\*See the author's article, "Theology as a Science," in *The Monist*, Vol. XII., p. 544. Vol. XIII., p. 24.

test against his lack of scientific thoroughness, and here he finds himself confronted with antagonists of every shade of theology.

Still further, a good deal of opposition is of a personal nature, being elicited by the attitude of Professor Delitzsch, in which the personal element is very prominent. The assured facts presented in "Babel and Bible" are the result of a generation of scholars, and are well known to all Assyriologists, but here they appear newsy as if they had been just discovered by the lecturer, whose enthusiasm for his special branch of inquiry seems to dwarf all other studies either to preliminary introductions or to mere side issues. Thus Delitzsch antagonizes at once his colleagues of other faculties, especially the Old Testament scholars, and those who believe in the specific mission of Israel, the *Eigenart* of the Jew, and God's revelation through Judaism.

There are rabbis who feel offended that the glory of Israel should be a mere reflex of Babylonian civilization, and Gunkel says: "He exalts the Babylonian, and debases Israel as far as possible."

"The impression might be created that the Biblical account, because dependent on the Babylonian, is *worthless!* In fact, Delitzsch himself has spoken of 'the purer and more original form' of the Babylonian traditions."

"Delitzsch actually wishes that the Babylonian origin and 'the purer and more original form of this story' should be imparted to the young as soon as they hear of the corresponding Biblical story!"

"We Old Testament theologians are accordingly admonished to learn from the Assyriologist when he teaches matters Babylonian, even when he explains the usages of the Hebrew language from the Babylonian."

"The Bible is disposed of, once and for all—Assyriology has proved that all its fundamentals are Babylonian."

Whatever be the merits of Assyriology, we cannot shelve the study of the Old Testament. Says Gunkel:

"May the Assyriologist, who wishes to speak on Old Testament matters, call the theologian into consultation if he does not feel himself absolutely firm in this subject! So Delitzsch, whom we prize highly as Assyriologist and Hebraic philologist, would have done well, perhaps, if he had used the advice of some expert and cautious specialist in the Old Testament before he offered his opinion on Old Testament religion to the general public."

Gunkel is a thoroughgoing modern theologian who knows that the specific nature of Israel's mission, which not even a secular historian will doubt, is due to the specific conditions under which Israel naturally developed. His God is the God of history, not of a portion of the human race, and revelation, according to Gunkel, is not limited to Israel.

The controversy on "Babel and Bible" has been less acrimoni-

ous in this country, but even here Delitzsch excited much antagonism through his sudden attack on Professor Hilprecht of Philadelphia, which was of a purely personal nature and was characterized by many impartial authorities as absolutely uncalled for.

Professor Gunkel proposes to discuss the subject "with favor to none and with malice to none," and he does not hesitate to recognize the good in Delitzsch's lectures and to criticise what he deems mistakes or exaggerations. He enumerates several blunders which ought not to have been made by a popularizer of the results of Semitic scholarship. Delitzsch uses *Sheol*, the Hebrew word for Hell, in the masculine gender, while the Hebrew word is feminine. This is perhaps a mere misprint, or a *lapsus lingue*, but if the latter, it shows that Professor Delitzsch is not sure of his Hebrew grammar. Further, Delitzsch translates Genesis xii, 8, that Abraham "preached in the name of the Lord," while the original reads that he "called upon Yahveh." Gunkel adds:

"*Preached?* Preached to whom? In all good sooth, not to the Canaanites! The word in question means in that place, as all moderns will agree, not 'to preach' but 'to call on,' as in ancient worship."

Delitzsch's etymology of the Semitic word for God, *El*, as meaning "Goal," has been pointed out by almost all of his critics as a strange aberration, nor does Gunkel forget to mention it, and there is no question that Delitzsch's critics are right.

It would be similar if we derived the word God, because in German it is spelled and pronounced "*Gott*," from the verb "to get," and if we said that "God" means that which is to be got, or our aim and goal. No philologist would venture to uphold such a method of etymologizing.

The identification of the name Yahveh in the ancient Babylonian inscriptions with *Jahu Ilu*, which means "*Jahu is God*," is not impossible but doubtful, and Gunkel mentions it merely to condemn the confidence with which Delitzsch proposes a bold assumption as an assured fact.

The translator has been obviously attracted by Professor Gunkel's affirmation of the uniqueness of Israel's position in history, but we feel inclined to think that he misunderstood the statement. Professor Gunkel is a theologian and his specialty is Old Testament history. He knows very well that the religion of Israel is a most significant chapter in the history of mankind. As Greece is the classical country of art and the fundamental conceptions of science; as Rome is the classical center for the development of law,

so Palestine is the classical soil of religion. The churches of Europe are the direct lineal descendants of the religious institutions matured in Judea. Therefore, Israel's religion is a revelation that holds a particular and unique place in the development of mankind. Professor Gunkel says:

"What sort of a religion is it? *A true miracle of God's among the religions of the ancient Orient!* What streams flow here of all-overcoming enthusiasm for the majestic God, of deep reverence before His holy sway, and of intrepid trust in His faithfulness! He who looks upon this religion with believing eyes will confess with us: To this people God had disclosed Himself! Here God was more closely and clearly known than anywhere else in the ancient Orient, until the time of Jesus Christ, our Lord! This is the religion on which we depend, from which we have ever to learn, on whose foundation our whole civilization is built; we are Israelites in religion even as we are Greeks in art and Romans in law. Then if the Israelites are far beneath the Babylonians in many matters of civilization, none the less are they far above them in religion; *Israel is and remains the people of revelation.*"

It is obvious for the sake of passages of this kind, the translator espouses the cause of Gunkel against Delitzsch. All the mistakes of Delitzsch are only subservient to prove that while Delitzsch is a good Assyriologist, he is a bad theologian, and has no right to utter an opinion on either the Bible or Christian doctrine.

The translator says in the preface:

"As an Assyriologist his work can scarcely be questioned. The proper question is: Do his results in Assyriological study form a sufficient basis for his conclusions in theology? Not that this has been overlooked by any means—cf. Budde, especially—but the need was felt for a thorough scientist who should be at once a master of the Babylonian legends and a theologian of the first rank.

"For this reason the work of Prof. Gunkel appears most opportunely. Probably no one is better qualified to speak with authority on the matters involved. In his work 'Schöpfung und Chaos' (1895) he displayed a most perfect acquaintance with the theology and legends of Babylonia and his critical handling of the material was such as to mark an epoch in the study of this subject. In 1900 he published the first edition (second in 1902) of his commentary on Genesis (in the Nowack series), which, beyond all question, is now the authoritative work on this book. His mastery of Babylonian mythology and its influence on the religion of the Old Testament needs no further demonstration than that afforded by this work."

The mistakes of Delitzsch must be freely granted. We have never concealed them and do not hesitate to grant that most of the objections made by Professor Gunkel, although sometimes exaggerated, are well founded, but on the main point, which exactly appears to be the contention of the translator, Professor Gunkel

agrees with his adversary much better than may be generally assumed from the vigorous expressions of the controversy.

We will let Gunkel define his position in his own words. He believes in revelation, but he objects to the antiquated view so vigorously attacked by Delitzsch. Gunkel says:

"The belief that the ancient Israelite religion has arisen not historically but *purely super-historically, super-naturally*, is defended by hardly a single evangelical German theologian. That is not unknown even to Delitzsch."

"Delitzsch thinks he has overthrown *revelation entirely* by proving 'revelation' in this sense to be impossible. 'Revelation' to him is nothing but the supernatural; he *does* know that another concept of revelation has existed among theologians for a long time; but he can regard this as only an 'attenuation' of the old ecclesiastical belief."

"Scientific theology of to-day believes it possesses a deeper understanding of revelation, according to which the divine and the human do not exist together in mere *external* relations, but are bound together internally. The history of revelation proceeds, therefore, among men, according to the same psychological laws as govern other human events. But in the depth of this development the eye of *faith* sees God, who speaks to the soul, and who reveals Himself to him who seeks Him with a whole heart. We recognize God's revelation in the great persons of religion, who receive the holy secret in their inmost hearts and announce it with tongues of flame; we see God's revelation in the great changes and wonderful providences of history. The faith of children thinks, of old and now, that God wrote the tables of the law with His own hand and passed them to Moses; the faith of the mature knows that God writes His commandments with His finger in the hearts of His servants."

"We acknowledge cheerfully and honestly God's revelation wherever a human soul feels itself near its God, even though that be in the most arid and strange forms. Far be it from us to limit God's revelation to Israel. 'The seed is sown on the whole wide land!'"

Delitzsch denies the belief in a special divine revelation; but (says Gunkel) he fights a man of straw, for there is hardly a theologian of standing left who still believes in a special revelation. Theology that is up to date believes in a universal revelation. Delitzsch regards the broadened view an attenuation, but Gunkel says:

"Now is that really an 'attenuation' of the concept of revelation, as Delitzsch thinks? No, we believe that that is a *spiritualization and deepening of it!*"

The new view of revelation is not only deeper, not only more spiritual, but is also based upon a nobler kind of faith, and it includes not only the history of Israel and the Old Testament but also the New Testament. Here Professor Delitzsch's position (according to Gunkel) is doubtful. Professor Delitzsch seems to re-

serve a special position for Jesus in history, while Gunkel boldly takes the consequence of his contention that God's revelation is universal. He says:

"Is our faith in God imaginable without the belief that this God reveals himself to man in history? Or does Delitzsch acknowledge in Jesus an absolutely supernatural revelation? We may perhaps assume so from the manner in which he speaks of Jesus, in any case it will be a great inconsistency if he admits an exception into his philosophy of the universe. For that and not details is the real question."

Gunkel contends that consistency in the philosophy that underlies our scientific labors is most indispensable and he complains of Delitzsch that, leaving one of the most significant problems unsolved, his work is "a very labyrinth of contradictions."

Gunkel may or may not be right in his contention, but he is here in the same boat with Delitzsch. He, too, uses sometimes expressions when speaking of Christ which are apt to make people understand that he still believes in Jesus to find a purely supernatural revelation. Further, Professor Gunkel goes too far when he claims to represent theology, not of today alone, not of Protestant countries only, but of Christianity. He calls his view "the Christian," implying that the old conception is purely "Jewish." "The fathers of the Christian Church," he declares (a view which is not tenable without great limitations), "saw in the great and noble heroes of Greek philosophers, bearers of the seed of the divine word, seed sown everywhere," and adds:

"Let us Christians likewise not\* commit the impertinence of Judaism, which thinks to honor its God by despising and abusing all other religions."

"What are the national claims of Judaism to us?"

Those who claim a unique revelation for Israel in the sense that they would exclude the human element and especially the Babylonian influence, find no support in Gunkel's theology, who proposes faith in the "God who reveals himself in history," not in the God who reveals himself to one people only. Gunkel declares that we must submit to the facts revealed in science, for the facts of history are footprints of God. Gunkel says:

"Does not faith in God's revelation fall away if we find Babylonian elements in this religion? Orthodox opponents of Delitzsch have answered these questions affirmatively and have striven with all energy against the assumption of Babylonian elements in the Bible. But the extremists on the other side are of the same opinion also, and for just that reason are rejoicing over the downfall of the Bible and religion. What then is our position to be as opposed to this? A faith—we must say—that is worthy of the name

\*The translator here writes "not likewise" instead of "likewise not."

must be *brave* and *bold*. What kind of a faith would that be which is afraid of facts, which abhors scientific investigation! If we really believe in God, who reveals Himself in history, then we are not to dictate to the Highest what the events are to be in which we find Him, but we have only to kiss humbly His footprints and to revere His dealings in history. If we have to alter our views of God's ways in history, because the facts teach us, well, we simply have to do so!"

Gunkel and Delitzsch are here on common ground. Gunkel praises Delitzsch for having "avowed the results of the modern Old Testament study; he had, for instance, designated as a scientifically irrefragable and enduring fact the assertion that the Pentateuch is composed of literary sources very different in kind. He had asserted a primitive Babylonian origin for some of the most familiar portions of the traditions of Israel—in especial for the narratives of creation, the deluge, and even of Paradise—and accordingly declared himself of the opinion that these stories are to be regarded as myths and legends, but not as objective descriptions of real events. The Sabbath, likewise, is of Babylonian origin, and for monotheism itself an analogy is to be found there."

Gunkel freely concedes the paramount influence of Babylonian civilization. He grants that Hammurabi's laws are "a code embodying refined and developed distinctions, which, in part, were far more civilized than those of Israel in the so-called Mosaic code."

Gunkel declares:

"The Babylonian individual also followed the precept: 'Eye for eye and tooth for tooth.'"

"The story of the slave Hagar, who so became a mother and exalted herself over her mistress, is a striking example of Babylonian law."

"And this law was codified about 2250; it comes from a time a thousand years before there were any people of Israel at all. It is as far removed from Moses as we are from Charlemagne!"

Gunkel further recognizes the significance of the correspondence that was discovered in Tell Amarna in Egypt. He says:

"In that place the archives of Amenophis IV. were excavated, and in them was revealed the correspondence of the Pharaohs with the kings in Babylonia, Assyria, Mesopotamia, Cyprus and with the Egyptian vassals in Canaan. From this international correspondence, which was carried on in the Babylonian language, it was seen that Babylonian was then the international diplomatic language of all hither Asia. The petty kings of Canaan themselves, who then lived under Egyptian suzerainty, wrote to the Egyptian lord not on Egyptian material, i. e., papyrus, nor in the Egyptian language, but on Babylonian material, i. e., on stone tablets, and in the Babylonian language! Let us consider what the predominance of a foreign language in diplomatic communications must mean for the entire civilization. Syria and

Canaan must then have been subject to the influence of Babylonian culture, in much the same way, perhaps, as in the eighteenth century the whole refined world—and the diplomats as well—spoke French! This correspondence, however, which displays an extension of the Babylonian civilization as far as Canaan, dates from the time 1500-1400. Canaan was, as concerns its culture, a Babylonian province, before Israel had forced its way into the country."

There are many Babylonian notions preserved in the Bible; the sacredness of the number "7," the idea of the seven arch-angels, and the speculations which we choose to term agnostic. In addition we have inherited from the Babylonians many methods of mathematics and metrics. We still follow Babylon when we divide the zodiac into twelve signs and the circle into 360 degrees. We still call the seven days of the week after the seven planet gods of the Babylonians. The Babylonian names were translated into Latin, and among the Germans and Saxons into their native speech. Still we must concede that they came originally from Babylonia.

Gunkel's views of the Sabbath will certainly not support the interpretation that is current in the Christian churches of English-speaking countries, and Gunkel fondly imagines that the ancient Jews celebrated the Sabbath, not in the Anglican fashion, by abstaining from work or "avoiding certain transactions," but in the Continental fashion as "a joyous holiday." Gunkel says:

"The ancient Babylonians observed the Sabbath as a fast-day, on which certain transactions should be avoided. The ancient Hebraic Sabbath contains nothing of such ideas, but was held as a joyous holiday."

"Jesus boldly transgressed the Sabbath law, and the Apostle says: 'Let no man judge you in meat, or in drink, or in respect of a holy day, or of the new moon, or of the Sabbath days.' (Colossians II, 16.) The Christian Sunday is not a transference of the Sabbath, but something new and different."

In all things that make Delitzsch heretical in the opinion of old-fashioned theologians Gunkel agrees with him absolutely. Gunkel says:

"We, therefore, agree absolutely with Delitzsch, when he assumes the dependence of the Biblical account of the flood upon the Babylonian; indeed, we regard it as no small merit of Delitzsch that he has been courageous enough to announce in the presence of that illustrious assembly this result of research and, at the same time, to acknowledge without reserve his adherence to the modern criticism of the Pentateuch."

In many respects Gunkel goes far beyond Delitzsch. Gunkel admits the enormous influences of Babylon upon the Jews in post-exilic times. He says:

"The Judaeans again came under Babylonian influence when Nebuchadnezzar deported all 'the officers and the mighty of the land' to Babylonia and so brought them into the immediate sphere of Babylon. Post-exilic Judaism is completely subjugated by the influence of this civilization in all domains of the external life. In the centuries following the exile the people had actually forgotten its native tongue and adopted the Aramaic language, which was then ruling in the whole culture of the Semites. It has become finally in this way a completely different nation, which to the old Israelite people is bound by only a slender thread."

Consider the fact (not here specially mentioned by Gunkel) that the religion of the ancient Israelites was replete with pagan beliefs and pagan institutions and that the Temple of Jerusalem was filled with pagan paraphernalia down to the date of Josiah's Temple Reform in the year 622 B. C. Consider further that the historicity of this Temple Reform itself is discredited, and that at any rate the redaction of the Canon was made either in the Babylonian exile or in the post-exilic days and you will better appreciate the concession here made by Gunkel.

We have no information as to the manner in which Babylonian civilization affected the religion of the Jews, but we happen to have positive information on one point which touches not the least significant doctrine, the belief in resurrection. Gunkel says:

"The ancient Babylonians and Hebrews agreed in the belief that the soul after death enters into the dark under-world [She'ôl], from which there is no rescue for ordinary men. The belief in the resurrection does not yet belong in general to the Old Testament, but arose first in the post-canonical times and in any case not under the influence of the *old* Babylonian religion."

Summing up Delitzsch's views on the higher criticism of the Old Testament, Gunkel says:

"We may adopt this reasoning of Delitzsch most properly, even if we must make exception in some particulars. We hail Delitzsch as a colleague in the battle against the delusion of assuming that the Old Testament is verbally inspired."

"But," adds Gunkel, "this colleague comes somewhat late." He regards Delitzsch's rationalism as antiquated, for modern theology is radically changing. Gunkel continues:

"The theologian who knows the history of his science knows that such polemics against supernaturalism have existed for two centuries, and often have been uttered with much greater material than the scanty store that Delitzsch has hastily raked together. And these century-old polemics bore their fruits years ago. The opponents whom Delitzsch combats exist no more—at least not in academic circles; and the doors he breaks apart with such beautiful zeal have stood open for years. Theology has on all sides dropped that orthodox belief in inspiration, and dropped it long ago."

Let us look closely at one of the differences between Delitzsch and Gunkel.

Delitzsch tends to appreciate what he calls "the purer and more original" traditions of Babel, while Gunkel extols the later Israelitic versions because they are religiously more serious and decidedly monotheistic. Here the difference between Delitzsch and Gunkel must be regarded as a purely personal equation. It is a matter of taste and depends on the purpose which we have in view, whether we prefer the Babylonian epoch (which was a poem pure and simple, not records of a dogmatic religion), or the Jewish legend rationalized on the ground of the belief in one God.

Delitzsch points out that the Babylonian hero of the deluge expresses his compassion for the terrible fate of the drowned people, and so he thinks that the Babylonian version is more humane. Gunkel replies that this feature of the Babylonian epoch "is perchance pleasing to modern sentimentalism," but he adds, "the narrative of the Bible which founds the deluge on the sins of mankind is entirely too earnest to know pity for *justly* punished sinners." Gunkel sums up his views as follows:

"Accordingly the Israelite tradition had by no means simply adopted the Babylonian, but on the contrary it transformed the story with the utmost completeness; a true marvel of the world's history, it has changed dross into gold. Should not we then as Christians rejoice, that in these primitive Babylonian recensions we have found a line to measure how much nearer the God in whom we believe was to ancient Israel than to the Babylonians?"

Note here Gunkel's use of the word "marvel," which is here introduced in a similar sense as in another passage quoted above, the phrase, "a true miracle of God's." It goes without saying that the miracles of which Gunkel speaks happen daily before our eyes, and should Goethe change the old folk-legend of Faust into a grand philosophical drama, he also is inspired of God, his work is a marvel, and a miracle, and he changes "dross into gold." Gunkel is right that all depends upon "the manner in which the subject has been transformed." Gunkel says:

"Our great German poets have adopted repeatedly old material for their greater creations: Goethe's 'Faust,' for example, rests as everyone knows on an older German legend. But who thinks that Goethe's poetry becomes of less worth if we have pointed out to us the book of folk-lore as the source of 'Faust'? On the contrary, his power is seen for the first time when we observe what he has made of the uncouth material. And so it is with the Biblical and Babylonian stories of the deluge."

The difference between Delitzsch and Gunkel is not a difference

in the recognition of facts themselves as it is in the manner of their exposition. Gunkel insists that in spite of all that can be said in favor of Babel, Israel remains a peculiar people with an idiosyncrasy or *Eigenart* of their own, just as the Greeks, the Romans, the Egyptians, etc. They are not mere Babylonians, and while Delitzsch calls the Babylonian report of legends "the purer because older tradition," Gunkel insists that the Hebrew version has to be regarded as the nobler because based on a higher and further developed monotheistic view. Gunkel says:

*"The religion of Babylon is, on the other hand, indubitably polytheistic, and, in fact, it has a thoroughly crass, grotesque pantheon. If then in Babylon something should be found that savors of monotheism, that is the exception. The great historic effect which results from it is, in this point, not due to Babylon, but to Israel."*

Gunkel grants that traces of monotheism can be found also in Babylonia. He says:

"Babylonian priestly wisdom, at a certain point of history, has recognized that the different deities are at the bottom manifestation-forms of the same Divine Essence, a view which the Greek popular philosophy held also at the time of Jesus."

On the other hand, Gunkel does not deny that there are traces of paganism in the Bible. Gunkel says:

"Even in the Old Testament there are occasionally marked anthropomorphisms, but these are in no way as crass as is customary in Babylon; that 'J' eats and drinks never was said by historic Israel. Such downright anthropomorphisms are in the Old Testament *archaisms*, which have remained in the primeval legends of the Deluge and of Paradise, but which have been surmounted by the advancing religion."

Gunkel adds:

"We have in no way the need of finding everything noble and fair in Israel. The Jewish monotheism, for example, this we frankly admit, is frequently sullied by a hate, and often a blood-red hate of the heathen, a fact that we may understand historically from the miserable condition of the continually oppressed Jews, but one which we in no case wish to adopt into our religion; a bigot may defend the prayer 'pour out Thy wrath upon the heathen' but not so we."

While Professor Gunkel grants that the Babylonians have achieved much that is grand and noble, he ranks Israel's religion incomparably higher than "all other religions of the ancient Orient." He says:

"The fairest possession of Israel, however, is the theme of her prophets, that God desires no offering or ceremonies, but piety of the heart and justice

of deeds; this most inner connection of religion with morality is before all the reason through which Israel's religion mounts exalted above all other religion of the ancient Orient! This is Israel's power over man and it remains so, even if Judaism has become again untrue to this mighty idea."

"The prophets of Israel in the exile felt themselves high exalted above the religion of Babylon, which they had before their eyes, despite the pomp and parade with which it was clothed, despite that these gods were the gods of the world-kingdom, despite that Judah was thrown in the dust. They certainly have not judged it *justly*, even as is wont to happen in the strife of religion, but fundamentally they were right. Bêl boweth down, Nebo stoopeth, but through the millenniums resounds the joyous shout of the Singer of Israel: 'Who, O Yahwè, is like Thee among the gods?' The gods of the Babylonians passed away when their time came; to the God of little Judea the hearts of the heathen turned when the time was fulfilled. This most mighty historical event, under whose influence the whole world-history afterwards is developed, must have had a most mighty cause; and what is this cause, what else can it be than the decisive pre-eminence of this religion over the other?"

We do not propose to deny that "this most inner connection of religion with morality" is indeed "the fairest possession of Israel," but when we praise the Hebrew prophets, we need not disparage the other Oriental religions. Does Gunkel not know that Buddha and Lao Tze soared to the same height?

Gunkel upbraids Delitzsch pretty severely for the comment, that "mankind does not deserve a special revelation." The Bible tells us that God wrote the law upon stone tables with his own finger, and yet Moses broke the writing, and made God do the work over again. And where are the tables now? Think of it! Here we have God's own handwriting and the original is lost! It has not been preserved and the copies made of it exhibit most lamentable variations. If we had indeed been in possession of God's own handwriting, what gross irreverence, what carelessness not to keep them and preserve them at any cost!

Delitzsch's intention is obviously to point out that God never wrote the law with his own finger. The Biblical account is not history, but legend. Gunkel blames Delitzsch for not explaining "the history of religion," and he adds in a note:

"How much higher is the standpoint of the old folk-legend, which represents the anger of the hero of Israel at Israel's sin as so great that he threw the Divine tables to the ground in blinding wrath. What would Michael Angelo have said if he had known of this remark of Delitzsch's?"

Delitzsch of course wants to point out that we should not believe in the letter of the Bible, but that we should be allowed to interpret it as folk-legend, and on this point Professor Gunkel and

Professor Delitzsch agree thoroughly, only Professor Delitzsch points out the impious behavior of Moses on the supposition that the legend be true, while Gunkel scorns the rationalistic interpretation and appreciates the beauty of the ancient venerable tale as "old folk-legend."

Gunkel declares that in academic circles the old narrow orthodoxy has died out. Not quite! for even in the German universities there are a few venerable relics of it left, and outside of the academic circles the fact that there is a new theology is not sufficiently known, neither among the clergy engaged in practical church work, nor in the circles of the laity. If they had been so well established as Gunkel assumes, Professor Delitzsch's lectures would not have created such a stir, nor would our translator have ventured to translate Gunkel. The truth is that Delitzsch's statements were new to the Emperor as well as to the large masses of the faithful Christians, and Professor Gunkel knows it very well, for he says at the conclusion of his articles :

"There remains, we must fear, a mistrust in wide circles of the church which has, alas, so long ignored theological science and its assured results."

We conclude. The Babel and Bible controversy has stirred up once more the old *furor theologicus*, but how much milder in its virulence than formerly! The controversy has been bitter on both sides and much that is small has flown in—envy, vanity and rancor. How human we are—even those of us who move in the ethereal heights of divinity and science. Yet in spite of the personalities that occurred, the thunderstorm in the realm of Biblical science has cleared the air, and the oppressive sultriness of the atmosphere is gone. We may grant the statement that :

"Delitzsch's lectures, which neither have added new material nor have been able to say anything especially novel in theology, will soon be forgotten by the public; and future histories of science will hardly mention them."

We may grant that theology has broadened and has been a genuine science; yet we do not grant that the fact is generally known. Delitzsch said nothing new, but it was new to the multitudes of the Christian world, and if we collect the statements on which, tacitly, or confessedly, the most prominent champions of both sides agree, we may grant that Delitzsch was mistaken in many details, but that no one has contradicted him in the point which excited the surprise of the laity, which is on the one hand the denial of revelation in the old sense as a literal inspiration of the Scriptures, and on the other a recognition of the universal revelation of

God in the appearance of truth, wherever it may be, among all the nations of the earth.

We know now that God does not reveal himself after the fashion of a human monarch by dictating his proclamations to special secretaries; God has revealed himself to Israel as he did to Greece, to Rome, to the Brahmans, to the Chinese, to ancient Iranians, etc., everywhere differently yet in the selfsame way; and God is still revealing himself not otherwise than of yore in Israel. God speaks to us wherever truth, or duty, or justice find recognition.

God spoke not through Moses alone nor through Jesus alone. He spoke also through the mouth of Luther, and not less through Goethe, and Schiller, and Shakespeare, and today through inventions and scientists—nay, God does not speak through great men alone, He reveals Himself also in the weak and the humble. He is present wherever a man, even in the common walks of life, attends to his duty. He is present in the nursery, where the children are reared under a mother's care, and even the most trivial household affairs need His affections and consecration. God is present wherever we witness effort upward, or justice trying to do right, or love and forbearance with those that go astray, or patience and charity with those that are lost.

# NATURAL MAGIC AND PRESTIDIGITATION.

BY HENRY RIDGELY EVANS.

“What, Sir! you dare to make so free,  
And play your hocus-pocus on us.”

—Goethe, *Faust*, Scene V.

## I.

THE art of natural magic dates back to the remotest antiquity. There is an Egyptian papyrus in the British museum which chronicles a magical séance given by a certain Tchatcha-em-anph before King Khufu, B. C. 3766. The manuscript says of the wizard: “He knoweth how to bind on a head which hath been cut off, he knoweth how to make a lion follow him as if led by a rope, and he knoweth the number of the stars of the house (constellation) of ‘Thoth.’” It will be seen from this that the decapitation trick was in vogue ages ago, while the experiment with the lion, which is unquestionably a hypnotic feat, shows hypnotism to be very ancient indeed. Ememoser, in his *History of Magic*, devotes considerable space to Egyptian thaumaturgy, especially to the wonders wrought by animal magnetism, which in the hands of the priestly hierarchy must have been miracles indeed to the uninitiated. All that was known of science was in possession of the guardians of the temples, who frequently used their knowledge of natural phenomena to gain ascendancy over the ignorant multitude.

Egypt was magic mad. The Book of the Dead, that strange old Bible of the land of Mizraim, is practically a work on sorcery. When a man died, his soul was supposed to wander through the dark underworld, there to meet with many adventures by flood and field, until it was finally judged by Osiris and his forty-one judges. To ward off the demoniacal influences that beset its path, it was necessary for the errant soul to have recourse to magic spells. These charms were elaborately set forth in the Book of the Dead, a copy of which, or parts of copies, was deposited with the mummy

of the deceased—that is if the surviving relatives of the dead person were rich enough to pay for it.

Strange people these ancient Egyptians. Besides the official magi or priests of the temples, there were hundreds of small fry soothsayers, witches, and wizards, who retailed love philters, told fortunes, and conjured up the shades of the departed.

In Greece and Rome thaumaturgy was a recognized profession. The temples were storehouses of magic and mystery.

In the Middle Ages the art of magic was ardently cultivated, in spite of the denunciations of the Church. Many pretenders to



ORIENTAL CONJUROR PERFORMING THE CUP AND BALL TRICK, WITH SNAKE EFFECT INTRODUCED.

From an old and rare book called *The Universal Conjuror or the Whole Art of Legerdemain as Practised by the Famous Breslaw, Katterfelto, Jonas, Flockton, Conus, and by the Greatest Adepts in London and Paris, etc.* London. (From the Ellison Collection, New York.)

necromancy made use of the secrets of optics and acoustics, and gained thereby a wonderful reputation as genuine sorcerers. Benvenuto Cellini, sculptor, goldsmith, and man-at-arms, in that greatest of autobiographies,\* records a magical séance which reads like a chapter from the Arabian Nights.

\* *Memoirs of Cellini*, Book I, Chapter LXIV.

He says: "It happened through a variety of singular accidents that I became intimate with a Sicilian priest, who was a man of very elevated genius and well instructed in both Latin and Greek letters. In the course of conversation one day we were led to talk about the art of necromancy, apropos of which I said: 'Throughout my whole life I have had the most intense desire to see or learn something of this art.' Thereto the priest replied: 'A stout soul and a steadfast must the man have who sets himself to such an enterprise.' I answered that of strength and steadfastness of soul I should have enough and to spare, provided I found the opportunity. Then the priest said: 'If you have the heart to dare it, I will amply satisfy your curiosity.' Accordingly we agreed upon attempting the adventure.

"The priest one evening made his preparations, and bade me find a comrade, or not more than two. I invited Vincenzo Romoli, a very dear friend of mine, and the priest took with him a native of Pistoja, who also cultivated the black art. We went together to the Coliseum; and there the priest, having arrayed himself in necromancers' robes, began to describe circles on the earth with the finest ceremonies that can be imagined. I must say that he had made us bring precious perfumes and fire, and also drugs of fetid odor. When the preliminaries were completed, he made the entrance into the circle; and taking us by the hand, introduced us one by one inside of it. Then he assigned our several functions: to the necromancer, his comrade, he gave the pentacle to hold; the other two of us had to look after the fire and the perfumes; and then he began his incantations. This lasted more than an hour and a half; when several legions appeared, and the Coliseum was all full of devils. I was occupied with the precious perfumes, and when the priest perceived in what numbers they were present, he turned to me and said: 'Benvenuto, ask them something.' I called on them to reunite me with my Sicilian Angelica."

It seems the spirits did not respond. The magic spells were found inoperative, whereupon the priest dismissed the demons, observing that the presence of a pure boy was requisite to the successful accomplishment of the séance.

Another night Cellini and the sorcerer repaired to the mines of the Coliseum. The artist was accompanied by a boy of twelve years of age, who was in his employ, and by two friends, Agnolino Gaddi and the before-mentioned Romoli. The necromancer, after describing the usual magic circle and building a fire, "began to utter those awful invocations, calling by name on multitudes of de-



CONJUROR PULLING A TOOTH BY PISTOL.

From a rare book called *The Whole Art of Hocus Pocus, Containing the Most Dexterous Feats of Sleight-of-hand Performed by Katerfelto, Breslaw, Boas, etc.* London, 1812. (From the Ellison Collection, New York.)

mons who are captains of their legions \* \* \*; inasmuch that in a short space of time the whole Coliseum was full of a hundred-fold as many as had appeared upon the first occasion." At the advice of the wizard, Cellini again asked to be re-united with his mistress. The sorcerer turned to him and said: "Hear you what they have replied; that in the space of one month you will be where she is. The company within the magic circle were now confronted by a great company of demons. The boy declared that he saw four armed giants of immense stature who were endeavoring to get within the circle. They trembled with fear. The necromancer to calm the fright of the boy assured him that what they beheld was but *smoke and shadows*, and that the spirits were under his power. As the smoke died out, the demons faded away, and Cellini and his friends left the place fully satisfied of the reality of the conjurations. As they left the Coliseum, the boy declared that he saw two of the demons leaping and skipping before them, and often upon the roofs of the houses. The priest paid no attention to them, but endeavored to persuade the goldsmith to renew the attempt on some future occasion, in order to discover the secret treasures of the earth. But Cellini did not care to meddle more in the black art.

What are we to believe about this magic invocation? Was Cellini romancing? Though a vainglorious, egotistical man, he was truthful, and his memoirs may be relied on.

John Addington Symonds, one of the translators of Cellini's autobiography, remarks: "Imagination and the awe-inspiring influences of the place, even if we eliminate a possible magic-lantern among the conjurer's appurtenances, are enough to account for what Cellini saw. He was credulous, he was superstitious."

Sir David Brewster, who quotes Cellini's narrative, in his *Natural Magic*, explains that the demons seen in the Coliseum "were not produced by any influence upon the imaginations of the spectators, but were actual optical phantasms, or the images of pictures or objects produced by one or more concave mirrors or lenses. A fire is lighted, and perfumes and incense are burnt, in order to create a ground for the images, and the beholders are rigidly confined within the pale of the magic circle. The concave mirror and the objects presented to it having been so placed that the persons within the circle could not see the aerial image of the objects by the rays directly reflected from the mirror, the work of deception was ready to begin. The attendance of the magician upon his mirror was by no means necessary. He took his place along with the spectators within the magic circle. The images of the

devils were all distinctly formed in the air immediately above the fire, but none of them could be seen by those within the circle.

“The moment, however, the perfumes were thrown into the fire to produce smoke, the first wreath of smoke that rose through the place of one or more of the images would reflect them to the eyes of the spectators, and they would again disappear if the wreath was



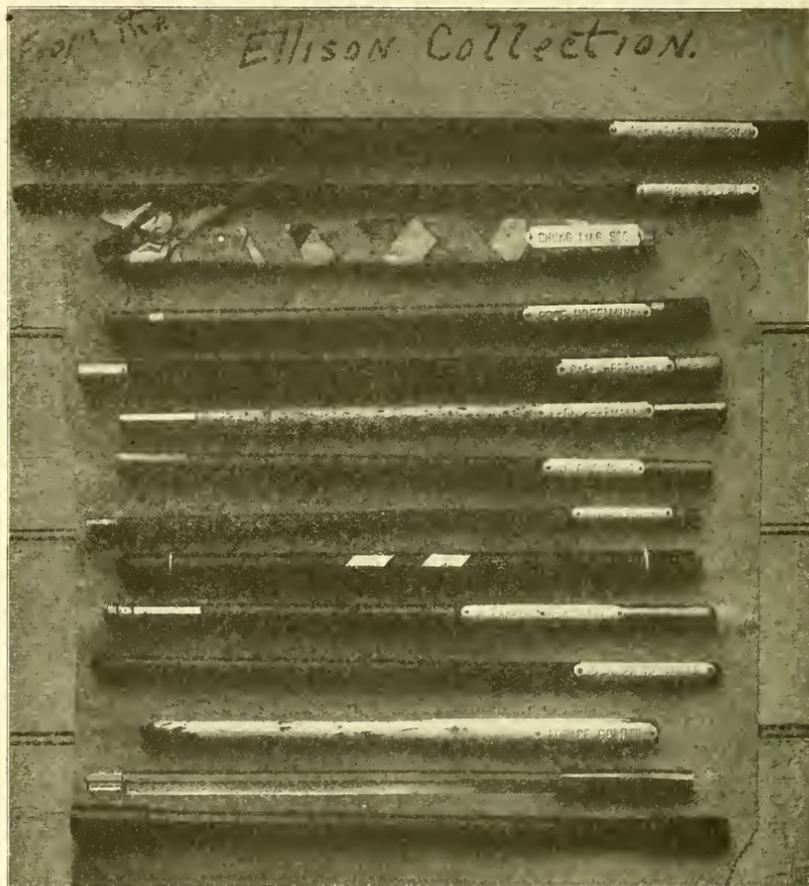
ROBERTSON'S ILLUSION ON A SMALL SCALE.

(From a French print.)

not followed by another. More and more images would be rendered visible as new wreaths of smoke arose, and the whole group would appear at once when the smoke was uniformly diffused over the place occupied by the images.”

Again, the magician may have been aided by a confederate amid the ruins, who manipulated a magic lantern, or some device of

the kind. The magician himself may have been provided with a box fitted up with a concave mirror, the lights and figures of the demons. The assertion of the boy that he saw demons skipping in front of him, etc., would be accounted for by the magic box being carried with them.



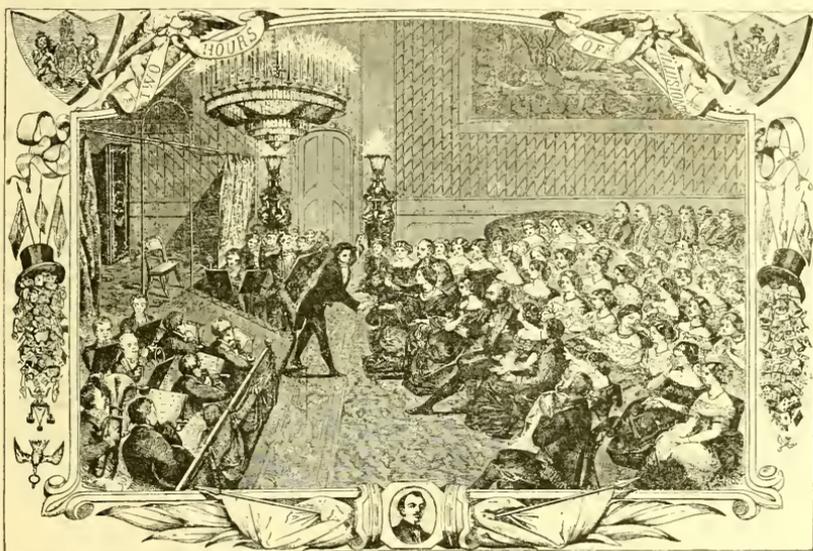
WANDS OF FAMOUS MAGICIANS.

(From the Ellison Collection, New York.)

Says the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, in speaking of Cellini's adventure: "The existence of a camera at this latter date (middle of 16th century) is a fact; for the instrument is described by Baptista Porta, the Neopolitan philosopher, in his *Magia Naturalis* (1558). And the doubt how magic lantern effects could have been produced in the 14th century, when the lantern itself is alleged to have been

invented by Athanasius Kircher in the middle of the 17th century, is set at rest by the fact that glass lenses were constructed at the earlier of these dates,—Roger Bacon, in his *Discovery of the Miracles of Art, Nature, and Magic* (about 1260), writing of glass lenses and perspectives so well made as to give good telescopic and microscopic effects, and to be useful to old men and those who have weak eyes.”

Chaucer, in the *House of Fame*, book iii, speaks of “appearances such as the subtil tregetouos perform at feasts—images of hunting, falcony, and knights jousting, with the persons and objects instantaneously disappearing.”



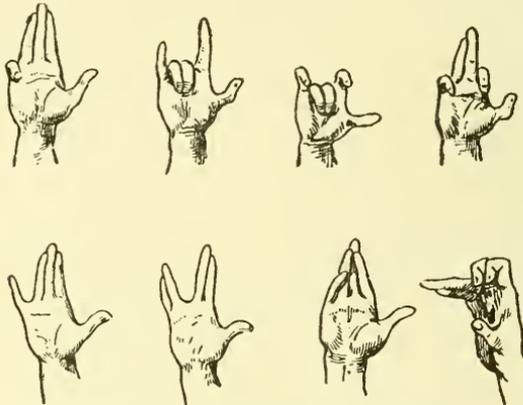
PROF. WILJALBA FRIKELL'S CHRISTMAS ENTERTAINMENTS  
As exhibited before Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle.

Later on Nostradamus conjured up a vision of the future king of France in a magic mirror, for the benefit of Marie de Midecis. This illusion was effected by mirrors adroitly concealed amid hanging draperies.

In the 16th century conjurers wandered from place to place, exhibiting their tricks at fairs, in barns, and at the castles of noblemen. They were little more than strolling gypsies or vagabonds. Reginald Scott in his *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), enumerates some of the stock feats of these mountebanks. The list includes, “swallowing a knife; burning a card and reproducing it from the

pocket of a spectator; passing a coin from one pocket to another; converting money into counters, or counters into money; conveying money into the hand of another person; making a coin pass through a table or vanish from a handkerchief; tying a knot and undoing it 'by the power of words'; taking beads from a string, the ends of which are held fast by another person; making a coin to pass from one box to another; turning wheat into flour 'by the power of words'; burning a thread and making it whole again; pulling ribbons from the mouth; thrusting a knife into the head of a man; putting a ring through the cheek; and cutting off a person's head and restoring it to its former position."

Conjuring with cups and balls belongs to this list. It is very ancient, dating back to the early Roman period.

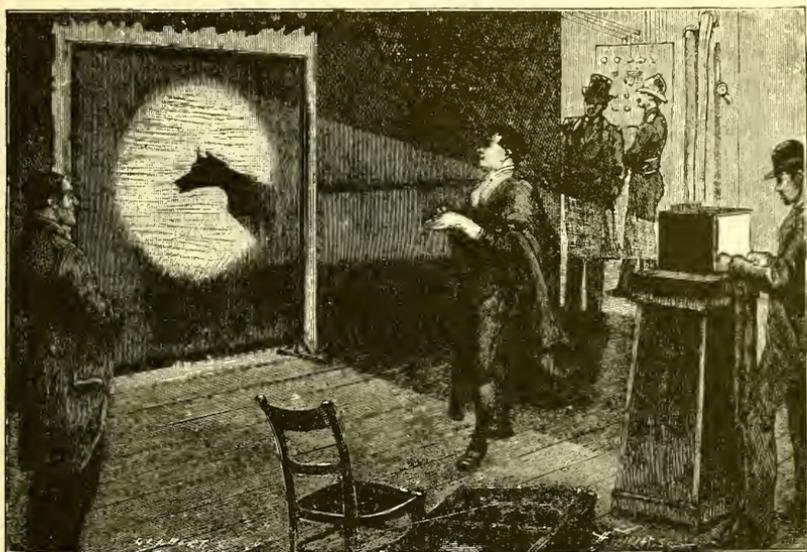


EXERCISES FOR THE FINGERS BY TREWEY.

The conjurers of the 16th century, and even later date, wore about their waists a sort of bag, called the *gibécière*, from its resemblance to a game bag, ostensibly to hold their paraphernalia. While delving into this bag for various articles to be used in their tricks, the magicians succeeded in making substitutes, and secretly getting possession of eggs, coins, balls, etc. It was a very clumsy device, but indispensable for an open air performer, who usually stood encircled by the spectators. Finally the suspicious-looking *gibécière* was abandoned by all save strolling mountebanks, and a table with a long cloth substituted. This table concealed an assistant who made the necessary transformations required in the act, by means of traps and other devices. Conus, the elder, in the 18th century, abandoned the long table covers, and the concealed assistant for the *servante*. But his immediate competitors still adhered

to the draped tables, and a whole generation of later conjurers, among whom may be mentioned Comte, Baseo, and Phillippe, followed their example. Robert-Houdin struck the keynote of reform in 1844. He sarcastically called the suspiciously draped table a *boite a compere* (wooden confederate).

Conjurers in the 17th century were frequently known as *Hocus Pocus*. These curious words first occur in a pamphlet printed in 1641, in which the author, speaking of the sights of Bartholomew fair, mentions "*Hocus Pocus*, with three yards of tape or ribbon in



TREWEY EXHIBITING UPON A STAGE.

his hand, showing his art of legerdemain." The 17th century is the age of the strolling mountebank, who performed wherever he could get an audience; in the stable, barnyard, street, or fair. From him to the prestidigitator of the theatre is a long step, but no longer than from the barnstorming actor to the artist of the well-appointed playhouse. There is evolution in everything. It was not until the 18th century that conjuring became a legitimate profession. This was largely owing to the fact that men of gentle birth, well versed in the science of the age, took up the magic wand, and gave the art dignity and respectability.

## MISCELLANEOUS.

### HOCUS-POCUS.

THE word "hocus-pocus" is now a common designation (at least in the English language) for "a cheat or impostor" and refers originally to the conjurer who by legerdemain deceives the people and pretends to work miracles. In German the word is used mainly in the sense of "sleight-of-hand," designating not the performer, but the deception by which a trick is done, and this seems to be the more original meaning of the term.

The word is probably a corruption of the Latin words *Hoc est corpus meum*, which is the formula spoken by the priest over the sacramental bread and wine, which thereby is claimed to be transubstantiated into the body and blood of Christ.

In its modern sense the word can be traced back to the seventeenth century, but the use of the formula *hoc est corpus meum* in the sense of jugglery is mentioned as early as 1579 in Fischart's *Beehive*.

Johann Fischart, the famous satirist and reformer who lived in the middle of the sixteenth century and died about 1590, speaks of the sacramental transubstantiation as "bread jugglery" (*brotvergauckelung*),\* and compares the power of the five words † to the magic word which Satan uttered when creating monks ‡ and adds:

"Be steadfast in it (the faith) that these five words do the work and transubstantiate the bread." §

R. L'Estrange (1616-1704) is familiar with the Latin derivation of the word saying (in *Ansiv. Diss.*, 18, published in 1687):

"I never lov'd the Hocus-Pocussing of *Hoc est corpus meum*."

Tillotson (1630-1694) in one of his sermons (XXVI) accepts the etymology of the word, saying:

"In all probability those common juggling words of *hocus pocus* are nothing else but a corruption of *hoc est corpus*, by way of ridiculous imitation of the priests of the Church of Rome in their trick of Transubstantiation."

We need not assume with Tillotson that jugglers actually intended to ridicule the sacrament. When pretending to transform anything, they simply imitated the process of transformation and naturally used the same words as the priests did, merely because the people believed them to be potent charms, and since the

\* *Beehive*, 87.

† He reads: *Hoc enim est corpus meam*.

‡ "Die fünf wort haben ein kraft wie dz wort *ffuat* dasz der teufel sprach da er mönch machte."—*Beehive*, 82.

§ "... pleibt fest darbei dasz die fünf wort das spil verrichten, und das brot transsubstantiiiren."—*Beehive*, 85.

audience did not consist of Latin scholars, they naturally corrupted the words into a formula that was easier pronounced.

The verb "to hocus-pocus" thus acquires the meaning "to transform, to metamorphose," or "to disguise a change."

That the formula itself became the name of the man who pronounced it, is a change in the meaning of words that occurs frequently. Even as early as 1655 Ady in his *Candle in Dark* (29) speaks of a man

"That went about in King James his time. . . who called himself, The Kings Majesties most excellent Hocus Pocus, and so was called, because that at the playing of every Trick, he used to say, '*Hocus focus, tontus talontus, vade celiter jubeo,*' a dark composure of words, to blinde the eyes of the beholders, to make his Trick pass the more currantly without discovery."

### ELECTRICITY AND THE BODY OF RESURRECTION.

Mr. Charles Hallock's proposition made in the November number of *The Open Court* has produced quite a stir in certain circles. Letters on the subject were received both at the editorial office of *The Open Court*, and by the author, and we publish here some of the correspondence that has reference to the subject, together with a few editorial comments.

#### A LETTER FROM A COLLEGE PROFESSOR.

*To the Editor of The Open Court:*

I have read with great interest the article by Mr. Hallock, on "The Body of the Future: Is It Electrical?" and also the editorial comments, in the November issue of *The Open Court*. Permit me to ask why Mr. Hallock's theory in its main features may not be eminently reasonable, if the new view of the electrical nature of matter be true?

Authorities in physics like Sir Oliver Lodge, and Professor Fison, and others equally as eminent, have said within a few months that the "so-called atom," which has played such an important part in modern science, "is now displaced from its fundamental place of indivisibility." It has been divided and shown to be composed of electricity. Very recent investigations point to the conclusion, which these scientists are announcing as true, that "the fundamental ingredient of which . . . the whole of matter is made up, is nothing more nor less than electricity, in the form of an equal number of positive and negative charges." This is the doctrine toward which the best modern scientific research surely points. It will be at once seen that it secures that "unification of matter such as has through all the ages been sought; it goes much farther than had been hoped, for the substratum is not an unknown and hypothetical protyle, but the familiar electric charge."

If, as these authorities in physics, are beginning to say, the essence of matter is electricity, why may not Mr. Hallock's main position that there will be a future body and that it will be electrical be reasonable? The electrical nature of matter is likely to lead to a radical change in some modern scientific views, and among them the conception of death and the existence of the body after death.

My main point is this: on the supposition that the New Testament statements about a body after death, or the resurrection body, are true, why may not the electrical theory of the nature of matter give us some idea of the nature of that body and make credible some passages in the New Testament that have hitherto been regarded as inconsistent with what has been supposed to be true of matter?

It is announced that experiments conducted very lately in England show that one form of matter, one so-called original element, has been actually changed into another element. Some very eminent scientists, it is reported, declare that they have accomplished this result. This would be in harmony with the electrical nature of matter and would also have an important bearing on the subject under consideration.

It seems to me that recent discoveries in physics require us to develop a very different philosophy from that formulated years ago under erroneous ideas of the nature of matter. Not a little dogmatic science of other days will have to be abandoned, it seems to me.

H. L. STETSON.

KALAMAZOO, MICH.

#### A LETTER FROM AN ASTRONOMER.

Mr. Hallock received the following interesting communication from Mr. Edgar L. Larkin, Director of the Lowe Observatory, a man "who constantly looks heavenward":

"Dear Sir:

"I read your article with interest. I have been writing for months in the papers that nothing exists but electricity. *It is matter* and may assume protean forms. Of course our spiritual bodies are merely one phase of electricity, souls, minds, spirit also—every entity in existence. Thousands of verses not only in the Hebrew but in many other Oriental scriptures are cleared up by this cardinal fact. Many mystical facts in 'spiritualism' are also explained by electrical hypothesis. I allude to 'refined' matter in my book *Radiant Energy*.

EDGAR L. LARKIN."

#### A LETTER TO THE EDITOR FROM MR. CHARLES HALLOCK.

*To the Editor of The Open Court:*

I told Professor Larkin that electricity is *not* matter. It is a *substance*, an element, capable of being changed into another element, as has been demonstrated by eminent English scientists. It pervades the whole system of created things, the air, the sea, the land, objects organic and inorganic, animate and inanimate, animals, plants, marine forms, insects and all the rest, manifesting itself transcendently in the lightning and in the aurora borealis, and extending beyond the confines of the universe into the unknown realm of the infinite. Matter rots, decays, perishes, but electricity is imperishable.

Hitherto the Creator has manifested Himself to mankind through material objects, because man is "of the earth earthy" and perceives with his physical senses. In his spiritual existence his faculties will be different, and he will see marvellous phenomena which are not perceptible now. Christ has promised this. Electricity is the connecting link between the material and the immaterial. It is the most potent, subtle, and mysterious of all palpable and impalpable media. Our carnal bodies are already charged with it: then why may not or spiritual bodies or soul-envelopes be composed of it entirely? "As the lightning cometh out of the East and shineth unto the West, even so shall the coming of the Son of Man be." (Matt. xxiv. 23.)

Electrical phenomena are constantly occurring which point toward the final consummation and explain the problem of the immortal body. Suggestions to this end are ever present; but our mortal comprehensions are so obtuse that we fail to perceive their significance. These phenomena, both in nature and in invention, are

marvellous and inexplicable, unless my theory be accepted; but they forecast the existence which is to come. They are "mighty in operation."

The word "body" implies something visible and tangible, and electricity is transcendently palpable when applied.

If spirit or soul exist here, or anywhere, expressing itself through body or substance (other than matter), then individuality and personal recognition may continue for eternity, otherwise recognition would not be possible. Immortality is conceivable with electricity *in esse* as a factor.

CHARLES HALLOCK.

#### EDITORIAL COMMENTS.

It is true that all the facts of physics go far to suggest (perhaps even to support) the theory that matter is condensed ether, and we may add, it is also quite probable that electricity, which, barring light, is the most important phenomenon of ether in motion known to us, will be found to play a more prominent part in nature than could be anticipated in former times. But all these theories are far from substantiating the assumption that the body of the resurrection is electrical, or, to go further still, that there is any body of resurrection at all in the sense of traditional religious conceptions. On the contrary, if these theories concerning matter and ether be true, it would only indicate that our present world-system built up of atoms might finally be dissolved again into its primordial ether. The atom has so far resisted analysis and it is likely that all the methods at the disposal of scientists will fail to resolve it, but if the atom be a compound we may be sure that in the long run of world cycles, it will finally be dissolved again into its elements. All compound bodies within the reach of our experience, even the eternal rocks, so called, break up into their ingredients, and there is no reason to doubt the universality of the law (so energetically enunciated in Buddhist metaphysics), that all compounds are subject to disintegration.

Professor Dubois-Reymond proved that electrical phenomena play some important part in muscle-activity, and Prof. Augustus Waller of London has brought to light further interesting facts. He proves that electric fluctuations take place so long as a substance (be it animal or vegetable) is still alive, and the absence of electricity indicates absence of vitality. But all this does not prove that electricity alone without any bodily substratum may constitute a person, that such a person after death should retain the shape of the material body, and that his electrical body should float about after the manner of the ghosts of folk-lore.

Mr. Hallock succeeded in proving the presence of folklore in the Bible, but no amount of Biblical quotations will prove that the folklore view is tenable before the tribunal of science.

I will not venture here to state the reasons that prevent me from accepting the theory of an electrical body of resurrection, for that would lead me too far and it is difficult to say why a thing is not. I will limit myself only to the positive statement that the monistic drift of modern science, especially our revised notions of ether and electricity, contain not the slightest argument in favor of proving that the soul should be possessed of an electrical resurrection-body. We might as well assume that a dynamo which has been built to change molar motion into electricity would, if broken to pieces, continue as a purely ethereal dynamo, and that it would thus form a superior kind of machine, a *maakheru* dynamo.

The theory of a transfigured body, *maakheru* as the Egyptians called it, is so natural a fabrication of human fancy that it originated among all nationalities

finding expression in the folk-lore tales of ghosts. It embodies in a mythological form the truth of man's immortality, and gives it a concrete and tangible shape. Yet after all, the theory that ghosts, spirits, or whatever you may call the disembodied souls, may be electrical phenomena, is a bold assumption which appears to me only a modern expression of a very ancient, not to say antiquated, belief, based upon a wrong conception of the soul.

The most remarkable attempt at verifying the belief in ghosts has been made in recent times by F. W. H. Myers, in his posthumous book *Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death*. It is a stupendous work written with great earnestness and quoting many strange events and psychic experiences. And yet we cannot say that Mr. Myers has succeeded. P. C.

#### NOTES.

Mrs. T. R. Foster of Honolulu has donated one thousand dollars to the educational enterprise of the Anagarika Dharmapala, and Mr. Charles Viggars has gone to India to take charge of the school.

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A memorial of Dr. Marie Elizabeth Zakrzewska has been published by the New England Hospital for Women and Children, Boston, Mass., and is to be had in paper for 20 cents, cloth 40 cents, at the hospital, Dimock Street, Roxbury. Dr. Zakrzewska was the pioneer of woman physicians, and her death, together with her last message which was read by a friend at the funeral, was published some time ago in *The Open Court*.

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Modern theology is so little known outside of academic circles that publications of theologians of scientific standing are commonly regarded as rank "freethought" and as "bold attacks upon the most sacred tenets of the Christian faith." One instance will suffice. An article written on the origin of Christmas and published in William Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, (pp. 357-358,) was reprinted in *The Open Court*. The author, a theologian of good standing, quotes the sermon of Ambrose, Pope Leo the Great's letter on the subject, a homily of ancient date attributed to Chrysostom, etc., which prove that the birth of Christ was celebrated on the day of the birth of Mithras, and that the choice was done deliberately because it was most appropriate for the purpose. The collection of these historical facts, made by a representative Christian scholar, is commented upon in *The Daily Picayune* as "an assault on the principal mystery of the Christian faith," and comments of this kind are not uncommon. While among European theologians the god-conception of the editor of *The Open Court* is commented upon in a friendly way, there are circles among the laity (of course not among academical theologians) in which his work is considered as decidedly irreligious.

Among the theological scholars there are many who have adopted the scientific world-conception; among the clergy there are a few, but the laity, and among the laity those elements which predominate in the vestry, are a brake on the wheel of progress. The fact is stated not to blame them, but as a fact that is not always clearly understood.

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