

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

VOL. XXXVII (No.5)

MAY, 1923

No. 804

CONTENTS

	PAGE
<i>Frontispiece.</i> ANATOLE FRANCE IN CLAY. (By Jo Davidson.)	
<i>After the Bonus—Pensions.</i> ROLAND HUGINS.....	257
<i>The Francian Fiend.</i> MAXIMILIAN J. RUDWIN.....	268
<i>Some Famous Jewish Proselytes.</i> DUDLEY WRIGHT.....	283
<i>A Biological Interpretation of Politics.</i> J. V. NASH.....	296
<i>The Cosmic Five, Seven and Twelve. Part I.</i> LAWRENCE PARMLY BROWN..	307

The Open Court Publishing Company

122 S. Michigan Ave.

Chicago, Illinois

Per copy, 20 cents (1 shilling). Yearly, \$2.00 (in the U.P.U., 9s. 6d.)

Entered as Second-Class Matter March 26, 1887, at the Post Office at Chicago, Ill., under Act of March 3, 1879. Copyright by The Open Court Publishing Company, 1923.

NEW AND IMPORTANT RELIGIOUS BOOKS

A Source Book for the Teachings of Jesus

By Ernest D. Burton.....\$2.00 net

To set down Jesus' own teachings and those of his contemporaries for purposes of immediate comparison has been Dr. Burton's task, as well as to distinguish the thoughts of Jesus from those who have transmitted them to us. Under each topic are printed the Johannine and synoptic passages dealing with the subject, passages from Jewish literature illustrating the views of Jesus' contemporaries, and references to modern literature.

Dramatization in the Church School

By Elizabeth Erwin Miller (Elizabeth Miller Lobingier) \$1.25, postpaid \$1.35

A volume for all church directors who are interested in training their teachers to make better use of the dramatization method of religious teaching. A valuable book that suggests much that may be accomplished in the establishment of religious ideals through the expression of children's emotions. By the author of *The Dramatization of Bible Stories*.

World Friendship Through the Church School

By John Leslie Lobingier.....\$1.25, postpaid \$1.35

A book that through a program of ten lesson-studies gives church leaders and every member of the congregation a share in the church's privilege of serving as a medium through which the group Christian spirit can best fulfill its obligations to the world.

The Moral Life of the Hebrews

By J. M. Powis Smith.....\$2.25, postpaid \$2.35

The story of human progress and development, as recorded in the Old Testament. It is an objective presentation of facts which affirm a historical progression of Hebrew moral life and which show that morals and religion, ethics and theology, have long been inseparable and have advanced hand in hand.

What Jesus Taught

By A. Wakefield Slaten.....\$1.50, postpaid \$1.60

A book for the better understanding of the actual teaching of Jesus as presented in the Gospels of Mark, Matthew, and Luke. A study of imperishable values dealing with Jesus' views in regard to hate, non-resistance, war, civilization, religion, and democracy.

The Religion of the Psalms

By J. M. Powis Smith.....\$1.75, postpaid \$1.85

The aim of this book is to bring out the significance of the Psalms as indicative of the religious and moral standards of later Judaism. There is no attempt here to find in the Psalms spiritual nourishment for the life of today. The effort is rather to present the meaning of the Psalms as it lay in the minds of their authors and earliest readers.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

5832 ELLIS AVENUE,

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS



ANATOLE FRANCE IN CLAY
(Photo from Wide World Photos)

Frontispiece to The Open Court

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXXVII (No. 5)

MAY, 1923

No. 804

Copyright by the Open Court Publishing Company, 1923

AFTER THE BONUS,—PENSIONS

BY ROLAND HUGINS

THOSE who imagine that the soldiers' bonus has been safely side-tracked fail to take account of two outstanding facts: first the number of world war "veterans" in the United States, roughly, about five millions of men, and second, the traditional and almost universal weakness of ex-soldiers for public funds. The opponents of the measure appear to believe, because they have won the first battle, that the campaign is over. Such, however, is not the opinion of the veterans themselves; they have announced officially that they have only begun to fight, and that they intend to batter at the doors of successive Congresses. The bonus will remain a political issue until it is paid, or until its tireless advocates drop it in despair.

Behind the bonus, looms the military pension, a bigger and more important problem. Adjusted compensation is to the front now; pensions will be agitated hotly ten or fifteen years hence. The two sets of demands, superficially alike, are really of a separate economic order. Some of the basic economic aspects of the bonus have received scant attention from the more rhetorical of its advocates. Undoubtedly a tremendous amount of mush has been spread over this whole question. We have heard gabble about the duty and justice of making the slacker who stayed at home and worked in a factory and wore silk shirts divide his gains with the patriot who wore khaki and went to war; and we have heard counter gabble about the iniquity of lowering the hero, by the process of paying the hero a few hundred dollars, to the level of the profiteer. We have heard warm eulogies on the hardy lads who marched fearlessly into the mouth of Hell, and cold statistics on the number of men who volunteered, the number who were drafted, the number who were sent to the front, and the number who never got beyond the

training camps at home. Here is the language of prejudice and passion rather than of persuasion. Whatever sound contentions there are for granting a bonus may be stated in more sober and prosaic terms. These contentions seem to me to be the following:

The enlisted men did suffer, economically, in comparison with the man who during the war period kept his old job or got a new one in civilian life. The margin of difference was not great, but neither is the proposed amount of adjusted compensation great. The American soldier received in cash one dollar a day or \$30 a month—not counting the allowances added by the Government to his allotments to relatives. His food, maintenance and clothing cost the Government about \$2 a day: a total compensation of \$3 a day for each day in the year. This sum was less than the wage paid to most workers during the war period. According to the best figures available, those of the National Bureau of Economic Research in its report on "Income in the United States, 1909-1919," the average per capita income of persons gainfully employed in the United States for the year 1918 was \$1,515. (It may be noted that the purchasing power of this \$1,515 at the 1913 price level was \$943—but that is beside the point.) The corresponding figure for 1917 was \$1,397, and for 1919, \$1,690. Under the bill recently vetoed by President Harding each soldier and sailor would have received—not however in cash—an adjusted service credit of \$1 for each day's service in the United States and \$1.25 for each day's service overseas or afloat, exclusive of the sixty days already covered by the two months' extra pay given each soldier and sailor at the time of his discharge. On this basis the total compensation of a private soldier, his pay plus his maintenance, plus his bonus, would reach a yearly rate of \$1,460 for service in the United States, and \$1,551 for service overseas. These totals do not appear to be excessive.

Furthermore, a sound precedent in this matter should be set for the future. Under modern conditions, every person is called upon to play some role in the national defense—or aggression. Why should soldiers and sailors, who do that work which is most difficult, irksome and dangerous, be the only classes which are grossly underpaid? In wartime, there is a scarcity of men and goods, resulting in a rise, even without the help of currency inflation, of both wages and prices. Nearly every wholesaler, jobber, merchant and shopkeeper reaps unusual profits, partly by the simple process of selling at the new price levels goods obtained when costs were lower. Again, most manufacturers, great and small, find themselves over-

whelmed with orders at good margins; they enter that paradise, which they dream about in peace times, where industry is stabilized, competition is suspended, and all plants are worked to full capacity. Finally, those who own natural resources in minerals, oil, coal or timber, make fortunes. In this situation the soldier, who is liable to wounds, exposure, and death, and certain of fatigue, discomfort, and insults is given a bare subsistence. That cannon fodder should be cheap, while business men have license to profiteer, seems natural only because we are used to the arrangement; it has no sanction in decency or right.

A severe economic depression has weighed upon the country during the last two years, and as a result many ex-service men have fallen in arrears. To these numerous needy ones a few hundred dollars would come as a blessing and a boon. How silly it is to talk sentimental bladderdash over an Unknown Soldier, who is admittedly dead, while refusing to do anything concrete for thousands of known soldiers who are alive and in distress!

The foregoing constitute the chief reasons why, to my mind, a bonus should be paid. There remain the fiscal considerations,—the amounts to be disbursed, and the sources of the money. The bill recently defeated, so narrowly that it is certain to be resuscitated, is badly drawn. In fact it is furtive and evasive, and at the same time clumsy. It seeks to postpone payment as long as possible, and entirely avoids any mention of ways and means. It would lay on the Government, according to the Treasury estimates, an obligation of over four billion dollars; yet out of that four billion only sixteen millions would be paid in cash. The rest would be spread out in the form of adjusted service certificates, of farm, home and land settlement aid, and of vocational training. The advantages of these schemes are largely illusory. Although they delay settlement, they vastly increase the cost in the long run. For example, the great majority (seventy-five per cent) of the veterans are expected to choose the certificate plan, because they can borrow money at the banks on their certificates, up to one-half of the face value. The worth of a certificate is to be determined, to quote the language of the bill, in this fashion: “a service certificate (will have) a face value equal to the sum of (1) the adjusted service credit of the veteran increased 25 per centum, plus (2) interest thereon for twenty years at the rate of four and one-half per centum per annum, compounded annually (such amount being approximately equal to 3.015 times the adjusted service credit of the veteran.)”

So here we have most of the obligation to be laid on the Government multiplied by three, simply in order to float a dubious scheme for postponement. The authors and sponsors of this measure apparently forgot the fable of the dog who lost his meal by jumping after too big a bone. Surely four billions of dollars is a staggering sum; but a little arithmetic, happily, will demonstrate that the expense of a bonus need not be nearly so large. The total number of men entitled to receive adjusted service pay, that is, the total number of ex-soldiers, sailors and marines minus certain excluded classes, is 4,458,199. Suppose that each of these men were offered a check for, let us say, \$350,—a gift which few would scorn. The total cost of that sort of bonus would be \$1,560,369,650, or in round numbers, a billion and a half. Again, suppose that each veteran were given his adjusted compensation in cash at the proposed rate of \$1 for each day of service in the United States and \$1.25 for each day of service overseas or afloat; what outlay would then be necessary? The total cost, as I reckon is on the basis of the official statistics, would be \$1,671,500,353, or in round numbers, a billion and two-thirds. This latter plan would be fairer than a flat uniform dole to each veteran, for under it every man would be compensated in proportion to the length of the time he served; so that some would receive as low as \$50 and some as high as \$800, with the average a little under \$400. And if, as the bonus bill proposed, the maximum basic credit for any one person were limited to \$625 for overseas service, and to \$500 for home service, then the total cost would be shrunk somewhat below one and two-thirds billions. Whatever approach is used, this conclusion stands out clearly; that of the four billion dollars estimated for the bonus, approximately two and a half-billions can be saved by paying in cash. Query: Why talk of anything else but cash?

Of course, even a billion and a half of dollars does not grow on bushes; it would have to be raised by taxation sooner or later. But some consolation may be drawn from the reflection that had the war lasted out the year 1918, had it, in other words, ended on December 31, 1918, instead of on November 11, the direct additional monetary cost to this country would have been \$2,200,000,000, exclusive of all loans to allies and associates. More exactly, the cost of a cash bonus would be equivalent to about five weeks of such war as the United States was waging before the Armistice. And plenty of hotheads have complained because our army did not

attempt to "march to Berlin." The only real extravagance is war. In comparison to it all other national outlays are trifles.

If a resolute search were made, numerous methods of raising a billion and a half could be discovered: for example, (1) another Victory loan, (2) a tariff for maximum revenue at the ports instead of a tariff for maximum domestic prices; (3) a stiff sales tax, or (4) a capital levy. It is said that the tariff schedules recently put into effect will add three billion dollars yearly to consumers' prices: that is twice the sum needed for a cash bonus. Or again, what possible objection can there be, from the point of view of public policy, to forcing the 2,000 new millionaires created by the war, along with the former millionaires who quadrupled their fortunes, and the smaller fry who made only a paltry half million or so,—what objection can there be to making these fat parasites pay through the nose? It is true that during the war the Federal Government fixed prices, and imposed a steep excess profits tax. It is also true that billions of dollars ran through these sieves, and that more billions were siphoned away surreptitiously. Our profiteers have not yet been made to disgorge.

My fundamental contention is this: that in problems of this sort, involving disbursements to soldiers and ex-soldiers from the public treasury, we should be guided by principles, rather than suffer ourselves to be swayed this way and that by sentimental pleas, or to be pushed about by political exigencies. The soundest principle which we can follow is, to my mind, the principle of compensation. The soldier is worthy of his hire. He should be paid a wage equal at least to the wage paid other laborers in wartime. And when that wage has been paid the obligation, so far as monetary payment goes, has been liquidated, unless, indeed, the soldier has suffered wounds or other disability in the discharge of his duties. The state, which sends men into war, ought to make full and adequate provision for those whose physical or mental powers are impaired in that service. The Government of the United States, it can be said to its credit, has recognized its obligations to war-maimed men without reservation, and now discharges that obligation more generously than has any other nation in the history of the world. It undertakes, furthermore, to provide properly for the dependent relatives of those who fall in battle, or who die from disease or disability contracted in military service. From 1917 to the end of the fiscal year 1922, the Federal Government paid to world war veterans and their dependents, in the form of military and naval

compensation, and military and naval insurance, the sum of \$687,879,088, and furthermore expended \$115,164,931 for hospital and medical services and \$299,768,105 for vocational rehabilitation; a total for these three items of \$1,102,812,124.

All payments of the kind we have just enumerated are made in settlement of obligations incurred; they are but just compensation for services. At this point, however, the score is wiped clean. No veteran, discharged in sound health and returned to civilian pursuits, has any claim to be supported, or even partially supported by the Government for the rest of his life. Nor has he any preferential right, that is, any right not shared by every other wage earner, to a pension in his old age. Here, too, we need a principle to guide us.

Perhaps the most significant passage in the message of President Harding vetoing the bonus bill, transmitted to Congress September 19, 1922, was the following:

"It is essential to remember that a more than four-billion-dollar pledge to the able-bodied ex-service men now will not diminish the later obligations which will have to be met when the younger veterans of today shall contribute to the rolls of the aged, indigent and dependent. It is as inevitable as that the years will pass that pension provision for World War veterans will be made, as it has been made for those who served in previous wars. It will cost more billions than I venture to suggest. There will be justification when the need is apparent, and a rational financial policy today is necessary to make the nation ready for the expenditure which is certain to be required in the coming years. The contemplation of such a policy is in accord with the established practice of the nation and puts the service men of the World War on the same plane as the millions of men who fought the previous battles of the republic."

"It will cost more billions than I venture to suggest," said the President. Quite right! It will cost more billions than anyone dares to imagine if the five million veterans of the World War, and their widows, are to be pensioned at any such rates, and under any such lack of plan or rule, and with any such complete disregard of individual needs, as has characterized the administration of Civil War pensions. And yet pensions of some sort will certainly be paid. Does anyone believe that when the young veterans of today become aged and in some proportion indigent, they will be allowed to starve and freeze, or left to the uncertain mercies of the poor laws? That a nation pretending to be civilized should shamefully neglect any

of its old and infirm, veterans or non-veterans, male or female, would scarcely be credible if we did not have ever before us the notable example of the United States of America. Possibly the very vastness of this impending pension problem will force this country, at last, to face the economic realities of old age dependency.

Practically every nation in Christendom, except the United States, has some system of old age pensions or insurance—England, Germany, France, Italy, Australia,—most of the rest. Even in many of the so-called backward countries family tradition insures kindly care for the elderly. In China the old people sit in the sun and laugh; but in America they do not laugh, and few know or care what becomes of them. One characteristic American method of dealing with a social problem is to run it underground out of sight; let the surface of life seem fair and we are content. The indigent old are never much in evidence, and if their distress is too acute they can seek refuge in a poorhouse.

I quote from the report of a social worker after visiting a typical city Home for the Aged:

“Perhaps the most striking thing of all is the horror of the huge dormitories with the beds nearer together than in the usual hospital wards. That people can sleep in such huge dormitories so close together seems incomprehensible. . . . In spite of long years of tenement visiting, I could stand no longer the sight of such depressed, hopeless, sad, vacant, wretched faces.”

Most poorhouses become shabby retreats for dull misery. The inmates, besides bearing the burden of their own weariness and pain, are often subject to petty tyranny, to abuse and to cheating. For example, inspectors and investigating commissions frequently discover, and relate in their reports, that the attendants feed themselves far better than the aged folk entrusted to their care. Official reports on State charitable institutions disclose such instances as this: “an old woman dying of cancer on the floor on a pallet made of old worn-out quilts. By her side was a bowl of soft-cooked rice, with flies walking around the bowl. The old woman told the officer:

“Somehow I can’t get no liking for my food. I can remember once some sardines and some crackers tasted mighty good to me—and I believe I could eat that, but they can only give me corn pone, bacon and soft rice.”

Most old people, however poor, however feeble, loathe the disgrace and the shame of going to the poorhouse. They fight against it; they do any kind of menial work to escape it. But the super-

annuated find scanty employment for their failing strength. Here are the conditions in a New York tea room and restaurant:

"The waitresses had to be young and strong, but the women who worked in the kitchen were middle-aged or old, women who should have been at the leisure time of life. The thought of one's own mother or grandmother in such a position was unbearable, but here was somebody's mother or grandmother picking chicken bones amid slops or washing dishes at breakneck speed on through a long day of intolerable heat. And all for a sum so tiny that it meant but a poor bed to sleep in and poor food after the day was over.

"I can do my stent of dishes with the best of them," quavered an old lady of seventy, obviously in need of food, begging the Orge for a job one morning.

"Aw, run along! What can an old hag like you do?" was the answer."

Of course there are plenty of well-fed fools who will say that the foregoing examples are exceptional. Unfortunately they are reproduced by the thousands every day in the year in this broad land. Elderly derelicts, however, soon sink out of sight; defeated, discouraged, exhausted, they creep away to die, and it is little wonder that many of them anticipate the end by suicide. But what kind of a civilization is it which permits that kind of a thing?

Ample experience has demonstrated that the most effective way of mitigating the rigors of senility is a straight-out old-age pension system. Pensions directly relieve distress and they are free from the stigma which attaches to most other forms of poor relief. All the advanced nations have embraced them. But in the United States a perverted individualism, resolving itself into a callous adherence to the doctrine of "the devil take the hindermost," has so far prevented their adoption. In this wealthiest nation the wealthiest classes, who regard any increase of taxation as the worst of all governmental crimes, cry out "paternalism" and "socialism" on this proposal. Fallacious arguments, though they have been refuted time without number, still pass muster here. It is contended that old age pensions destroy thrift and undermine character. But the officers of the regular army and of the navy have retirement pensions, and fat ones. Are their characters undermined by the prospect of an ample income in their old age? For the average workingman with a family to raise and educate, the accumulation of savings against superannuation is simply impossible. That old age dependency is due chiefly to improvidence, intemperance, thriftlessness

and extravagance is the mistaken notion of the comfortable and the ignorant. For the masses of the population a bleak old age of poverty is inevitable and unavoidable. Merits and deserts are irrelevant, so far as relief from distress is concerned. All the old are deserving.

The cost of a national old age pension system would be large, but by no means appalling. In Great Britain pensions begin at the age of seventy, and attain a maximum of ten shillings a week. If the old man or woman has an income of his or her own the pension is reduced or withheld, according to the amount of that income. In the year 1921-1922 the total cost of old age pensions in England, Scotland and Ireland, distributed to 1,002,342 pensioners, of whom 353,794 were men and 648,548 were women, was \$121,922,820. The maximum yearly pension in Great Britain, roughly \$125, undoubtedly would be too small under American living conditions. A pension of \$200 a year to each of the indigent old would be more nearly adequate and \$240 would be better. The Federal census of 1920 showed that there were in that year 2,864,740 persons of both sexes of seventy years or older in the United States, out of a total population of 105,710,620. A pension of \$200 for each and every one of these 2,864,740 old people would cost \$572,948,000 a year. But a few of them would have incomes of their own, and some would be supported comfortably by their relatives. If the number of pensioners were reduced by approximately 30 per cent, as would be the case if need were a qualification, the annual cost would be \$401,063,600.

The point of the matter, financially, is this: that already the United States is spending each year for Civil War Pensions alone more than half the sum needed to pension all the needy old in the country. In the fiscal year ended June 30, 1922, the Bureau of Pensions sent out pension checks aggregating \$253,807,583, of which \$236,151,244 went to veterans of the Civil War and their widows. Practically all the money now disbursed to Civil War veterans constitutes an old age pension for those whom it reaches, since the average age of Civil War veterans is at present seventy-eight. Between 1865 and 1922 the Federal Government spent for pensions, exclusive of all payments on account of the World War made through the Bureau of War Risk Insurance and the Veterans' Bureau, the enormous sum of \$6,246,898,676—six and a quarter billions. In 1902, when the number of pensioners reached 999,446, the maximum in our history, the total annual outlay was \$137,759,-653, whereas in 1922, when the number of pensioners had fallen to

547,016, over four hundred and fifty thousand less, the amount disbursed in pensions had increased to \$253,807,583, over a hundred millions more. To continuous demands for increases either in the amount of dole or in the number of pensioners, Congress has replied with a series of prompt capitulations. The latest congressional move, blocked only by Executive veto, was to vote an increase of \$22 a month—from \$50 to \$72—to all Civil War veterans. Even at present 33,000 Civil War veterans receive \$72 a month, the law granting that sum in all cases where the veteran requires the care and attention of another person.

I am not quarreling with Civil War pensions as such. The basic principle is sound. Nearly everyone is aware, however, that the system has developed glaring defects. For one thing, the provisions on disability were gradually widened, through the insistence of veterans' organizations, until any injury or sickness, no matter how late in life incurred or how totally unconnected with military experience, was pensionable. Again, the record of applications was marked by innumerable instances of fraud, perjury and false personation, which the timidity of all Presidents except Grover Cleveland, and the laxity of all Congresses without exception, rendered easy and often successful. Further, age was made pensionable automatically, beginning at 62 years, and these age pensions were granted utterly without reference to need or circumstances. Greed and deception, consequently, have had large influence on the awards. It has not been infrequent to find Civil War veterans who were well and vigorous drawing substantial salaries as public employees, after having obtained their appointments under privileged conditions, and at the same time drawing large military pensions. The swinishness of those who condone such a misuse of public money is apparent when one stops to think of the shivering old men and women who in the meantime have been hawking trifles about the streets in a vain struggle to ward off starvation.

From both a humanitarian and a financial point of view, our pension practices for the last half century have been blameworthy: rapacity on the one hand and laxity on the other. Great Britain spends about one hundred and twenty-five million dollars a year to pension one million persons,—all her old who need aid. We spend twice as much money to pension half as many people—and leave four-fifths of our elderly folk to shift for themselves. In the future matters will certainly grow much worse, unless we grasp our present favorable opportunity to mend our ways and to create a

just and scientific old age pension system. At the end of the Civil War the veterans of the Union armies numbered a few thousand over one million. There are now about five million three hundred thousand veterans of the World War. Shall we multiply the mistakes of the past by five?

Yet clear and compelling as may be the reasons for the establishment of an adequate system of old age pensions in the United States, the likelihood of action is slim. At present there is no strong public opinion behind the proposal. We cannot hope for any independent initiative on this score from such time-serving, vote-hunting mediocrities as now fill most of the seats in Congress. Popular clamor could, of course, compel legislative action. But the clamor of the indigent old is too thin and feeble a voice to reach the ears of underbred and callous politicians.

THE FRANCIAN FIEND

BY MAXIMILIAN J. RUDWIN

O F THE more important literatures of Europe, the literature of France has until recently not been very successful in its attempts at a representation of the Devil. The Frenchman, in contrast to his neighbors East and West, has been slow to understand the soul of Satan. In vain will we look in French literature for a devil worthy to take his place with Dante's Dis, Calderon's Lucifer, Milton's Satan, and Goethe's Mephistopheles. We would bring eternal shame on the heads of these noble chiefs of the Infernal Kingdom if we were to place at their side that charlatan and arch-bohemian, Le Sage's Asmodeus. What a miserable showing would Chateaubriand's Satan make in this august company! Why, we blush to think how he would sustain a conversation with his Miltonic model. The sophisticated and sentimental Satans of the French Romantic School would cut no better figure in the presence of the diabolical creations of other countries. Nor is Baudelaire's Beelzebub a very imposing character. He is but a dandy devil and a Beau Brummel of the boulevards.

It has been reserved for Anatole France, the first of contemporary French writers and perhaps the world's greatest man of letters of today to present his country with a devil who is every inch the equal of any that ever issued forth from the mind of man. He is indeed *primus inter pares*. A prevision of this distinction must have stirred within our author when he chose as a pseudonym the name of his country.

It is a remarkable fact that this latter-day exponent of the spirit of doubt and denial should be so interested in this Christian character. This sceptic is simply haunted by the spiritual and supernatural, by the marvellous and mysterious. This rationalist feels the common man's craving for the credulous. Anatole France holds that

the supernatural fills an essential need of man. In his essay, "Hypnotism in Literature" (1887),¹ we read as follows:

"The feeling of the marvellous is innate in us, and neither the scientific temper nor metaphysical speculations can wholly demolish it. . . . The seventeenth century in France, with its Cartesian philosophy, is the only age I know of which willingly and easily dispensed with the marvellous. Reason then dominated men's minds. It dominated them still in Voltaire's time. But its dryness appeared. . . . I want to be amused, and I believe that there is no happiness without illusion. The truth is that it is not from magicians and spirits but from novelists and poets that we must ask the way to the unknown world. . . . It is from new Apuleiuses, it is from Hoffmanns and Edgar Poes that we shall ask initiations to the mysteries."

What Sainte-Beuve said of Chateaubriand applies with greater truth to Anatole France, "a pagan with a Catholic imagination." In contrast to that other anti-Christian, Leconte de Lisle, whom he greatly admired,² our author is not so much interested in the pagan religions as in the teachings and traditions of the Catholic Church. He studied *con amore* biblical archaeology and hagiology. The learning of this most cultivated of contemporary men of letters ranges from classical writings to patristic, cabalistic and esoteric literatures, and from ancient myths to modern mystifications. Monachism has always been his special weakness, and he has again and again returned to this subject.

Anatole France is as diligent as inquirer into the selenography of the unknown as into the geography of the known. To this relativist, who holds a belief in the universal flux of things and in man's inability to discover any moral or intellectual order in the universe, the word and the conception "supernatural" are but meaningless. Where substance is reduced to shadow, shadow may be taken as substance. If the known world is but a vast illusion, the dream of a dream, the unknown world may be a reality. From this fact results this sceptic's belief in the scientific possibility of invisible beings ("Mad Folk in Literature," 1887).³ All is equal, this spiritual son of Renan teaches; nothing matters. "From his high observation-tower, the visions of fanatical saints appear on a level with the great political revolutions and social reformations of mankind."

¹ *On Life and Letters*, vol. I (1888). Quotations in this article are taken from the uniform English translation of the works of Anatole France published by John Lane, London and New York, 1902ff. The titles are given in their English equivalents.

² Anatole France consecrated to Leconte de Lisle his first article in 1867 and six years later dedicated to him his first book.

³ See Note 1.

Anatole France is especially interested in the epochs of the Thebaid and of the first saints and martyrs of France and Italy. But he is not loath to seek the supernatural also in modern times.

Already in his boyhood, Anatole France felt profoundly the poetic charm of Catholic legend. He was brought up on biblical stories and the Lives of the Saints. He read them at his mothers' knee, and the love of these quaint old legends has never left him. He started his literary career with the *Legend of Saint Radegunde, Queen of France*, which he wrote as a school-exercise in his fifteenth year. It must be admitted, though, that he often caricatures the legends he loved so well in his earlier days. He employs the Golden Legend as a satirical means. In his hands the supernatural element of the Christian religion is a weapon borrowed from his enemies to be used against them.

What most interested Anatole France as a boy in the Catholic world of marvel and mystery was the personality of the Devil. Legions of horned demons, he tells us, in his autobiographical *Pierre Nozière* (1899), danced their rounds in his childish imagination. He would often mistake his eider-down coverlet for a devil. It was his grandmother who filled his mind with tales of demons. Sceptic though she was, our author tells us, she held a pretty strong belief in the Devil and the Black Bogey (*My Friend's Book*, 1885). This belief in Beelzebub has been repeatedly asserted by Anatole France himself. This scoffer at all things sacred firmly believes in a personal devil. But how meaningless is the word "belief" when we deal with a writer, who, though denying man an immortal soul, exclaims: "I believe in the immortal soul of Punch!" But even if the Devil never existed, he exists now as the creation of Anatole France. His hypothetical reply to a monk, who might tell him of the Devil, we may well apply to the author himself: "If an old monk came to me and said, 'I have seen the Devil; he has two horns and a tail,' I should make reply to that same monk and say, 'Father, even supposing the Devil did not exist already, you have created him. He exists now without a shadow of a doubt. Take care that he does not have you.' " (*Ibid.*)

Anatole France is of the opinion that we could not get along without the Devil. He shares the belief of the German mystic Jacob Boehme that "God can be known only through evil." Again and again our author stresses the point that evil is an indispensably necessary element in the economy of the universe. The history of the world has shown that the supposedly opposed realms of human

activity personified in the Almighty and his Adversary are equally essential and eternal. How could we indeed be good without the pitchfork? With the passing of the Devil, all life would disappear from the face of the earth. Our author would not be comforted when he saw the Devil apparently dead. In his autobiographical *My Friend's Book*, he tells us that one day he took his baby girl Suzannah to a Punch and Judy show, which ended in the death of the Devil.⁴ This canonical ending delighted the common crowd, but it saddened our philosopher. He said to himself:

"The Devil dead, good-bye to sin! Perhaps Beauty, the Devil's ally, would have to go also."⁵ Perhaps we should never more behold the flowers that enchant us; and the eyes for the love of which we would lay down our lives.⁶ What, if that is so, what in the world would become of us? Should we still be able to practise virtue? I doubt it. Punch did not sufficiently bear in mind that Evil is the necessary counterpart of Good, as darkness is of light, that virtue wholly consists of effort, and that if there is no more any Devil to fight against, the Saints will remain as much out of work as the Sinners. Life will be mortally dull. I tell you that when he killed the Devil, Punch committed an act of grave imprudence.

"Well, Pulchinello came on and made his bow, the curtain fell, and all the little boys and girls went home; but still I sat on deep in meditation. Mam'zelle Suzanne, perceiving my thoughtful mien, concluded that I was in trouble. . . . Very gently and tenderly she takes hold of my hand and asks me why I am unhappy. I confess that I am sorry that Punch has killed the Devil. Then she puts her little arms round my neck, and putting her lips to my ears, she whispers:

"I tell you somefin: Punch, he killed the nigger, but he has not killed him for good.'"⁷

"Yes," our author affirms in his essay, "Virtue in France" (1887,⁸ "evil is immortal. Satan, the genius, in whom the old theology in-

⁴ Payne Collier (*Punch and Judy*, 5th ed., London, 1870, p. 66) mentions a marionette-player who had religious scruples about making Punch kill the Devil, but the audience were so attached to the canonical ending that they hooted and mishandled him. On the origin of this ending the reader is referred to F. M. Cornford, *The Origin of the Attic Comedy* (London, 1914), p. 146.

⁵ According to the Church Fathers the Devil lurks behind all beauty.

⁶ St. Cyrian saw the Devil in a flower.

⁷ Quoted from the present writer's anthology of *Devil Stories* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1921), pp. 322-3. Anatole France need not have been so wrought up over the death of the Devil. According to a popular poem, the first stanza of which follows, he has a wife who is fully able to carry on his work after his death:

"The Devil is dead. He died serene,
Though somewhat oppressed by cares;
But his wife, my friends, is a woman of mind—
She looks after her lord's affairs."

⁸ See note 1.

carnates it, will survive the last man and remain alone, seated with folded wings, upon the ruins of extinct worlds."

"Evil is necessary," our author insists again. "If it did not exist, neither would good. Evil is the sole potential of good. . . .

"It is thanks to evil and sorrow that the earth is habitable and that life is worth living. We should not therefore be hard on the Devil. He is a great artist and a great *savant*; he has created at least one-half of the world. And his half is so cunningly embedded in the other that it is impossible to interfere with the first without at the same time doing a like injury to the second. Each vice you destroy had a corresponding virtue, which perishes along with it.

"I enjoyed the pleasure of seeing, one day, at a country fair, the life of St. Antony the Great represented by marionettes. . . . Oh, how vividly it brings before us the two things working together to one end,—God's grace and the Devil's!"

"St. Antony is a great Saint only because he successfully resisted the Queen of Sheba. Well, is it not obvious then that in sending this beauteous lady . . . the Devil indispensably performed an act which was indispensably necessary to constitute his Saintship?"

"Thus the marionettes confirmed me in my belief that evil is an indispensable pre-condition of good, and the Devil a necessity for the moral beauty of the universe." (*The Garden of Epicurus*, 1895.)

"Evil is necessary," Anatole France repeats himself again. "It has like good its source in human nature, and the one cannot be destroyed without the other." (*M. Bergeret in Paris*, 1901.)⁹

What distinguishes the Francian Fiend from the Romantic devils is the fact that idealized and divinized as he is he remains a devil. He is a god of grace, a lord of love, a luminous genius of reason,¹⁰ a lover of learning, a patron of art, a pioneer of progress, a great philosopher,¹¹ a sound theologian,¹² a strong logician,¹³ and dialecti-

⁹ It was under the influence of Anatole France that our James Huneker has written the following praise of the Prince of the world: "The Devil is the mainspring of our moral system. Mock him and you mock God—who created him. Without him the world would be all light without shadow, and there would be no art, no music—the Devil is the greatest of all musicians. He created the chromatic scale—that is why Richard Wagner admired the Devil in music—what is *Parsifal* but a version of the Black Mass?" (*Bedouins*, 1920.)

¹⁰ "Thought led Satan himself to revolt, and still Satan was a son of God." (*The Well of St. Claire*.)

¹¹ "Satan was the first philosopher." (Hebbel.)

¹² The Devil "is a great theologian." (*Penguin Island*.) "The Devil definitely remains the only doctor who has not yet been refuted." (On Skepticism," in *On Life and Letters*, vol. I, 1888.)

¹³ "We remember the memorable saying of the Devil, 'I also am a logician.'" (*Ibid.*) "The Devil understands logic." (Heine in *Elementargästher*.) The poet Verlaine calls Satan "the old logician."

cian,¹⁴ and withal a devil.¹⁵ What Ivan Karamazov says of his own devil holds just as good of this Teacher and Tempter. "If you undressed him, you would be sure to find a tail—a long and smooth tail, like that of a Dutch hound." And our devil has a cloven hoof, too.¹⁶

Anatole France's Devil is a new species of the *genus diabolus*. He is an original character, sprung full blown from the most civilized mind in the world today. In his mockery of mankind he proves himself to be a descendant of Mephistopheles, but in contrast to Goethe's devil who always denies, the Francian Contradictor now denies and now affirms, but whatever he says, he says conditionally. He is neither the Everlasting Nay nor the Everlasting Yea. He will commit himself to no fixed principles. What he delights in is to confound and contravert. He is a hair-splitting demon, a devil of fine shades. The Subtle Doctor is a Pangloss who has sat at the feet of Renan. He is now good, now evil, or, which is still better, neither good nor evil. Like his creator, he is merely what he is. But we must not look for a consistent conception of the Devil in the work of a fluid thinker, who can hold simultaneously two divergent views on any subject.

BALTHASAR (1889)

The Queen of Sheba, who charms Balthasar as she charmed Solomon, is a demoness. She "hides her cloven hoof under a trailing skirt embroidered with pearls" (*The Garden of Epicurus*). According to rabbinical legend she is Lilith, the Goddess of Hell, whom Eastern tradition affirms to have been Adam's first wife.¹⁷ According to a medieval legend it was this serpent-woman who tempted Adam to eat of the forbidden fruit, as Satan seduced Eve.

¹⁴ The Devil is a good controversialist. He disputed with the archangel Michael, contending about the body of Moses (Jude 9). "You must not discuss with him, however good a reasoner you may be, you will be worsted, for he is a most tricky dialectician." (Huysmans in *En route*, 1895.)

¹⁵ "Satan is an incomprehensible personage. He thinks like a medieval monk and a modern philosopher; his mind is philosophical and yet it is full of impishness." (Anatole France.)

¹⁶ "He has—excuse my saying it—hoofs and a tail behind, but he has more brains than many a student." (Anton Chekhov in *The Shoemaker and the Devil*.)

¹⁷ See L. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, vol. I, p. 233, and *Devil Stories*, p. 317f. Consult also J. Halévy, *la Légende de la reine de Saba*, Paris, 1905. (*Annuaire de l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes: Section des Sciences historiques et philosophiques*.) The kernel of the legend of the Queen of Sheba is found in I Kings x. 1-3. Mr. A. S. Freidus, of the New York Public Library, has published "A Bibliography of Lilith," in the *Bulletin of the Brooklyn Entomological Society*, vol. XII (1907), No. 1.

THE DAUGHTER OF LILITH (1889)¹⁸

The Daughter of Lilith is a modern version of the legend of the Venusberg. A deathless daughter of the demoness Lilith comes up to earth and attaches herself to a young Parisian. It needs all the exorcism of the curé Safrac to purify this modern Tannhäuser from his relations with the new Venus. This immortal and fatal maiden envies her half-sisters, the daughters of Eve, and prays for death that she may also enjoy life, and for remorse that she may also know pleasure.

THAIS (1890)

Thais, written under the influence of Flaubert's *Temptation of St. Antony*, is a bitter satirical attack against Christian asceticism. The author aims to show how the suppression of natural instincts has for its results the exact contrary of its expectations. The book has been called half museum, half pandemonium.

Paphnutius, a holy hermit of the Thebaid, praying in his cell, is haunted by the recollections of the talented actress and beautiful courtesan Thais, seen in the theater of Alexandria and admired by him in the flower of his years, and his spirit moves him to return to the city in order to undertake her conversion. He abandons his cell and his hair-shirt, goes to Alexandria, visits Thais, resists the seduction of her beauty and accomplishes his mission. The courtesan is unhappy and superstitious and lends an ear to the words of her former admirer. She repents of her sins, renounces the world and the flesh and turns back to the Christian God. Paphnutius conducts his penitent to a convent and returns to the desert. But alas! he finds no contentment any longer in his cell. He has taken with him the dangerous image of her beauty. In saving her he has lost himself. The Devil, whom he has driven out of her, has entered into his own soul. The seeds of carnal love, which he has uprooted in her heart, have been sown in his own heart. The despiser of the flesh is conquered by the flesh. Sinner is changed into saint, and saint is changed into sinner. Paphnutius is tempted unceasingly in body and mind. No penance and no discipline avail. He vainly carries his temptations to a pillar and then to a desert tomb. He can no longer distinguish the voice of the Devil from the voice of God. He finally realizes that Satan has been guiding his steps and

¹⁸ This is the best of the stories which appeared under the title of *Balthasar*.

that he has been the sport of the demons of darkness. When at last he can bear it no longer and decides to rush to Thais, he reaches the convent to find her pass away as a saint. He throws himself on her, cursing and blaspheming, and is driven away by the nuns from the body, as if he were a ghoul. The monk pays with his own soul for the soul he has saved. His noble deed has encompassed his downfall. Venus, the mother of demons, has avenged herself on him for having taken away her chief priestess.

SAINT SATYR (1895)¹⁹

Fra Mino, in kneeling at the tomb of Saint Satyr in the chapel of his monastery, beholds in a vision, rising out of the tomb, many mists, each of which assuming the form of a woman. The ancient fairies and nymphs, having been driven from the earth by the monks, sought refuge in the tomb of their old friend. This satyr was received into the church and later admitted into the canon of the Saints, because he had helped the first apostles in their work of evangelization. Fra Minor betrays their secret, the tomb of the satyr is opened, the nymphs are chased out, and in revenge they filch the heart of the monk.

The story, *Saint Satyr*, might just as well have been named "Saint Satan." After the new-born Christianity had brought under its sway the Greeks and Romans of the West, the ancient deities swelled the legions of Hell, and the Greek satyrs became changed into devils with horns, tail and cloven foot. The nymphs, we learn in this story, became the medieval witches. It need not surprise us to find a satyr sanctified. According to popular superstition, there are devils among the sacred in Heaven. The soldiers, in Victor Hugo's, *Han d'Islande* (1823), swear by the merits of Saint Belphegor and Saint Beelzebub. "The devils," Victor Hugo tells us, "often pass themselves off as saints. Even the Church herself is not proof against such delusions. The demons Raguhel, Oribel and Tobiel were regarded as saints until the year 745 when Pope Zachary, having at length detected them, turned them out" (*les Travailleurs de la mer*, 1866).

¹⁹ This and the next three stories appeared in *The Well of St. Claire*, a collection of stories supposedly told to our author, during the Renaissance period, on the edge of Santa Clara's well at Siena by a priest, who held the unorthodox belief that the Devil was not so black as he was painted, and that he would reform in the end of days.

LUCIFER (1895)²⁰

In this story, Anatole France shows the danger of maligning the Devil. Spinello Spinelli, a talented artist of five centuries ago, who caricatured Lucifer, beholds in a vision the archangel who forsook Heaven to become prince of this world. He asks the painter in what place he beheld him under so brutish a form as he painted him. Satan bitterly resents the anxiety of the good Christians to present him in as ugly a form as they can command. There is really no warrant in the Sacred Scriptures for the conception of a deformed Devil. Satan is first presented as hideous in the apocryphal writings. In the *Acts of St. Bartholomew*, he who "one day wore a crown under the eyes of God," is described for the first time as black, horned, hairy, bat-winged and cloven footed.²¹ This form has been derived from the classical gods on whose heritage the Judeo-Christian Devil entered. Like the Greek Gorgon, the Christian Satan is meant to represent, as Anatole France has said, the sympathetic alliance between physical ugliness and moral evil.

The modern French writers have a rather flattering idea of the fiend's appearance. Georges Ohnet, in his novel, *L'olonté* (1889), describes his villain, Clément de Thauziat, as "resplendent in Satanic beauty" (p. 362).²² Anatole France himself represents the Devil as "black and beautiful as a young Egyptian" (*The Human Tragedy*). In popular imagination, however, this author admits that the Devil still continues to be repulsive in appearance. In his novel, *The Gods Are Athirst* (1912), he describes the little lawyer who played the part of the Devil for the entertainment of his fellow-prisoners as "small, dark, blind on one eye, hunch-backed, bandy-legged, the lame Devil in person" (p. 277).

THE HUMAN TRAGEDY (1895)

In *The Human Tragedy* as in *Thais*, our author aims to show how pride of spirit and lust of flesh will result from the rarest and saintliest virtues that Christian asceticism engenders in the heart of man.

²⁰ This story has been included, accompanied by a critical article, in the present writer's anthology of *Devil-Stories*. It is based on Giorgio Vasari's *Vite de' più eccellenti Pittori, Scultori et Architetti* (1550). This book, which is the basis of the history of Renaissance art in Italy, was translated into English in 1900 by Mrs. J. Foster. Robert Arden has written, in 1910, *The Life of Giorgio Vasari, a Study of the Later Renaissance in Italy*.

²¹ Notions of the Devil as an Ethiopian or Moor are also found in the *Acts of the Martyrs* and in the writings of Augustine and Gregory the Great.

²² Marie Corelli, in her novel, *Sorrows of Satan* (1895), portrays her hero as "a perfect impersonation of perfect manhood."

Satan, watching the Franciscan brethren, who follow the teachings of the founder of their order and seek contentment in the forgetfulness of the world and of themselves, afflicts them by revealing to them truth and wisdom; "for there is no joy except in illusion and peace is found only in ignorance." Among these Mendicant Friars of the House of Viterbo is Fra Giovanni, who outdoes in humility all his brethren. He knows all the joys of simplicity and poverty, and being happy, is proof against the assaults of the Enemy. The Tempter appears to the eyes of this holy man first in the form of a veiled widow-woman to show to him how the tree of charity may bear ill fruits, but he is foiled by the monk's simplicity of mind. Fra Giovanni is less happy, however, when the Adversary, tempting him a second time in the guise of a holy bishop, holds reasonable discourse with him concerning his cherished poverty. But when the Devil sees how the poor monk's mind has been troubled by his words, he takes pity on him and, assuming his proper form, reassures him and tells him to be without fear. "Friend," says he, "be comforted. I am the Evil Spirit."

Fra Giovanni goes forth in the land to preach charity and poverty and human brotherhood. But he is rejected both by the oppressors and the oppressed. The government sees treason in his words, and he is cast into prison and condemned to death. He consoles himself for this treatment by the thought that he will die for the Truth. Then the Devil appears to him in a vision and asks him, "What is Truth?" Truth, the Devil answers his own question, is a sound, a chimera, an illusion. He then proceeds to show the humble monk by means of a symbol that all who have thought to possess truth have but possessed contradictory parcels of the Truth that is perfect and not to be attained or expressed by man. The poor prisoner's heart grows sad, and his faith is undermined by the ingenious arguments of the Subtle Doctor. How can he dare and care to be a martyr of a mere illusion? The Devil in this manner destroys in the monk the desire for martyrdom. He also tempts him with the joy of life and the lust of the flesh. The monk begins to sigh for freedom and the breath of day beneath the pine trees on the mountain slopes so enticingly presented by the Devil. Then the Deliverer leads the prisoner away with him, gives him to eat of the Apple and reveals to him the beauty and the sadness of life. Now Fra Giovanni thrills in response to the charm of the world, but his heart is troubled within him, and his body is distressed. He recognizes now his Tempter and Teacher, yet although he suffers from

his loss of faith, he feels no rancor against him. Knowing that the Devil has given him of the fruit of the tree of knowledge, has endowed him with reason and understanding, has brought him to feel and will and suffer, and has taught him to know life as it is, the man can only turn toward his Deliverer in gratitude and love.

"And Giovanni gazed at his companion, who stood there beautiful as day and night. And then he said to him:

"Through you it is I suffer, and I love you. I love you because you are my misery and my pride, my joy and my sorrow, the splendor and the cruelty of things created, because you are desire and speculation, and because you have made me like unto yourself. For verily your promise in the Garden, in the dawn of this world's days, was not in vain, and I have tasted the fruit of the knowledge of good and evil, O Satan."

"Presently Giovanni resumed again:

"I know, I see, I feel, I will, I suffer. And I love you for all the ill you have done me. I love you, because you have undone me."

"And leaning on the Archangel's shoulder, the *man* wept bitterly."²³

THE LADY OF VERONA (1895)

This Italian woman so loves her beauteous body that she implores the Devil to save it after her death. The night after her burial her body disappears from the tomb. The story is a delicious bit of diabolical fancy.

PENGUIN ISLAND (1908)

Saint Mael, a Breton monk, famous for his missionary zeal, sets out to bring his backsliding children on the island of Hoedic back to the faith. He wishes to make his missionary journey in a stone trough. But a nautical devil tempts him to fit out his apostolic boat with mast, sail, rudder and prow of wood for swifter progression.²⁴ The simple old saint lends his ear to the suggestion of the progressive Enemy of Mankind. In his eagerness to bring the stray sheep back to the fold, our holy man thus puts himself unwittingly in the power of the Adversary. A frightful tempest springs up, and driven out of its course, the accursed craft carries the monk by the power of Satan far away to the frozen Antarctic seas. At last the saint realizes that it is the Devil who is blowing into his sails, exorcizes him with the sign of the Cross, and worn out lands safely on an island which is inhabited not by men but by penguins. The

²³ The present writer's italics.

holy man, somewhat advanced in age and poor in sight and understanding, mistakes the penguins for a primitive heathen people, preaches the Gospel to them, and, after explaining to them successively Adoption, Rebirth, Regeneration and Illumination, baptizes them all in three days and three nights.

When the news of the baptism of the birds reaches Heaven, it causes great consternation. An ecclesiastical conference is called, and after long deliberations, it is decided to endow the birds with souls. The penguins are metamorphosed into human beings, and the island is transplanted to the coasts of Armorica. Saint Mael's first care is to clothe the inhabitants of the island, and in this good resolution he is warmly supported by the Devil, who is disguised as a monk. But the holy man is shocked at the unexpected results of this reform. The Devil remarks to the monk that modesty adds to woman's attraction for man and impairs rather than improves morals. The penguins commence to establish law and order on their island. They set bounds to their fields, and in dividing thus the ground among themselves they fight and murder each other. The holy man is deeply chagrined over the conduct of his spiritual offspring, but the Devil remarks that the murderers are but "creating law, founding property, establishing the principles of civilization, the basis of society and the foundations of the State." He explains further that the cause of property is force, and that might always makes for right in this best of all possible worlds. The rest of the history of Penguinia fully bears out the truth of the Devil's statement. The Catholic Devil has his hand in founding the first dynasty in Penguinia and in the canonization of its patron saint.²⁵

Penguin Island is Anatole France's principal political book, as *The Revolt of the Angels* is his principal theological book. It is a satirical history of his own country, and an unsparing condemnation of all human civilization.

²⁴ "Haste is from Satan, and leisure from the Merciful One," says an Arabic proverb.

²⁵ "It appears that Satan had taken a fancy to the Catholics, and sought their company a great deal—a circumstance which might give rise to the belief that the Devil is more Catholic than Protestant." (Victor Hugo in *les Travailleurs de la mer.*) The Devil in this book often borrows the appearance of a monk. He apparently loves to slip into priestly robes. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the Devil is frequently shown under the garb of a monk. The Devil disguised as a monk has assumed a national character in Spain. On the Devil as a monk read the interesting essay by Georg Ellinger, "Ueber den Teufel als Mönch," in *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Literatur-Geschichte*, N. F. I (1887-8), S. 174-81.

SATAN'S TONGUE-PIE (1908)²⁶

This legend is a delightful satire on woman's love of gossip.

THE GREAT SAINT NICOLAS (1909)²⁷

A devil, as big as a hazel nut, tempts the saint to taste from the salting-tub containing the flesh of the three little boys whom the inn-keeper murdered and pickled seven years ago. Six devils, in the form of flittermice, are said to be seen ready to seize a man's soul as it comes out of his mouth. After attributing to the Devil the wings of the bat, he is also given the full form of this animal.

THE REVOLT OF THE ANGELS (1914)

In this book, the reader is presented with the account of a second angelic rebellion against the Ruler of the heavens. It also contains a new version of the first war in the skies, which is more modern than that given by the Puritan Milton.²⁸ When the author was engaged in writing this book, he told an interviewer that he was going to put into it more ideas than Dante and Milton ever had, and he apparently made his boast good.

This *Revolt of the Angels* is in reality the expression of Anatole France's own bitter revolt against all traditional forms of thought. In this book the aged author concentrated his hatred of this ascetic, beauty-despising, death-desiring, mind-crippling, soul-enslaving medieval church. This is the most violent attack he has directed against the God of the Old Testament and the Talmud. Jehovah is presented as a harsh, cruel, dogmatic, despotic demiurge, opposed to all liberty, all curiosity, all doubt, standing in the way of every art, every science, and the sworn foe of all knowledge.²⁹ His Adversary, on the other hand, is described as a god of grace, a lover of learning, a friend of man and a hater of masters.

This second angelic rebellion occurs in our day. A number of the inhabitants of the heavens, who come down to earth to be the

²⁶ The story appeared in the collection, *The Merrie Tales of Jacques Tour-nebroche*.

²⁷ The story appeared in the volume, *The Seven Wives of Bluebeard*.

²⁸ The reader will recall Satan's indignation over the Miltonic version of the celestial war in the heavens. "The Englishman described me as being expelled from Heaven by cannon and gun-powder, and to this day every Briton believes that the whole of this silly story is in the Bible. What else he says, I do not know, for it is all in a long poem which neither I nor any one else ever succeeded in wading through." (Bernard Shaw, *Man and Superman*, 1905.)

²⁹ "Jehovah is not god, but a mighty Demon, for he created the world." (*At the Sign of the Queen Pédaouque*, 1893.)

guardian angels of men, employ their stay among us to gain an education which apparently is denied them in the upper regions. The principal angel in this book, Arcade, known in Heaven by the name Abdiel, is so eager to learn that he spends his days and nights in the libraries of Paris. He devours the works of the theologians, philosophers, physicists, geologists, and naturalists. He investigates the foundations of belief with the usual result that he loses his faith. He finds his new ideas in perpetual conflict with the teachings of the creed he has professed. According to his present belief, the God of the Jews and Christians, whom he calls Ialdabaoth, has not created the heavens and the earth, but a very small portion of the universe, which he holds in abject slavery and into which he has brought misery and suffering, decay and death.

The apostate angel is filled with a holy zeal to impart the truth he has obtained to his brethren, and he starts an intellectual movement among the angels who inhabit this earth. These enlightened spirits burn with the desire to bring freedom to the inhabitants of Heaven and of earth. They form a new conspiracy to overthrow the Lord and to set up Satan in his stead. The archangel failed in his attack upon Heaven, say the conspirators, as a result of the thunderbolts launched against him; but with the secret of the ruler of the heavens laid open by the American Franklin, this disparity between the combatants need no longer exist. After having organized their forces and equipped them with the most modern instruments of war, the leaders of the revolt seek out Satan by the waters of the Ganges and offer him the leadership. But he who first raised the flag of rebellion in Heaven refuses to lead another attack against the celestial citadel. He has had a dream, a vision, in which he conquers Heaven, overthrows God and has himself crowned as god only to find that nothing is accomplished after all. Victory has only inverted their roles. With his accession to power he grew as intolerant as he whom he had overthrown, whereas his enemy, shorn of power, became tolerant. Satan has buried his ambitions, preferring the lowly scene of his present labors to Heaven, and the greater victory over ignorance and intolerance to any conquest of the skies. No, Satan will not start another war, and he tells the angelic delegation:

"War engenders war, and victory, defeat. God, conquered, will become Satan; Satan, conquering, will become God. May the fates spare me this terrible lot. I love the Hell which formed my genius. I love the earth where I have done some good, if it be possible to

do any good in this fearful world where beings live but by rapine. . . . But what matter that men should be no longer submissive to Ialdabaoth if the spirit of Ialdabaoth is still in them; if they, like him, are jealous, violent, quarrelsome, and greedy, and the foes of the arts and of beauty? What matter that they have rejected the ferocious demiurge if they do not hearken to the friendly demons who teach all truths, to Dionysus, Apollo and the Muses?³⁰ As to ourselves, celestial spirits, sublime demons, we have destroyed Ialdabaoth, our Tyrant, if in ourselves we have destroyed Ignorance and Fear."

³⁰ The Muses were believed to be daughters of Satan. Carlisle's friend wished that the "Devil would fly away with the fine arts."

SOME FAMOUS JEWISH PROSELYTES

BY DUDLEY WRIGHT

A DIFFERENCE of opinion exists even among leaders of Jewish thought as to whether the Jewish faith is to be termed a "missionary" religion. If the Old Testament is to be regarded as the sole basis of religious action, then no command was ever given to the Jews to act as missionaries. They were not to go to the Gentiles; on the contrary, the Gentiles were to be drawn to them. "Nations that know not thee shall run unto thee, because of the Lord thy God and for the Holy One of Israel; for he hath glorified thee." "Ten men shall take hold out of all languages of the nations, even shall take hold of the skirt of him that is a Jew, saying, 'We will go with you for we have heard that God is with you'." The ideal of Judaism undoubtedly was that there should be no uncircumcized alien in the Holy Land, and so all who entered it were circumcized, but there appear also to have been proselytes in foreign lands (see Exodus xii. 48-9; Acts ii. 10; xiii. 43). There is a legend that at the time the Law was given, many other nations were offered the opportunity of close relationship with the Eternal, but only Israel would accept the burden which that relationship involved.

Certainly Judaism has never had any notable proselytising apostle like St. Peter or St. Paul of apostolic times, or Henry Martyn or Bishop Heber of a more modern period. It has even sought to dissuade men and women from seeking admission into the fold. Great difficulties had to be surmounted: initiation into the Abrahamic covenant of circumcision was essential, and they had to separate from their families and friends in eating and drinking. Nevertheless, it is an extraordinary fact that during the half century after the destruction of the Jewish State, there were everywhere conversions of heathen to Judaism, both in the East and in Asia Minor, and particularly in Rome, while the severe laws of the Emperor

Domitian against proselytes suggests an inference as to their frequency. According to Prynne, a Puritan writer and a virulent enemy of the Jews, in the reign of Henry I., Jews were beginning to proselytise in England and even to bribe some Christians with money in order to get them to embrace Judaism.

Josephus gives several instances of compulsory conversion. When the Itureans were conquered by Aristobolus, they were compelled "if they would continue in that country to be circumcised and to live according to the Jewish laws" (*Ant.* XIII. c. xi. 3). Pella was destroyed "because its inhabitants would not bear to change their religious rites for those peculiar to the Jews" (XIV. c. xv. 4). Hyrcanus, also (XIII. c. ix. 1), "took Dora and Marissa, cities of Idumea and subdued all the Idumeans and permitted them to stay in that country, if they would circumcise their genitals and make use of the laws of the Jews, and they were so desirous of living in the country of their forefathers, that they submitted to the use of circumcision and the rest of the Jewish ways of living."

From St. Matthew xxiii. 15, it would appear that the Scribes and Pharisees of the time of Jesus were keen on making converts to the Jewish faith, although no other evidence of such a fact is obtainable, but, in the opinion of Dr. Israel Abrahams, the *Didache* was probably, in the first instance, a manual for instructing proselytes in the teaching of Judaism. The school of Shammai (3-37 A.D.) cared not for proselytes. They had too many proofs among the converted Herodians of how dangerous those half-hearted Jewish converts had proved to Judaism. The Talmudist doctors afterwards called proselytes the "plague of Israel" and said they hindered the coming of the Messiah. The school of Hillel however, looked upon proselytism as a duty and even, according to Horace,

Ac veluti te Judaei cogemus in hanc concedere turbam went so far sometimes as to enforce conversion. In Alexandria the Jews were among the privileged classes and men were attracted to Judaism by the prospect of an advantageous political status.

The bitterness engendered by the Hadrianic persecution prompted the Rabbis to make conversion as difficult as possible. The Jews had suffered considerably from the cowardice and treachery of proselytes, who even acted as spies and denounced them to the Romans, which fact led to the introduction into the daily liturgy of the prayer against "denunciators and slanderers." Yet, true proselytes were always highly esteemed and from Ruth's experience the rule was derived that proselytes must be refused acceptance three

times, but not more. After the Hadrianic rebellion reception could only be granted by a complete court or board of rabbinical authorities. The candidate was solemnly admonished to consider the worldly disadvantages of the religious burdens involved in the intended step and was asked: "What induces thee to join us? Dost thou not know that in these days the Israelites are in trouble, oppressed, dispersed, and subjected to needless sufferings?" If he replied: "I know it and I am unworthy to share their glorious lot," he was reminded that while a heathen he was liable to no penalties for eating fat or disregarding the Sabbath, or for other trespasses, but as soon as he became a Jew, he must suffer excision for the former and death by stoning for the latter. If he remained firm he was circumcised in the presence of three rabbis and then led to be baptized; but even while in the bath he was instructed by learned teachers in the obligations he was undertaking. After this he was considered a Jew. The presence of three men also was required at the baptism of women converts, though due precautions were taken not to affront their modesty. This procedure is obligatory at the present time. The ceremony of reception cannot take place on a Sabbath or a holy day. Proper evidence of conversion is demanded before a claimant is regarded as a proselyte, though, to a certain extent, piety of conduct is a presumption in his favor. The conversion of a pregnant woman includes also the child. Minors could be converted with their parents but were permitted to recant when of age. A proselyte never became on equal terms with a born Jew. He could never become high priest; he was excluded from all public offices, although he was promised the greatest heavenly bliss if he lived the virtuous life. Only the born Israelite also was accounted worthy to receive the gift of prophecy.

Rabbinnical law recognizes two classes of converts: 1. the full or perfect proselyte, the righteous stranger, who was admitted after circumcision, baptism, and the offering of a sacrifice, but after the destruction of the temple, the first two alone were possible, and 2. the limited proselyte, the resident alien or the proselyte of the gate who, without accepting Judaism, renounced idolatry and accepted Jewish jurisdiction, thereby acquiring a limited citizenship in Palestine. He was permitted to eat and drink with his Jewish brethren and he had to observe the seven Noachic precepts against idolatry, profanity, incest, murder, dishonesty, eating blood or things strangled, and allowing a murderer to live. Bertholet insists that there

was only one class of convert, the circumcised foreigner, who undertook to fulfill the whole law. (Galatians, v. 2.)

The details of the ceremony of reception were not settled definitely before the second century A.D. From the law that native Israelites and proselytes should be treated alike (Number xv. 14, *et seq.*) the inference was drawn that circumcision, the bath of purification, and sacrifice were pre-requisites for conversion. The sacrifice was to be the burnt offering of cattle, but to lessen the hardship, an offering of fowls was substituted. After the destruction of the temple, when the sacrifices were suspended, it was ordained that proselytes should set aside a small coin in lieu of the offering so that in case the temple were rebuilt they might at once purchase the offering. Later, when the prospect of rebuilding grew remote, then this requirement was dropped. Some dispute afterwards arose amongst the authorities as to whether circumcision was absolutely indispensable. It is not practised today by the reformed Jews. The only creed a proselyte would profess would be that contained in Deuteronomy vi. 4-9. The creed formulated by Moses Maimonides is not binding upon Jews. True, it has been included in the Liturgy and is sung as a hymn, but it holds no place in the Jewish ritual analogous to the Apostles' or Nicene Creeds.

Philo relates from his own experience that in his native country many heathen, when they embraced Judaism, not only changed their faith but changed their lives, which were henceforth conspicuous by the practice of the virtues of moderation, gentleness, and humanity: "those who left the teachings in which they had been educated because they were replete with lying inventions and vanities became sincere worshippers of the truth and gave themselves up to the practice of the purest piety." Above all, the women whose gentle feelings were offended by the impurity of the mythological stories seemed attracted towards the childlike and sublime scenes in Biblical history. The greater part of the women in Damascus, says Graetz, were converted to Judaism and it is related that in Asia Minor there were also many female proselytes. Some over eager Judaeans may have travelled with the intention of making converts, as was proved in the story of the Roman patrician, Fulvia. It was by a similar zeal for conversion that the Judaean faith was introduced into an Asiatic court, the members of which remained steadfast adherents to Judaism during several generations. Great sensation was caused in Rome by the conversion to Judaism of Flavius Clemens and his wife Domitilla. Flavius was a cousin of the em-

peror Domitian, a member of the senate and consul, while his wife was also a near relative of the emperor.

More noted, however, is the case of Aquila. He was a native of Sinope, in Pontos, and is said to have been a very wealthy man. Epiphanius states that he was a connection by marriage of the emperor Hadrian; others supplementing the information that he was the son of the emperor's sister, converted from Paganism to Christianity because of the miraculous healings that he witnessed, but soon renounced that faith, owing, it is alleged, to his determination to practise magic, and became a Jew. In his new religion he associated with Camaliel, Eliezer, Joshua, and Akiba, whose disciple, according to Jerome, he became. He had a perfect knowledge of Hebrew and Greek, and he made a translation of the Scriptures from the former into the latter language, keeping strictly to the original Hebrew text and, with excessive caution, making an absolutely literal translation, independent of idiom. The Talmud says that the work was finished under the influence of R. Akiba, and that his other teachers were Eliezer ben Hyrcanus and Joshua ben Hananiah. It is certain, however, that his translation appeared before the publication of *Adversus Haereses* by Irenaeus in 177 A. D. Epiphanius says he himself set the task of removing all Christian evidence from the Bible. The Rev. M. Abrahams, in his lecture on *Aquila's Greek Version of the Hebrew Bible*, says: "The statement that Aquila reached Judaism via Christianity seems unfounded and the story probably arises from a confusion between our translator and a tent-maker of the same name who came from the same place and was associated with Priscilla in the New Testament. The name was not an uncommon one, being both Roman and Jewish." The Jewish account agrees in the main with Epiphanius, except that it knows nothing of Aquila's previous conversion to Christianity. Aquila is a favorite person in Jewish tradition and legend and whenever his name is mentioned the expression 'the proselyte' is added. He was always a great favorite with Hadrian and always inclined to Judaism, though he feared to embrace it openly in the emperor's proximity. He, therefore, obtained permission from his uncle to undertake some journeys abroad, not so much for the sake of profit as in order to see men and countries. He received from Hadrian the parting injunction to invest in anything, the value of which was temporarily depreciated, as in all probability, it would rise again. Aquila went to Palestine and devoted himself to the study of the Torah and both R. Eliezer and R. Joshua noticed his worn appear-

ance and were surprised at the evident earnestness of the questions he put to them concerning Jewish laws. On returning to Hadrian he confessed his zealous study of Israel's Torah had led him to adopt that faith, but surprised the emperor by saying that this step had been taken on his (the emperor's) advice, "for," said he, "I have found nothing so deeply neglected and held in such depreciation as the Law and Israel, but both, no doubt will rise again as Isaiah has predicted (referring to Isaiah, xiix. 7). Upon Hadrian inquiring why he had embraced Judaism, Aquila replied that he desired very much to learn the Torah and that he could not do this without entering the Abrahamic covenant; just as no soldier could draw his pay without bearing arms, so no one could satisfy the Torah thoroughly without obeying the Jewish law. The last point is said to have been directed against Christians who acknowledge the law but refuse obedience to it. Epiphanius also states that some forty years after the destruction of the Temple (117 A.D.) Hadrian sent Aquila to Jerusalem to superintend the rebuilding of the city under the name of Aelia Capitolina, and it is contended by some that it was while he was engaged on this work that he became a convert to the Jewish faith.

Hadrian, on one occasion, asked Aquila to prove that the world depends, as the Jews maintain, upon the spirit. Aquila thereupon caused several camels to be brought and made them kneel and rise repeatedly before the emperor. He then had them choked when, of course, they could not rise. "How can they rise?" asked the emperor, "they are choked." "But they only need a little air, a little spirit," was Aquila's reply, proving that life is not material. He was a consistent Jew and on the death of his father, when the heritage was divided between him and his brothers, he would not take that portion of the share that had been derived from the sale of idols, but threw it into the sea.

Onkelos is often claimed as identical with Aquila; he, also, is uniformly referred to as "the proselyte," but, according to the Talmud, he was a nephew of Titus on his mother's side. He is said to have called up the shade of his uncle, then that of the prophet Balaam, and asked their counsel as to whether he should become a Jew. The former advised against it as the Jews had so many laws and ceremonies. The latter, with characteristic spitefulness, replied, in the words of the Scriptures: "Thou shalt not seek their peace nor their prosperity all thy days forever" (Deuteronomy xxiii. 6). He then conjured up the founders of the Church, who replied:

"Seek their peace, seek not their harm; he who assails them touches the apple of God's eye." This induced him to become a Jew. There are also a number of legends concerning him. It is related that when he became a convert the emperor sent a cohort to take him prisoner, but Onkelos converted his would-be captors by citing Biblical sentences. This happened no fewer than four times. The fifth time he was taken prisoner because the soldiers had strict orders not to speak to him. They noticed, however, that on leaving the house, he placed his hand on the mezuzah, and they had the curiosity to ask what it was, whereupon the proselyte gave them such an answer that they also were converted. After that he was left in peace. His extraordinary strict observance of the Levitical laws of purity is mentioned as a characteristic. In his daily life he observed the same laws of purity that the Scriptures commanded at sacrifices. On this point he surpassed even the patriarch, Gamaliel II.

Theodotion of Ephesus, the author of a Greek version of the Old Testament, of whom little is known personally, is claimed by Ireneaeus and others as a proselyte. Jerome calls him an Ebionite, "a Judaizing heretic," while Epiphanius describes him as "a Christian heretic," a Marcionite, a native of Pontos, who apostatized to Judaism and acquired the Hebrew tongue.

A royal proselyte is found in Abu-Kariba, whose full name was Dhu Nuwas Zur'ah Musuf Ibn Tuban As'ad Abi-Karib. He was king of Yemen from 515 to 525 A.D. He is described by Graetz as a man of knowledge, judgment, and poetical endowments. He became a convert to the Jewish faith, taking the name of Joseph, and endeavored, not without success, to persuade his people to follow his example. His mistaken zeal for Judaism, however, brought about his fall. Having heard of the persecutions of the Jews by the Byzantine emperors he retaliated by putting to death some Byzantine merchants who were traveling on business through Hunijara. This destroyed the trade of Yemen in Europe and involved Dhu Nuwas in a war with the heathen king Ardirg, whose commercial interests were injured thereby. Dhu Nuwas was defeated in 521 A.D., but succeeded in re-establishing his kingdom. He then made war against the Christian city Najran in Yemen, which was a dependency of his kingdom. On its capitulation, in spite, it is said, of his promise of immunity from punishment, he offered the citizens the alternative of embracing Judaism or of being put to death. As they refused to renounce their faith he executed their chief and 340 chosen men. This caused a great stir among the Christians and

the Roman emperor, Justin, requested the king of Ethiopia to march against the Jewish king. The engagement ended disastrously and Dhu Nuwas, whose city, together with his queen and all his treasure, fell into the hands of the enemy. Preferring death to capture, Dhu Nuwas rode into the sea and was drowned. His nephew, Harik-ibn-Amru, also embraced the Jewish faith. There is a supposed reference to the persecution of the Christians by Dhu Nuwas in Sura lxxxv of the Koran, although Muhammad Ali, the translator of the latest edition thinks the reference may be prophetic of the great Arab army against which the Moslems were compelled to defend themselves by means of a trench, in what is called the battle of the Ditch. Al-Baghwi thinks that the reference is to Nebuchadnezzar casting Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego into the fiery furnace.

In the Chazars we have an illustration of a whole nation going over to the Jewish faith. They were a people of Turkish origin, whose life and history are interwoven with the very beginning of Jewish history in Russia. Their kingdom was firmly established in South Russia long before the foundation of the Russian monarchy by the Varangians in 855. Graetz says that they professed a coarse religion which was combined with sensuality and lewdness, and the story runs that they became acquainted with Islamism and Christianity through the Arabs and Greeks and with Judaism through some Grecian Jews, with the result that they were converted to Judaism, according to some in A.D. 620 and, according to others, in A.D. 740. King Joseph, in a letter to Hasdai ibn Shaprut, in A.D. 960, gives the following account of the conversion:

Some centuries ago, K. Bulan reigned over the Chazars. To him God appeared in a dream and promised him might and glory. Encouraged by this dream Bulan went by the road of Darlau to the country of Ardebil, where he gained great victories over the Arabs. The Byzantine emperor and the Caliph of Jerusalem sent to him envoys with presents and sages to convert him to their respective religions. Bulan also invited the wise men of Israel and proceeded to examine them all. As each of the champions believed his religion to be the best, Bulan separately questioned the Mohammedans and the Christians as to which of the other two religions they considered the better. When both gave preference to that of the Jews, the king perceived that must be the true religion. He therefore adopted it.

It is said that he was followed by about four thousand of his nobles, and that his successor on the throne, Obadiah, occupied himself earnestly with the Jewish religion. He invited Jewish sages to settle in his dominions, rewarded them royally, founded synagogues

and schools, caused instruction to be given to himself and people in the Bible and Talmud, and introduced a divine service modelled on that of the ancient Chazanim. Although the account given above has been considered by some to be of a legendary character, Albert Harkavy, the Russian Orientalist in *Bilbasoo* and *Yevreiskaya Bibliotek* proved from Arabic and Slavonian sources that the religious disputation at the Chazarian Court is a historical fact.

The conversion of a Christian bishop, singular though the fact may seem to be, is not unknown. Bishop Bodo, chaplain to the emperor Louis, the Pious, of France, obtained permission from his royal master in May, 838, to go on a visit to Rome to receive the blessing of the Pope and to make a pilgrimage to the graves of the apostles and martyrs. According to some accounts he had led a dissolute life, but, according to others, it was the immoral life of the clergy in the Christian capital that filled him with disgust and attracted him to the purer religion of Judaism. Whatever the cause, he conceived a strong liking for the Jewish faith and hastened with all speed to Spain, where, at Saragossa, in August, 838, he was initiated into the Abrahamic covenant, assumed the name of Eliezer, and, within a very short time, was married to a Jewess. He appears to have entered the military service of an Arab prince and to have incited the Moorish government and people to oppose the Spanish Christians and he asked the aid of the king of the Franks not to tolerate a single Christian in his land, but to compel them to adopt either Islam or Judaism. In 840 he corresponded with the knight Pablo Alvaro of Cordova, a baptized Jew, each endeavoring in vain to lead the other back to his old faith. Many of these letters have been preserved.

In the eleventh century occurred the first persecution of the Jews in Germany. It is possible, says Graetz, that the fact of the conversion of a clergyman to Judaism, which the chronicles mentioned in the annals as an unlucky event, aroused the anger of the clergy against the Jews. The convert, whose name was Wecelinus, was chaplain to the Duke Conrad, a relative of the emperor. On his conversion to Judaism, in 1005 A.D., he wrote a lampoon on his former faith, which bears witness to his hatred of Christianity and to the coarseness of the taste of the time. The emperor Henry, however, was so angered at the conversion of the chaplain, that he commissioned one of his clergy to write a reply which was couched in equally coarse and undignified language. Seven years later, i. e., in 1012 A.D., the emperor decreed that the Jews should be expelled

from Mayence and, in addition, that they should be branded so that they might not be baptized.

Haham Artom, in a footnote in a volume of sermons which he published, says that when the learned Manasseh ben Israel applied personally to Oliver Cromwell for the re-admission of the Jews into England, the Protector reminded him of the three accusations that were constantly directed against the Jews: (1) That they employed the blood of a Christian child in the performance of their Passover ceremonies; (2) that they impoverished by their usury the country in which they lived; (3) their unremitting efforts to convert their countrymen to Judaism. The eloquent Rabbi had no difficulty in proving the injustice and futility of the first accusation. He showed that the second grievance might be averted if all trades were freely open to the Jews. He denied the third charge which was contrary to the views of their religion, but he promised that such things should never occur in England. The question then came before the Committee of the Council of State, which suggested seven conditions which should govern the re-admission of Jews to the country. The last two of these stipulated that they should print nothing against Christianity and that they should not discourage those who might attempt to convert them, while the making of converts by them was prohibited. There is no evidence that the document embodying these conditions was ever brought before the Council, but the Jews were re-admitted by order of Parliament dated 14th December, 1655, and R. Hermann Adler said that for a period of two hundred years from that time no proselyte was received into the Synagogue. There was, however, one notable exception, as will presently be seen. Manasseh ben Israel, it may be mentioned, was invited to England by Thurloe, Secretary of State, whose acquaintance he had made at the Hague.

Cobbett, in his *State Trials* (vol. xiii. pp. 938-9), gives particulars, quoted from Wodrow (vol. ii. p. 221) of the trial, in his absence, of a convert to Judaism. The full extract is as follows:

Another lamentable effect of the bearing down of the gospel and the neglect of instructing the people at this time was the apostasy of too many from the very profession of religion; and, indeed, profaneness was now at a terrible height. In the justiciary registers I find a process against the underwritten person for Judaism. It being the only instance as far as I know of this since the Reformation, the curious reader will be content to have a view of it. I give it as it stands in the criminal books, and it is what may be a caution

to parents to found our children well in our holy religion, before they suffer them to go abroad.

Edinburgh, June 15, 1681. Francis Borthwick, second son of James Borthwick of Harelaw, being often called to have compared before the justiciary, this day and place, in the hour of cause, to have underlien the law, for the crime of blasphemy committed by him, in so far as being born of Christian parents, and baptized and educated in the Christian faith, and continuing in the open profession thereof, and communion of the Christian and Catholic faith, until the age of fourteen years, he went abroad to foreign places, to follow the trade of merchandise where he was studious to make a shameful apostasy from the most holy faith, and he professed and openly declared himself to be a Jew, and was circumcised, and having returned to Scotland, at Edinburgh, Wrighthouse, Brandsfield, and Hall-heriot, he did rail against our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, denying Him to be God, and affirm him to be a mere man, and a false prophet, and treacherously reviling him by such other horrid blasphemies as are not fit to be uttered, renouncing and cursing the holy sacrament and rite of his baptism. And he did with great and horrid execrations wish all manner of judgments to befall him, if ever he should return to the Christian religion, in manner at length mentioned in the criminal laws, raised at the instance of His Majesty's advocate and James Cockburn in Duddingstoun, informer, against him thereanent. And being lawfully cited and not compearing, the Lords adjudged the said Francis Borthwick to be outlaw and fugitive and all his goods and gear to be brought in for His Majesty's use, for his contempt and disobedience : which was pronounced for doom.

The most notable instance in modern times of a conversion to the Jewish faith is that of the famous Lord George Gordon. Dr. Robert Watson, in his pamphlet *Life of Lord George Gordon*, says that he had long entertained serious doubts concerning the truth of Christianity and observed that its professors were at variance, both with revelation and reason ; whilst the Jews literally adhered to the laws of Moses. He therefore embraced Judaism. Had he, like many others, merely declined attendance at places of public worship, or tacitly favored the religion of any, it would have occasioned no surprise ; but it was surely a matter of wonder to see a man of his genius and opinions attach himself to a system so fatal to his designs and more intricate than that which he had renounced, nor had there been a similar example in Great Britain since the days of the eccentric Montague. To this unreasonable and imprudent step, says Watson, must be attributed his future degradation, for it was literally signing his political death.

Lord George Gordon applied for admission into the Jewish faith to Rabbi David Schiff of Duke's Place Synagogue, London. R. Hermann Adler, grand-nephew of Dr. Schiff, thinks that his uncle's refusal to accede to the request was probably due to the belief that a promise had been made to Oliver Cromwell by Manasseh ben Israel that no proselyte should be received. He adds: "My father assured me that he had seen the letter in which the application was made. Lord George was received into the covenant at Birmingham without the sanction of the ecclesiastical authorities. And whenever requests for admission into the synagogue were made, the candidates were compelled to incur considerable expense and great inconvenience in proceeding to Holland or Germany."

The reception of Lord George Gordon took place after his expulsion from Holland, whither, it is stated, he had gone for the purpose of being received into the faith. He hid himself in the midland city, residing at the house of a Jew, his long beard and broad-shaped hat, after the Polish fashion, making an effective disguise. He adhered strictly to all the Jewish ceremonies and was given the name of Israel, together with the addition, as was customary with proselytes, of "son of Abraham our Father."

There is in existence a manuscript Hebrew letter by Meyer Joseph, who, frequently when a young man, visited the proselyte and acted as his preceptor in Judaism. It is as follows:

Lord George Gordon submitted at an advanced age to the operation of circumcision. The rite of the covenant of Abraham was administered to him in the town of Birmingham. The name of the individual who performed the ceremony was Rabbi Jacob. When Lord George Gordon recovered from the effects of the circumcision seal he came to London (and being already pretty well tutored in Jewish rites and customs, and was also able to read Hebrew with some degree of fluency) he attended the Hamburgh synagogue where he was called to the Reading of the Law, and was honored with *Me Shebayrach* [a form of blessing called down upon those who are called up to the Reading of the Law] and presented the synagogue with £100. He then went to Paris and wrote a book against Marie Antoinette, Queen of France, which proved libellous and subjected his lordship to imprisonment at Newgate. Whilst in prison he was very regular in his Jewish observances: every morning he was seen with his phylacteries between his eyes and opposite to his heart. Every Saturday he had a public service in his room by the aid of ten Polish Jews. He looked like a patriarch with his beautiful long beard. His Saturday's bread was baked according to the manner of the Jews; his wine was Jewish; his meat was Jewish, and he was the best Jew in the congregation of Israel. On his prison wall were to be seen the Ten Commandments in the

Hebrew language; then the bag of Talith, or fringed garment and of the phylacteries. Afterwards the Count required him to bring bail: he brought two poor Polish Israelites as guarantees. The Court would not accept them because of their poverty. The rich Jews would have nothing to do towards assisting the prisoner for fear of persecution. He died in 1793 of a broken heart and was interred in the Gordon family vault.

Then there is the more recent case of Elizabeth Jane Caulfeild, Countess of Charlemont, born 21st June, 1834, the only daughter of the first Lord Athlumney. In December, 1856, she married James Molyneux, the third Earl of Charlemont. Although a Christian by birth and training, she became a regular attendant at the services of the synagogue, seeking advice in spiritual matters from the rabbis. When in Ireland she attended the synagogue at Belfast and when in London, either the Hayswater or the Central Synagogues. She was a woman of many accomplishments, an excellent linguist and a good musician and possessed a remarkable gift for recitation, which she utilized on behalf of charitable institutions.

Conversions to Judaism were, perhaps, more numerous in the Middle Ages, when it was made unlawful for the Jews to admit proselytes. Various Church Councils prohibited it and the Code of Alfonso X made conversion to the synagogue a capital crime. Even at Oxford, in 1222, a Christian deacon was burnt for his apostasy to Judaism. The number of modern proselytes is perhaps more numerous in India than in America or England. In 1896 the Central Conference of American Rabbis formulated as a proselyte confession of faith the five tenets: (1) God the Only One; (2) man His image; (3) immortality of the soul; (4) retribution; (5) Israel's mission. The disregard for the Abrahamic covenant among the Reformed Jews has resulted in a much stricter examination by them of applicants for admission into the faith of their knowledge of the doctrines and practices of Judaism. Some Reformed congregations now even omit the practice of the total immersion of female converts. In contravention of the Rabbinical caution, marriage is, in most cases, the motive of conversion and proselytes of the female sex predominate. Instruction in the Jewish religion precedes the ceremony, which, in addition to circumcision (when carried out) and baptism, consists in the public confession of faith, in the main amounting to a repudiation of certain Christian dogmas and concluding with the recitation of the Shema. The baptism of converts is not mentioned by Philo, but is pre-supposed by the Mishnah.

A BIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION OF POLITICS

BY J. V. NASH

THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY'S political commentaries have a special interest and significance because of the position which Huxley occupied in the world of science. He was first of all, a biologist. One of the most prominent exponents of the doctrine of evolution, his life work was devoted mainly to scientific investigations in biology and related sciences.

Although his writings on government are comparatively small in bulk, they constitute a most valuable contribution to the development of modern political theory. He approached the subject with a mind free from inherited prejudice; his point of view was that of an impartial scientist. Sweeping away all fine-spun "a priori" lines of reasoning, and pursuing to their logical result both individualism and "regimentation," he sought to demonstrate the weaknesses inherent in both these great political systems. Finally, while he did not attempt to construct a new system to supplant those which he undermined, he pointed out the way by which a better and more enduring system could be constructed—a system based on the solid ground of biological principles and the history of man's social development through the family group, in the place of the more or less idealistic systems based on speculative reasoning which, in attempting to realize a political Utopia, inflict untold mischief upon society.

Huxley finds in the philosophy of government three fundamental problems, as follows:

- (a) In whom is the sovereign authority properly vested?
- (b) By what machinery should that authority be exercised?
- (c) In respect of what matters is its exercise legitimate?

The first two questions Huxley considers of subordinate importance. The one in which he is chiefly interested is the third; that is, the relationship between the rights of the individual and the powers of the State. This, he declares, is the great problem—so great, indeed, that it "completely overshadows the others." In other

words the question is not so much who the person or persons are in whom the government is vested, or by what methods they function, as it is, how far the government has a right to encroach upon the liberty of the individual. In short, he says: "The great problem of political philosophy is to determine the province of government. Is there, or is there not, any region of human action over which the individual himself alone has jurisdiction and into which other men have no business to intrude?" Today that is a question upon which the world seems to be at sea more than at any time in the past.

Huxley begins by tracing the history of the State from the days of Greece and Rome, showing how the authority of the government was almost universal in scope, nothing in human life, practically, being exempt from the intrusion of the State, save private religious practices, the cult of the Lares and Penates. Outside the domestic circle, indeed, even religious liberty stopped. All citizens in the States of antiquity were required to pay homage to the State deities. Contempt of the official gods was severely punished; sometimes, as in the case of Socrates, by the death penalty, though so long as the "infidel" kept quiet he was not likely to be molested.

Religion, consequently, was an integral part of government, and a man could not be a 100 per cent (to use the current silly phrase) citizen unless he were loyal, or at least professed to be loyal, to the national gods. Hence it was, Huxley says, that Christianity got into trouble with the pagan State. Christianity, with its universality and its ideas of human brotherhood transcending national or ethnic boundaries, seemed to be destructive of the very existence of the State and of the established political and economic order. He declares that the Christian Church was the "International" (or, as he might say today if he were still living, the Third International) of the pagan political world.

Huxley points out, too, that while Christianity is supposed to have supplanted paganism in toto, as a matter of fact it took over many of the elements of the pagan State into its own organization, the resulting product being the Mediaeval Church. In fact, he doubts whether "the vanquished did not in effect subdue the victor."

One of the doctrines of the pagan State which Christianity took over, according to Huxley, was the union of Church and State: that is, the establishment of religion, making its protection and support, as well as the punishment of offenses against it a part of the function of the State. So deeply entrenched did the belief become that there was a necessary connection between the State and the Church, and

that the authority of the State consequently extended over men's beliefs as well as over their actions, that even the Protestant reformers, he says, "held firmly by this precious heirloom of the ages of faith, whatever other shards of ecclesiastical corruption they might cast aside."

It was the breakup of Protestantism into quarreling sects and the consequent inability to determine just what beliefs were orthodox and what were not, that finally began to weaken the doctrine of the duty of the State to enforce religious conformity. The doctrine, however, died hard. As late as 1611, four years after the colonization of Virginia, a heretic, one Bartholomew Legate, was burnt at the stake in Protestant England, following a trial conducted by King James in person. Professor Bury tells the story in his *History of Freedom of Thought* (1912). Under close questioning, Legate admitted that he had not prayed to Jesus for a space of some seven years. "Away, base fellow," cried James spurning him with his foot, "who in seven years together hath not prayed to Our Savior." He was speedily convicted and consigned to the flames.

Speaking of the same enlightened monarch, Lecky, in his *Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe*, says: "Soon after his accession to the throne, a law was enacted which subjected witches to death on the first conviction, even though they should have inflicted no injury upon their neighbors. This law was passed when Coke was Attorney-General and Bacon a member of Parliament."

But to return to Huxley: it was not until 1869, he says, when John Locke published his famous *Treatise on Government*, that any "systematic inquiry" was made into the "proper limits of governmental action in general."

He goes on to show the connection between Locke's epoch-making *Treatise on Government*, and the English revolution, following the expulsion of James II, by which Liberalism triumphed over Absolutism. Locke based his system on the "social contract" theory. In this he followed in the footsteps of Hobbes. In the state of nature, as assumed by Hobbes, all men were equal and each man strove for the enjoyment to the full of all his "natural rights," thus bringing about a state of war of each against all. This condition proving intolerable, Hobbes assumed in the second place that, in order to secure the blessings of peace and order, men voluntarily entered into a contract with each other, surrendering all of their "natural rights" to the person or persons in whom sovereignty was vested. Men having thus made a complete surrender of their "natural

rights" to the sovereign in return for peace and protection, the authority of the sovereign was absolute and the individual member of the commonwealth possessed no "natural rights" of his own at all, having only such rights as the sovereign chose to turn back to him. In other words, civil law, guaranteed by the whole force of the community, superseded "natural rights" which were backed only by the force of each individual. Huxley pictures Hobbes' ideal of the State as "a sternly disciplined regiment, in which the citizens are privates, the State functionaries officers, and every action in life is regulated and settled by the sovereign's regulations and instructions."

Now Locke accepted the idea of a primitive "state of nature," and the origin of government through "social contract." However, he attacks Hobbes' theory of the total surrender of "natural rights." According to Locke, only a very limited surrender of natural rights took place. This difference, says Huxley, marks the divergence of the two great systems of political philosophy which have been current down to our own day, one line of reasoning finding its ultimate expression in anarchy and the other in State socialism. In their less extreme form, one is individualism and the other the system which he describes by the word *regimentation*.

Huxley sketches for us the history of *regimentation*, which was first preached in France by Morelly and Mably and reached its culmination in Rousseau's *Essay on the Social Contract*. Rousseau laid down the proposition that the social contract is "the foundation of all rights," that the sovereign is the totality of the citizens, and that each individual, in assenting to the social contract, gives himself and all he possesses to the sovereign, the individual losing all his natural liberty and the State becoming master of him and of his goods. In return the citizen receives from the State civil liberty and a guarantee of his right to possession of such property as the State may allow him to hold.

In Rousseau's State, it appears that the sovereignty itself "means nothing more nor less than the omnipotence of a bare majority of voices of all the members of the State collected together in general meetings." Rousseau further assumes, as he tells us in Book II, Chap. 3, that "the general will is always upright and always tends towards the general good." The true end of legislation, according to Rousseau, is the greatest good of all, and this embraces two elements, namely, liberty and equality. It appears, however, that liberty is merely "obedience to the law which one has laid down for

himself." Huxley confesses that this definition of liberty is a little difficult for him to swallow. "To my mind," he says, "it is somewhat hard to reconcile with the obligation to submit to laws laid down by other people who happen to be in a majority." As to equality, Rousseau does not insist that "absolute equality of power and wealth" must be established, but that "neither opulence nor beggary is to be permitted," and that the legislature shall have the right to decide the nature of the business in which the community shall engage, whether agricultural, manufacturing, or commerce, which means that the State shall have the power to control distribution as well as production.

In Rousseau's system, also, the sovereign people shall establish a State religion, but this State religion is not to be based on theological dogma but on "sentiments of sociability," and heretics are to be punished not for impiety but for "unsociability"!

In ultimate analysis, Rousseau's system is based on the theory of Hobbes; i. e., the omnipotence of the State, resulting from the complete surrender of natural rights in the social contract. Rousseau's political doctrines were at the bottom of the creed of Robespierre and St. Just, who tried to put them into effect in the French Revolution. "In their methods of endeavoring, by the help of the guillotine," says Huxley, "to force men to be free, they supplied the works naturally brought forth by the Rousseauite faith. And still more were they obedient to the master in insisting on a State religion and in certifying the existence of God by a governmental decree."

In fact, by going clear back to Morelly and Mably, Huxley says that he finds just as ably stated as by socialistic writers of the nineteenth century the leading doctrines of modern socialism, namely, that all economic and political ills would be cured if the State directed production and regulated consumption, and that "love of approbation" would be as adequate a stimulus to industry as the desire for private wealth and individual power.

Huxley then traces the history of individualism. Political individualism, as held by its more moderate supporters today, goes back to John Locke. Although both Hobbes and Locke, as already indicated, assumed a primitive "state of nature," in Hobbes' "state of nature" men were lawless and ferocious savages while according to Locke's theory they were "highly intelligent and respectable persons." Locke represents his primitive men, in fact, as "living together according to reason, without a common superior on earth

with authority to judge between them." (*Civil Government*, Chap. 19.) Hobbes' primitive men gave up all their natural rights because they were not fit to retain any of them, whereas Locke's primitive men surrendered to the State only a limited portion of their natural rights. In fact, it was only because backsliders who failed "to maintain the original standard of ethical elevation that those inconveniences arose which drove the rest to combine into commonwealths."

But it must be noted that it was only a very limited grant of authority that was given to the State. Locke, Huxley infers, had to be very specific on this point, because with the Stuart pretender recognized by France, and with a powerful "Divine Right" Jacobite faction watching for a chance to restore the absolute monarchy in England, Locke was under the necessity of insisting very strongly upon the strictly limited character of the surrender of natural rights by primitive man in the social contract. Therefore, he takes great pains to prove that the power of the sovereign is limited to the performance of functions necessary "to secure every one's property," and similar police duties.

Huxley here introduces an amusing reference to Darwinism by humorously imagining that Locke's primitive men, having called a general meeting, "to consider the defects of their condition, and somebody being voted to the tree (in the presumable absence of chairs), this earliest example of a constituent assembly resolved to form a governmental company, with strictly limited liability, for the purpose of defending liberty and property."

Locke's theories were taken up enthusiastically by the Physiocrats of the eighteenth century, because they saw in his system a relief from the excess of government which the elder Mirabeau described as "the worst malady of modern States," a diagnosis which after the lapse of nearly two centuries is strikingly applicable to all the so-called Great Powers today, and to none more so than to the United States.

It was the Physiocrats who coined the phrase, "*laissez faire*," which was merely the application of political individualism to economics. In a nutshell, the "*laissez faire*" philosophy postulated the right of every man "to do as he pleases so long as he does no harm to others," or, in other words, "the freedom of man to do anything he pleases so long as he does not interfere with the same freedom in others." This rule, said Daire, in his "*Physiocrates*," is "a law of nature." The Physiocrats professed to believe in human equality,

but considered that the function of government was to protect liberty and property, holding that "private property and the right to deal freely with it are essential to the protection of the weak against the strong." Here we have the deadlock between the individualist and the socialist, the latter holding just as firmly to the belief that "private property and freedom of contract involve the tyranny of the strong over the weak."

Just as Rousseau's *Social Contract* is the bible of regimentation, so Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, published in 1776, became the Scripture of individualism and through it the doctrine of "laissez faire" was given tremendous prestige. Free trade and industrial prosperity, says Huxley, tended to strengthen individualism, and so Liberalism came to regard laissez faire—to let alone—as "a definition of the whole duty of the statesman."

Huxley goes on to consider the treatise written by Humboldt in 1791, but not published until 1852, the purpose of which was to prove that the "legitimate functions of the State are negative," and that "governments have no right to take any positive steps for the promotion of the welfare of the individual." Humboldt would, in short, reduce the functions of the State to police duties and protection against foreign enemies. He would exclude all matters of religion, morals, and even of education and the relation of the sexes from the jurisdiction of the State.

It remained, however, for Dunoyer, in his *Liberté du Travail*, the successive volumes of which were published in the years between 1825 and 1845, to set forth the most complete exposition of individualism. In the latter year, also, appeared Stirner's *The Individual and His Property*, in which the author makes a clean sweep of everything and advocates absolutely unlimited individualism. This says Huxley, amounts to sheer anarchy. According to Stirner, natural right is simply natural might, certain men having entered into society merely for self-interest, thinking they could get more for themselves by that means; the struggle for existence is just as bitter as ever, the only sanction to laws is the will of the majority and the majority may be as brutal as an individual despot. As Huxley sees it, there is practically no difference between this teaching and the doctrines of avowed anarchists like Bakounine, who maintain that whether a man shall recognize the rights of others is a matter to be left to his private judgment, that "all property is robbery," and that "all government from without is tyranny."

Huxley next discusses the doctrines of Auberon Herbert and the "party of individual liberty," which he classifies as purely anarchist in nature, because Herbert would "do away with all enforced taxation and levying of duties, and trust to voluntary payments for the revenue of the State." This thinker would likewise throw overboard State education, State regulation of marriage, State supported libraries, museums, parks and the like. The functions of the State, in Herbert's view, should be confined to "the administration of civil and criminal justice," and it is only with hesitation and uncertainty that he grants even this amount of authority to the State because, in his opinion, even the smallest amount of governmental interference is at best only "justifiable usurpation." Huxley ridicules the phrase "justifiable usurpation," asserting that it is a contradiction of terms.

By these illustrations, Huxley seeks to show that "individualism, pushed to its logical extreme, must end in philosophical anarchy," and quotes Donisthorpe's work entitled *Individualism, A System of Politics* (1889), in proof.

Recapitulating, we see that, from the point of view of the individualist, the function of government is negative, its business being "to interfere only for the purpose of preventing any one citizen from using his liberty in such a way as to interfere with the equal liberty of another citizen." From the point of view of the regimentalist, on the other hand, the business of government is both negative and "eminently positive," in that it is the function of the State "to interfere for the purpose of promoting the welfare of society, . . . however much such interference may restrict individual liberty." And as already pointed out, individualism, pushed to its mercilessly logical extreme, ends in anarchy, while regimentation ends in socialism.

Granting the premisses upon which these political theories rest, Huxley declares that he is "unable to see that one of these lines of argument is any better than the other; they are mutually destructive."

The weakness of both these theories, thinks Huxley, lies in the fallacy of their starting points, namely, "natural rights," the original "equality of man," and "the social contract." Huxley feels so strongly on these topics that he has written a separate essay in which he discusses them at much length. This work is entitled *Natural and Political Rights*. Here we see very clearly the influence of Huxley the biologist upon Huxley the political philosopher. For

instance, he vigorously contests Rousseau's famous dictum (transplanted into our own Declaration of Independence) that "all men are created equal."

"Rousseau," he says, "like the sentimental rhetorician that he was, and half, or more than half, sham, as all sentimental rhetoricians are, sagaciously fought shy, as we have seen, of the question of the influence of natural upon political equality. But those of us who do not care for sentiment, and do care for truth, may not evade the consideration of that which is the real key of the puzzle.

"If Rousseau, instead of letting his children go to the foundling asylum, had taken the trouble to discharge a father's duties towards them, he would hardly have talked so fast about men being born equal, even in a political sense. For, if that merely means that all newborn children are political zeros—it is as we have seen, though true enough, nothing to the purpose; while, if it means that, in their potentiality of becoming factors in any social organization—citizens in Rousseau's sense—all men are born equal, it is probably the most astounding falsehood that ever was put forth by a political speculator, and that, as all students of political speculation will agree, is saying a good deal for it.

"In fact, nothing is more remarkable than the wide inequality which children, even of the same family, exhibit as soon as mental and moral qualities begin to manifest themselves which is earlier than most people fancy. Every family spontaneously becomes a polity. Among the children, there are some who continue to be 'more honored and more powerful than the rest, and to make themselves obeyed' (sometimes, indeed, by their elders) in virtue of nothing but their moral and mental qualities. Here 'political inequality' visibly dogs the heels of 'natural inequality.' The group of children becomes a political body, a civitas, with its rights of property and its practical distinctions of rank and power. And all this comes about neither by force nor by fraud, but as the necessary consequence of the innate inequalities of capability."

Addressing his attention to the venerable doctrine of "natural rights," Huxley is no less outspoken:

"Probably none of the political delusions which have sprung from the 'natural rights' doctrine," he assures us, "has been more mischievous than the assertion that all men have a natural right to freedom, and that those who willingly submit to any restriction of this freedom, beyond the point determined by the dictates of the *a priori* philosophers, deserve the title of slaves."

This delusion, he tells us, is "the result of the error of confounding natural with moral rights." He declares that there can be, in fact, no form of association compatible with the theory of "natural rights," because "natural rights" simply means unrestricted warfare: "Natural rights," furthermore, cannot be monopolized by man.

From this point of view of nature, a tiger, he says, has just as much "natural right" to kill and eat a man, in obedience to its innate instincts, as a man has to hunt and kill the tiger.

In the same way, Huxley attacks the social contract theory. He says: "There is just as little foundation in fact for the social contract, and either the limited or the unlimited devolution of rights and powers which is supposed to have been effected by it."

In support of his contention, he maintains that the earliest polity was the patriarchal family, and scoffs at the idea of a "social contract" entered into between the father and the wife and children, "arising out of an expressed desire of the latter to have their liberty and property protected by their governor." He denies that there ever was even a "tacit understanding" on the subject, and declares that the more primitive the group, the more improbable that any such contract or understanding existed. In fact, there was no need of such a contract, because the wife and children didn't possess any liberty or property. The "pater familias" of the primitive Aryan group was an absolute monarch, with power of life and death over the members of the family, and the primitive State, if such there might have been, was probably a sort of federation of these little family monarchies, "the chief purpose of which was the maintenance of an established church for the worship of the family ancestors." "Archaic society," he points out, "aims not at the freest possible exercise of rights, but at the exactest possible discharge of duties," and among these duties, in such a group the propitiation of the ancestral gods was by far the most important.

Although Huxley thus, as he admits, throws "out of court" both of these political theories, because they are "built upon the quicksand of fictitious history," he is extremely dissatisfied with the present state of society. He says:

"Even the best of modern civilization appears to me to exhibit a condition of mankind which neither embodies any worthy ideal nor even possesses the merit of stability. I do not hesitate to express the opinion that, if there is no hope of a large improvement of the condition of the greater part of the human family; if it is true that the increase of knowledge, the winning of greater dominion over nature which is its consequence, and the wealth which follows upon that dominion, are to make no difference in the extent and the intensity of Want, with its concomitant physical and moral degradation, among the masses of the people, I should hail the advent of some kindly comet, which would sweep the whole affair away, as a desirable consummation.

"What profits it to the human Prometheus that he has stolen the fire of heaven to be his servant, and that the spirits of the earth and of the air obey him, if the vulture of pauperism is eternally to tear his very vitals and keep him on the brink of destruction?"

What profits it indeed? It is a question that is being repeated with greater and greater insistence everywhere today.

Huxley now proceeds to draw an analogy from the government of the family group, and shows how too strict rule and no rule at all in the family are alike destructive in their effects. Coming, then, to "the aggregation of families which constitutes the State," he finds that the same rule substantially applies. The problem of government, he says, is "what ought to be done and what be left undone by society, as a whole, in order to bring about as much welfare of its members as is compatible with the natural order of things."

Now, he goes on to argue, the fact must be faced, that the natural order tends to inequality; that is, "to the maintenance, in one shape or another, of the war of each against all." Here we see the influence of "the struggle for existence" in Huxley's political reasoning. We see also that the Malthusian law is present in his mind, for he says: "The pressure of a constant increase of population upon the means of support must keep up the struggle for existence, whatever form of social organization may be adopted." This alone, he believes, would soon bring to a crisis any system of society based either upon *laissez faire* individualism or upon State socialism.

After all—and here it is Huxley the Biologist speaking the final word—"the political problem of problems is how to deal with over-population." He traces over-population to two sources—internal by generation and external by immigration. Theoretically, he believes, want and misery could be eliminated by arresting over-population at both sources and keeping the manufacturing, commercial, and professional population down to a prescribed minimum, so that the production of society will be adequate to the reasonable wants of the population. This is the plan advocated by Fichte in *The Closed Industrial State*, and Huxley confesses that he knows of no other social arrangement likely to bring about this result. In any event, he warns political speculators who, like Rousseau, indulge in visions of a "millenium of equality and fraternity," that they must not lose sight of the biological factors, for, by so doing, they are "reckoning sadly without their host or rather hostess, Dame Nature."

THE COSMIC FIVE, SEVEN AND TWELVE

BY LAWRENCE PARMLY BROWN

I

THE seven deified planets, in heliocentric order, were known to the Romans as Sol, Mercurius, Venus, Luna, Mars, Jupiter and Saturnus; to the Greeks as Appollon, Hermes, Aphrodite, Artemis, Ares, Zeus and Kronos; to the Babylonians as Samas, Nabu, Istar, Sin (a male for the moon), Nirgal, Marduk (or Bel) and Ninip (see Brown, *Primitive Constellations*, I, p. 335, etc.); to the Hindus as Surya, Budha, Sukra, Chandra (a male for the moon), Mangala, Vrihaspati and Sani (see Moor, *Hindu Pantheon*, p. 286 and Plate 88; cf. *Vishnu Purana*, II, 7 and 12, etc.); while the Egyptians assigned Osiris to Mercury, Set (a male) to Venus, Ra to Mars and Horus to Jupiter—Saturn being without a god, and the sun and moon being variously associated with some of the chief gods (see Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, II, pp. 302, 303, etc.). Again, the Babylonians considered Venus a male when with the rising sun, and a female with the setting sun (Sayce, in *Trans. Soc. Bibl. Archaeol.*, III, p. 196), while of the two Hebrew words for the moon, *yareach* (=pale) is masculine, and *lebanah* (=white) is feminine.

Thus we find that both the moon and Venus were sometimes considered masculine, and mythology affords numerous groups of seven male figures that are primarily planetary. In the *Rigveda* the planets become the seven sons of the cosmic Lord of men (I, 164; 1; cf. the Greek—Rhodian—myths that Poseidon had six sons and one daughter, and that Helios, the sun, had seven sons and a daughter—Diodorus Siculus, v. 55, 56); and the seven Richis, as sons of Brahma in the *Mahabarata*, appear to be planetary (“Santi Parvan,” 7509). The Babylonian planetary gods become the seven men of Ekeiel ix. 2; the one with the writer’s inkhorn representing Nabu (Mercury), the divine scribe. The Zoroastrian seven Amesha Spentas or Amshaspands are primarily planetary, and they correspond to the seven Archangels or “Watchers” who are transparently planetary

in the Jewish Apocrypha (*Enoch* xx. 1-8, etc.); the planets also appearing in *Tobit* (iii. 8, 15; xii. 15, etc.) as the seven husbands of Sara (for the earth-mother), and again in *2 Macabees* (vii) as the seven sons of an unnamed woman.

But the planets were often reckoned as five in number (without the sun and moon), whence came many groups of five deities. In the Egyptian *Book of the Dead*, we find five great gods (clxxxiii. 31, Theban); and five creator gods were recognized at Hermopolis, thence called "The House of the Five" (Maspero, *Dawn of Civilization*, p. 147), and the five deities whose births were finally assigned to the five intercalary days included two females, Isis and Nephthys (Plutarch, *De Isid.*, 12). In the Chaldaean astrology the five planets were called "interpreters" (Diodorus, II, 30). In Greek mythology the five Idaean Dactyli (so named from the "fingers" of the hand) were by some identified with Heracles and his brothers (Pausanias, V. 7, 4). The five sons of Aditi in the *Rigveda* (II, 27) are doubtless planetary figures. The five sons of Pandu (=the white, a lunar figure) have a prominent place in ancient Hindu literature. Gautama Buddha's father is said to have been the eldest of five brothers (Lillie, *Buddhism in Christendom*, p. 11). In one view, the Buddha (Enlightened) probably belonged to a planetary group of five, himself being recognized as a figure of Mercury, the Hindu Budha or Buddha; for his mother is Maya, while Maia is the mother of the Greek Hermes (Mercury). But Gautama Buddha generally has the character of the sun-god; and he is said to have had five chief disciples, the first who joined him (*Lalita Vistara*, ed. Foucaux, p. 236; Hardy, *Legends of the Buddhists*, Int., p. xviii.). Of the disciples of Buddha, Devadatta corresponds to Judas Iscariot as the traitor, while Upatishya and Maudgalyayana correspond to Jacob (James) and John among the Apostles of Jesus (see below); which leaves Ananda and Nanda as counterparts of the Gospel Simon Peter and Andrew, although there is little resemblance between these Buddhist and Christian couples. While a critical comparison of the stories told of the disciples or Apostles in the two groups of five indicates the probability of borrowing both ways for some details, it is even more probable that the Buddhist and Christian groups were formed independently to agree with the planetary five.

In the synoptic Gospels, the five Apostles individually called are Simon Peter, Andrew, Jacob, John and Matthew or Levi; but the original narrative doubtless referred only to the first four, who were called at the same time at the Sea of Galilee (=Circular, as if for

the Zodiac) and these four, together with the solar Jesus, make up a planetary group of five. Again, in the Gospel of John, there are five Apostles individually called by Jesus, at the beginning of his ministry; and according to the *Talmud*, Jesus ben Pandira (for the Gospel Jesus) had just five disciples—Matthai, Nakai, Netzer, Boni and Thoda (*Sand.*, fol. 43a; Baring-Gould, *Lost and Hostile Gospels*, pp. 61, 62). Matthai is the New Testament Matthew or Matthias. Nakai is interpreted "Innocent" in the *Talmud* text, and is generally supposed to represent Mark. Netzer is generally taken for a representative of the Nazarites or Nazarenes; but the name is interpreted "Branch" in the *Talmud*, and is probably put for Simon (Peter) as erroneously referred to Simach = branch. The *Talmud* interpretation of Boni is "Son," and he is generally taken for a representative of the Ebionites. And Thoda, with the Talmudic interpretation "Thanksgiving" or "Praise," is generally recognized as the Theudas of Acts v. 36, but probably represents the Gospel Apostle Thaddaeus (see hereinafter: and for the generally received interpretations, see Robertson, *Mythology and Christianity*, pp. 345, 346). In the *Tolcdoth Jeschu* of Huldrich (circ. 12th cent. A.D.), the Talmudic five become Matthias, changed by Jesus to Matthew; Elikus, changed to Luke; Simon, changed to Peter; Mardochai, changed to Mark, and Thoda, changed (strangely enough) to Paul (see Baring-Gould, *op. cit.*, p. 104).

In all probability the Gospel Jesus, in his solar character, originally had four brothers, for Mercury, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn; and two sisters, for the Moon and Venus; while his mother and father were counterparts of the earth-mother and the cosmic man (or heaven-father) respectively.¹

¹ The father of Jesus is called Joseph (as supposed to signify "the Multiplier") only in the comparatively late parthenogenesis stories (of Luke and Matt.); in the genealogies (of the same Gospels); in Luke iv. 22; the parallel John vi. 42, and John i. 45. Joseph is not named in the synoptic parallels to Luke iv. 22; that of Mark vi. 3, not even mentioning the father of Jesus. It is possible that even before the Christian era, some of the Jews, most likely the Samaritans, held that the Messiah would be a "son" (i. e., a descendant) of the Old Testament Joseph; and in the *Talmud*, as in the Gospels, the Messiah son of Joseph is identified with the Messiah son of David (see Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 303, 304—but the identification of the two Messiahs may have been made first by some of the early Jewish Christians). In Mark vi. 3, Jesus is "the carpenter," while Matt. xiii. 55, 56, refers to Him as the carpenter's son. It therefore seems that the father of Jesus was not named in Proto-Mark (the hypothetical original of the narrative parts of all three synoptics), while it is probable that Jesus was there called a carpenter (for the probable origin of which designation, through a verbal misunderstanding, see *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, s. v. "Joseph," 9; and for Luke's identification of the father of Jesus as the carpenter, for the cosmic creator, see the present writer's "Cosmic Parthenogenesis," *Open Court*, XXXIV, pp. 751, 752). But in Proto-Mark the

In Mark iv. 3, the names of the brothers of Jesus are Jacob (A. V., "James"), Joses (v. r., "Joseph" and "Josetos"), Judas (A. V., "Jude") and Simon, with whom are mentioned an unspecified number of sisters (cf. III, 32-35, where the brothers are unnamed). In the parallel Matt. xiii, 55-56, the brothers are Jacob, Joses (v. r., "Joseph," and "Joannes" = John in some of the most ancient Greek Codices), Simon and Judas; sisters also being mentioned here (cf. XII, 46-50, with the brothers unnamed). It, therefore, seems that the four brothers were named in Proto-Mark, which Gospel probably also referred to Mary, the mother of Jesus, in a parallel to Mark xv. 40 and Matt. xxvii, 56; in the former of which texts, at the crucifixion, we find "Mary the mother of Jacob minor ['minor' probably interpolated] and Joses (v. r., 'Joseph')"—cf. Mark xv. 47, where at the resurrection the same Mary is "the mother of Joses (v. r., 'Josetos').," and xvi. 1, where she is "the mother of Jacob." (In the *History of Joseph the Carpenter*, 4 and 11, Jacob minor is the brother of Jesus.) Thus, too, in Acts i. 14, we find, "Mary, the mother of Jesus," and "his brothers" in Jerusalem after the ascension (cf. 1 Cor. ix, 5); but only Jacob is named again in the New Testament, in Gal. i. 19—tradition making him the first bishop of Jerusalem (see Clement of Alexandria, *Hypot.* 7; Eusebius, *H. E.* II, 1, 23, etc.).

Jesus was the first-born, according to Luke ii. 17; and Helvidius held that the Gospel brothers were younger than Jesus and sons of Joseph and Mary (in Jerome, *Contra Helvid.*). This was doubtless an early tradition finally abandoned in accordance with the doctrine of the perpetual virginity of Mary; the mythic concept of the inde-virginate wife or periodic revirgination of the earth-mother being forgotten—and thus the brothers and sisters of Jesus were assumed to be children of Joseph by a wife who preceded Mary (*Protevangelium*, 8; *Pseudo-Matthew*, 42; *Joseph the Carpenter*, 2 sq.; *Gospel of Peter* as cited by Origin in *Matt.* xiii. 55, etc.). In *Pseudo-Matthew* (42) we find the same brothers as in Mark, and in the

mother of Jesus does seem to have been called Mary (Heb. Miriam = the Corpulent; i. e., Beautiful, according to the Oriental standard), for she is so called in Mark vi. 3; Matt. xiii. 55, and Acts i. 14, as well as in the parthenogenesis stories and the genealogy of Matt. And as we shall see presently, she was probably the Mary, mother of Jacob and Joses in Proto-Mark's story of the crucifixion and resurrection of Jesus. (For the identification of Mary with the earth-mother, see "Cosmic Parthenogenesis," p. 751). Moreover, there is a possibility of a pre-Christian Jewish belief that the mother of the Messiah would be named Miriam; for according to a Persian tradition of the mother of Joshua (=Jesus) was Miriam (*Chronicle of Tabiri*, ed. 1867, I. p. 396; cf. Robertson, *op. cit.*, pp. 297-302).

same order together with two unnamed sisters—doubtless for the moon and Venus. In the *History of Joseph the Carpenter* the two sisters are Assia (or Lysia) and Lydia; while later Church writers have Esther and Thamar, or Esther and Martha, or Maria and Salome, or Anna and Salome (See Donehoo, *Apoc. Life of Jesus*, p. 27). Esther is the Babylonian Istar or Estra, the latter form being the Syrian name of the planet Venus (and the Esther of the *Book of Esther* being associated with Mordecai for Marduk the Babylonian god of Jupiter); while in the *Book of Esther* (ii. 7) the heroine is also called Hadassah, whence perhaps Asia. Salome appears to have been recognized as a variant of Salamis (=of the salt sea), the wife of Poseidon in Greek mythology (Pausan I. 35. 2), but appropriate enough for the sea-born goddess Venus. Indeed, it is not improbable that the Joanna and Susanna of Luke viii. 3, were originally Joanna (for the Moon) and Salome (for Venus), as the two sisters of Jesus; Luke retaining only Joanna in xxiv. 10, and Mark retaining only Salome in the parallel text, xv. 40 (and in xvi. 1). These parallel texts of Mark and Luke, together with the other parallels, of Matt. and John, have always made the women at the crucifixion of Jesus one of the unsolved puzzles of Gospel criticism; but a reasonable solution is set forth in the accompanying Table I. It is true that Luke, in viii. 1-3, includes Joanna and Susanna with Mary Magdalene as among the female followers of Jesus who had been cured of possession by wicked spirits and infirmities; but originally this probably meant that they had been converted from their disbelief in the Messiahship of Jesus. Luke adds that Joanna was "wife of Chouza, a steward of Herod," where we probably have a false identification.²

We shall find that the names of the brothers were probably of historical origin, but that nevertheless Jesus and his brother and sisters were recognized as representatives of the seven planets, with Jesus allotted to the sun. According to the extant Gospels, the brothers and sisters did not accept Jesus as the Messiah during his life (Mark iii. 31, cf. 21; Matt. xii. 46; Luke viii. 19; John vii. 5, cf. ii. 12), in which view they were unbelievers or wanderers from the true faith, just as the Greek word for a planet (*planetos*) sig-

² The above identifications leave Lydia, Thamar, Martha, Maria and Anna as later names for the lunar sister; Lydi, called "the purpose-seller" in the Sahidic version of Joseph the Carpenter, probably being taken from Acts, where we find Lydia, "a seller of purple, of the City of Thyatira" (xvi. 14, 15); while Anna perhaps represents the Joanna of Luke xxiv. 10, recognized as a sister of Jesus.

TABLE I. THE FOUR COSMIC WOMEN OF THE GOSPEL STORY

Restored Original (Proto-Mark?) FOUR WOMEN AT THE CROSS	Mark xv. 40 (cf. xv. 47; xvi. 1) THREE WOMEN AT THE CROSS	Luke xxiv. 10 (cf. viii. 2,3) THREE WOMEN AT THE TOMB	Matt. xxvii. 56 THREE WOMEN AT THE CROSS	John xix. 25 THREE MARIES AT THE CROSS
(1) Mary the Magdalene	(1) Mary the Magdalene	(1) Mary the Magdalene	(1) Mary the Magdalene	(3) Mary the Magdalene
(2) Mary, the mother of Jesus, Jacob, Joseph (=Joses), Judas and Simon (as in Mark vi. 3).	(2) "Mary, the mother of of Jacob minor and of Joses" (<i>mikros</i> = minor interpolated, probably to distinguish the brother of Jesus from the Apost- le Jacob, son of Zebedee).	(3) "Mary, the mother of Jacob,"	(2) "Mary, the mother of Jacob and of Joses (v. r. Joseph)" (per- haps erroneously as Zebedee's sons in the original text of Matt.).	(1) The mother of Jesus.
(3) Joanna, and · (4) Salome; the sisters of Jesus (Joanna and Susanna in Luke viii. 3).	(3) Salome.	(2) Joanna (cf. viii. 3).	(3) "And the mother of Zebedee's sons" (per- haps as erroneously identifed with Mark's Salome, in the extant text).	(2) "And the sister of his mother, Mary, the (wife) of Klo- pas." (Klopas = Al- phaeus, father of the duplicite Apostle Jacob, the latter per- haps here identified erroniously with Mark's Jacobminor).

The original four women were probably allotted to the cardinal points as associated with the four branches of the cross, and thus, according to Mark and Matt., the three women looked on the cross "from afar off," while John has it that they "stood at the cross." Thus, too, in John xix. 23, the garments of Jesus are divided into four parts for four soldiers at the cross; in the *Sibylline Oracles*, VIII, 322, the nail marks in the hands and feet of Jesus denote "east and west, and south and north," and the four women of the cardinal points are figured as the supporters of the heaven at the four corners of the Egyptian planisphere of Dendera. John's Klopas is identified as Alphaeus in Pseudo-Matthew, 42; by Jerome in *Matt.* xii. 49, and by Augustine, *Contra Faust.* xxii. 35, etc. (See also hereinafter under "Jacob, son of Alphaeus.") For the origin of the Magdalene as a duplication of the mother of Jesus, see Robertson, *Christianity and Mythology*, p. 298.

nifies "a wanderer" (through the zodiac), while in Jude 13, heretics are called *asteres planetai* = wandering stars.

In all probability the four brothers of Jesus were originally the first four Apostles called by him, these four being the only Apostles mentioned in the Pauline Epistles and in Acts (except in the catalog of the Twelve, Acts i. 13, and context following). It is also probable that the Gospel brothers were originally introduced in the order of Jesus, Judas, Simon, Jacob and Joseph or Joannes = John (see above), corresponding respectively to the Sun, Mercury, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn (or with the group read reversely by some, for Saturn as the highest and greatest planet of the five was sometimes given the first place, with the sun in the seventh, as by the Mithraists —Origen, *Contra Cels.*, VI, 22). Thus, Jesus often appears in solar character; Judas (Iscariot) is a thief and the bearer of the money bag (John xii. 6), just as mercury is not only a thief and the god of thieves, but is sometimes figured bearing a purse (as the giver of wealth); Simon-Peter has a sword (John xviii. 10), as does the war-god Mars; Jacob as the brother of Jesus is first Bishop of Jerusalem somewhat as Jupiter is chief or king of the gods, while Jacob and John ask for the most prominent places in the Messianic kingdom, on either side of Jesus (see below), just as Jupiter and Saturn are the highest and greatest planets. There can be no reasonable doubt that the first place was originally given to Judas as the representative of the Jewish nation, Judaea, and that as such he was early recognized as the Apostle who repudiated Jesus as the Messiah and betrayed Him, thus being relegated to the last place among the brothers (as in Matthew—see above) and to the last place in all the catalogs of the Twelve. This puts Simon in the first place among the four brothers, as in the catalogs and the call of the first four Apostles. In this call, Simon (Peter) and Jacob and John (as the sons of Zebedee) appear in the Apostolic characters given to them in the catalogs, while Andrew completes the four-fold group instead of Judas (see below).

According to Mark i. 16-20, as Jesus walked by the sea of Galilee, "he saw Simon and Andrew the brother of him (Simon) casting a large net in the sea, for they were fishers. And Jesus said to them, Come after me, and I will make you to become fishers of men. And immediately having left their nets, they followed him. And having gone on thence a little he saw Jacob the son of Zebedee, and Joannes [John] his [Jacob's] brother and these were in the ship mending their nets. And immediately he called them; and

having left their father Zebedee in the ship with the hired servants, they went after him." Matthew follows in substantially the same words, adding that Simon "is called Peter" (iv. 18-22), while Luke (v. 1-11) omits Andrew and combines the story of the call with that of the multitudinous draft of fishes—doubtless recognizing the possibility of a metaphorical application of both stories; which are certainly presented primarily as literal truth. Again, the story of Mark

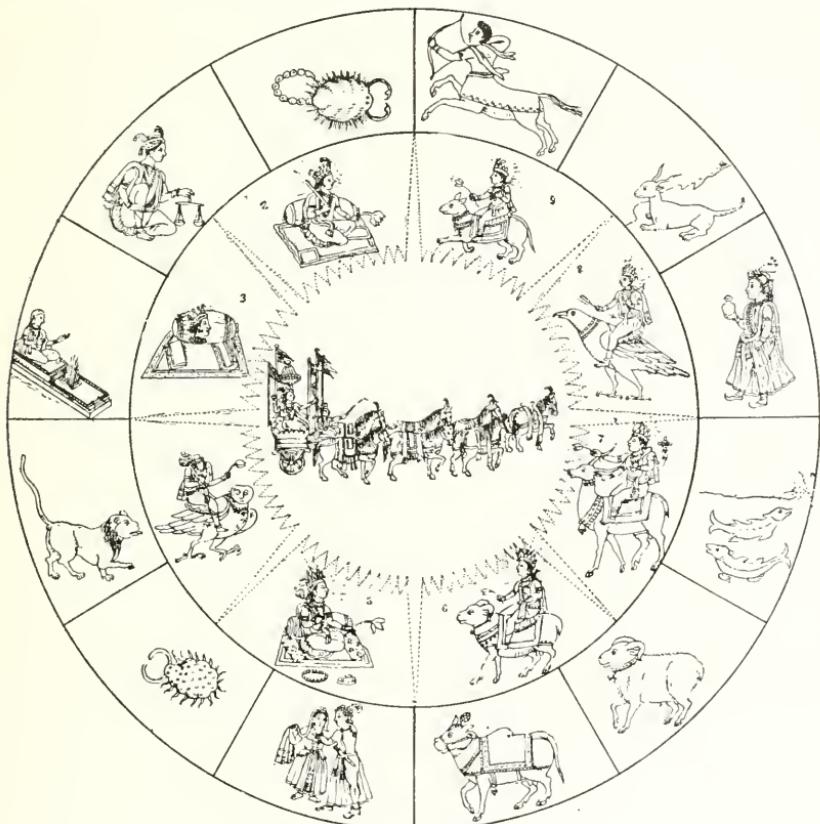


ANCIENT ARABIAN ZODIAC (13th Century)

(and Matt.) is widely varied in the call of the first five Apostles according to John, as we shall see.

Of the original brothers, Judas, Simon, and Joseph have the names of as many of the twelve sons of Jacob (Israel), the Patriarchs of Acts vii. 8 sq. There is no evidence that any other Patriarchal name (excepting Levi) was ever given to any of the Apostles, although the latter were early identified as counterparts of the for-

mer (see below); nor is there any evidence of any planetary group of Patriarchs, except perhaps in Gen. xlvi. 8-25, where the six sons of Leah and her daughter Dinah (for Venus?) are grouped together (cf. Gen. xxx. 21 and context). But Old Testament types or counterparts of the five planetary brothers of the Gospels are discoverable in the five Hasmonean brothers of the Books of Maccabees. These great patriot-heroes of later Jewish history, sons of Matthias,



THE HINDU ZODIAC

were Judas, Simon, Joseph, Jonathan (the four military leaders) and Eleazar (the priest of the family), according to the Greek of 2 Macc. viii. 22, 23 (cf. ix. 19); whereas in a similar list in 1 Macc. ii. 2-5, we find "Joannes" instead of "Joseph" (as also in Josephus, *Antiq.* xiii. 4, etc.). And these variant texts probably suggested two variant traditions as to the name of one of the brothers of Jesus; some Codices at Matt. xiii. 55, having "Joannes" instead of "Joseph"

for this brother, as we saw above. But the parallelisms do not continue throughout the Hasmonean and Gospel groups of five, for while Eleazar the priest may have been recognized as a type of Jesus, Jonathan can hardly have been equated with Jacob, the probable origin of whom will be suggested presently. The surnames of the Hasmonean brothers as given in 1 Macc. (*loc. cit.*) are of unknown meaning; but Thassi, the surname of Simon, was probably referred to the Hebrew *thasas* = hot, raging, and so to the red planet of the war-god Mars (with which planet Simon Peter was probably associated), while Gaddi, the surname of Joannes, was probably referred to the Hebrew *gaddi*-fortunate, and so to Jupiter as the astrological Greater Good Fortune (but Jacob was probably associated with Jupiter—see above).

The primary suggestion for the identification of the first four Apostles as fishermen is perhaps found in 1 Macc. xiii. 27-30, where we read of a monument erected to the memory of the Hasmonean family—father, mother and five sons—the same being adorned with carved ships, “that they might be seen by all that sail the sea,” and also with seven pyramids, one for each member of the family. As the Hasmoneans had no connection with the sea, the ships have always been a mystery to commentators; but they were probably symbols of the seven planets (in the celestial sea) as assigned to the seven Hasmoneans—the sun and moon respectively to the father and mother, and thus also to Joseph and Mary.³ In all probability the reference to the first four Apostles as “fishers of men” was an afterthought rather than that their vocation originated in a misunderstood metaphorical allusion to their Apostolic labors; for a writer who misunderstood a metaphorical expression and converted it into a literal statement would hardly have introduced the former in connection with the latter, as was done by all three synoptists, probably following Proto-Mark.

Another group of five Jewish patriot-heroes is composed of the leading Zealots of the first Christian century. They were probably recognized as counterparts of the Hasmonean brothers, and with equal probability four of them were the more direct types or historical originals of the brothers of Jesus and the first four Apostles, while the fifth was one of the several originals of the Gospel Jesus. The first of these leading Zealots was Judas of Galilee, who founded

³ The six planets, exclusive of the sun, are as many fishermen in a myth of the Mangaians of Polynesia, while the Greeks sometimes represented all the planets as fishes. See “The Cosmic Multiplications, *Open Court*, XXXIV, pp. 106, 110.

the party in opposition to the taxing by the Romans under Quirinus in 6-7 A.D. (Josephus, *Antiq.* xviii. 1, 1; cf. Acts v. 37, Luke ii. 1), and who was recognized by many as the Messiah (Origen, *Hom. in Luc.* xxv.). We have no record of the manner of his death, but his sons Jacob and Simon, who succeeded him as leaders of the Zealots, were crucified by Tiberius Alexander about 47 A.D. (Josephus, *Antiq.* xx. 5, 2); after which their younger brother, Menehem, became the leader, and in the state of a king led his followers to a seige of Jerusalem, but was slain by the adherents of the high priest in 66 A.D. (Josephus, *Bel. Jud.* ii. 17, 8 and 9). The fifth Zealot leader was Eleazar, a descendant (grandson) of Judas of Galilee, and he met his death when the Zealots of Masada slew one another in 72 A.D. rather than be taken captive by the Romans (*ibid.* ii. 17, 9; vii. 8-9). Practically nothing is known of the Zealots except from Josephus, a bitter opponent who naturally pictures them in the most unfavorable light; but there can be no doubt that many of the later members of the party, driven to desperation by the Romans, degenerated into robbers and assassins. Originally, however, they were certainly the patriot successors of the Hasmoneans, from whom they took over the precepts enjoining a fight to the death for their religion and independence. They regarded the payment of taxes to the Romans as a token of sinful servitude, and believed that they fought for the establishment of the Messianic kingdom: adopting from the Pharisees the current Messianic ideas. Nevertheless Josephus classes the Zealots as forming a separate sect, in contradistinction to the Pharisees, Sadducees and Essenes. (*Antiq.* xviii. 1, 1 and 6; *Bel. Jud.* ii. 8, 1), and it is quite probable that the original Jewish Christians were of this sect.

Like Jesus and his brothers (= the first four Apostles), the five Zealot leaders were Galileans, and it is even possible that Judas the Galilean had a son Joseph or Joannes. Like Jesus, the Zealots Jacob and Simon (and perhaps Judas) were crucified: and as Menehem went to Jerusalem in the state of a king, so did Jesus when he made his triumphal entry into the city (Matt. xxi. 2-11; John xii. 12-16). Judas of Galilee was recognized as the Messiah, and there can be little doubt that the same is true of Menehem, and that he was one of the several historic originals of Jesus as the Messiah. The name Menehem, generally rendered "Comforter," is one of the epithets of the Messiah according to the Talmud (Ber., II, 4) and the Midrash on Lamentations (I. 16): and it is probably represented by the "paraklētos" of 1 John ii. 1, where the Greek word is applied

to Jesus as an "advocate with the Father" (so the A. V.), while in the Gospel of John, xiv. 16, Jesus himself assumes the title, saying, "And I will ask the Father, and another paraclete (A. V. "Comforter") he will give you . . . the spirit of truth" (and 'the holy spirit' in verse 26; cf. xv. 26; xvi. 7). *Paracletos* like the Latin *advocatus* is sometimes used in the broader sense of "helper" or "protector," and in all probability the Hebrew "Menehem" was sometimes understood in the same sense, thus having much the same meaning as "Jesus" (Jeshua or Joshua, interpreted "Deliverer" or "Saviour" in Eccl. xlvi. 1; Matt. i. 22). The Zealot Menehem was probably recognized as the warrior Messiah who had come to save the Jews from the Romans: indeed he may be the Messianic "child" who "was caught away to God and his throne" in Rev. xii. 5; for the Jewish original of our Revelation was probably a Zealot work, written shortly after the final fall of Jerusalem (70 A.D.), and some little time before the extant synoptic Gospels were written. It is true that the Gospel Jesus is a comparatively peaceful Messiah, like an Essene or an ascetic; but a Zealot original, among others, appears to be indicated in the accusation that Jesus forbade the Jews to pay their taxes ("tribute") to Caesar (Luke xxiii. 2), and in some statements attributed to Jesus, such as "I come not to place peace, but a sword" (Matt. x. 34; cf. Luke xii. 49, 51—contradicted in other texts, Luke ix. 56, John iii. 17, etc.). Moreover, two of the Apostles have swords in Luke xxii. 36 (perhaps Jacob and John who are called Boanerges = Sons of thunder in Mark iii. 17); Simon Peter wields a sword according to John xviii. 10 (cf. Marks xiv. 47; Matt. xxvi. 51; Luke xxii. 50), and in the catalogs of the Twelve we find Simon the Zealot, who is probably a mere duplication of Simon Peter. The Zealot leaders Simon and Jacob were crucified, and so was Simon Peter (John xxi. 18, 19; 1 Pet. i. 14—but the Apostle Jacob died by the sword, Acts xii. 2). Nevertheless, it is probable that the final redactors of the Gospel story, writing for Greek and Roman readers, introduced some texts for the special purpose of concealing or rather denying the Zealot character of the original Christians, especially by representing Jesus as friendly with tax-gatherers (publicans) and as advising his followers to pay their taxes to the Romans (Mark xii. 17, etc., flatly contradicted in Luke xxiii. 2).

In view of the above evidence it seems not unreasonable to conclude that among the leading Zealots we have the historic originals of the four brothers of Jesus who became the first four Apostles, and that these four were recognized as counterparts of four of the five Hasmoneans; the composite group of five Zealots and Hasmoneans comprising Judas, Simon, Jacob, Joseph or John and Eleazar or Menehem—the last two being counterparts of Jesus, with the Hasmonean Jonathan ignored as supernumerary.

The writer of the Gospel of John tells us that two disciples of John the Baptist were the first to follow Jesus; that one of them was Andrew; that Simon Peter the brother of Andrew was brought by the latter to Jesus; that Jesus on the following day called Philip; that Philip brought Nathaniel to Jesus, etc. i. 35-52). It has always been supposed, and doubtless correctly, that the Apostle John as the reputed writer of the Gospel was one of the two who are represented to have been disciples of the Baptist, and that Nathaniel is the Bartholomew (Son of Tolmai) of the catalogs. In John xxi. (an appendix that did not belong to this Gospel as originally written) is a group of seven Apostles introduced at the taking of a multitudinous draft of fishes, a mere variant of the synoptic multitudinous draft with which Luke combines the call of the first Apostles, omitting Andrew (v. 1-11); and this John appendix probably preserves an early group of the first seven of the twelve Apostles, disarranged as to the original planetary order. The text has: "There were together Simon Peter, and Thomas called Didymus, and Nathaniel from Cana in Galilee, and the sons of Zebedee [Jacob and John] and two others of his disciples [doubtless Andrew and Philip]." These seven Apostles finally eat a meal of fish and bread, which doubtless represents an ancient sacrificial feast, with the participants as planetary figures. Thus seven priests appear repeatedly in the *Rigveda* in the worship of Agni; the later Romans had their seven rulers of sacrificial feasts, and we find a feast of "seven pious priests" in one of the admittedly Mithraic frescoes in the Catacombs, where the seven feasting figures also appear in various Christian frescoes—whence perhaps the direct suggestion for the seven-fold group in the John appendix (see Robertson, *Christianity and Mythology*, pp. 225, 382).

All the catalogs of the Twelve include the seven of the restored John appendix (with the exception of Nathaniel who equates with

Bartholomew of the catalogs), and these seven include the five first called according to John; and there can be no reasonable doubt that the writer of John took his first five Apostles from some catalog of the Twelve which was either a mere variant or the original of the catalogs found in the synoptics and Acts. We shall see that such an original catalog can be restored with the twelve Apostles connected both with the seven planets and the twelve signs of the zodiac, according to a certain astrological scheme.⁴

⁴ In the New Testament we also have an account of the call by Jesus of a group of unnamed disciples—two according to Matt. (viii. 19, 22), but three according to Luke (ix. 57, 62). As there is no parallel in Mark, the original account was possibly in the lost Gospel "Q" (where it is placed by Harnack and Stafford), and if that account gave three unnamed disciples, which is probable, it is also probable that some added them to the four first called to make a group for the seven planets, whereas others took only two in connection with Jesus and his four brothers (=Apostles) for the seven planets. Of these unnamed disciples, only the second of both Matt. and Luke is traditionally identified with one of the twelve Apostles; viz., Philip (see Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* III, 4—the probable reason for this identification being suggested hereinafter). The third unnamed disciple (in Luke only) asks that he may first take leave of those at his house; but Jesus tells him that "no one having laid his hand to the plough and looking on the things behind, is fit for the kingdom of God"—as probably suggested by the Old Testament story of Elisha, who was ploughing with twelve yoke of oxen when called by Elijah, but who went to bid his father and mother farewell before following Elijah (1 Kings xix. 19-21). That the twelve yoke of oxen are zodiacal in origin is indicated by the fact that the zodiac was known to the Akkadians as the Furrow of Heaven, ploughed by the Directing Bull, our Taurus (Allen, *Star Names*, p. 1).

Seven (instead of four) Apostles were called at the Sea of Galilee according to the (lost) *Gospel of the Ebionites* as quoted by Epiphanius, *Haeres.* XXX, 13, where the seven comprise the two sons of Zebedee Simon Peter, Andrew, Thaddaeus, Simon the Zealot and Judas Iscariot

Problems of Science

By FEDERIGO ENRIQUES

Translated by Katharine Royce with an introduction by Josiah Royce

Pp. 392, Cloth, Price \$2.50

A scientific methodology with numerous references to contemporary interests and controversies.

PRESS NOTICES

"Prof. Royce thinks that the book will be read with particular interest on account of the opposition that it offers to current 'anti-intellectual' types of philosophizing, though the book was first published in Italian before the controversies about 'pragmatism,' 'intuitionism,' etc., arose. At the same time, Enriques, whose disposition is that of the mathematician and logician, has, through independent thinking, come to support the same theses as the pragmatists regarding the 'instrumental' or the 'functional' character of thought."
—*Springfield Republican*.

"The book is written in a very attractive style, and presents some of the most difficult problems in a way that the unprofessional reader can understand. It is worthy of being translated into English, and worthy of this excellent translation."—*Boston Transcript*.

"Enriques, as Prof. Royce shows, views the thinking process as an 'adjustment' to 'situations,' but he also lays great stress 'upon the tendency of science to seek unity upon the synthetic aspect of scientific theory, upon what he calls the "association" of concepts and scientific "representations."' Enriques treats all these questions with originality as well as great depth of thought and the appearance of his book in English makes an important addition to the body of metaphysical literature in our language."—*Chicago News*.

"The Work before us is perhaps the most considerable since Mill."—*The Nation*.

Order through your dealer

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING CO.

CHICAGO—LONDON

The Belief in God and Immortality

By JAMES H. LEUBA

Professor of Psychology in Bryn Mawr College

Author of "A Psychological Study of Religion"

Cloth, Price \$2.50.

This book consists of three parts. The first is a scholarly investigation of the origins of the idea of immortality.

Parts II and III are those of chief interest to the general public. Part II consists of statistics of belief in personal immortality and in a God with whom one may hold personal relations.

Part III treats of the Present Utility of the Belief in God and in Immortality, and points to a minimum requirement that would save religion from being in conflict with science.

PRESS OPINIONS

"It is a book which every clergyman, as well as every one interested in the psychology of religion and in the future of religion, should read and ponder. For Professor Leuba has made a contribution to our knowledge of religious belief that is of very considerable significance."—Prof. James B. Pratt, in the *American Journal of Theology*.

"It is an honest effort . . . done with scientific precision and love of truth. Such an investigation, wherever its results may now seem to lead, tends surely toward an ultimate good."—*The Christian Register, Boston*.

"His more important conclusions are quite well established."—*The American Anthropologist*.

OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVE.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Evolutionary Naturalism

BY

ROY WOOD SELLARS, Ph. D.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

350 pp., Cloth, Price \$2.50

"The aim of the present investigation is to work out in a systematic fashion the possibility of an adequate naturalism. Evolutionary Naturalism does not sink man back into nature; it acknowledges all that is unique in him and vibrates as sensitively as idealism to his aspirations and passions. But the naturalist is skeptical of any central, brooding will which has planned it all. The Good is not the sun of things from which the world of things get their warmth and inspiration. The cosmos is and has its determinate nature. As man values himself and his works, he may rightly assign value to the universe which is made of stuff which has the potential power to raise itself to self-consciousness in him."

* * * * *

"Let man place his hope in those powers which raise him above the level of the ordinary causal nexus. It is in himself that he must trust. If his foolishness and his passions exceed his sanity and intelligence, he will make shipwreck of his opportunity."

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Ready in May

Nature and Human Nature

Essays Metaphysical and Historical

By

HARTLEY BURR ALEXANDER

University of Nebraska

Cloth, Pp. 350

Price, \$2.50

"The man of the future must have faith in Nature. He must believe, as the Greeks believed, that the world is alive, or at least that it is inspired by reason; and he must believe also that his life and what he does with it is important in the plan and purpose of this world-intelligence. In other words, he must believe in and trust a God.

But the individual factor is not yet wholly satisfied. A God for whom this earthly life is a mere spectacle leading to naught beyond, a God whose interest in creation is no better than the appetite of a Roman populace for gladiatorial shows—such a God deserves neither the labor nor the loyalty of the human soul. There must be, in the order of Nature, not only an ethical salvation in this world, but a consummation of the life here begun in a world to come, in order to satisfy reason. Wherefore, the man and the race of the future must have faith in a life in a world to come, belief in human immortality.

These two great *Credos* of human history, common to all expressions of religious instinct—belief in God and belief in immortality—are, I affirm, bound to prevail on the earth. All the teachings of history and biology, every principle of evolution, enforce this view. Races that deny these beliefs must disappear from the earth, in favor of the better adapted members of their kind.

I am not maintaining any *a priori* certitude that there is a God to whom man's destiny is meaningful, nor that that destiny does not cease with this early life. But I do affirm that Nature decrees that the man who survives, the race that persists, must believe these things. They are a part of the equipment of the Fittest to Survive."

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 S. Michigan Ave.

CHICAGO, ILL.

NOW READY

The Buddhist Annual of Ceylon

Vol. 1.

No. 3

Edited by
S. W. Wijayatilake
75 cents

Americans will remember with much interest the interesting Buddhist delegation from Ceylon to the Congress of Religions held in 1893 during the World's Fair at Chicago.

One of the editors of this magazine formed the Maha Bodhi Society which numbers among its members some of the greatest scholars and prelates of the world.

The Open Court Publishing Company has been invited to take subscriptions for this magazine which is published annually at a price of 75 cents a copy. It is illustrated and very interesting in giving the modern religious history of Ceylon including the educational and religious progress made during the last forty years.

It is well worth the price to anyone who wishes to keep in touch with the religious aspects of Oriental Civilization.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 South Michigan Avenue
Chicago, Illinois

We still have a few copies of No. 1 and 2 on hand for any who wishes a complete file of this interesting magazine.

A Christian's Appreciation of Other Faiths

By

REV. GILBERT REED, D. D.

Author of *China at a Glance*
China Captive or Free, Etc.

Cloth, \$2.50

Pages 360

Dr. Reid is the Director of the International Institute of Shanghai, China, where he was established before and during the Great World War. His social and political relations with the Orient during the trying period of China's neutrality created in him a spirit of international understanding which broke down all sense of separateness in human life, particularly in spiritual matters. His book is inspiring to every sincere student of the science of religion and will do much to establish the new order of human fellowship.

Order through any book dealer.

OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO

FIRST COURSE IN STATISTICS

BY

D. CARADOG JONES, M.A., F.S.S.

FORMERLY LECTURER IN MATHEMATICS
AT DURHAM UNIVERSITY

Price, Cloth \$3.75

The fundamental importance of the right use of Statistics is becoming increasingly evident on all sides of life, social and commercial, political and economic. A study of this book should enable the reader to discriminate between the masses of valuable and worthless figures published, and to use what is of value intelligently. It is meant to serve as an introduction to the more serious study of the theory provided by other works.

PRESS NOTES

This is an excellent "first course" to place in the hands of a mathematical student who wishes to develop his work on the statistical side or is interested in probability and has an eye to research on the mathematics of the subject. As the book is one of Bell's Mathematical Series (Advanced Section), it is natural that the subject should be approached in this way, but its use will be wider than that indicated, because it will make a good second course for a person doing statistical work in practice if one of the elementary books on the subject has been read first, and it can be used for revision purposes by those teaching the subject who prefer to give one of the well-known existing textbooks to their pupils in the first instance.—*Mathematical Gazette*.

This is an admirable introduction to one of the most important of subjects. Statistics, it is safe to say, were never more used, nor less understood, than they are today.—Mr. Jones has done his work well. He explains the special terminology of the subject clearly, and deals squarely with all the difficulties. We trust his valuable book will have a very large circulation. It deserves it.—*Scottish Educational Journal*.

Persons interested in statistics—and the number of such is increasing daily—will find in this volume a very compact, clear and sufficiently complete account of the mathematical machinery employed in analyzing raw statistical material and in deducing general statements regarding the characteristics—these pages offer an excellent introduction to the works of Pearson, Yule, Bowley, Edgworth, and the other pioneers of this branch of science.—*Journal of Education*.

OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

CHICAGO

LONDON

An Attractive Gift Book

JAPANESE PROVERBS AND PICTURES

Selected and Edited by
PROFESSOR FREDERICK STARR
University of Chicago

Illustrated in color and printed and bound in Japan.
Curious bits of philosophy, quaintly expressed, and the whole
showing the shrewd, witty and sometimes cruel Japanese character.
An interesting study of oriental ethics.

Price, cloth \$2.00

For Sale by
THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING CO.
122 So. Michigan Ave.
Chicago

PARACELSIUS

HIS PERSONALITY AND INFLUENCE AS A PHYSICIAN,
CHEMIST AND REFORMER

By **JOHN MAXSON STILLMAN**
Emeritus Professor of Chemistry, Stanford University

Cloth, \$2.00

Theophrastus Bombastus von Hohenheim, called Paracelsus, is one of the important although little known originators of scientific method in surgery and chemistry. His lifetime fell in the period (1493-1541) of the most fertile intellectual activity of the Renaissance, which was due largely to the invention of printing by movable types and the remarkable development of universities both in number and teaching.

During the last thirty years scholarly research has been notably directed to the reinvestigation of the early history of scientific thought.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

NEW ADDITIONS TO THE OPEN COURT MATHEMATICAL SERIES

A First Course in Nomography

By S. Brodetsky (Reader in Applied Mathematics at Leeds University).
Pages, 135, 64 Illustrations. Price \$3.00

Graphical methods of calculation are becoming ever more important in all branches of engineering. The object of this book is to explain what nomograms are, and how they can be constructed and used.

Projective Vector Algebra

By L. Silberstein (Lecturer in Mathematical Physics at the University of Rome). Pages, 78. Price \$1.75

An Algebra of Vectors based upon the axioms of order and of connection and independent of the axioms of Congruence and of Parallels is the subtitle of this book. Some of the conclusions desirable from the subject may be helpful to readers interested in the degree of soundness of the foundations of the modern theory of relativity.

Elementary Vector Analysis: with application to Geometry and Physics

By C. E. Weatherburn, Ormond College, University of Melbourne. Pages, 184. Price \$3.50

A simple exposition of elementary analysis. Vector Analysis is intended essentially for three-dimensional calculations; and its greatest service is rendered in the domains of mechanics and mathematical physics.

An Elementary Treatise on Differential Equations and Their Application

By H. T. H. Piaggio, M. A., Professor of Mathematics, University College, Nottingham. Pages, 242. Price \$3.50

The theory of Differential Equations is an important branch of modern mathematics. The object of this book is to give an account of the central parts of the subject in as simple a form as possible. Differential Equations arise from many problems in Algebra, Geometry, Mechanics, Physics and Chemistry.

A History of the Conceptions of Limits and Fluxions in Great Britain from Newton to Woodhouse

By Florian Cajori, Ph. D., Professor of History of Mathematics in the University of California. Pages, 300. Price \$2.00

A sensational event in the early history of mathematics was Bishop Berkeley's attack upon the logical foundations of the Calculus invented by Newton and Leibniz. Hardly known at all are the quarrels among the English mathematicians themselves which followed the controversy with Berkeley. These matters are worked out from original sources in Professor Cajori's book.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 South Michigan Avenue

Chicago, Illinois

The Philosophical Writings of Richard Burthogge

Edited with Introductions and Notes by

MARGARET W. LANDES

Wellesley College

Pages, 245

Cloth, \$2.00

THE re-discovery of a seventeenth-century English philosopher proves the maxim that merit is not often recognized in a scholar's own day not only because his teaching is premature but also because it is so pervaded by the dominating thought of the time that its element of originality is lost.

Burthogge's theory of knowledge is his most important philosophical teaching. His doctrine of the superiority of mind over matter is about the same as that taught by More and by Cudworth. However far from holding that sense is a hindrance to knowledge, Burthogge teaches, like Kant, that it is one of the only two sources of knowledge.

This volume is the third contribution to the study of seventeenth and eighteenth-century English philosophical texts by graduate students of Wellesley College.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

Saccheri's Euclides Vindicatus

Edited and translated by

GEORGE BRUCE HALSTED

Latin-English edition of the first non-Euclidean Geometry published in Milan, 1733.

Pages, 280

Cloth, \$2.00

A geometric endeavor in which are established the foundation principles of universal geometry, with special reference to Euclid's Parallel Postulate.

THE OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 SOUTH MICHIGAN AVENUE

CHICAGO

ILLINOIS

A Short History of **Christian Theophagy**

BY

PRESERVED SMITH, PH.D.

Pages, 223

Price, \$2.00

"In proportion as the knowledge of history becomes more profound and intelligent", says the great French scholar, Gabriel Monod, "an ever larger place is given to the study of religious beliefs, doctrines, and institutions". But, continues the same authority, the study of these phenomena is as yet very backward, partly because of the intrinsic difficulty of the subject, partly because the fear of wounding others' feelings or of exciting their prejudices prevents many investigators from cultivating this field in a scientific spirit. The present work attempts to subject to rational analysis and objective consideration one of the most interesting and fundamental of Christian doctrines. The author, who writes *sine ira et studio*, as one who has no party to serve and no cause to advance save that of truth, coolly exhibits the history of the idea of the sacrificed and eaten god from its obscure dawn in primitive times to its evening twilight in the present.

The practice of eating a god in the form of first-fruits or of a divine animal originated in ancient times, and attained an extraordinary development in the Mystery Religions of the Greeks, in the cults of Attis, of Adonis, of Osiris, of Dionysus, of Demeter, and of other Saviour Gods. From these cults the idea was borrowed by Paul and, against opposition of the Jewish Christians, fastened on the church. The history of the dogma, after the first centuries of our era, has been the story of attempts to explain it. Transubstantiation and the doctrine of the sacrifice of the mass were not, as commonly by Protestants and rationalists they are said to be, the inept inventions of a barbarous age, but were the first endeavors to reason about and philosophically to elucidate beliefs formerly accepted with naive simplicity. The hardest battles over the dogma came in the Reformation period, which accordingly bulks large in the present work. While Luther, Calvin, and other prominent Reformers believed in a real presence, but tried to give its mode new explanations, other more advanced spirits, Honius, Carlstadt, Swingli, Tyndale, and their fellows, adopted the view, now prevalent in Protestant communions, that the eucharistic bread and wine were mere symbols. After the heat of the sixteenth-century controversies, Zwinglian or rationalist views were quietly adopted by most Christians, though here and there high sacramentalism survived or was revived.

Rightly understood the present study will be appreciated as a scientific essay in the field of comparative religion, and as furnishing a rational explanation of much that is most delicate and important in the history of Christianity.

OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY

122 S. Michigan Ave.

Chicago

Publishes: WILLIAMS & NORGATE, London—WILLIAMS & WILKINS CO.,
Baltimore—FELIX ALCAN, Paris—NICOLA ZANICHELLI, Bologna—
RUIZ HERMANOS, Madrid—RENASCENCA PORTUGUESA, Porto
—THE MARUZEN COMPANY, Tokyo.

“SCIENTIA”

INTERNATIONAL REVIEW OF SCIENTIFIC SYNTHESIS

Published every month (each number containing 100 to 120 pages)

Editor: EUGENIO RIGNANO

IS THE ONLY REVIEW the contributors to which are really international.
IS THE ONLY REVIEW that has a really world-wide circulation.

IS THE ONLY REVIEW of scientific synthesis and unification that deals with the fundamental questions of all sciences: the history of the sciences, mathematics, astronomy, geology, physics, chemistry, biology, psychology and sociology.

IS THE ONLY REVIEW of general science that by its articles on statistics, demography, ethnography, economics, law, history of religions and sociology in general—all of a general, summary and synthetical character—makes itself a necessity to all thorough students of the social sciences.

IS THE ONLY REVIEW that among its contributors can boast of the most illustrious men of science in the whole world. A list of more than 350 of these is given in each number.

The articles are published in the language of their authors, and every number has a supplement containing the French translation of all the articles that are not French. The review is thus completely accessible to those who know only French. (Write for a gratis specimen number to the General Secretary of "Scientia," Milan, sending 1 sh. in stamps of your country, merely to cover postal expenses).

SUBSCRIPTION: Sh. 40; \$10, post free Office: Via A. Bertani, 14 - Milan (26
General Secretary: Dr. PAOLO BONETTI.

SCIENCE PROGRESS

A QUARTERLY REVIEW OF SCIENTIFIC
THOUGHT, WORK, AND AFFAIRS

Edited by Lieut.-Col. Sir RONALD ROSS
K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., N.L., D.Sc., LL.D., M.D., F.R.C.S.

Published at the beginning of JANUARY, APRIL, JULY, OCTOBER

Each number consists of about 192 pages, contributed by authorities in their respective subjects. Illustrated. 6s. net. Annual Subscription, including postage, 25s. 6d.

SCIENCE PROGRESS owes its origin to an endeavor to found a scientific journal containing original papers and summaries of the present state of knowledge in all branches of science. The necessity for such a journal is to be found in the fact that, with the specialization which necessarily accompanies the modern development of scientific thought and work, it is increasingly difficult for even the professional man of science to keep in touch with the trend of thought and the progress achieved in subjects other than those in which his immediate interests lie. This difficulty is felt by teachers and students in colleges and schools, and by the general educated public interested in scientific questions. SCIENCE PROGRESS claims to have filled this want.

JOHN MURRAY

Albemarle Street

London, W. 1