

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

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CONTENTS:

<i>Frontispiece.</i> Anubis Ushering the Dead into the Presence of Osiris.	
<i>Anubis, Seth, and Christ.</i> The Significance of the "Spott-Crucifix."—The Religious Significance of the Ass.—The Lead Tablets of the Via Appia. With Illustrations from Egyptian and Roman Archæology. EDITOR	65
<i>Ethical Culture Versus Ethical Cult.</i> DR. MONCURE D. CONWAY, New York City	98
<i>The Need of a Civil Service Academy.</i> THE HON. CHARLES CARROLL BONNEY, President of the World's Fair Congresses of 1893	106
<i>The Hebrew Conception of Animals.</i> THE COUNTESS MARTINENGO, Salo, Lago di Garda, Italy	110
<i>F. Max Müller and the Religious Parliament.</i> LADY BLENNERHASSETT in the "Deutsche Rundschau"	115
<i>The Crisis in China as Seen by a Chinaman.</i> TAN TEK SOON	118
<i>Smith's Teaching of Elementary Mathematics</i>	120
<i>A Psycho-Physical Laboratory in the Department of the Interior</i>	121
<i>Fink's Brief History of Mathematics</i>	122
<i>Book Reviews</i>	124

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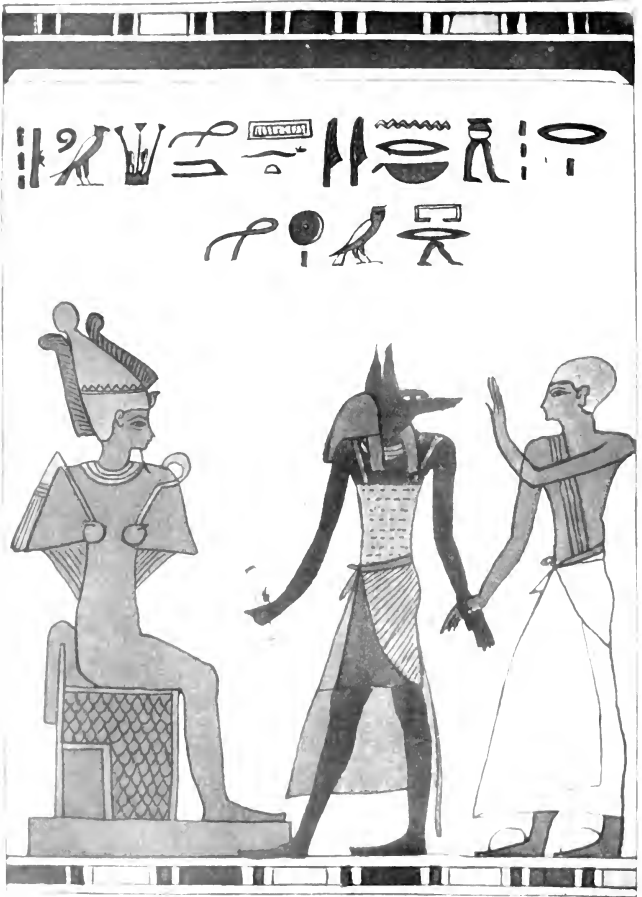
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ANUBIS USHERING THE DEAD INTO THE PRESENCE OF OSIRIS.

After a colored facsimile of a picture in the *Book of the Dead*, by Pleyte.

The early Christians of Egypt identified Anubis with Christ on account of his relation to the preservation and resurrection of the dead. See page 66.

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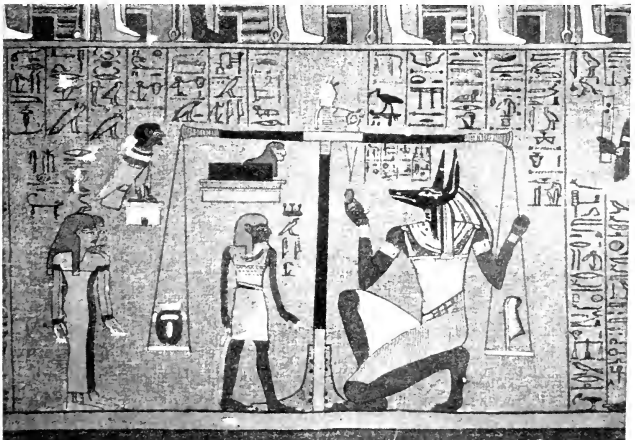
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ANUBIS, SETH, AND CHRIST.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE "SPOTT-CRUCIFIX."

BY THE EDITOR.

THE famous wall-scribbling with the donkey-headed deity attached to a cross which was discovered in one of the servants'



ANUBIS WEIGHING THE HEART IN THE HALL OF JUDGMENT.
From the Papyrus of Ani. (After Budge's colored facsimile.)¹

rooms of the imperial household in Rome was discussed in *The Open Court* for November 1899. We recapitulated the current

¹ Anubis adjusts the tongue of the balance, the construction of which is quite noteworthy. A feather, the emblem of truth and symbol of the goddess Maat, serves him for a weight. Ani's soul.

opinions concerning it, among which two are most prominent, viz., first, the view of most Christian archæologists that it is the work of a pagan slave done in ridicule of a Christian fellow slave, hence the name *Spotterucifix* by which it is commonly known, and secondly the view of Mr. King who believes it to be the expression of Gnostic piety, not drawn to ridicule any one's religion, but to express the author's own sentiments. He claims that the head is not the head of a donkey, but of a jackal, and that it represents the jackal-headed Anubis, attached to a cross.

ANUBIS.

We grant that Anubis was a Deity that played a most important part not only in the religion of ancient Egypt but also in the imagination of the early Christians of Egypt who identified him with Christ, on account of his relation to the preservation and



THE MUMMY AT THE TOMB PROTECTED BY ANUBIS ¹

resurrection of the dead. His picture frequently appears in the papyri (called *The Book of the Dead*) that accompanied the mummies into the tomb, or as the Egyptians called their last abode, *pa l'etta*, i. e., the everlasting house.

Anubis is frequently represented as standing by the bier, sometimes with one hand on the mummy. He presides over the process of embalming and then ushers the dead into the presence of Osiris. He weighs the heart of the deceased in the Judgment Hall; and thus his assistance is, next to that of Osiris and of Horus, indispensable for obtaining the boon of resurrection of the body.

in the shape of a human-headed hawk, watches the procedure. Underneath the left arm of the goddess stands the genius of Ani's Destiny, above whose head appears a figure called *mesken*, and below it a jackal with a human head. It is some representative of man's embryonic existence and the conditions of his birth. Further to the left are the two goddesses Renenet and Mut. The first was preside over the birth chamber and the nursery.

¹ See Lehmann *Rel. of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 237.



MUMMY OF ARTEMIDORUS.¹

¹ Fourth century, A. D. (From Budge, *The Mummy*, Plate facing p. 186.)

² Wiedemann, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 228.

³ Naville, *Todtenb.*, I., p. 174.



ANUBIS.

Torso in the Berlin Museum.²



ANUBIS AT THE BIER.³

The belief in Anubis as the Saviour from death everlasting, among the early Christians, is established by a Coptic plaque described by Mr. E. A. Wallis Budge of the British Museum, which on the obverse represents Anubis, jackal-headed, by the side of a woman's bier, while the reverse bears in Coptic the inscription "May she hasten to arise."¹

How long the belief in the efficacy of Egyptian symbols was preserved appears from their prevalence on mummies even as late as the fourth century of the Christian era. The mummy of Artemidorus (No. 21810 of the British Museum) shows on its surface Anubis at the bier placing his right hand on the mummy and holding



ANUBIS.

From Egyptian Monuments.

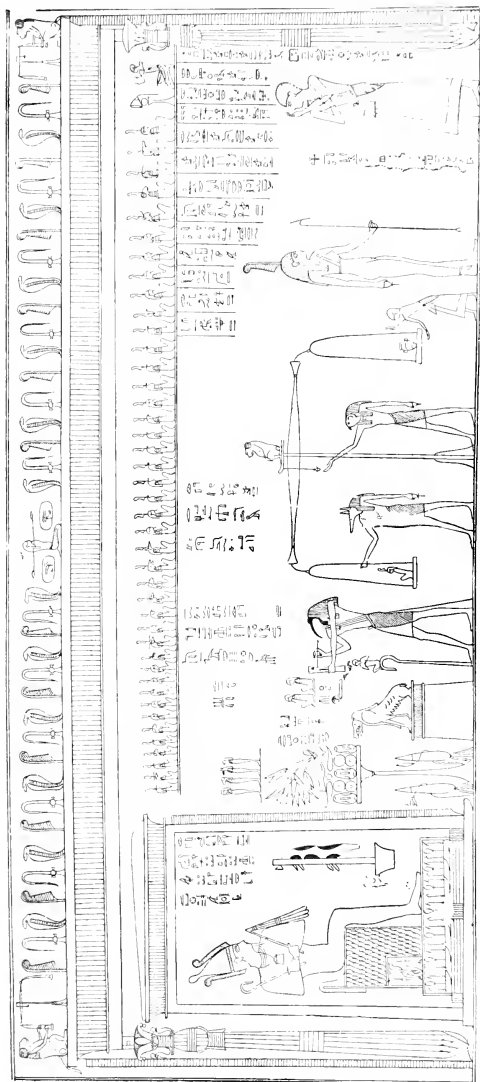


THE JACKAL-HEADED ANUBIS.

Gnostic Gem. (From Walsh.)

up with his left hand the heart. The reinsertion of the heart by Anubis, after it has been found to have the right weight when weighed in the balance of Truth, is an important condition for the restoration of life. Isis, the wife of Osiris, and Nephthys, the wife of Seth, stand on either side. Further down we see the hawk-headed Horus, the son of Osiris and Isis, the avenger of his father's death, and the Ibis-headed Thoth, the scribe of the gods, who assists in the act of weighing the heart in the Judgment Hall. Underneath,

¹The plaque is preserved in the British Museum, registered as No. 22874. See Budge, *The Mummy*, pp. 2, 9 286. We regret that a picture of the plaque has not been furnished.



OSIRIS.

AMEMIT,
the beast
of Ament.

THOTH,
the scribe
of the gods.

ANUBIS,
the director
of the weight

HOR.

MAAT,
the goddess
of Truth.

THE DECEASED.

THE WEIGHING OF THE HEART IN THE HALL OF TRUTH. (After Lepsius's reproduction of the Turin papyrus)

the soul in the shape of a hawk-headed bird visits the mummy, which awakens from the slumber of death and is seen to sit upright.

The belief in Anubis as the saviour from death everlasting became so common in the Roman empire that coins were struck which show on their obverse Serapis, and on their reverse Anubis holding in one hand a sistrum, in the other the staff of Hermes, used by this "leader of souls" for guiding the shades of the dead down to Hades.

There are several gods who were identified by the early Christians with Christ. Anubis is one of them. Others are Osiris the god who suffered death, Hor the Child, the Greek Harpocrates, and T'oth, the scribe of the gods, the incarnation of the word. The syncretism of the age at the beginning of the Christian era was such that for all we know the conception of any one of these deities might have been, and in a certain way all of them actually were, at times fused with the Christian idea of a saviour. Mr. King's



ROMAN COIN WITH SERAPIS AND ANUBIS. (Walsh, No. 28.)

ingenious hypothesis is thus in itself quite probable; and yet he is mistaken, for the wall-scribbling refers not to the jackal-headed Anubis, but to the ass-headed Seth—a deity whose relations to ancient Semitic religions and to the faith of the early Christians is of a different nature.

In Gnostic pictures Anubis is so similar to Seth that it seems difficult to distinguish between the two gods, but in the present case the evidence is of another nature and too strong to be set aside lightly.

Professor Richard Wünsch, a German archæologist, through a systematic investigation of lead tablets containing Sethian curses, has succeeded in solving the problem of the *Spotterucifix*. He has published his investigations in a booklet entitled *Sethianische Verfluchungstafeln aus Rom* (Teubner, Leipzig), and we take pleasure here in calling attention to the results of his lucubrations, for they actually solve the problem of the scrawled crucifix of the Palatium.

SETH.

Before we enter into the details of the case set forth by Professor Wünsch, a brief explanation of the nature of the ancient god Seth—who is also called Set, Sut, and Sutech—will be in place.

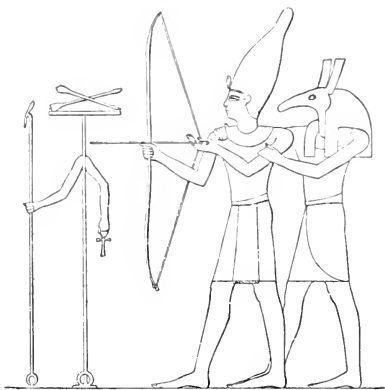
Seth is in many respects a more important god than Anubis, but his character changed during the various periods of Egyptian history. His worship as one of the great gods can be traced back to as early a date as the fifth dynasty, and he remained until the



HOREMHEB PROTECTED BY SETH AND HOR ¹
(King Horemheb lived in the fourteenth century B. C.)

nineteenth dynasty so popular that kings of that period frequently call themselves "beloved of Seth." He represented the Sun in the South and apparently symbolised its destructive powers. He was the god of war, of victory, of conquest. But the time came when the Hyksos, foreign invaders of Semitic origin, took possession of Lower Egypt; and these formidable foes worshipped a god who was identified with Seth and symbolised by the same emblems.

¹ Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III., 122, a. (Speos of Gebel Addeh, Nubia); cf. Wiedemann, *R. A. E.*, p. 222.



SETH TEACHING THE KING THE ART OF WAR. (After Erman.)



TWO WAYS OF SPELLING
SETH IN HIERO-
GLYPHS.



SPHINX OF TANIS.
(Louvre, No. 23, Paris.)

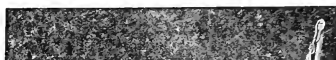


A STATUE OF SETH, PRESERVED
IN THE LEYDEN MUSEUM.¹

¹The figure is very small, and as here reproduced is about one-half its real size. After Pleyte, *loc. cit.*, Plate III., 1

animal and vegetable forms which have shaped themselves in natural conditions of pendency. Modified by the various stresses and strains imposed by interferent conditions, and antagonised occasionally by molecular and tensional forces of superior power, it has in its multiple variations naturally furnished the ground form for the development of all animate nature.

It is the generalised conic section, thus, that Mr. Cooke has adopted as the most natural fundamental line. The ellipse seems to be the form best suited to his purposes, and its quadrant is chosen as the elementary line having the same value as the straight



N. B. The attached pages are to be substituted in the January 1901 *Open Court* for pages 35 and 36, in which one of the cuts was accidentally inverted during printing.



THE CATENARY, OR CURVE FORMED BY A HANGING CHAIN.

The center of gravity of the entire mass tends to seek its lowest possible point,—a physical fact by which the mathematical peculiarities of the curve are determined.

line and the arc of a circle, completing the alphabet of linear form and constituting the missing element of outline—the line of life, development, and of movement.

As to the non-coincidence of the mathematical properties of the curves considered, he seems to be unconcerned. The characteristic which he seeks in his new element is *gradation*. His sole request is that one end of his line should be nearly straight, and that the remainder should gradually curve more and more towards the other end. It performs various mathematical eccentricities: if set free, it continues to curve or coil until it becomes a spiral, the form of shells. Yet it is the curve of natural movement, the

curve which the child is compelled to make by the very structure of his arms, — the curve of Greek art. When produced by continuous rapid and repeated action freely from the shoulder, and with non-resisting materials, it is performed happily, freely and spontaneously. It is the expression of the child's own impressions, thought, or feeling; it is in perfect subjective and artistic harmony with the characteristic form of living things; it is thus the counterpart of nature.

The graduated curve, rapid free movement, the use of non-resisting materials, repetition, these are the foundation.

"We should draw out power by doing. The child shows how it can be done. It goes rapidly over and over, round and round. Repetition is just what is wanted, and this is delightful to the child, for it is natural to the structure and movement of the arms, and pleasant to its senses. The rapid movement is the innovation; it is opposed to all our established tradition. But we go to nature; this is her direction. We have no choice; we must follow, and we soon find it is right. All motion is subject to law. Skating and cycling are quicker than walking, but are not less direct. The rapid motion of the potter's wheel and the lathe assist materially to make the form produced. The child who makes lines at first with such intense concentration of energy at its finger tips and pencil point that the paper is cut through, is wasting power and reversing the method of nature; which seems to be rapid movement and non-resisting materials, or soft clay should be given and incised lines made in it with a hard point.

"Freehand often means cramped fingers and indirect drawing—fifty little touches to a line five inches long, rubbed out, perhaps twenty times, in parts and patched up. The whole arm is used by the child when scribbling, and its structure shows it is well adapted for this free action and for graduated curvature. Rapid action over a smooth surface is more easily directed and controlled than a slow movement, deeply incised in the substance of the paper. There is less resistance and more help from bodily structure and the mechanical movement.

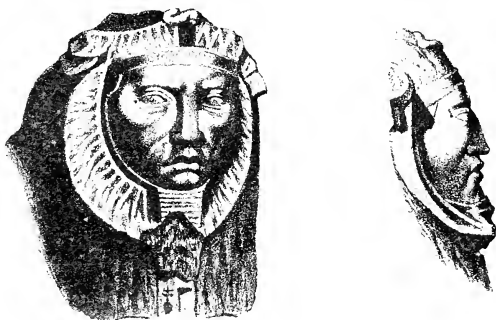
"Non-resisting materials the child selects, and the pavement artist knows their value. The misty window-pane, the sea-shore sand, the wet finger-tip, the leading of water over a smooth surface are some of the child's suggestions. Chalk and blackboard, brush and color, charcoal or colored chalk on paper we can adopt. Brush and water on the blackboard are the readiest materials for us: whatever can be most easily used should be used; drawing in the air with the finger tip is not to be despised."

We have here the first intimation of the character of brush-drawing, proper. "The history of drawing with a brush, as distinguished from painting, is not yet written. Engraving, etching, and pen-drawing—all products of a firm point—have their literature; but the work of the soft, flexible brush-point, with its many and varied powers, is hardly known outside the region of technical art." It is the chief instrument in some kinds of lithography, and it was recommended and practised in a measure by Ruskin and Rossetti. But the analysis of the full powers of the brush in edu-

Seth appears on the monuments as the instructor of kings in the art of warfare, and also, in the company with Hor, as a protector of the dead in their peregrinations in the life beyond.

In Tanis and other cities of Lower Egypt Seth was called "the Beloved of Râ," "the Son of Nût" (the goddess of the sky;) and "the Mighty One in the Sunbark." Far from being identified with the serpent Apep, he was believed to be her enemy and slayer.

Since the Osiris myth is supposed to be too well known in Egypt to need any recapitulation and is only alluded to in the Monuments, we possess only a second-hand account of it in Plutarch's book on Isis and Osiris,¹ and, so far as can be judged from the evidence within reach at the present time, there is no way of telling whether or not the myth was different in its ancient form.



ONE OF THE FOUR SPHINXES OF TANIS.²

It is not impossible that the part played in it by Seth, was originally not as it was told in the days of Plutarch, having changed since the invasion and expulsion of the Hyksos.

It is noteworthy that one of the Sphinxes in Lower Egypt, bears the features of a decidedly Semitic, not an Egyptian face. The Semites must have greatly influenced Egyptian civilisation during the Hyksos period in artistic taste as well as in religious ceremonial; but on the other hand, Egyptian thought left a permanent impression upon Semitic views of life and we can no longer doubt that it constituted also one of the most important factors in the formation of Judaism, the noblest efflorescence of the Semitic race.

¹ Chaps. xii-xx.

² It is noteworthy that the face of this Sphinx, representing the God of the Hyksos, shows decidedly Asiatic, not Egyptian, features. The name "Seth" which occurred in the inscription has here, as in many other places, been effaced. Cf. Pleyte, pp. 39 ff.

In Egypt the worship of Seth gradually became unpopular, which change is perhaps due to the fact that he was the god of the hated foreigners, and perhaps also to the rôle he plays in Egyptian mythology as the murderer of Osiris, the good god who dwelt on earth as a man among men, a teacher of morality and as the inventor of civilisation. We know that in the period between the twenty-second and the twenty-fifth dynasty Seth-worship was abandoned; his statues were destroyed and his effigies on the monuments erased. He became the personification of evil and was regarded as the fiend of mankind.

Although Seth was in a certain sense deprived of his divinity, he remained an important god, for he continued to be credited with the power to work mischief. In this capacity he was on the one hand feared and probably propitiated, while on the other hand he was invoked by conjurers for the purpose of doing harm to enemies and rivals.



SETH.

(After Brugsch.)

Seth is commonly represented as having a peculiar, longsnouted animal-head with erect square-cornered ears. It is by some regarded as the head of an oryx, by others as that of an ass. In either case it would have to be considered as a deteriorated representation which has become typical. The ass is sacred to Seth, but though the god is said to be ass-headed, it is only in the later days of Gnostic syncretism that he is plainly pictured as such.

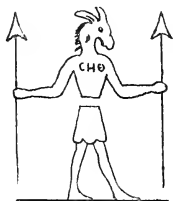
Considering the fact that Seth was the chief deity of the Hyksos, the tradition which accuses the Semites and especially the Jews of having worshipped an ass-headed deity acquires the aspect of having had some basis in historical fact.

Tacitus (*Hist.* v. 4) tells the story of Moses discovering water by following the tracks of asses in the desert, which, he says, caused the Jews to worship that animal. The genealogy of Mary (quoted by Epiphanius) contains the story of Zacharias, the high-priest, beholding in the sanctuary of the temple, the deity of the Jews with an ass's head. He was struck dumb, and when he recovered his speech he told the people and was killed as a blasphemer.¹ Hence-

¹ The death of Zacharias plays an important part in the imagination of the Jews and is frequently referred to in rabbinical as well as patristic literature. (See Hofmann, *Leben Jesu*, pp. 11-12.) Zacharias, the son of Barachias, mentioned by Jesus (Matthew xxiii. 35 and Luke xi. 51) is sometimes identified with Zacharias, the son of Jojada, whose martyr death is narrated in 2 Chron. xxiv. 20-21. But Jesus apparently alludes to an event of recent date speaking of the

forth, it is stated, the Jewish priests wore bells on their garments to warn their deity of their approach and offer him time to hide.

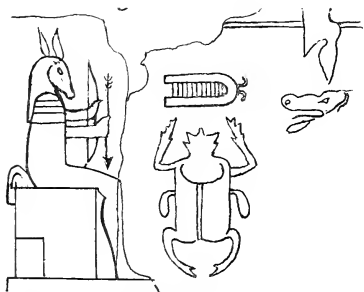
That Seth or Typhon (as the Greek called the ass-headed god of Egypt) had some relation to the religion of the inhabitants of



SETH WITH TWO LANCES.
A demotic papyrus of late date.
(Leyden, No. 385.)¹



PICTURE ON AN AMULET, PRESU-
MABLY REPRESENTING SETH AND ANUBIS.
(Leyden Museum.)



SETH AS PICTURED ON VIGNETTES OF A GNOSTIC FUNERARY PAPYRUS. (Leyden.)

latest case of martyrdom and seems to assume that the fact is still remembered by his contemporaries. Concerning the cause of the martyrdom of Zacharias, there are different versions, the wildest among which is the above alluded to fantastic tale, quoted from the *Térra Mapías* by Ephiphanus. According to other traditions Zacharias was slain at the behest of Herod (Epiph., *De vita prophetarum*; cf. Petrus Alexandrinus, can. 13, *ap. Lab.*, tom. I., Conc. p. 967). Jerome states as an apocryphal legend that Zacharias was killed by the Jews, viz., the people (Hier. *ad Matth.* 23, 35) and Gregory of Nyssa claims that the cause of it had been the wrath of the Jews at Zacharias because he had admitted Mary, the mother of Jesus, to the place of virgins in the temple. (Greg. Nyssen, *In hom. de nativ. domini*; cf. Orig. *Hom 26 in Matth.*; Cyrill. Alex., *ap. Anthropomorphitas*; Basil. *Hom. 25*; Theophylact. Euthymius, *Ad I. Matth.*)

The Rabbis made frequent mention of the death of Zacharias, the son of Jojada. The literature on the subject being collected by Lightfoot, *Hor. Hebr. ad Matth. xviii. 35 and Luke xi. 51*, and Eisenmenger, *Entd. Judenth.*, I, p. 469.

According to one tradition (Tract. *Gittin*) we are told that when Jerusalem was conquered by the Romans the petrified blood of Zacharias, slain between the temple and the altar, began to boil until all the priests, judges, and nobles of the people had been killed, and there is a strong probability that at the time when Jesus lived the legend was current concerning the same affair that the blood of the martyr could not be wiped away and would remain until the crime be expiated.

¹ See also François Salvolini, *Campagne de Ramses le Grand*, pl. I., 32, discussed, pp. 21-22

Paestine is corroborated by Plutarch, who says that Typhon after his struggle with Hor fled on a donkey northward where seven days after his flight he founded Jerusalem and Judea. Plutarch adds: "This history obviously refers to the affairs of the Israelites." Mr. W. Pleyte of Leyden makes the following comment to this passage:

"In this legend we discover the combination of three things: (1) the expulsion of the Hyksos with the flight of Typhon (Seth); (2) the deliverance of the Israelites with the flight of Typhon; and (3) the conquest of Canaan by the Hyksos or the Israelites with the foundation of Jerusalem and Judea."

It is quite probable that the Israelites, when leaving Egypt, carried with them many customs and institutions from the land of the Nile. We know that, in spite of the opposition of the prophets, they were addicted to the cult of Baal, who is frequently identified with Seth and was worshipped like the latter with human sacrifices.

A donkey (as Plutarch tells us) was sacrificed in Coptos by being thrown down from a precipice, and the inhabitants of Busiris and Lycopolis abstained from the use of trumpets because their sound resembled the braying of the ass.

THE RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ASS.

Concerning the significance of the ass, Mr. Pleyte adds:

"The legend of this animal which Tacitus has handed down to us is probably of Samaritan origin. This people rendered homage to the god Tartak,¹ which, according to the Talmud,² was represented with the head of an ass, and was a divinity in some way related to Adra-Melech, or Mars-Melech. The Israelites worshipped him in common with the Samaritans, as is intelligible, and we find still more ancient traces of his cult in the Pentateuch. As to the redemption of the first-born, we find a remarkable exception in favor of animals to the effect that the firstling of an ass, like the firstling of man, may be redeemed by another animal; but if the firstling be not redeemed, his neck is to be broken.³ This was probably done as at Coptos, where, as we know, it was the custom to hurl an ass from the top of a precipitous rock. This commandment was given twice.⁴

"The respect shown for the ass was widespread in the Orient. Either the fecundity or the salaciousness of this animal was at the foundation of this cult. The Medes and Persians sacrificed him

¹ 12 Kings xvii. 31.

² Talmud. Sanhedrin, fol. 63.

³ Exodus xxxiv. 20.

⁴ Exodus xiii. 13.

to Mars.¹ Apollo² could boast of hecatombs of asses sacrificed in the country of the Hyperboreans.

“By reason of his reddish color, the ass received from the Hebrews the name of Chamor, and as such the offering which was made of him became connected with that of the red heifer. In Greece we find him in the Dionysian Mysteries, and among the Romans in the worship of Vesta, where a garroted ass is represented upon an offering of bread and where a phallus was carried in the procession.

“These pagan cults passed later into the Church, where we meet with the festivals of the asses which flourished in the Middle Ages in France, Spain, and Germany. A caparisoned ass mounted by a young girl was conducted with great ceremony before the altar, and during the mass chants were sung which terminated with an imitation of the braying of an ass. Instead of giving the benediction, the priest brayed three times, which the congregation repeated by way of Amen. A great number of saints are represented as mounting asses, and they are also found in the pilgrimages.³

“The ass even took higher rank than other animals and was more highly favored in proceedings at law. According to the Sardinian Code for the year 1395, crimes committed by oxen and heifers were punished with death. But to the ass great clemency was shown. Condemned for the first time, he lost an ear; for the second time, he lost his other ear; and the third time he was caught in a criminal act, he was confiscated to the prince.⁴

“Festivals of asses were connected with the festival of the entry of Jesus into Jerusalem. It became part of the policy of the Church to preserve pagan festivals by investing them with a Christian significance; yet it is remarkable that this festival was celebrated in the month of December and that further a young girl [with a baby in her arms] was mounted on an ass. Both were derived from the same nature-worship. It is difficult to determine what relation these festivals bore to the feasts of the tabernacles among the Hebrews. The Dionysian Mysteries greatly resembled the latter festivals, which exhibit distinctively pronounced characteristics of a religion of nature.”⁵

Dionysos, the god who makes his entry on a donkey is called

¹ Strabo, XV., 2.

² Pindar, *Pyth.*, X., 31.

³ Nork, *Biblische Mythologie*, II., p. 398.

⁴ C. W. Opzoomer, *De dieren voor den rechter* (Animals Before the Judge).

⁵ See W. Pleyte, *La Religion des Pré-Israelites*, pp. 151-152.

Subazios, a name which can very well be a Græcisation of the Semitic word Sabaoth.

The ceremony of the ass's festival mentioned by Pleyte is described in Floegel-Ebeling's *Geschichte des Grotesk-Komischen*, page 205. When the burlesque mass was finished the whole congregation sang a hymn, half Latin and half French, in honor of the ass. This hymn is still preserved in a manuscript at the National Library at Paris together with its melody, and reads as follows :

“ Orientis partibus
Adventavit Asinus ;
Pulcher et fortissimus,
Sarcinis aptissimus,
Hez, Sire Asnes, car chantez,
Belle bouche rechignez,
Vous aurez du foin assez,
Et de l'avoine à plantez.

“ Lentus erat pedibus,
Nisi foret baculus,
Et eum in clunibus
Pungeret aculeus.
Hez, Sire Asnes etc.

“ Hic in collibus Sichem
Jam nutritus sub Ruben,
Transiit per Jordanem,
Saliit in Bethlehem,
Hez, Sire Asnes etc.

“ Ecce magnis auribus
Subjugalis filius
Asinus egregius,

Asinorum dominus.
Hez, Sire Asnes etc.

“ Saltu vincit hinnulos,
Damas et capreolos,
Super Dromedarios
Velox Madianeos.
Hez etc.

“ Aurum de Arabia,
Thus et myrrham de Saba
Tulit in ecclesia
Virtus asinaria.
Hez etc.

“ Dum trahit vehicula
Multa cum sarcinula,
Illius mandibula.
Dura terit papula
Hez etc.

“ Cum aristius hordeum
Comedit et carduum ;
Triticum a palea
Segregat in area.
Hez etc.

“ Amen discas Asine,
Jam satur de gramine.
Amen, Amen itera,
Aspernare vetera.
Hez va Hez va ! Hez va Hez !
Bialx Sire Asnes car allez ;
Belle bouche car chantez.”

The ass was trained to kneel when the *Amen* was sung.

M. Pleyte, in concluding his remarks regarding the worship of the ass, says :

“ It is very difficult to determine whether the Israelites rendered homage to their god under this form, but it is well known that Josephus repudiates the accusation that they ever rendered

homage in their sanctuary to the head of a golden ass. He writes to the following effect:¹ 'The accusation of Posidonius and Apollonius that the Jews had placed and actually worshipped in their sanctuary the head of an ass, which was cast out of the temple, is an infamous lie, as is also the assertion of Apion that when Antiochus despoiled the sanctuary, he saw that the ass's head was made of gold.' M. Movers believes that this head, if it existed, came originally from the temple of Typhon. If this opinion have any foundation, and if we may assume that this head was preserved in the temple, it is very probable that the Israelites rendered homage to Seth in this form."

The protest of Josephus proves the fact, otherwise well established, that the Jews of his age had completely adopted the pure monotheism of the prophets as enforced by the priestly reformers of the second temple. They no longer knew anything of the former polytheism of Israel. If we had to rely on the testimony of educated Jews of the time of Christ, men like Philo, we should have to repudiate many facts now well established by Assyriological researches, excavations, and a careful study of the text of the Bible. Josephus would also have denied the originally pagan significance of the pillars Jachin and Boas (found also in Phœnician temples) of the molten sea (found also in Babylonian temples where it represents Tiamat, the mythical figure of the aboriginal watery chaos, called תַּיַמַּת in Hebrew, which is the same word as Tiamat), of the seven-armed candlestick (representing the seven planets), of the brazen serpent, etc. He would most probably deny that men like David and other national heroes danced pagan dances, or tolerated such idols as the Teraphim. Thus his protest, while proving nothing as to the positive facts in the case, only serves to record the statement made by some Greek authors that a golden ass's head was taken from the sanctuary of Jerusalem by Antiochus.

In Minutius Felix's Christian apology entitled Octavius the same belief of the pagans that the Christians worshipped a donkey-headed [*ὄνειδος*] God is referred to; a fact which is also corroborated by Tertullian, who says:

"Like many others you are under the delusion that an ass's head is our God. . . . But lately a new edition of our God has been made public in Rome. It originated with a certain vile man, who was wont to hire himself out to cheat the wild beasts and who exhibited a picture with this inscription: 'The God of the Christians of the lair of an ass, [*ὄνοκοίτης* or *ὄνοκοίτηης*]. He had the ears of an ass, was hoofed in one foot, carried a book and wore a toga.'"

¹ Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, II., 7, 9. The quotation is abbreviated by Mr. Pleyte.

The belief that the Jewish God was ass-headed was transferred to the Christians; but Tertullian returns the compliment of the pagan accusation by saying "many a son of a donkey [ὄνοκοίτης] is among you."

If Sebaoth, the god of the Jews, was said to bear the countenance of an ass, we may see in it not a mere pagan calumny of the Jewish religion, but a last remnant of the symbolism under which the ancient Semitic invaders of Egypt worshipped their God, identifying him with Seth. We know that later on the Yahveh-worshipping Jews discarded all worship of images or likenesses, but such paganism must have survived among other Semitic tribes and may have given rise to the legend that their god Sabaoth (like Seth, the chief Deity of the Semitic invaders of Egypt) was ass-headed.

Apparently the worship of the ass-headed Seth survived especially among certain Egyptianised Semites, and when they became familiar with the Jewish Scriptures they confused their god Seth with Seth the patriarch; and the latter being regarded by the Christians as a prototype of Christ, their notions of Seth, the ancient Egyptian god of most extraordinary magical power, was confused with Christ the ruler of the Kingdom to come. This combination of ideas, though obviously incongruous to us and at first sight strange, affords, as will be seen in the following pages, the best explanation of the significance of the curious wall-scribbling in one of the slaves' rooms of the imperial household on Mount Palatine at Rome.

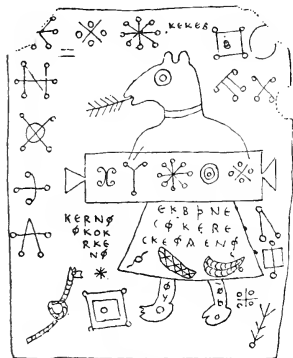
THE LEAD TABLETS OF THE VIA APPIA.

Almost fifty years ago a number of lead tablets were discovered in a catacomb on the Via Appia, one of which contained a curse of a certain Praeseticus, son of Asella. Their existence was referred to in 1880, but track was afterwards lost of them. In 1896 Prof. Richard Wünsch set out in search of these noteworthy records, and at last succeeded in finding the entire collection in the Kircherian Museum at Rome.

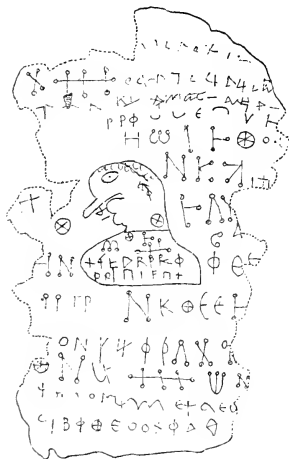
He now describes them and publishes transcriptions and figures of them,¹ which contain quite a number of donkey-headed deities and are covered with symbols of Egyptian origin, such as mummies, serpents, dotted equilateral crosses, Y-crosses, stars, etc., and remind one, in certain ways, of the pictures in the *Book of the Dead*, in which enemies of all kinds, beasts and demons, are represented as being bound, or subdued, and slain.

¹Leipzig: Teubner.

The tablets contain curses and are written on lead because lead is the metal of the infernal powers. They were deposited in tombs, as being the proper place from which they would reach their destination, the gods of death. The practice of writing curses on



LEAD TABLET NO. 6.



LEAD TABLET NO. 7.



LEAD TABLET NO. 2.

lead tablets is known to have obtained in Attica as early as the fifth century B. C. The superstition is based upon the fact that lead mines are unhealthy, which led to the assumption of the un-

wholesome nature of the metal itself. Curses written on lead were believed to be unfailing, and in order to make them stick, a nail was driven through the leaden plate. (See *op. cit.*, p. 72.)

The Egyptian god Seth (whom the Christian Gnostics later confounded with Adam's son Seth) was believed to be the god that could do great harm; thus he was highly respected, and his name was used more than that of any other deity for exorcisms of all kinds. He was above all the god of those who depended much on good fortune and had reason to be afraid of ill-luck. So it is but natural that the charioteers in the circus-races, which in the beginning of the Christian era played a prominent part in public life, were his ardent worshippers.

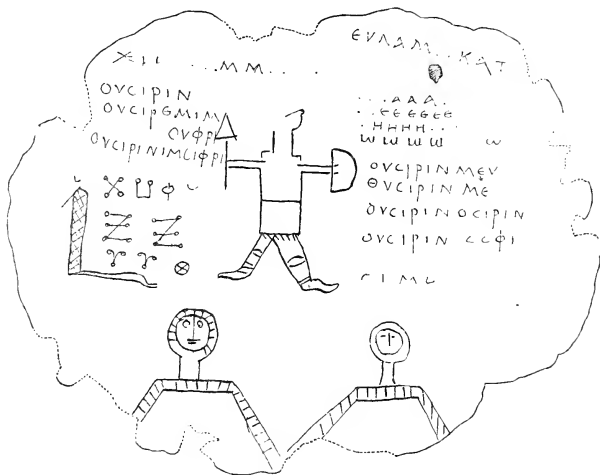
The charioteers, like actors and other public performers, recruited themselves from the ranks of the lowly; they were mostly sons of slaves or libertines, but if victorious in the races had a chance of enjoying great popularity. Hence they lived (as grooms do to-day) in the quarters of the servants of the wealthy, and also of the Cæsars; but if successful in their career, they were honored with medals and similar distinctions. The names that appear on the lead tablets point conclusively to charioteers as their authors. The curses were written to conjure up all the powers of the deep for the purpose of destroying and ruining some rival in the races.

Professor Wünsch describes (pp. 88-89) the character of Seth worship as follows:

“The Egyptian god Seth is known to us chiefly from the rôle that he plays in the legend as the opponent of Osiris: he is the evil principle, the enemy of good, a strong and mysterious power, who was not worshipped with joyful adoration indeed, but whose wrath men tried to avert as far as might be by religious submission. He especially pursues the soul of the dead on their great journey to the other world; and inasmuch as there are frequently those among these souls who have done evil in life and therefore deserve his wrath as a just punishment, Seth appears in this function as in a certain sense in the service of the good gods, as executor of the judgments of Osiris, the judge of the dead. To make the power of Seth favorable, in order thus to be able to make the journey to the abode of death without risk, was of course to the interest of the human soul, and magic offered it the formula: ‘I am Sutech’ (=Seth), at which it was claimed that the threatening monsters dutifully retreated.

“The authority of Seth among the Egyptian gods was not always and everywhere the same. Lower Egypt was his especial

home; the population there had been mixed from earliest times with Canaanitish elements, whose chief worship was addressed to the sun-god Baal. For the Egyptians this Baal, being a foreigner, had naturally something hostile and malicious, and accordingly suggested a resemblance to their Seth; gradually the two gods became confused, and thus, Bar, or Baru,¹ was adopted into the Egyptian religion as a complete synonym of Seth. The identification of Baal and Seth probably occurred in very early times; now when the Hyksos, who had previously worshipped Baal, came to Egypt, they recognised in Seth-Sutech their own god and accordingly encouraged his worship. The expulsion of the Hyksos probably shook



LEAD TABLET NO. 12.

the authority of this worship somewhat, but could not do away with the already established identification of Seth with the god of the Canaanites. Indeed the ranks of the subjects of this god were even widened, so that he appears later not only as lord of Canaan, but of all foreign parts without limit. He is regarded as the strong and warlike god, who has the power to place foreign peoples in peaceful or hostile, subordinate or victorious, relation to Egypt, and he is worshipped in order that he may keep far from the borders of the Nile the tribes subject to him. But Seth did not always do this;

¹ Bar is the Egyptian form for Baal.

Egypt gradually succumbed to the attacks of neighboring peoples, and the rage of the vanquished was aimed at the god who had not regarded their adoration. He gradually disappears from the ranks of the gods and continues his existence only as a somewhat shadowy, yet powerful and baleful, demon.

“This was the view of Typhon-Seth at the time when Gnosticism entered upon the inheritance of the Egyptian religion. The lower form of the cult took possession of him straightway, for his figure seemed made to become the chief god of baneful magic. And thus it comes that his rôle is much more important in the wizards’ papyri than that of Osiris.”

SETH IN MAGIC.

Professor Wünsch continues :

“Typhon is represented in the Leyden papyrus as the supreme lord of the gods, whom he is said to force into subjection to the wizard, his servant ; while the latter refers to various events in the struggle by which Typhon won the supremacy. As ruler of the gods this demon grows into a fearful and mysterious power, whose worship is performed by the pronounciation of a name consisting of a hundred letters” (p. 91).

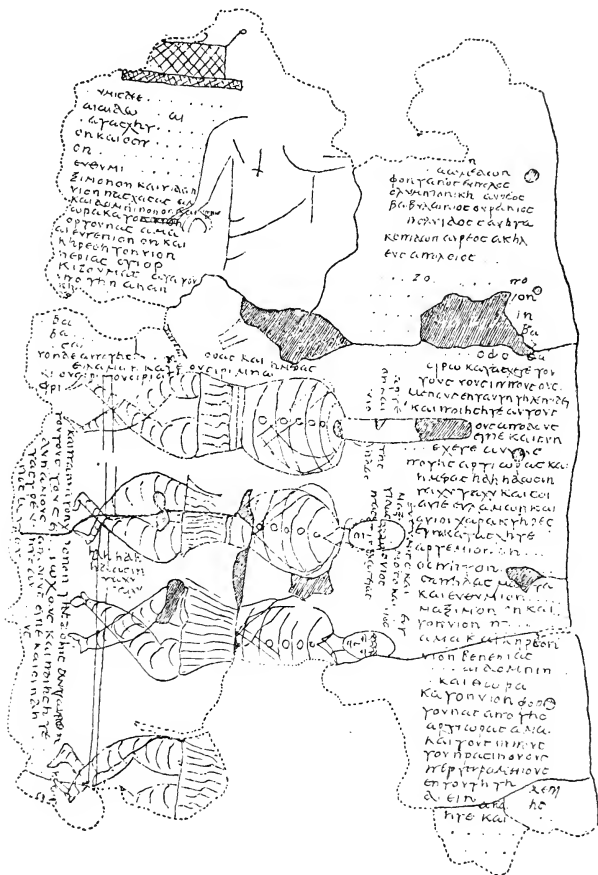
“We have also to consider the ‘sacred characters,’ the last that appear in the series of supernatural features. The explanation of them is to be found in the appended phrase, ‘which are written on this tablet ;’ these are the magic signs by means of which the gods are compelled to do the will of the writer. In this view the characters engraved on the tablet themselves possess magic power, to control which the magician must employ an especial appeal. Such characters—‘certain signs which they call characters’ (Aug. *De doct. Christ.* II, 30) are found in great numbers upon our tablets, but the interpretation of them is next to impossible. It is clear that the characters found under the left arm and about the head of Typhon-Seth apply to him. If from these we subtract the purely ornamental points, they resemble the letters XZAY and a wheel (⊙ with an X within it). If we assume that these characters have some reference to the god in connexion with whose name they occur most frequently, we should have the following conclusions of equivalence :

X=Osiris.

Z=Osiris-Apis,

while the remaining characters would needs go unexplained. Y appears sometimes along with the name of the sun, Phri, and in

this connexion has occasionally a rather peculiar form: the two upper points are bent about so that the figure looks like the familiar astronomical sign of the ram. But I believe that the interpreta-



LEAD TABLET NO. 20 (OBVERSE).

tion must begin with the fact that this Y is generally found to the right above the head of Seth, and seems to refer to him. Now Y is the familiar Pythagorean letter, the symbol of the ways to the

underworld, and we have just seen that Pythagorean views of the underworld were transferred to Typhon-Seth. I believe, therefore, that we are warranted in assuming that this Y has some reference to the belief of our Gnostic sect regarding the underworld and to the position of the chief divinity within the same. I would like to ascribe a similar function to that sign of the wheel, which generally appears very close to the Y; it reminds us of the symbol of Nemesis, the 'unresting, trackless wheel,' of whose outward resemblance to the 'wheel of Necessity' we have spoken elsewhere. The eight-rayed star with the circles at the end of each ray is a very frequently occurring symbol in the literature of magic: it appears upon Gnostic gems (for instance, Matter, *Hist. crit. du gnost.* pl. IIa, 10v), in the Gnostic writings in Coptic, in the wizards' papyri and has even been preserved in the magic recipes of the late Middle Ages. Its occurrence together with Y in No. 6 gives rise to the conjecture that this character also was the symbol of a god; one would be most naturally disposed to see in its form the image of the sunbeams" (pp. 98-99).

"Among the drawings not yet considered a separate and important group consists of those on which a serpent appears. The interpretation of these drawings is somewhat complicated, since the serpent represents sometimes the good and sometimes the evil principle in the Gnostic systems, within which it plays an important rôle. Thus Mr. Matter thought to recognise in the serpent of tablet 6 a symbol of the good spirit, of the Agathodaimon, who is often represented as a serpent, while in the *Pistis Sophia*, the evil one takes on the form of a serpent in order to torment the poor bride of heaven. Now we find upon the tablets the following representations: a single serpent, Nos. 6 and 34, a mummy enwrapped by a serpent, tablet 17, 34, a charioteer enwrapped by a serpent, tablet 23,¹ a mummy with two serpents, tablet 16,¹ an ass's head with six—or, if one has been lost on the piece broken out, seven—serpents on tablet 49."

"That the mummy on tablets 16 and 17 is not that of a man is evident from the star beneath it, since we have demonstrated this to be the 'character' of a god. But we cannot for a moment doubt what god we have before us: it is Osiris, to whom the representation as a mummy is appropriate, or more particularly, Osiris-Apis, of whom the serpent is an attribute, and who is even sometimes himself represented in serpent form; for him, Sol-Serapis, the 'character' is fitting, and we can now confidently regard it as that

¹ Not reproduced by Professor Wiinsch.

of the sun-god. This very same representation of a mummy enwrapped by a serpent is given by King, plate F 3; this as well as the drawing of our tablets suggest immediately the way in which it was customary to represent the 'Aeons,' as men with lion-heads and enwrapped by serpents. Now Serapis is given the title 'Aeon' upon a gold tablet published by P. Secchi, bearing the inscription :

'Lord Serapis, creeping Aeon,
Give.....victory under the rock.'

"It was found in the Vigna Codini in Rome, not at all far away from our lead tablets, and in the mouth of a skull. It was probably



LEAD TABLET No. 29.

intended to serve the same purpose as the similar tablets of Thurioi: to be an amulet for the deceased, which should protect him from the dangers of the underworld and assure him a favorable reception at the hands of the rulers there. The meaning of the second verse is not quite clear; but there is no doubt that the lines were addressed to Serapis as lord of the underworld, and that he is characterised as 'creeping Aeon.' The epithet 'creeping' is plainly derived from the verb ἔρω, which denotes the action of the serpent and is found along with the more commonly used forms ἔρπετόν and ἐρπηστής. Now 'Aeon' expresses evident Gnostic con-

ceptions; therefore the people who were buried in the Vigna Codini had views similar to those cherished by the imprecators of the grave in the Vigna Marini. This 'Lord Serapis creeping Aeon' expresses in words precisely the same thing as our drawing" (pp. 100 101).

The close relation between the God of the Semitic Hyksos and Typhon-Seth is an established fact, and it appears now that not only the names of Baal, but also of Sabbaoth and even of Yahveh were frequently identified with this powerful war god of Lower Egypt. In the first centuries of the Christian era Christian influence made itself felt, and Typhon-Seth was confounded with Seth the son of Adam, who was revered as a prototype and prior incarnation of Jesus Christ. Thus the result was that some Seth-worshippers could be regarded as Christians and accordingly were treated, not pagans, but as heretics by the church-fathers.

THE SETHIANS.

The Sethians belong to the Ophites, or serpent-worshipping Gnostics, and are treated as such by Epiphanius and in the *Philosophoumena*, two reports which are so very different that they do not seem to treat the same subject; but the differences are due to a difference in the capacities and attitude of the authors, one of whom preferred to register their superstitions and the other their philosophico-theological speculations.

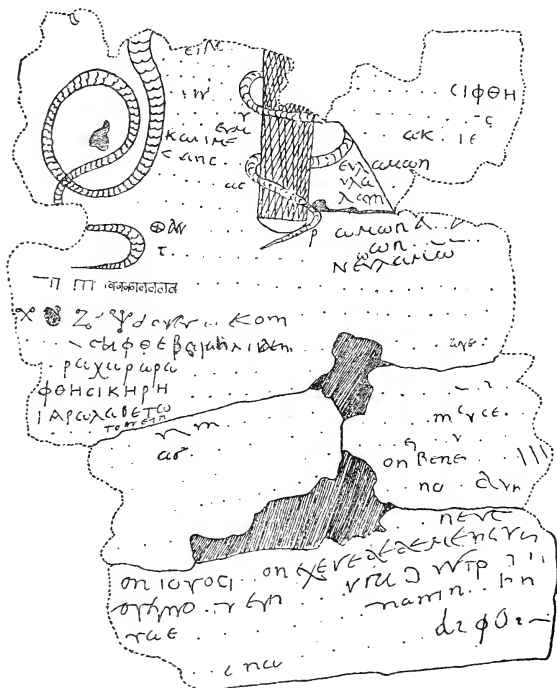
The genealogy of the Sethians which, as recorded in the Old Testament, coincides in several names with the genealogy of Cainites (cf. Gen. iv. and v.), proves to be a fragment of an ancient tradition in which Seth, "the son of man," is represented as the common ancestor of mankind as it existed in the days of the early narrator.¹ The parallelism of the two genealogies is one of the strongest evidences that the Old Testament traditions have been compiled from several analogous sources and the genealogy of the Sethians indicates that there existed a race which bore that name. Now it was quite customary for the name of a nation and the national god of the nation to be the same; e. g., Amon signified the children of Amon as well as the tutelary Deity of this tribe, and thus it is not impossible that Seth was a god as well as a race; and there is some plausibility (though not more than that!) that there was a Deity called Seth which was worshipped by some of the Semitic tribes of Syria. How and whether at all this Semitic Seth

¹ See Dillmann, *Genesis*, Engl. edition, I., p. 207.

—be he a patriarch or a god—had any relation to the Egyptian Seth, the national god of the Hyksos, is impossible to determine on account of the fragmentary character of our information.

Professor Wünsch recapitulates our knowledge of the Gnostic sect of the Sethians as they appeared to the Christians at the beginning of the Christian era as follows:

“We learn that the Sethians took their name from Seth, the son



LEAD TABLET NO. 34.

of Adam—Epiphanius (*haer.* XXXIX, p. 284 B) says this expressly, and in the *Philosophoumena* Seth is mentioned at least once (V 20) in such a way that one may see how the chief doctrines of the sect apply to him. They are a branch of the Ophites, for the author of the *Philosophoumena* (V 19) derives the creation of man from the serpent, and in Epiphanius they appear in the ranks of the ser-

pent-worshippers. Their doctrine is strongly mingled with Jewish elements; the deluge appears in Epiphanius, and in the *Philosophoumena* as well, where also Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are mentioned. And indeed the Sethians do not seem to have taken a polemic attitude toward these elements; the Decalogue is treated (Phil. V, 20) as though it were respected by them, and Epiphanius (p. 286 C) enumerates among the writings of the sect an Apocalypse of Abraham and apocryphal books of Moses.

“But this is not the end of the resemblances between the two representations. According to Epiphanius the doctrine of the Sethians is that the angels—the evil principle—created the world and the first human pair; in opposition to them the mother—the good principle—sent Seth to the earth: ‘Him they extol, and unto him they ascribe all excellence whatsoever, the evidences of virtue and righteousness, and whatever implies these things.’ But a pure human race is not established; men mix with angels, and then as punishment comes the deluge which is to destroy the wicked race and save only the good. But even this plan of the mother is frustrated by the angels who smuggle Ham into the ark, who then propagates the seeds of evil. For a final salvation the mother then sends Christ, from the race of Seth, and Seth himself: ‘But from Seth by the seed and the succession of generations came Jesus Christ himself, not begotten, but appearing in the world by a marvel, who is the very Seth of old, even Christ, come again to the race of men, having been sent by the mother from above.’

“In the *Philosophoumena* of the Sethians this assumes an entirely different character. We have here no moral dualism, represented by the mother and the angels, with an ethical interpretation of the Old Testament accordingly, but we have from the very beginning a cosmogony in which is involved a trinity of principles: the hostile elements light and darkness, and as a mediator, the pure spirit (πνεῦμα ἀκέραιον). The darkness is ‘the terrible water,’ not by any means unintelligent, but rational throughout, it wishes to retain the essence of the spirit and the beam of the light, which have come in from above, while light and spirit strive to deprive the darkness of these forces. From this conflict of principles arises the universe, first of all heaven and earth with their ‘endless multitude of various creatures’ compounded of light and spirit, and from the water a serpent-shaped wind, ‘firstborn and cause of all generation.’ Now heaven and earth have the form of a great matrix: ‘since then light and spirit have been detained in the unpurified, lawless and harmful womb, as is said, the serpent, entering in

. . . begets man :’ but in order to release the ‘perfect mind’ dwelling within him, the ‘perfect spirit of light from above’ also assumes the serpent form, deceives the womb and solves its mysteries, and for this reason the Saviour also was obliged to enter into the womb of a virgin.”

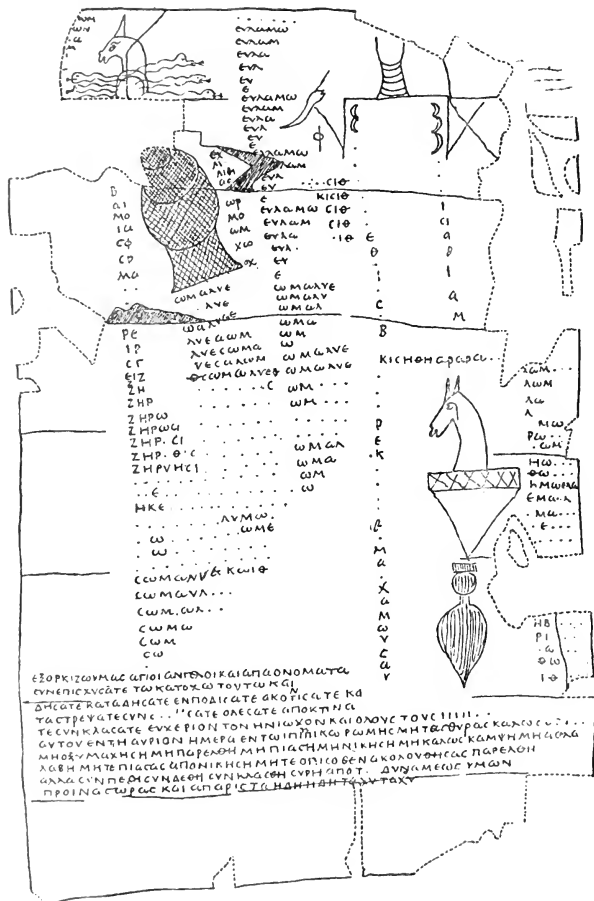
SETH-CHRIST.

A consideration of the close relation between the donkey-headed Seth and the Semitic Sabaoth (who was at an early date identified with Yahveh) throws a new light on the well-known tradition that the Jews worshipped their God under the symbol of an ass-headed man. Wunsch says (pp. 108-109):

“That the god in human form and an ass’s head, seen by Zacharias in the temple, was the Typhon-Seth of our tablets probably needs now no argument. We have already shown how this god was combined in the Nile delta with the Baal of the Canaanites, and it is well known that Baal had many worshippers and priests among the Israelites. These may have adopted the ass-headed representation of the god under this Egyptian influence, and thus may have originated the reproach of onolatry made by antiquity against the Israelites (thus Tacitus, *hist.* V. 3), and as we now see, with more warrant than has hitherto been supposed.

“Harnack speaks of this report as springing from the wildest Judæophobia. In this connexion it is worthy of note that the books of these so-called Gnostics all bear the names of Israelitish spirits or men (Jaldabaoth, Noria, Adam, Seth), and likewise the archons of the skies: Jao, Saclan, Seth, David, Eloï-Adonai, Jaldabaoth-Elilaios, Sabaoth; of the last of these the remark is appended (p. 91 C): ‘Some declare Sabaoth to have the form of an ass, others that of a swine.’ For a Gnostic sect there is nothing surprising in the fact that these lords of the spheres were regarded as hostile powers, nor even that this contrast was sometimes very strongly emphasised; Epiphanius refers to this, p. 93 D: ‘They blaspheme not only Abraham, Moses, and Elias and the whole band of the prophets, but even the god who chose themselves.’ Evidently the blasphemy against the god of the Jews consists in the account of his having an ass’s head, and this account may have been meant seriously by the sect, in which case it simply worships the god in this form—or not, and in the latter case it is intended to ridicule some other sect which is friendly to the Jews, and which has given some ground for this ridicule. In view of the treatment of the Jewish rulers of the planets as hostile spirits the former as-

sumption is improbable, and therefore the probability is for the latter. Now we have already seen that the Sethians were friends



LEAD TABLET No. 40

of the Jews, and the conjecture is plausible that the blasphemy of the Gnostics was aimed at this sect, and accordingly that the ass-

headed Typhon-Seth was still known in their worship and as a hypostasis of the Jewish god" (pp. 110-111).

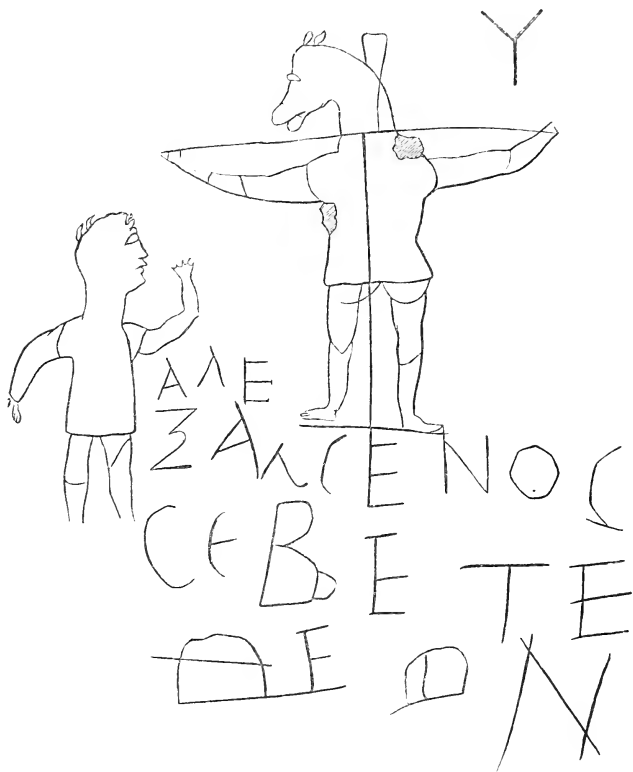
"But if our tablets do in fact present Sethian doctrine, we have for a Gnostic sect two gods of the same name Seth, the Egyptian god Typhon-Seth, who is essentially like the Jewish Sabaoth, and Seth, the son of Adam, who is the Jewish Christ, and the question arises, what the relation is of these two divine beings to each other. And I believe, in view of the widespread tendency of that age to assimilation, that the two beings thus related by name could not possibly have remained separate any length of time; a personal union was inevitable, and thus Typhon-Seth, the ass-headed, and Christ-Seth, the crucified, became one and the same being.

"When the first elements of the Sethian Gnostics were crystallising and Egyptian and Jewish features were uniting, the faithful found for the god of the Nile land a kinship with an Israelitish hero in the person of Seth, the son of Adam. Now this Seth was, after Adam, the real founder of the human race, since Abel was slain in youth and the seed of Cain had disappeared: and thus may have originated the legend that Typhon-Seth was the ancestor of mankind, and directly of the Jewish people, a legend which is transmitted to us in Hellenistic garb by Plutarch (*de Is. et Os.* c. 31, p. 363 D): 'Some say that Typhon, after the quarrel over the ass, fled for seven days, and that, being rescued, he begot sons Jerusolymus and Judaeus, thus evidently involving Jewish matters in the myth.' And later, when Christianity began its march through the world and even this Gnosticism was forced to take sides with reference to it, it was the phrase 'the son of man,' used of himself by Christ, that determined the conception of him formed by these Gnostics: Adam (אָדָם) means 'man,' and the son who was called to found a new and pure humanity, is Seth. Thus Christ, the son of man, and Seth, the son of man, are united, and in case the latter had still preserved one idea of his Egyptian character a god was sure to result to whom belonged equally the symbols of the ass-head and the cross.

"Now this was actually the case, and a fortunate chance has preserved for us an eloquent evidence of this commingling of ideas; an evidence that proves definitively that the preceding reflexions are not mere conjectures, but that the course of thought which we have suggested actually was once pursued. I refer to the famous *Spottercrucifix* from the Palatine.

"In the year 1856 there was found in the so-called Pädagogium on the southwest slope of the Palatine the famous 'graffitto' now

in the Museo Kircheriano. 'We see,' says Reisch, 'fastened to a cross a man dressed in the "colobium" (the short tunic of slaves and manumitted slaves) and thigh-bands and having an ass's head; at the left stands a man similarly dressed and shaven, lifting his



SETH-CHRIST OR THE DONKEY-HEADED GOD ON THE CROSS.

Commonly called the *Spotterucifix*. Graffito of the third century on Mount Palatine.

left arm to the man on the cross in sign of adoration. Before it is the inscription: "Alexamenos adores god." From the form of the characters I am sure that the inscription is from the third century. The drawing has very generally been regarded as a satire on the

Christian religion, aimed by a Pagan page at his Christian comrade Alexamenos; the single protest against this interpretation, made by Haupt, has received no support, since it was known that the Pagans often ridiculed the Jews and the Christians as onolaters. But we should be very cautious in making such an assumption, inasmuch as an actual onolatry on the part of the Christians is quite possible from what we have just shown, and the crucifix might quite as well be an expression of this fact as of unjustified ridicule.¹

“Along with the *Spotterucifix* there should be considered also another ‘graffitto’ likewise from the Palatine and applying to the same man: ‘Alexamenos the faithful.’ No one has thought of declaring that this too was satire. If it may be assumed that ‘faithful’ (*fidelis*) was at that time the characteristic word for the Christian believer, we should have in this ‘graffitto’ a serious confession of faith; but otherwise it is merely a eulogy of one imperial page on his comrade, after the manner of ‘The pretty boy.’ But if one were ever warranted in declaring of two such short inscrip-

ALEXAMENOC
FIDELIS

GRAFFITTO FROM THE PALATINE (reduced).

Presumably written by the author of the donkey-headed god on the cross.

tions that they are by one and the same hand, it is in the case of these: ‘Alexamenos adores god,’ and ‘Alexamenos the faithful.’ In the proper name the two inscriptions are alike in the forms of all the letters with the single exception of the ξ, and there the difference is but trifling. And if this ‘Alexander the faithful’ is in fact a sort of confession of faith, then it was written by the very hand of the youth, and then the crucifix is also the work of his hands and must be taken in earnest; but if the first is the eulogy of a friend, then a drawing by the same person cannot be regarded as the ridicule of an enemy.² And that such is not the case, but

¹ The literature on the subject is enumerated in F. X. Kraus' *Realencyclopädie*, II, p. 774; of more recent publications there should be mentioned Reisch, in Helbig's *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*, II, p. 394; Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, I, p. 17.; V. Schultze, *Archäologie der christlichen Kunst*, p. 332. Professor Wünsch adds that as to the origin of the crucifix he agrees in general with Joseph Haupt, *Das Spotterucifix im kaiserlichen Palaste zu Rom*, *Mitteilungen der k. k. Central-Kommission*, Vienna, 1868, pp. 150-165.

² The graffitto to which Professor Wünsch refers is published by Carlo Ludovico Visconti in a pamphlet entitled *Di un nuovo Graffitto Palatino, relativo al Cristiano Ablessameno* Rome, 1860, reprinted from the *Giornale Arcadico*, Vol. I.XII., new series, and we here reproduce the writing on account of its importance with reference to the wrongly so-called *Spotterucifix*.

that the figure is rather a symbol from the speculative sphere of Sethian Gnosticism, is proven most strikingly by an extraneous fact: To the right, beside the ass-head of the crucified one, is a Y which has thus far gone uninterpreted; it is the same Y which appears on our anathema-tablets to the right of the ass-head of Typhon-Seth, and refers, as we have explained before, to his control of the ways to the underworld. This Y is of course a secret symbol of the faith, known and understood only by the initiated; but a mocker would never have taken the pains to introduce such an isolated sign which could add nothing to the keenness of his ridicule.

“Accordingly we see that the identification of Christ and Typhon was once actually realised, and at that time gave no more offence than, for instance, the identification of the dog-headed Anubis and the Saviour, which is often found. It was probably the divulgence of the teachings of this sect which involved the Christians in the reproach of onolatry, and, as we see, not wholly without ground; for a part at least of those who at that time called themselves after Christ the reproach was justified. If, however, the significance of that crucifix as an evidence of pagan ridicule and of genuinely Christian religious joy is now destroyed, nevertheless it retains its importance as one of the oldest representations of the crucified Christ, and gains new value as a monument of the views of a Gnostic sect of that age.”

There is no need of adding any comment to Professor Wünsch's exposition on the subject, except that his arguments appear to be conclusive and leave no further doubt about the significance of the ass-headed deity on the cross.

The Sethians and other sects that appeared as rival religions of Christianity adopted many Christian ideas and sentiments and dropped their typically sectarian traditions more and more until at last they were merged in the great stream of that form of Christianity which survived, and thus the worship of Seth-Christ disappeared entirely. Christianity in its turn assimilated a great number of pre-Christian ideas and the result was the Christianity of the Roman Church which became the state religion under Constantine the Great.

ETHICAL CULTURE VERSUS ETHICAL CULT.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

IN the *Standard Dictionary*—the latest and best—occur the following definitions :

“CULTURE. (3) The training, development, or strengthening of the powers, mental or physical, or the condition thus produced ; improvement or refinement of mind, morals, or tastes ; enlightenment or civilisation.”

“CULT. (1) Worship or religious devotion, as contrasted with creed ; especially, the forms of a religion ; a system of rites and observances ; a cultus.”

Etymologically “Culture” and “Cult” are related, both being from the Latin verb *colere* which means both to cultivate and to worship ; but in sense and substance they are fundamentally different, and the things respectively are historically opposed to each other. “Cult” implies a religious devotion to forms or rites apart from any creed or belief they symbolise ; “Culture” means a development and strengthening of the mental or moral powers and their improvement, which involves a growth in thought and knowledge inconsistent with devotion to forms and rites. One implies fixity, the other change.

Let us now turn to the word “Ethical.” Both “moral,” from the Latin *mos*, custom, and “ethical,” from the Greek *ethos*, custom, had the same sense originally, and alike signified the social regulations and conventional conduct held obligatory on each member of the community. But “mos” (plural “mores”) more definitely than “ethos” connoted religious as well as social observances, customs, manners, while “ethos” more connoted character ; and gradually *ethic* or *ethics* has been adopted as the word suited to the philosophical or scientific investigation of moral systems, and of individual conduct.

This has been a comparatively modern development. It has followed on the perception that morality is by no means the fixed system of rules which it was long supposed to be, and that a high

morality required certain individual deviations from the *mos*, the custom or fashion prescribed by society or by the community. Best men have often found themselves impelled by their moral sense to confront usage, to oppose custom, to obey some conviction of duty which appeared to them higher than that of others around them. To justify this apparent eccentricity such have had to search into underlying principles of existing moral usages, point out those that appear to them untrue or unscientific, and set beside them the principles they believe true and higher.

This situation, philosophically considered, is anomalous. The rules, manners, customs,—the morals,—of a community, were they genuinely developed out of its actual needs and its common sense, would not be liable to any radical challenge by science or by justice. Moral growth would be normally represented only in improving means and methods of application of universally approved principles. The scandal—for it amounts to such—that there should be different and even antagonistic standards of morality in one and the same community must be sought for in the adulterations of traditional morality.

In the new Dictionary already cited, the *Standard*, the following is the first definition of the word "Moral":

"Of or pertaining to the practises, conduct, and spirit of men toward God, themselves, and their fellow men, with reference to right and wrong and to obligation to duty; pertaining to rightness and oughtness in conduct; ethical."

It will be observed that in this quite correct definition of the word "moral" the supposed obligation to God comes first, personal and neighborly conduct being subordinate. But is duty to God consistent with duty to one's neighbor, one's fellow men, one's self? That obviously depends on the question whether the God is a moral being in the strictly human and social sense of moral. Suppose the God is one requiring the blood of human victims on his altar. In the community believing in such a God any attempt to rescue the victims would be supremely immoral, but in the view of "civilised" communities, so called, the rescuers would be the supremely moral people and those fulfilling their duties to God immoral. But the moral system of every nation calling itself civilised was formed amid similar beliefs to those which under "heathen" names and forms we pronounce savage, and every such system, however modernised and refined, is fatally adulterated by survivals of traditional duties to some God. For every such duty, so far as it differs from duty to man, is a human sacrifice, whether bloody or not, and is immoral morality.

I have said *fatally*,—weighing the word. People may imagine the morals grown around Mumbo Jumbo eliminated in the services paid to their own deity, but the most refined conception of a God now known in Christendom cannot be introduced into the sphere of ethics without bringing with it a virus more fatal to human morality than any idolatry reeking with blood on its altars. Human sacrifices in the literal sense have now nearly ceased in every part of the world, and it is doubtful whether within any year of the nineteenth century as many were sacrificed as were last year murdered by American lynchers. But when the so-called “heathen” sacrificed men to his God it was not from worship but from fear; it was not because he believed his God good, but because he believed him bad, and that unless a few were offered to appease his bloodthirstiness the whole tribe would suffer his vengeance. He did not—this “heathen”—hold up the invisible monster as a model for imitation; he did not suggest that the bloodthirsty God was a loving Father demanding slaughter for the victims’ benefit; the tribal ethic was thus not corrupted at the root. The evil was cured because it resulted from natural ignorance. Natural ignorance is easily outgrown, but not so educated ignorance. The once terrible Mumbo Jumbo has vanished from Africa as a supernatural phantasm, as the mediæval devil has vanished from Protestant Christendom: but whereas the African demon has left no theoretic Mumbo-Jumboism to succeed him, Protestant religion has long been educating the foremost nations to attribute to God all the evils formerly attributed to the devil. Whatever happens,—not only Galveston cyclones but Chinese Boxer cyclones, Maine explosions and consequent slaughter, Transvaal invasions, all despotisms and mobs and lynchings,—they all occur under God. All were foreseen by his omniscience, therefore had to occur, and through them is worked out a divine purpose hid in the depths of the universe.

There were Roman sceptics who having listened to Paul’s theistic doctrine—“He will have mercy on whom He will, and whom He will He hardeneth”—asked the apostle, “Why doth He still find fault? For who withstandeth His will?” Paul could only reply, “Nay, but who art thou, O man, that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it ‘Why hast thou made me thus?’ Or hath not the potter a right over the clay?”

No further report of the discussion is given by Paul, but there is reason to believe that one of the sceptics answered, “Nay, but who art thou, O Paul, but clay like ourselves affirming that we

are all shaped by an invisible potter, and venturing to expound the potter's purpose? If one pot may affirm, may not another pot reply?"

"But I am an inspired pot," said Paul.

"I too," said a second sceptic, "feel inspired enough to declare that I am not a pot; but even if I were a pot, and so badly fashioned that I couldn't stand straight, I would have a right if I could talk to ask the potter why he made me so. Therefore I do not believe, Paul, in your notion of a divine Potter."

"I *do* believe," said the fourth Roman, a centurion. "And I am much indebted to you, great apostle, for your lucid exposition. There is a neighbor of mine who has a farm with a gold mine in it, also a pretty wife; I have long wanted both, but have had some hesitations. But now that I know that I cannot possibly do anything but what the divine potter fashioned me for, I go to have that farmer slain and to appropriate his farm and his wife. Good day, dear Brother Paul!"

"See," said the second sceptic, when the centurion had gone, "see, Paul, what your pot-theism amounts to: it is a mere version of that old pan-theism which some ancient Greek theologians devised, but which Roman common sense discarded because it rendered moral responsibility impossible."

"Well," cried Paul, "all I can say is that you have either to accept my God or none at all. If God is omniscient he must foreknow everything that will occur, and if he is omnipotent nothing can occur unless He supplies the power. Are you vile Atheists?"

"Even if we were, we would be, according to your doctrine, pots fashioned for Atheism, as you for Theism, by the same Potter. I for one refuse your Pot Theism. If there were such a deity, creative, omniscient, omnipotent, I could not respect him, much less love him, for he would be the ordainer or the permitter of all the evils, agonies, villainies of the world,—a supremely immoral God."

"You will burn in hell-fire forever," cried Paul, "for daring to measure the morality of God by the morality of man."

"Ah, Paul, that is enough. I had rather go to Hell forever than worship a God who would send there even a worm. But whence came this moral sentiment of mine?"

Paul did not reply.

Centuries have overlaid the bald fatalism of Paul's theism with metaphysical moss and rhetorical flowers, but no euphemism can escape its inexorable logic. For God's "Will" may be substituted

“divine laws,” and the future Hell may be turned to a metaphor, but the actual hell—the innumerable hells on earth—remain, and no modern Theism, however refined, (as by Newman, Parker, Martineau,) can theoretically relieve a creative and sovereign deity from responsibility for all evil, all crime.

It will be said that theory and practice are very different, and to a certain extent this is true: evolutionary laws render it necessary that in social life individuals must be held responsible for their conduct. But there are large general interests where evolutionary laws work in a reverse direction. In political life dishonesty is often the best policy, and the moral sense is brought to its aid by the convenient doctrine that the hand of God shapes the destinies of States. If Jehovah commissioned “a lying spirit” to get “in the mouth of all his prophets,” in order to deceive a king to his destruction, as related in the Ethical Manual of Christendom (1 Kings xxii) what conscience need be troubled about a manipulation of ballots in order to fulfil the destiny of the white race to rule over the black? “For,” says Paul, “if the truth of God has more abounded through my lie unto His glory, why yet am I also judged as a sinner?”

I recently attended a lecture on the Washington family by Mr. Ellsworth, in New York, and was much struck by his interpretation of General Washington’s motto: *Exitus acta probat*. Mr. Ellsworth translated it: “The end justifies the means.” The sense really is—“The action is testēd by its result.” Even as a prudential maxim the motto is not always true, but to translate it into a flagrantly immoral maxim, without any protest, though it may seem a mere straw, appeared to me a straw showing the direction of the popular breath. To do evil that good may come is humanly immoral in the view of Ethical Science, but in religion it is the fundamental morality of God. All the evils and villainies of the world are apologised for on the ground that the moral method of God is to do evil that good may come.

If God can so act righteously, why not man also? The reply of Theism is, that for Omniscience the beneficial result is certain, but ignorant man cannot be assured of the result of his action. Apart from the consideration that omnipotence could not have been under any necessity of adopting evil means, Ethical Science cannot admit that any certainty of good results could justify a deed morally wrong, such as Abraham’s intended murder of Isaac. Social necessity prevents the imitation of sacred examples of atrocity by individuals, but when it comes to the will of the popular ma-

jority in democratic countries such majority is not more amenable to moral principles than Jupiter or Jehovah. No pope in history was ever accorded a divine authority more supreme above moral considerations than that now accorded by democracy to the popular majority.

In an article on "The Future of the Anglo-Saxon Race," in the *North American Review* for December, 1900, Lord Charles Beresford says: "'The voice of the people is the voice of God,' says an old Latin proverb, and in the main that is true." The proverb is altogether English, though it has been Latinised. Hearing the proverb, John Wesley said, "No, it cannot be the voice of God, for it was *vox populi* that cried out 'Crucify him! Crucify him.'" But an American democrat answered that the crucifixion being necessary for human salvation, the cry of the people "Crucify him" was in exact accord with the will and purpose of God. And this is precisely the ethical corollary of *vox populi vox dei*. If the people vote that fifty cents shall be a dollar, or that a foreign nation shall be crushed, the sanction of God goes with the vote, and considerations of morality and justice are swallowed up in the divine decree. As a matter of fact, however, there is no such thing as the *vox populi*; what we really get is the voice of some Croker, or Hanna, or Chamberlain. The Boss is spokesman of the Collectivist God, and the deluded people are politically valueless as ciphers, except as they are added by order to one partisan figure or the other.

Although, as already said, divine authority is not admitted to the same extent in the internal affairs of a community, yet there are several vitally important social interests in which progress is obstructed by an ethical cult. For example the Episcopalian Church finds it necessary to regulate marriage and divorce by words ascribed to a religious teacher in ancient Judea. It seems vain to argue with the textual moralists that if the divorced are not permitted to re-marry they will form illicit relations, that both virtue and happiness will be sacrificed: what is mere human morality in the presence of God? And when we pass from the Episcopalian to the less educated churches we find that each has an ethical cult in which moral fictions,—such as Sabbath-keeping, abstinence from balls and theatres, prayer,—are the supreme things. The rigid irrational sects enhance the charms of immorality.

There is in America a notable effort to recover the lost authority of theology under the mask of morality. It is shown in the demand that "immorality" shall be punished legally as crime.

But what is immorality? It is the other man's morality, that doesn't accord with mine. If my morality has in my eyes a divine sanction, if it is a cult, it is but natural that I should try to crush the other man's morality by force. In that way personal liberty is sacrificed to the Sabbath, and if those agitators for "God in the Constitution" should succeed, atheism will be punished as immorality.

Every now and then there occurs in New York a "crusade against vice," and it always becomes a question whether the vices or the methods taken against them are the more immoral. The houses lyingly called "disorderly" are generally so orderly that they can only be detected by men sneaking about, and pretending to be patrons of such places: espionage, treachery, falsehood, intimidation, are freely employed, and then the citizens are shocked when it turns out that a police trained in such methods can equally deceive their "virtuous" employers when that is more advantageous. Emerson met at Concord station a friend who asked him where he was going; and he replied, "I am going to Boston to get an angel to do housework." New York will need a police force of angels to carry out the statutes against vices which do no calculable damage to any non-consenting party, nor disturb public order, and can only be proved by mere verbal police testimony. Wherever there are law-made crimes there must be blackmail. This is the gangrene of New York, and it will continue so long as the citizens suppose that their moral system is divine, infallible, and continue to substitute violence and its immoral methods for moral culture and removal of the physical conditions out of which the tares grow.

So far as I can learn there is not a school in New York in which children are taught good manners. Of the deference due to age, of the respect due from boys to girls, from men to women, of the thoughtfulness for others and the self-respect that make the gentleman and the lady, the millions of children are taught nothing. Yet this is the foundation of all morality, and it is only as manners that morals can be taught children at all.

The movement for Ethical Culture has for its foremost task the removal of the Ethical Cult. Morality must be founded solely in human conditions and needs. Milton says:

"God doth not need
Either man's work, or his own gifts."

No traditional system of morality, however sanctified, must be allowed to impede the development of new ethical ideas. Science

admits no sacramental obligations. Ethical science is the most backward of all inquiries because of the intimidation of thinkers by the semi-theological ethics of monastic ages. The old theological polemics are ended. The dogmas have been weighed and found wanting by thinkers; their defence is professional; they continue automatically among those who dare not or cannot weigh them. There seems nothing left for the twentieth century but a great ethical reformation. The worship of an immoral deity, the circulation of an immoral Bible, the sacrifice of human freedom and happiness to ancient notions,—these must all be severely challenged. Possibly this entire humanisation of ethics may be attended by some outbreaks of moral anarchy, but even that is better than moral slavery. When philosophic and scientific minds are perfectly free there is little doubt that a purely human ethic will be developed able to bear great fruits. For the whole aim of ethics is human happiness. Those now described as immoral are really seeking happiness in the only way left open to them by personal and social conditions. Diffuse happiness and you diffuse virtue.

Meanwhile let not the ethical philosopher despise the immoral nor confuse them with the criminal. The Crusaders would like to make every city into a prayer-meeting, relieved only by salvationist amusements. Because they are "virtuous" there are to be no more cakes and ale. But the so-called "immoral" are there, finding and conferring happiness in their own way, just as genuine products of the world as the pious, and hitherto it is they rather than the handful of ethical cultivators who have saved the world from a deluge of superstition and moral despotism. That English Bishop who said he would rather have a free England than a sober England hit the nail on the head. The definition of Liberty in the French Declaration of Rights is impregnable: "Liberty consists in the power to do whatever is not contrary to the rights of others; thus, the natural rights of each man have no limits other than those which secure to other members of society enjoyment of the same rights." If any one injures another he is not immoral but criminal; and the statute that encroaches on the personal liberty of any one who wrongs no other is a criminal statute. It is a supreme task of ethical culture to maintain and defend moral freedom. To overthrow this principle because of even the worst vices is like burning down one's house to get rid of rats. Ethical Cult, like the theological Cult which preceded it, may propose such sacrifices of the large to the little; but Ethical Culture realises that social evils can be got rid of only as farms are rid of skunks and foxes. Agriculture, unrestrained by any superstition, clears away weeds and wild creatures, and Ethical Culture, when equally unrestrained, will replace with innocent pleasures the vices that nestle in untilled social swamps.

THE NEED OF A CIVIL SERVICE ACADEMY.

BY THE HON. CHARLES CARROLL BONNEY.

(GREAT and powerful, with an overflowing treasury and boundless resources, the United States of America can afford to do whatever justice may demand, or wise policy approve. The following conditions now invite especial attention.

The enormous growth and development of our country have produced numerous important conditions which were practically unknown, even a generation ago. Then but few of our people visited foreign lands; and the idea largely prevailed that our foreign service was of little practical use, and the expense of maintaining it was grudgingly borne. But now tens of thousands of American citizens travel or sojourn in other countries, and form commercial or other relations with their inhabitants.

But our foreign service has notoriously not kept pace with the growth of the country in population, wealth, and power. Our treaties with other nations give us the right to maintain in almost every other part of the world, representatives of our government, for the protection of our citizens, and the promotion of our commercial interests. But it is well known that such representatives have in many cases been of too low official rank to command proper respect and attention; or have lacked the qualifications indispensable to good service; or have had so poor a support that their mode of living has been a personal humiliation, and a grave reproach to our rich and powerful nation.

While in all other departments of the public service we pretend to have some regard for the necessary qualifications therefor, we have in too many cases grossly neglected such qualifications in preparing for the conduct of our foreign affairs. We have neither a standard of attainments, nor a place of training for that branch of the government service.

In theory our sovereignty extends to every spot over which our flag has authority to wave, and our constitution and laws are applicable to cases arising within the jurisdiction which our government is authorised to exercise. We scarcely appreciate the fact that even a consul is in a certain sense a "public minister," and that our consuls and ministers are sometimes invested with great judicial powers, as in China, Siam, Madagascar, Turkey, Persia, Tripoli, Tunis, Morocco, and some other countries.¹ That those powers have sometimes been seriously abused is known, but how often or to what extent, the government has no adequate means even to ascertain, much less to give relief from or inflict punishment for such abuses.

The enormous increase of our products, and the ever-enlarging demand for foreign markets, now urgently require that means be devised for extending our commercial relations with other parts of the world. But we cannot sow in the morning and reap the harvest in the evening of the same day. We must give time for growth and development. Under existing circumstances it may be affirmed without hesitation, that the United States has now a greater interest than any other nation in the world in maintaining the best and most perfect system of foreign service that our statesmen can devise. Such a system would bring the amplest pecuniary returns for whatever it might cost, in the profits of enlarged commerce, and in the wealth and advantages to be derived from it.

A consideration of these conditions suggests the following measures of reform, to which attention is earnestly invited.

1. The establishment of a Civil Service Academy, to be to our civil service, and especially to our foreign affairs, what the military and naval schools are to our army and navy. In this school should be taught the modern languages, constitutional law and history, international law, commercial law and usage, the practical business of diplomacy, foreign jurisprudence, the protection of citizens, and the interpretation and application of the particular provisions of our treaties with the several foreign powers.

To that school should be admitted, from time to time, two students from each congressional district, selected as the military and naval pupils are now.

The prescribed course of instruction would at once become the standard for the foreign service, and all candidates would be expected to conform to that standard. Our preparatory system would then seem to be complete. But, strangely enough, it now

¹ U. S. Revised Statutes, *Foreign Relations*.

lacks that department which appears to be most important to the perpetuity of our free institutions, a national school in which at all times a fairly representative body of the young men of the country may pursue, with every advantage that unlimited resources could command, the highest branches of the science of government, and the practical art of its administration. Such a school would furnish a supply of qualified men for the foreign service. They would naturally enter the public service in clerical positions, while young, and would undoubtedly continue in it to a larger extent than the graduates of West Point and Annapolis have done.

2. All American Legations and Consulates should be kept so well supplied with maps, books, papers, and samples of the mineral and the agricultural productions of our country, that at any place in a foreign land over which our flag is authorised to float, a citizen of that land may find any information concerning our own, that he may properly desire. The expense would be trifling in comparison with the benefits that would result.

3. The present system of rewards for foreign service should be radically reformed. The highest qualifications for efficient service should be required, and the compensation of every foreign public servant should be such as would enable him to live in a manner suited to the locality and to the honor and dignity of the United States, and to save a reasonable amount for his time and labor. The expense of such an investment would, beyond question, prove one of the most profitable investments the country could make. It has lost through the false economy of a beggarly support of various departments of the public service, a thousand-fold more money than would have been required for the most adequate outfit, current expense, and compensation. We should have cause to boast the most complete and best sustained civil service in the world. It is confidently believed that the American people are now fairly well prepared to make this great advance.

4. Our judicial system should be extended to the protection of our citizens in foreign lands. It is a gross violation of the spirit of our constitution to permit a political officer to exercise judicial powers. We should have district and circuit judges who should be required to visit, from time to time, every consulate and legation where judicial powers may be exercised, and there hold courts for the trial of all cases properly brought before them. And such judges should also be required to hear and act upon all complaints that might be made touching the consular service. The time may come when the administration of our laws in foreign lands will re-

quire for its general supervision an officer who might be called the Chancellor of Foreign Jurisprudence, and who should have the rank of a justice of the Supreme Court, and might, indeed, be a member of that high tribunal.

The benefits of the reflex influence of such a foreign service on our home administration can hardly be estimated. The effect of such a service in exalting our country among the nations of the earth would certainly be gratifying to every patriotic heart.

5. The present consular reports are of very little practical value, for the following reasons: They are made at too great intervals of time; their publication is too long delayed, and is in a form not adapted to the public needs. Our consuls throughout the world should be required to report at once, by mail in ordinary cases, and by cable in extraordinary emergencies, any material change at their respective points in the demand for, or the supply or price of, any article of commerce which our own country needs to import, or which it produces for export to foreign markets. And the substance of such reports should be furnished, under the direction of the Secretary of State, and telegraphed over the country, as the weather reports now are. That information would be of such great practical value to American manufacturers, merchants, carriers and consumers, that it ought not to be left to private enterprise, and should not be monopolised by private interests. It ought to be published under the name of the consul and involve no liability on the part of the government.

THE HEBREW CONCEPTION OF ANIMALS.

BY E. MARTINENGO CESARESCO.

WHAT was the view taken of animals by the Jewish people, apart from the fundamental ideas implied by a Peace in Nature?

It was the habit of Hebrew writers to leave a good deal to the imagination: in general, they only cared to throw as much light on hidden subjects as was needful to regulate conduct. They gave precepts rather than speculations. There remain obscure points in their conception of animals, but we know how they did *not* conceive them: they did not look upon them as "things"; they did not feel towards them as towards automata.

After the Deluge, there was established "the everlasting covenant between God and every living creature of all flesh that is upon the earth." Evidently you cannot make a covenant with "things."

That the Jews supposed the intelligence of animals to be not extremely different from the intelligence of man, is to be deduced from the story of Balaam, for it is said that God opened the mouth—not the mind—of the ass. The same story illustrates the ancient belief that animals see apparitions which are concealed from the eyes of man. The great interest to us, however, of this Scriptural narrative is its significance as a lesson in humanity. When the Lord opened the mouth of the ass, what did the ass say? She asks her master why he has smitten her three times. Balaam answers with a frankness which, at least, does him credit, because he was enraged with the ass for turning aside and not minding him, and he adds (still enraged, and, strange to say, nowise surprised at the animal's power of speech) that he only wishes he had a sword in his hand as he would then kill her outright. How like this is to the voice of modern brutality! The ass, continuing the conversa-

tion, rejoins in words which it would be a shame to disfigure by putting them into the idiom of the twentieth century: "Am I not thine ass upon which thou hast ridden ever since I was thine unto this day? Was I ever wont to do so unto thee?" Balaam, who has the merit, as I have noticed, of being candid, replies, "No, you never were." Then, for the first time, the prophet sees the angel standing in the path with a drawn sword in his hand,—an awe-inspiring vision. And what are the angel's first words to the terrified prophet who lies prostrate on his face? They are a reproof for his inhumanity. "Wherefore hast thou smitten thine ass these three times?" Then the angel tells how the poor beast which he has used thus has saved her master from certain death, for had she not turned from him he would have slain Balaam and saved her alive. "And Balaam said unto the angel of the Lord, 'I have sinned.'"

Balaam was not a Jew; but the nationality of the personages in the Bible and the origin or authorship of its several parts are not questions which affect the present inquiry. The point of importance is, that the Jews believed the Scriptures to contain divine truth.

With regard to animals having the gift of language, it appears from a remark made by Josephus that the Jews thought that all animals spoke before the Fall. In Christian folklore there is a superstition that animals can speak during Christmas night: an obvious reference to their return to an unfallen state.

The righteous man, says Solomon, regardeth the life of his beast; a proverb which is often misquoted, "merciful" being substituted for "righteous," by which the maxim loses half its force. The Hebrew Scriptures contain two definite injunctions of humanity to animals. One is the command not to plough with the ox and the ass yoked together,—in Palestine I have seen even the ass and the camel yoked together, but it is a cruel practice as their unequal steps cause inconvenience to both yoke-fellows and especially to the weakest. The other is the prohibition to muzzle the ox which treads out the corn: a simple humanitarian rule which it is truly surprising how any one, even after an early education in casuistry, could have interpreted as a metaphor. There are three other commands of great interest, because they show how important it was thought to preserve even the mind of man from growing callous. One is the order not to kill a cow or she-goat or ewe and her young both on the same day. The second is the analogous order not to seethe the kid in its mother's milk. The third refers

to birds-nesting: if by chance you find a bird's nest on a tree or on the ground and the mother bird is sitting on the eggs or on the fledglings, you are on no account to capture her when you take the eggs or the young birds (one would like birds-nesting to have been forbidden altogether, but I fear that the human boy in Syria had too much of the old Adam in him for any such law to have proved effectual). Let the mother go, says the writer in the Book of Deuteronomy, and if you must take something, take only the young ones. This command concludes in a very solemn way, for it ends with the promise (for what may seem a little act of unimportant sentiment) of blessing to man for honoring his own father and mother—that it will be well with him and that his days will be long in the land.

In the law relative to the observance of the Seventh Day, not only is no point insisted on more strongly than the repose of the animals of labor, but in one of the oldest versions of the fourth commandment the repose of animals is spoken of as if it were the chief object of the Sabbath: "Six days shalt thou do thy work and on the seventh day thou shalt rest *that* thine ox and thine ass may rest." (Exodus xxiii.)

Moreover, it is expressly stated of the Sabbath of the Lord the seventh year when no work was to be done, that all which the land produces of itself is to be left to the enjoyment of the beasts that are in the land.

The wisdom of animals is continually praised. "Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways and be wise: which having no guide, overseer, or ruler, provideth her meat in the summer and gathereth her food in the harvest." So said the Wisest of the Jews. I am tempted to quote here a passage from the writings of Giordano Bruno: "With what understanding the ant gnaws her grain of wheat lest it should sprout in her underground habitation! The fool says this is instinct, but we say it is a species of understanding." If Solomon did not make the same reflexion, it was only because that wonderful word "instinct" had not yet been invented.

We have seen that the Jews supposed animals to be given to men for use not for abuse, and the whole of Scripture tends to the conclusion that the Creator—who had called good all the creatures of his hand—regarded none as unworthy of his providence. This view is plainly endorsed by the saying of Christ that not a sparrow falls to the ground without the will of the Father, and by the say-

ing of Mahomet: "There is no beast that walks upon the earth but its provision is from God."

But there is something more. Every one knows that the Jews were allowed to kill and eat animals. The Jewish religion makes studiously few demands on human nature. "The ways of the Lord were pleasant ways." Since men craved for meat, or, in Biblical language, since they lusted after flesh, they were at liberty to eat those animals which, in an Eastern climate, could be eaten without danger to health. But on one condition: the body they might devour—what was the body? It was earth. The soul they might not touch. The mysterious thing called life must be rendered up to the Giver of it—to God. The man who did not do this when he killed a lamb, was a murderer. "The blood shall be imputed to him, he hath shed blood, and that man shall be cut off from among his people."

The inclination must be resisted to dispose of this mysterious ordinance as a mere sanitary measure. It was a sanitary measure but it was much besides. The Jews believed that every animal had a soul, a spirit, which was beyond human jurisdiction; with which they had no right to tamper. When we ask, however, what this soul, this spirit was, we find ourselves groping in the dark. Was it material, as the soul was thought to be by the Egyptians and by the earliest doctors of the Christian Church? Was it an immaterial, impersonal divine essence? Was its identity permanent or temporary? We can give no decisive answer, but we may assume with considerable certainty that life, spirit, whatever it was, appeared to the Jews to possess one nature whether in men or in animals.

When a Jew denied the immortality of the soul, he denied it both for man and for beast. "I saw in my heart," wrote the author of Ecclesiastes, "concerning the estate of men that God might manifest them and that they might see that they are beasts. For that which befalleth the sons of men befalleth beasts, even one thing befalleth them; as the one dieth so the other dieth; yea they have all one breath: so that a man hath no pre-eminence above a beast."

The mist which surrounds the Hebrew idea of the soul may proceed from the fact that they did not know themselves what they meant by it, or from the fact that they once knew what they meant by it so well as to render elucidation superfluous. If the teraphim represented the Lares or family dead, then the archaic Jewish idea of the soul was simple and definite. It is possible that in all

later times, two diametrically opposed opinions existed contemporaneously, as was the case with the Pharisees and Sadducees. The Jewish people did not feel the pressing need to dogmatise about the soul that other peoples have felt; they had one living soul which was immortal, and its name was Israel.

Still, through all ages, from the earliest times till now, the Jews have continued to hold sacred "the blood which is the life."

In India, where similar ordinances are enforced, there are hints of a suspicion which, probably, was not absent from the minds of Hebrew legislators: the haunting suspicion of a possible mixing-up of personality. Here we tread on the skirts of magic: a subject which belongs to starless nights.

We come back into the light of day when we glance at the relations, which, according to Jewish tradition, existed between animals and their Creator. We see a beautiful interchange of gratitude on the one side and watchful care on the other. As the ass of Balaam recognised the Angel, so do all animals—except man—at all times thus recognise their God. "But ask, now, the beasts and they shall teach thee, and the fowls of the air and they shall tell thee . . . who knoweth not of all these that the hand of the Lord hath wrought this? In whose hand is the soul of every living thing and the breath of all mankind."

I will only add to these words of Job, a few verses taken here and there from the Psalms which form a true anthem of our fellow-creatures of the earth and air:

"Beasts and all cattle, creeping things and flying fowl, let them praise the name of the Lord.

"He giveth to the beast his food and to the young ravens which cry.

"He sendeth the springs into the valleys which run among the hills;

"They give drink to every beast of the field, the wild asses quench their thirst.

"By them shall the fowls of heaven have their habitation which sing among the branches.

"The trees of the Lord are full of sap, the cedars of Lebanon which he hath planted,

"Where the birds make their nests; as for the stork, the fir-trees are her house.

"The great hills are a refuge for the wild goats and the rocks for the conies.

"Thou makest darkness and it is night wherein all the beasts of the forest do creep forth;

"The young lions roar after their prey and seek their meat from God;

"The sun ariseth, they gather themselves together and lay them down in their dens.

"Yea, the sparrow hath found an house and the swallow a nest for herself where she may lay her young.

"Even thine altars, O Lord of Hosts, my King and my God."

F. MAX MÜLLER AND THE RELIGIOUS PARLIAMENT.

BY LADY BLENNERHASSETT.¹

IN the year 1893, an event took place which made a deep impression on Prof. F. Max Müller's mind. It was the Religious Parliament in Chicago.

Max Müller had always preserved his good humor, and when he saw, at the end of the year 1894, the answers to the questions which the Vienna *Fremdenblatt* had proposed to its German readers, he enjoyed the fun immensely.

People were requested to state what event had given them the greatest satisfaction during the twelve months preceding, and what desire they would most like to see realised in the near future. The greater part of the answers, sometimes signed by famous names, had reference to the domain of politics. Among other things desired was the limitation of the consumption of alcohol; another, a definite measurement of the skulls in the museums, where the slips indicating the measurements had been frequently changed; a third, from a poet, showed anxiety for the success of his drama.

Prof. Max Müller had received a report of the Chicago Religious Congress only at the end of the year 1894 (*Transactions of the World's Parliament of Religions*, 2 vols., 800 pages each, 1895), and he mentioned the Religious Parliament to the editors of the Vienna paper as the event which seemed to him the most important one; and they deemed it indispensable to remind their readers in a footnote of the event, and to explain to them what really had taken place in Chicago.

Prof. F. Max Müller had been invited to take part, but he was under the impression that it would result merely in a great show,

¹ Extract from an essay published in the current number of the *Deutsche Rundschau*, January, 1901.

and thus abstained from making the journey. He afterwards regretted it. For the first time in the history of the world the adherents of the three Aryan religions (the Vedic, the Avestic, and the Buddhistic), the adherents of the three Semitic religions (the Jewish, the Christian, and the Mohammedan), and the adherents of the two Chinese religions, the followers of Confucius and Lao-Tze, had met at Chicago.

Max Müller thought that one could not compare this assemblage with the meeting of the Buddhist Congress at Pâtaliputra, or with the Council at Nicæa, or with Emperor Akbar's religious congress at Delhi, at the time when the Council of Trent met in Europe. At Pâtaliputra there were exclusively Buddhists, so at Nicæa there were exclusively Christians. At Delhi, Akbar's desire was realised only in a limited degree, viz., that he might make himself acquainted with the main religions of the world: he failed to obtain a knowledge of the sacred books of the Veda and an insight into the significance of Buddhism. Whenever he, the Mohammedan emperor, wanted to have a discussion with Christian missionaries or with Brahmins, they had to be hauled up in the dead of night by a rope, to the balcony of his palace; and his conviction that it was possible to show that all the religions in the world had one and the same foundation remained a pious dream.

How different were the conditions in Chicago! There Buddhists and Shintoists from Japan, the disciples of Confucius and Fo and Lao-Tze from China, Parsees from Bombay, Brahmins from Calcutta and Benares, Buddhist reformers from Ceylon, other Buddhists from Siam, rabbis, emissaries of Islam, Christians of all denominations, bishops and a Roman cardinal met for the first time on one platform. Prof. F. Max Müller's "silent witnesses," viz., the fifty volumes of the *Sacred Books of the East*, prepared by the ablest and most learned scholars of all countries, and published after encountering an enormous number of difficulties, had become accessible to the world. They made it possible to understand "that God had not left himself without a witness in distant China as well as in Palestine, in India as well as in Persia and Arabia. In this series of volumes lay the result of long struggles, of deep research, of a great zeal, the product of the labors of men in whom the spirit of truth, the spirit of God, had been stirring."

Prof. F. Max Müller did not undervalue the shortcomings nor the difficulties and conflicts which made themselves felt at Chicago; but he had always remained an optimist; and when he read that this peaceful assemblage of delegates of all religions had joined in

the Lord's Prayer kneeling,¹ once recited by a Jewish rabbi and on another occasion by a Buddhist monk, and that on another day they had received a blessing from a Roman Catholic archbishop, he thought of the apostle's sermon at Athens, where it is said: "God hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation; that they should seek the Lord, if haply they might feel after him and find him, though he be not far from every one of us: For in him we live, and move, and have our being."

¹ The word *kneeling* is probably a mistake. To the knowledge of the translator, who was present during the sessions of the Parliament, the meeting always rose respectfully whenever the Lord's Prayer was spoken, but there was no kneeling at the meetings of the Parliament.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE CRISIS IN CHINA AS SEEN BY A CHINAMAN.

To the Editor of the Open Court :

Since you published extracts from my last letter¹, the crisis alluded to has set in,—a crisis which is as yet unnamed and unnamable. Carlyle, speaking of the French Revolution, said : "When the right name itself is here, the thing is known henceforth. The thing is then ours, and can be dealt with." The upheaval in China is in magnitude comparable to the French Revolution, but the right name has not yet been found, and the situation can be understood only when we know the factors of the Chinese political revolution.

Previous to the advent of foreigners the two most important factors which determined the national destiny of China were on the one hand the governing classes and on the other hand the governed masses, or rather the proletariat. The governing classes are the Imperial dynasty, the official oligarchy and the literati. The masses consist of the commercial and agricultural communities and the *sansculottes*. Between these two groups there had never been established any well-recognised system of inter-communication. The function of the former was merely to command, that of the latter to obey. Disobedience on the part of the latter was treated as rebellion. The former owed their authority merely to the possession of superior military force. When the administration had become corrupt, however, the military force degenerated, and the proletariat was then enabled to shake off its domination. Rebellion itself then became a legal means of reinstating authority and either a new dynasty was called into existence or a purer administration inaugurated. Sometimes the new dynasty was founded by a capable semi-foreigner and new blood was thus instilled into the body politic and assimilated by the whole race. In any case an entire evolution would have been effected and a new start commenced only to ultimately end in the same natural causes.

It is thus that the Chinese nation has been accustomed to advance by cyclic political upheavals, but preserving always whatever elements of a durable nature exist in the national characteristics. All else were burnt up, destroyed as mere shams, formulas, or stuffed clothing. Progress of such a kind may indeed be considered as mere national cataclysm but nevertheless it has helped to clear the political atmosphere, to wipe clean the administrative slate, and to enable the meritorious to come to the front. The Chinese temperament is unlike the Gallic in that the main element is not of a merely destructive nature but includes also a construc-

¹ See *The Open Court* for June, 1900, page 365.

tive tendency along well-known and well-tested bases. In other respects their evolutions were parallel as regards cause and effect—but on a vaster scale—with that great national upheaval at the end of the last century known in history as the “French Revolution.”

With the inauguration of European intercourse a new factor was added to the political situation. Its ultimate force and scope are, however, still undetermined. At one time it could have allied itself with the proletariat by mere commercial intercourse or it could have supplanted the dominant factor and become itself the governor by military means. But circumstances compelled it to adopt an indeterminate course, thereby constituting it as a third irreconcilable factor in the present political problem. We have here therefore a perpetual triangular contest between the governing classes of China, the proletariat, and the foreign powers. The treaties of peace and commerce were entered into only between the first and the third parties, while the second party was entirely ignored. The interests of the governors and the proletariat of China, however, had never been identical, and there had never been a common ground of understanding upon which concerted action could have been undertaken. When the Imperial authorities therefore stipulated away the vested rights and privileges of the proletariat communities by treaties to foreign powers, they in fact surrendered what had never been duly recognised as their own property. Indeed, such stipulations could only be effectually carried out if the superior military force of the Imperial government or its prestige were in due evidence. Otherwise they must remain inoperative. But when this military force itself had been previously injured or destroyed by the foreign powers, the proletariat could never have been expected to yield implicit obedience to undertakings to which they had never been party. At first the officials, by some means or other, succeeded in punishing those *sansculottes* who had dared to assault foreign travellers or in indemnifying the latter's governments for these outrages. But when foreign governments increased their pressure upon the governing bodies and continued to cripple the latter's military resources they thereby but increased the audacity of the proletariat and encouraged it to despise its own governors. The results have therefore been but to emphasise and complicate the triangular struggle now going on.

The continual increase of foreign aggression has at length produced a most decisive effect. At last the two original and opposing factors in Chinese politics have discovered a common cause upon which reconciliation and combination could be predicated and rendered mutually effective. Upon the basis of combined opposition to foreign aggressions they have at last solved one of the most pressing and all-important problems in their national domestic history. The Imperial government has at last condescended to ally itself with the *sansculottes*, and in the movement of the “Boxer Volunteer Train-Bands” we see but the prelude to a future national career as yet but dimly discernible. War, famine, pestilence, and social and political disintegrations are now forcing and driving the lethargic and self-sufficient Chinaman to develop the lasting qualities of the race, and we are witnessing but the opening act of the world's greatest drama, “the Struggle between the White and the Yellow Perils.” The dynasty is without doubt doomed, but what the Chinese are at present anxiously waiting for is the advent of a Napoleon capable of organising and leading them towards their destiny. For the present they are assiduously serving their apprenticeship in the arts of war in the best school, that of practical experience.

As regards the foreign powers it is instructive to note the helpless and indeci-

sive situation in which they are now placed. The attitude of the United States and the policy of Admiral Remey are the only laudable and sensible courses so far evident. The others had proceeded with a light heart in their land-grabbing policies in the past, but to-day they are face to face with a world-problem at the possible magnitude of which they are aghast. The threats of the German Champion of Christendom and the paralysis of the British Jingo alike show how utterly unprepared the West is for such an unprecedented contingency. The Chinese nation had in the course of its past history experienced unimaginable humiliations and castigations, and yet to-day it has dared unshrinkingly to look at the united armies of the great powers of Europe, America, and Asia not askance but face to face. It had already been a great power centuries before Germany became a national force, and there is not the slightest doubt that it will continue to be a world power when the Germanic nations have disappeared.

Lord Salisbury's senseless threat of dissolving the Chinese Empire is on a par with his suicidal war in South Africa, and the present subservient inactivity of the British forces in North China will undoubtedly rebound against British prestige throughout the length and breadth of Asia. A Chinese official friend enquired of myself in regard to Lord Salisbury's threat whether the British Prime Minister could arrange with the Almighty to guarantee the dynasty, let alone the Empire, for the next ten years. Even if to save the dynasty and the present régime the Chinese government should concede all that is now demanded of it by the powers in the way of reparation and so forth, who is there to guarantee their specific performance? You may hang Prince Tuan and his confederates, but the effect to the nation would merely be the removal of certain incapable fools for worthier people. The government may stipulate the payment of millions as indemnity, but it remains to be seen whether the nation will pay it. And as regards guarantees for future non-repetition of outrages, whose bond would be acceptable? The Imperial government's? Even at present the Viceroy is using their own discretion as to whether to obey or ignore Imperial edicts. The Reformers have already repudiated the authority of the Empress Dowager and her advisers, but would profess loyalty to the Emperor Kwang Hsu. I am of opinion, however, that they will soon be in the position of the French Girondins, the advocates of legality, who will ultimately be swept off their feet by the flood of Chinese *sansculotism*. In such an emergency it is not difficult to anticipate what would be the fate of mere treaties or conventions. The great powers would probably reply, "Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof." But then what becomes of their far-seeing statesmanship, their united diplomacy, their armed interference, and their vaunting vindictive threats?

TAN TEK SOON.

SINGAPORE, October, 1900.

ON THE TEACHING OF ELEMENTARY MATHEMATICS.

The recent work on the teaching of elementary mathematics,¹ by Dr. David Eugene Smith, Principal of the State Normal School at Brockport, New York, and author of several text-books and historical treatises on mathematical subjects, is one that is eminently fitted to the needs of teachers and students and that fills a decided gap in American pedagogic literature. A vast field of reading and sugges-

¹ *The Teaching of Elementary Mathematics*. By David Eugene Smith, Principal of the State Normal School at Brockport, New York. New York: The Macmillan Co.; London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1900. Pages, xv, 312. Price, \$1.00.

tion is here opened to the teacher, and the person who will follow its simple and intelligible guidance cannot help profiting greatly by it. The book is marked with evidences of wide philosophical and educational reading; the psychology of the subject of which it treats and the rich and helpful literature in which that subject abounds pedagogically, have heretofore been as good as closed to the average elementary instructor; and if the purpose of the book is destined to fulfil be only that of opening a wider and more cheerful vista to individual teachers, the author has every reason to congratulate himself. No two persons could have written such a work at all alike; myriad divergent influences shape the opinions of even competent individuals on this subject; and the captious and toplofty criticisms which efforts of this character invariably evoke in certain quarters are as groundless as they are ill-humored. The purpose of Dr. Smith's book may be best given in his own words:

"Several years ago the author set about to find something of what the world had done in the way of making and of teaching mathematics, and to know the really valuable literature of the subject. He found, however, no manual to guide his reading, and so the accumulation of a library upon the teaching of the subject was a slow and often discouraging work. This little handbook is intended to help those who care to take a shorter, clearer route, and to know something of these great questions of teaching,—Whence came this subject? Why am I teaching it? How has it been taught? What should I read to prepare for my work?"

The subject is envisaged, thus, in its evolutionary, as well as its logical, aspect. The three topics of arithmetic, algebra, and geometry are severally considered as to their history, their place in education, their typical forms, etc. The traditional methods of presentation are critically examined, and new and more powerful points of view set forth. In this respect the book will be a revelation to many elementary teachers, and the advice which it carries, if heeded, will do much to revolutionise our elementary instruction. It is true that a great deal that is offered here is already accessible to the students of our best Normal Schools and Teachers' Colleges, but it is essential that it be put in permanent form and also brought within the reach of the rank and file of our teachers, who are in sorest need of it. As to the rich bibliography and general references collected in this book, they have an independent value, which renders the possession of the work desirable on this score alone. Perhaps Dr. Smith will add to his second edition some references to the simpler mechanical aids to calculation, the slide-rule, arithmetical machines, etc.; for the analysis of these mechanisms is fraught with educational enlightenment and possesses an intrinsic attraction for students. Nevertheless, as our author remarks, it is impossible to compress an encyclopædia into three hundred pages, and we should doubtless be thankful for what we have, without tendering supererogatory advice.

T. J. McC.

A PSYCHO-PHYSICAL LABORATORY IN THE DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.

A movement for securing government support for the maintenance of an experimental psychological laboratory has taken promising shape in a Senate amendment to the Sundry Civil Bill, asking "for the establishment in the Department of the Interior of the Psycho-Physical Laboratory; for a salary of the Director of the Laboratory, four thousand five hundred dollars; and for expenses incidental to the collection of sociological, anthropological, abnormal and pathological data,

including the study of the criminal, pauper, and defective classes, and for the preparation of special reports on results of work and for all necessary printing, sixteen thousand five hundred dollars."

The laboratory is ostensibly not to be put into competition with other psychophysical laboratories in our country, although this is precisely what should be done and something to which no true scientist would object, seeing that competition is the very life of science. Its purpose will be solely to gather sociological, pathological or abnormal data, as found especially in children, and in criminal, pauper and defective classes, and in hospitals. Besides these data it is desired to gather more special data with laboratory instruments of precision and to make such experiments or measurements as are generally considered of value by psychophysicists and anthropologists.

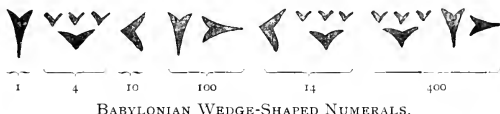
The laboratory, thus, will be in the nature of a great statistical reservoir from which individual scientists may draw their facts and working material. The enterprise is a commendable one, and, if established, will, we hope, be committed to competent hands and not draw upon itself the criticisms which have been aimed at other government ventures in the patronage of science.

A HISTORY OF ELEMENTARY MATHEMATICS.

The charm which the elucidations of history impart to scientific instruction has long been appreciated, but our consciousness of it has been immeasurably enhanced by the *renaissance* which has taken place in recent years in the study of the history of science. While mathematics was perhaps the first of the sciences to receive attention in this regard, it was one of the latest to incorporate the enlightenment which emanated from this source into its formal instruction. "Dry-as dust" is an epithet which almost connotes fascination as compared with the descriptive adjective one is tempted to apply to the majority of the standard text-books of mathematics formerly in vogue. It was the great original treatises only, like Lagrange's *Theory of Functions*, that were interesting reading in a historic and philosophic regard. The text-books proper seemed to possess a monopoly of making themselves forbidding in aspect and content; and while much has been done to remedy this state of affairs by the addition of historical notes and appendices, it is after all to be admitted that the historical and developmental treatment of mathematics must from the nature of the case be largely relegated to the personal initiative of the teacher. The knowledge in question must in most cases be sought outside the text-books; and it is here that the brief histories of mathematics perform their function.

From the purely human side the most interesting of these in English is Ball's *Short Account of the History of Mathematics*. But neither this work nor the more recent book by Cajori (both are relatively expensive volumes) treats of the great body of mathematical truth as a thing of purely logical and evolutionary growth; their exposition is given rather in connexion with the individual *persons* who have contributed to the development of mathematics, and regarding whom many interesting anecdotes and stories are told. In *Fink's Brief History of Mathematics*, on the other hand, a volume which has been translated from the German by Prof. Wooster Woodruff Beman and Dr David Eugene Smith, and published during the year just past by The Open Court Publishing Company, a systematic attempt has been made to write a compendium of mathematical history from a purely scientific and evolutionary point of view, eschewing utterly the

romance of the subject and relegating biography and such subsidiary matter to the appendices.¹ In this way the author successively considers the "growth of arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and trigonometry, carrying the historic development, as should be done, somewhat beyond the limits of the ordinary course." He has thus made the attempt to differentiate the histories of the separate branches of mathematical science, replying to the objection that in this way our general survey of the culture history of a certain epoch will suffer, with the remark that "in a his-

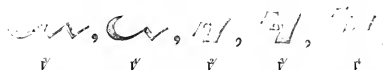


tory of elementary mathematics, especially one confined within such modest bounds, an exhaustive description of whole periods with all their correlations of past and future cannot well be presented."

Sanskrit	८	७	५	४
Apices	⌈	⌋	∧	8
Eastern Arab	۲	۳	۴	۵
Western Arab.....	۲	۳	۴	۵
Eleventh Century ...	6	ω	∨	∧
Thirteenth Century..	7	6	∧	8
Sixteenth Century...	2	5	7	8

CUT ILLUSTRATING DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN NUMERALS.

The discussion of each subject is preceded by a general survey which gives the prevailing trend of development and strikes the dominant key-notes. The opening section of the book is devoted to number-systems and number-symbols, in



SYMBOLS FOR THE EXTRATION OF ROOTS. (Sixteenth century.)

They represent respectively the third, fourth, second, third, and fourth roots of the numbers they precede. The first two were used by Rudolff (early sixteenth century), the other three by Stifel (1544).

which the development of the Hindu notation is especially emphasised, and the interesting character of which may be inferred from the first two cuts accompanying the present notice. In the second section, the development of arithmetic among

¹ *A Brief History of Mathematics*. An Authorised Translation of Dr. Karl Fink's *Geschichte der Elementar-Mathematik*. By Wooster Woodruff Beman, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Michigan, and David Eugene Smith, Principal of the State Normal School at Brockport, N. Y. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. 1900. Pages, xii, 333. Price, cloth, \$1.50 net (5s. 6d. net).

the Egyptians, Babylonians, Greeks, Romans, Chinese, Arabs, and Hindus, and in the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, is considered. The history of algebra is traced from the Egyptians and the Greeks to the Arabs. The first period culminates in the complete solution of the quadratic equation of one unknown quantity and in the trial method, chiefly by means of geometry, of solving equations of the third and fourth degrees. The second period of the development of algebra begins with Gerbert and ends with Kepler. The achievements of this period are the purely algebraical solution of equations of the third and fourth degrees by means of radicals, and the introduction of symbols and abbreviated expressions for the development of formulæ. From the section treating of this period the last cut accompanying our notice is taken. The third period begins with Leibnitz and Newton and extends through Euler, Lagrange and Gauss to the present time. It includes the discovery and development of the methods of the higher analysis, as well as that of a variety of new purely formal sciences. Fink's treatment of these two periods is valuable for the large amount of special information which it gives regarding the development of arithmetical and algebraical thought in Germany.

The history of geometry is divided into four periods, the first including the Egyptians and Babylonians; the second, the golden age of Greek geometry; the third, the relatively meager achievements of the Romans, Hindus, Chinese, and Arabs; the fourth, the period from Gerbert to Descartes; and the fifth, the time from Descartes to the present. The section devoted to trigonometry is comparatively brief.

The translators, who have performed their difficult task in a very commendable manner, have not made any considerable alterations in the original work, but they have corrected a considerable number of errors, provided additional references, and greatly improved the biographical notes. The work altogether is a compact, practical, and business-like handbook,—qualities which, conjoined with its inexpensiveness, will doubtless assure it a wide reception. μ.

BOOK REVIEWS.

SOCIAL JUSTICE, A CRITICAL ESSAY. By *Westel Woodbury Willoughby, Ph. D.*
New York: The Macmillan Company. 1900. Pages, ix, 385. Price, \$3.00.

So many books are written nowadays about what others have thought about this, that, or the other, that we take up "a critical essay" with a certain amount of suspicion that it contains a more or less interesting display of intellectual juggling whereby we are shown how far astray preceding thinkers have been, but are left without any definite idea as to where the writer himself stands. The object of a critical work is too often the mere display of critical power. The work before us, however, affords a pleasant surprise. Critical analysis here is subordinate and subservient to constructive thought. The author has ideas of his own systematically arranged. His style is luminous. There is not a dry chapter in the book.

The first part of the book is devoted to an analysis of the idea of justice as an abstract conception, and to a consideration of the various canons of distributive justice, to discover which of them contain elements of truth and rationality. The theory of equality, the labor theory, the effort theory, and the needs theory are all criticised at length. The conclusions reached are that "justice consists in granting, so far as possible, to each individual the opportunity for a realisation of his

highest ethical self" (p. 24), and that no absolutely valid rule of distributive justice can be formulated.

The second part of the book discusses the relation of the individual to the social group, and attempts to harmonise the principles of liberty and law, of freedom and coercion. There are three chapters in this division: *The Right of Coercion*, *The Ethics of the Competitive Process*, and *Primitive Justice*.

It is obvious that in the treatment of questions of social justice some ethical standpoint must be assumed. Professor Willoughby has taken that of T. H. Green and the later writers of his school. It does not seem to us that he has consistently kept it throughout the book. We are unable to distinguish, for instance, his opportunism from the utilitarianism of John Stuart Mill. As a matter of fact, we do not believe he is right in formally discarding the utilitarian theory. "Utilitarians," he tells us, "have made strenuous attempts to bridge the chasm between altruism and egoism, but without success." But what if altruism is only a higher form of egoism, as seems to us the case? Then there is no such chasm. If we are not mistaken, Professor Willoughby unconsciously admits this when, in attempting to explain the subordination of the individual to society as a whole, he says, "this subordination is, in essence, not the subordination of his will to a higher social will, but the identification by the individual of the social will with his own will, so that, in obeying the social or political will, the individual obeys his own will purified from selfishness" (p. 251). By a will purified from selfishness he can only mean a will free from the lower forms of selfishness. He admits (p. 257) that "there does occur what may properly be termed a struggle between our higher and lower natures."

The acceptance of the realisation of self as the supreme end of conduct does not greatly hamper the writer, for the reason that when it becomes inconvenient he lays it aside. Men are to be treated, not as things, but as ends in themselves. This is the Kantian doctrine, and it is apparently accepted by our author. But when he comes to discuss the theory of punishment, it turns out that nothing is meant but that the good of the individual is to be given equal consideration with the good of others in determining the general welfare. This is true, but it does not seem consistent.

There are no startling conclusions in this book. Socialistic theories of economic distribution are discarded. Dangerous and revolutionary schemes are deprived of ethical support. "In each instance where an act is required," we are told, "one must examine it as to all its possible results, proximate and ultimate, objective and subjective, and then ask himself whether the given line of conduct is more calculated than any other possible line of conduct to advance the world toward the realisation of the highest ethical perfection." Of course, but what is the content of that social ethical ideal, and what economic theory of distribution tends most to promote it? May it not be that one of the theories discarded would be most effective now, although ideally it is imperfect? Just as the blood feud is acknowledged to have played an important part in the development of punitive justice, although intolerable in modern civilisation?

We are by no means convinced by the author's reasoning in regard to the beneficence and permanence of competition in industry. We must hold our conclusion in abeyance. That it has resulted in progress, there can be no doubt. Without it the blind forces of nature would have accomplished nothing. But that does not prove that it must be permanent, and that it is the most beneficent method of industrial progress. In the biological world progress is secured by competition,

but competition is not the desideratum. Although employed as a necessary means of eliminating the unfit, it prevents the highest development of the fit, as is shown by the results of artificial selection. Now in human society the one thing essential to progress is action, and the question becomes, Will competition always be necessary to secure it? Perhaps there will always be forms of friendly rivalry and emulation. The author himself, although he believes that the absolutely competitive state is the ideal one, makes haste to say that competition will be "maintained only upon the very highest planes. The régime must be one in which . . . the *criteria* of fitness for success or survival will be the possession of absolutely the highest moral qualities" (p. 305). It is difficult to think of a being so endowed as competitive.

The caution displayed in the conclusion of this essay in regard to competition is characteristic. For instance, we find a justification of political restraint when it is "consciously intended to be for the ultimate best of the person controlled or of mankind at large." (We should say the act is justified, not by the intention of the agent, but by its actual beneficence.) The following conditions, however, must be present: the object aimed at must be desirable, the means employed must be calculated to obtain it, and at not too great an expense (p. 264). So intolerance is justified, but not until all available means are employed to determine the rightfulness of our opinion, and all the effects of coercion, immediate and remote, have been considered. Such a doctrine of intolerance will undoubtedly, as the author maintains, secure a greater degree of tolerance than now obtains in society. Again, Professor Willoughby maintains that, "just as there is a duty on the part of a parent or guardian to educate, even with collateral use of compulsion if necessary, the undeveloped faculties of the child, so it lies within the legitimate province of an enlightened nation to compel—if compulsion be the only and the best means available—the less civilised races to enter into that better social and political life, the advantages of which their own ignorance either prevents them from seeing, or securing if seen." This on its face is a warrant for "benevolent assimilation." But not so when the conditions are attached. These are as follows: The motive must be an absolutely disinterested one; the superior nation must be absolutely sure not simply of its benevolent purpose, or that its own civilisation is intrinsically better than that it wishes to supplant, but "that it will be better as related to the peculiar needs and characteristics of the people in question;" and finally that it "be made manifest that the desired results can better be obtained by compulsion than by any other mode" (p. 266). This is much like Portia's warrant to Shylock. "Take thou thy pound of flesh; but, in the cutting it, if thou dost shed one drop of Christian blood, thy lands and goods" are confiscate. "Shed thou no blood; nor cut thou less nor more but just a pound of flesh." Under such conditions Shylock thought it would be better not to undertake it. And such is the real conclusion in regard to the assumption by a modern nation of the task of civilising an alien people. Hedged by the same conditions, few would find fault with the principle of slavery.

I. W. HOWERTH.

The latest number of the *Temple Primers* is an admirable little manual of international law by F. E. Smith, M. A., B. C. L., of Liverpool. The little volume takes up less than two hundred pages, and is hence eminently adapted to the wants of students, politicians, and men of business who cannot spare time to read the large standard treatises and encyclopædias on this important subject. The frontispiece to the book is a portrait of Lord Stowell (1745-1836), from whose famous

judicial opinions in the High Court of Admiralty numerous extracts have been made in the work. (London: J. M. Dent & Co.; New York: The Macmillan Co. 1900. Pages, 181. Price, 40 cents.)

Ethics of the Great French Rationalists is the title of a neat brochure by Charles T. Gorham, published under the auspices of the Rationalist Press Association, by Watts & Co., London (Pages, 101; Price, 1s.). The compilation consists of short selections from the ethical utterances of Montaigne, Charron, Rousseau, Condorcet, Voltaire, Comte, Michelet, and Renan, preceded by brief but good biographical notices of these authors. The selection is not intended to be exhaustive; as the author says: "A few French writers are treated merely as representatives of the modern tendency in ethics and religion to arrive at truth rather by the ennobling process of individual effort than by an indolent or servile acceptance of authority." Repudiating the imputation that rationalism affords an insecure support for morals, he has compiled this booklet in the hope that it will help "to show that morality is independent of authority, to indicate that it is not a gift, but a development."

The third part of *Nature's Miracles, or Familiar Talks on Science*, by Elisha Gray, Ph. D., LL. D., whose recent death leaves a wide gap in applied science, treats of electricity and magnetism. The author, who is the inventor of the telautograph, by means of which a man's own handwriting may be transmitted to a distance through a wire and reproduced in facsimile at the receiving end, has lived through the period during which the science of electricity has had most of its growth, and it is to be expected that his historical as well as his theoretical and practical treatment of the subject will be of the most interesting character. The little book is made up of twenty-nine brief chapters in which, in addition to the usual exposition of the subject, such topics as multiple transmission, the Way duplex system, submarine telegraphy, the telautograph, wireless telegraphy, the Niagara Falls power, and electrical products, are treated. The volume is intended for popular reading, and technical terms have been avoided as much as possible, though when used clearly explained. (New York: Fords, Howard & Hulbert. Pages, 248. Price, cloth, 60 cents.)

A unique attempt has been recently made to gather into a single volume a consensus of the general opinions of the world's great thinkers and doers upon the leading topics of religious belief. It bears the title *Faiths of Famous Men*, and has been compiled and edited by John Kenyon Kilbourn, D. D. Dr. Kilbourn has arranged his collection of expressions concerning religion under the nine headings of God, Creation, The Bible, Christ, Immortality, The Millennium, The Intermediate State, The Resurrection, and Heaven, and has thus enabled more than five hundred men and women to speak for themselves in a great number of extracts, for their religious beliefs. The Orient, as well as the Occident, is here represented, and the deliverances of the world's greatest men upon the Christian religion are recorded, from St. Augustine and Irenæus, through Wickliff, Luther, Calvin, and Bishop Butler, down to Robert Ingersoll and the last three presidents of the United States. The book gives evidence of great industry in its compilation, and bespeaks a wide range of reading. (*Faiths of Famous Men*, by John Kenyon Kilbourn, D. D. Philadelphia: Henry T. Coates & Co. 1900. Pages, iv, 379. Price, \$2.00.)

The publication is announced of a monthly record of anthropological science entitled *Man*, to be issued under the direction of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Its contents will include contributions to Physical Anthropology, Ethnography, and Psychology; the Study of Language, and the earlier stages of Civilisation, Industry, and Art; the History of Social Institutions and of Moral and Religious Ideas,—these various branches of study to be treated more fully in proportion as they are less adequately provided for in existing periodicals. Each number will consist of sixteen imperial octavo pages with occasional illustrations and a full-page plate. Subscriptions, which are ten shillings (10s.) per annum to the general public, may be entered at the offices of the Anthropological Institute, 3, Hanover Square, London, W.

An enlightened consideration of one serious aspect of the Oriental question will be found in Mr. Henry Crossfield's *England and Islam*, a pamphlet of some fifty odd pages just published by Watts & Co., 17, Johnson's Court, Fleet St., London. Mr. Crossfield is concerned to know whether, in view of certain recent grave events, "the mind of England, as it has hitherto been mainly exercised, is quite equal to the stress of the colossal responsibilities and duties that a convergence of causes has thrust upon her. Is this haphazard method of a 'race that lives to make mistakes and dies to retrieve them,' aptly remarked of the disastrous Indian Mutiny, a fateful flaw in the intelligence of a people priding themselves on their practical genius and theoretical indifference? . . . Is it destined, unless properly rectified, to prove the means by which their powerful ascendancy may be ultimately overthrown?" He does not think so. He believes in what Emerson has called the "retrieving power" of the English race, which is chiefly incarnate in the rationalist minority of the nation, whose judgment must be allowed freer sway. We cannot enter into the details of his treatment of the Islamic problem in India, but shall merely quote his sentiments regarding the benefit to be derived from closer relations with the East: "If from the West can be learned valuable lessons of the control and adaptation of the resources of nature to the needs and imperious will of man, to the East may we look for an exemplar of ineffable dignity and calm courage in the stress of circumstance, for an insistence on a regard for the infinite equally with the finite, which may yield needed poise to our own fevered activity." There seems, thus, to be a moral as well as a material side to our intercourse with the Orient.

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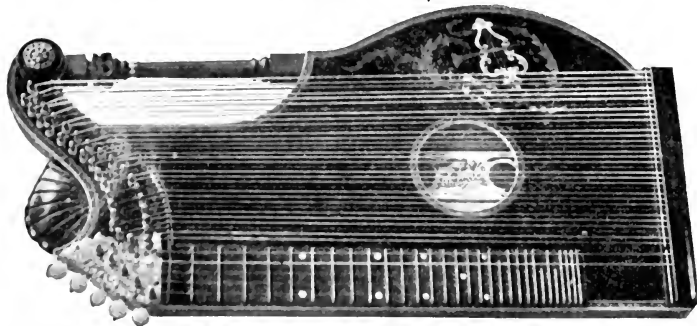
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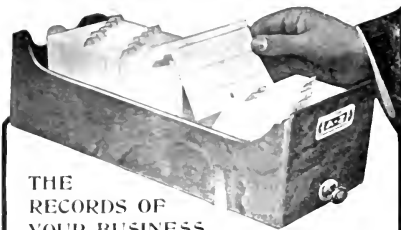
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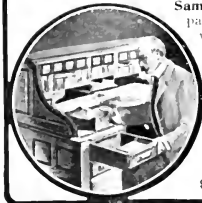
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