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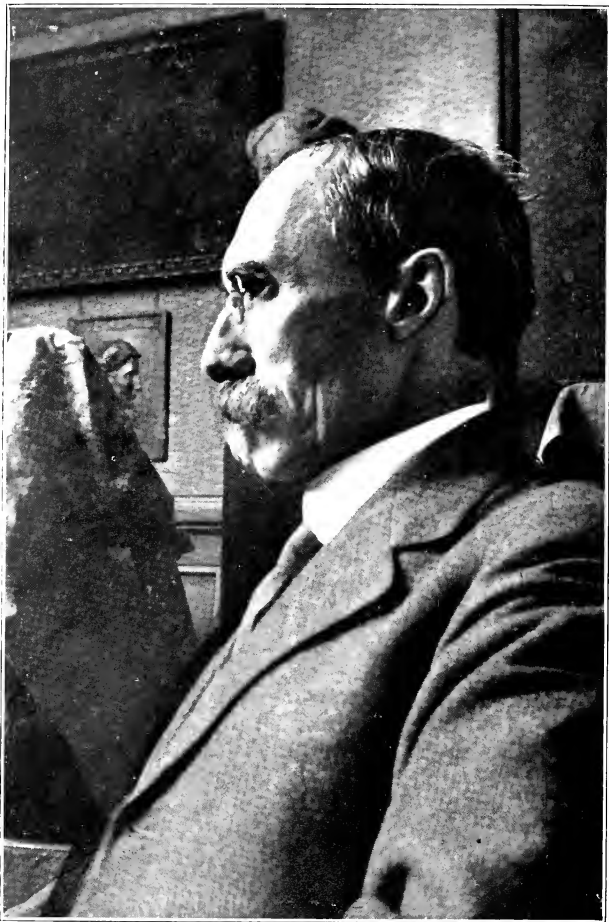
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DR. GILBERT REID

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THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF CHINA

BY JOHN GILBERT REID

THIRTY-FIVE years ago, in the autumn of 1894, there returned to China a thirty-six-year-old American Presbyterian missionary. He took along with him a sum of about fourteen hundred dollars. He had no "home board" backing to depend on, yet he was launching a new independent mission. He called it A Mission Among the Higher Classes in China. His name was Gilbert Reid.

Gilbert Reid himself had collected the money which he took to China; part of it was contributed by his mother, wife of John Reid, a Presbyterian minister in New York State, and part by himself. He had only vague promises of further contributions in future. He had resigned from the Presbyterian mission staff in China, after a service of nearly twelve years, because the home Board of Foreign Missions had declined to permit him to work among the higher classes in China. The mission staff in Shantung province, China, where Gilbert Reid had been stationed since 1882, however, had urged that he be appointed for such a new undertaking.

When Gilbert Reid returned to China, this country was engaged in a futile war with Japan. The war ended disastrously for China. Assistance from abroad, therefore, was welcome, and his offer to help proved acceptable. Gilbert Reid initiated in Peking a new era in friendly contacts between Chinese officials and other nationals. He wore Chinese clothes, including a queue of his own, lived in a small Chinese house, ate Chinese food, adapted himself to Chinese manners and customs, but followed his own Christian faith. He was welcomed in Chinese and Manchu homes where no "bar-

barian" had ever entered; and in return he received in his humble dwelling high officials of the Chinese Government.

Gilbert Reid did not attempt to proselytize; he did not convert the higher classes into blue Presbyterians; he sought merely to influence them in favor of reform, of progress, of international cooperation. In order to pay his small bills, he acted as correspondent for various papers, in China and in England; for his funds were not sufficient to cover personal expenses. Obstacles of varied kinds met him; some officials were suspicious, some fellow-missionaries were contemptuous; but he persisted and gradually won over those who protested.

On New Year's Day 1897 he received a cablegram from his mother reporting the death of his father, and at once he decided to prepare for a trip home. Before he left, however, he made plans to extend his work. Hitherto it had depended entirely on his personal efforts, aided by a few Chinese employes; but now he secured the cooperation gratis at Peking of a great sinologue, Dr. W. A. P. Martin, an American, who consented to supervise his work in China while the founder was absent at home. Furthermore, a host of Chinese and Manchu scrolls and banners, to the number of over two hundred, were received by Gilbert Reid in honor and in memory of his father, a Presbyterian minister in far away America, a man unknown to these non-Christian officials in conservative China.

The main event, however, lay in the fact that, for the first time, the Chinese Foreign Office issued an official sanction for the proposed "Institute of Learning" to be established by "the American Missionary, Gilbert Reid," and promising to grant further assistance should this proposal be carried out. Therefore, en route home, Gilbert Reid launched in earnest a campaign for building funds and raised money in the principal port cities of China, from both Chinese officials and foreign nationals. It was the formal beginning of the International Institute of China. En route home, also, Gilbert Reid became engaged to marry Miss Sallie Bell Reynolds, of Columbia, S. C., piano teacher in the Southern Methodist church's McTyeire School for girls, at Shanghai, China. The wedding occurred later on in the bride's home town.

The Spanish-American war in 1898 somewhat dampened the enthusiasm of friends whom Gilbert Reid requested to help finance

his new International Institute. He was able to form an American committee in New York to shoulder the burden of raising funds for the work in China, and not only did he make this beginning in his own country, but he and his wife went to England as well. Leaving his wife there, and making London his headquarters, Gilbert Reid commenced a campaign which extended from Edinburgh to Paris, Berlin, St. Petersburg, Stockholm, and Copenhagen. Although committees were formed in several European countries and a certain amount of money was raised or promised, the actual financial result of the trip was not great. Nevertheless, the founder of the new Chinese-foreign friendship movement felt hopeful, as he had found much sympathy and interest among British and European men of influence.

While in England, the Gilbert Reids added a third member; this was myself; so, when we returned to New York, en route to China, there were three Reids rather than one, compared with two years before when Gilbert Reid started alone on his trip from China.

We arrived back in China the autumn of 1899. Gilbert Reid's mother had passed away a year after his father, while he was at home; so his family ties no longer bound him in any way to New York. During his absence from China, a promising reform movement, initiated by the young Manchu Emperor Kuang Hsu, had been halted by his aunt, the famous Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi, and a period of reactionary government had set in. Friends of Chinese progress abandoned hope in China's higher classes as an instrument through which to promote harmony, truth, and other lofty principles.

Within the year of our arrival in Peking, the Boxer uprising took place, we were besieged in the British legation at Peking, my father was wounded, and my mother and I barely survived the hardships of a terrible summer's experience. At the close of the siege, with the Manchu court refugeeing in west China, all work among the higher classes naturally was at a standstill. Gilbert Reid earned a livelihood by doing newspaper work again and interpreting for the British army at Peking. My mother and I left for Shanghai to recuperate, as we had no home board to pay our expenses back to the United States. But we recovered and duly returned to Peking in 1901.

Gilbert Reid consulted his many Chinese official friends and

was persuaded to transfer his International Institute to a safer, saner part of China. In 1902 we moved to Shanghai. From this time dates the property era of the young Institute; which is another way of saying the successful era, judging by standards accepted everywhere. The building funds were increased; a fine site of land, in the French concession, was purchased by a group of Chinese; and the first building was erected. The present buildings of the International Institute of China were all completed before the world war commenced in 1914; most of the money was contributed by Americans, chiefly by Mr. Wm. G. Low, of New York, in memory of his father who had been engaged in China trade. The property today is worth \$100,000.

While Gilbert Reid had carried on classes in English at Peking, prior to the siege, schools of a reputable character being few, the principal work in Shanghai was also educational. At that time many Chinese desired their sons to enter a school managed by foreigners provided foreign religion was not compulsory as part of the curriculum. Thus the Institute school developed and prospered. In addition, however, other forms of activity were pursued; lectures, social gatherings, and all sorts of "uplifting" work were undertaken. The dozen years before the world war, the Institute and its director were known throughout China, and tourists always asked suggestions from Gilbert Reid. Prominent visitors, both Chinese and foreign, were entertained, and the Institute was a haven of goodwill.

In the summer of 1909 we again visited Peking. Both the Empress Dowager Tzu Hsi and the Emperor Kuang Hsu had died the previous autumn, within a day of each other, and the late Emperor's baby nephew had succeeded him. A period of reform and change had been ushered in. Friendly feeling between Chinese officials and foreigners was increasing, social intercourse spreading. The Foreign Office formally renewed its sanction of the Institute, contributed a sum of money in token of approval, and paid special honor to Mr. Wm. G. Low for his repeated gifts to the Institute. Gilbert Reid felt his work was bearing fruit.

In the winter, however, it was decided to close the school at Shanghai, for various reasons. Gilbert Reid was planning a trip to the United States and Europe, again; jealousy had been aroused among missionary institutions by a prosperous school which did

not stress Christianity as an entrance requirement; and educational work by Chinese was growing under Government encouragement. During the absence of the director from Shanghai, his place was taken by two Chinese co-directors and by an international committee.

We Reids now were four, having added Jean some time before; and we sailed from Shanghai in April 1910 aboard the Dollar freighter *Bessie Dollar*, for San Pedro, California. Captain Robert Dollar, then just beginning his present extensive shipping undertakings, allowed us to travel free of charge, except for meals at a nominal price of five dollars a day. We reached San Pedro about thirty-five days after leaving Shanghai. Gilbert Reid left his family in South Carolina for the rest of the year while he went north to campaign on behalf of his work in China. In July, 1911, we went across to England and Europe; our return to Shanghai in October coincided almost with the outbreak of the revolution against the Manchu dynasty.

Gilbert Reid had raised sufficient funds while at home to afford three new staff members at Shanghai. Thus reinforced, he was at more liberty to concentrate his own efforts along lines he preferred. Already he had published a series of books in Chinese. During the winter he tried strenuously to harmonize the conflicting points of view between the republican Chinese group at Shanghai and the imperial Government at Peking. He was threatened by both sides, each of which accused him of being in the employ of the other. Yet he interviewed the military commander at Nanking in November to persuade him against further warfare, and in January he visited Peking to advise his Manchu and Chinese friends to urge abdication of the Manchu dynasty, in order to prevent prolonged bloodshed.

With the inauguration of a republic in China, Gilbert Reid bent his efforts to make it a success. A reception was given by the Institute to Dr. Sun Yat-sen, leader of the republican revolutionaries, who duly planted a palm tree symbolizing peace. Social gatherings and lectures were held at the Institute and articles published to promote peace in China. A regular series of Sunday lectures on the different religions of the world was begun at the Institute, the one rule being that no one should attack another's religion. Gilbert Reid himself gave a series of lectures under the Billings fel-

lowship in appreciation of the good points of other religious faiths, comparing them with the best in Christian faith. These lectures subsequently were published in book form by The Open Court Publishing Company, under the title of *A Christian's Appreciation of Other Faiths* (1921).

An international committee representing twenty nationalities was organized in 1914 to promote establishment at the Institute of an international exhibit, to help trade, commerce, and industry, as well as to link the cultures of the world. Gilbert Reid went to Peking in the summer as delegate of this committee to request the official support of the Chinese Government and of the foreign legations. The Chinese Government, through President Yuan Shih-kai and his ministers, agreed to help such a plan if foreign governments would and promised to grant a sum of money. The promise, however, was made just prior to the outbreak of war in Europe, and the plan never materialized, owing to the immediate war situation halting all forms of international cooperation in China.

During the war years the Institute continued as best it could the various types of work already begun. These included, aside from religious and social meetings, the development of a library and of an exhibit of Chinese art and culture. A monthly Chinese publication was issued and sent to Chinese officials, and personal contacts by the director and his staff were maintained with prominent Chinese and foreigners. In 1916, while in Peking, the director held a reception in honor of the republican parliament. But, with the spread of the European war to Chinese waters and to Tsingtao, early in the conflict, repercussions shortly were felt by the International Institute.

Members who belonged to opposite belligerent groups soon caused a split; for allied members were warned not to have intercourse with Germans and Austrians. Consequently allied members resigned or stayed away, since the director did not ask German members to resign. His defense of Chinese neutral rights, in 1914 and later, following the invasion of Shantung province by Britain's ally, Japan, also caused allied members to boycott the Institute. Funds ran short, because international work was not deemed practicable at such a time in Shanghai.

Gilbert Reid found himself once more in a position where he was obliged to earn a livelihood outside of his own particular work.

Again he resorted to newspaper work; in January 1917 he moved back to Peking where he had acquired control of the Peking *Evening Post* from its Chinese owner. Through editorship of this paper he not only supported himself, thus indirectly assisting the Institute, but also continued the task of supporting the principles of peace in China and international goodwill. The direct result, however, was closure of his paper after both the United States and China had entered the war against Germany. On the occasion of his sixtieth birthday, November 29, 1917, Gilbert Reid received the congratulations of a host of prominent Chinese officials, ranging from the President down, and of foreign friends; less than a month afterward he was suddenly arrested by the American authorities in China and deported to Manila. The sole explanation given him was that the Chinese Government had requested that he be removed from China, thus the United States Government was forced to deport him.

The next few months were spent in the Philippines, where Gilbert Reid was constantly the guest of a large Chinese colony. The Chinese consul-general at Manila, having engaged his services as tutor in his family, was compelled to relinquish these services, because a foreign spy had reported to Peking and the Chinese government had been compelled to interfere. Subsequently Gilbert Reid learned that his deportation had been arranged, not by the Chinese Government, which had merely been a tool, but by certain foreign legations at Peking, which objected to his efforts on behalf of peace.

In July, 1918, Gilbert Reid reached New York to rejoin his family who had preceded him there a year previously. During the next three years he remained in the United States, at no expense to the Institute which in the interval functioned quietly at Shanghai under Chinese supervision. Before returning to Shanghai in August 1921, Gilbert Reid participated in a presidential campaign by criticizing the Wilson administration for allowing Japan to keep certain ex-German rights and properties in Shantung, China; he also published two books, one already mentioned, the other entitled *China: Captive or Free?*, a political book. These books were favorably reviewed in the American press; the political book was printed in England and in Germany, where it was translated into German.

Soon after reaching Shanghai, Gilbert Reid once more visited

Peking and decided to locate there and to establish a branch of the Institute in the capital city. The Institute had recently been incorporated under American law and its machinery had been reorganized; but officers and trustees resided in China, representing nationalities which had supported the Institute in past years. An international aspect was again possible.

For five years Gilbert Reid maintained his headquarters at Peking. Frequently he visited the Institute at Shanghai, to attend meetings, but he wished to secure a site and a building in Peking as well. Owing to successive civil wars and governmental changes, no progress in this direction was made; yet meetings were held, particularly inter-religious meetings, and a weekly bilingual publication, *The International Journal*, was launched. Such prominent men as Rabindranath Tagore, the Indian poet-philosopher; the Panshen Lama, spiritual leader of Tibet; and Dr. Charles E. Jefferson, of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York, were among the guests of honor at these conferences. Inter-religious conferences also were held in Shanghai.

By 1926, however, the Institute decided to concentrate on its Shanghai work, and Gilbert Reid returned south from Peking. Less than two years later Peking no longer remained the capital of China. But, in the meantime, Gilbert Reid had entered hospital for a double operation, which he survived more than six months, in the end passing away September 30, 1927, after a valiant struggle to recover in order to continue his life work for China and international goodwill.

His death caused a problem of great perplexity to the Institute. The officers and trustees undertook to determine the best method of perpetuating the Institute in accordance with its charter. No successor could be found to fill the place left vacant by the Institute's founder, and eventually, in April 1928, a meeting of members agreed to the following reorganization:

The Institute aims, charter, and property should remain unchanged;

The title of Director-in-chief should not be used in future by anyone else, being reserved in memory of Gilbert Reid, the founder; but instead there should be a President, who would be an American citizen resident in the United States and member of the Institute, and an Honorary President, who would be a Chinese citizen

resident in China, supported by a board of trustees, who should remain in charge of the Institute property, with an American supervisor and a Chinese associate supervisor of work at Shanghai.

An elementary school for poor Chinese children should be supported by the Institute at Shanghai, while a greater portion of the Institute building should be used for a hospital for Chinese women and children, these being two new forms of work of a useful nature which might be managed by Chinese under auspices of the Institute, though the latter would continue to maintain its office, meeting room, and library;

And, until further notice, the only paid staff members should be Chinese, resident in Shanghai, while all officers, trustees, and others connected with the Institute should serve gratis.

At present the officers of the Institute consist of an American secretary, an American and a Chinese joint treasurer, and an American honorary vice-president, while the trustees, resident in Shanghai, consist of three Americans, two Chinese, and a German. So far the American President and Chinese Honorary President of the Institute have not been determined. The new school and hospital have been launched and are progressing in good shape, under Chinese management; in fact, today, the trend in China is for Chinese to manage all forms of enterprise in their own country. Nevertheless, the Institute remains an international organization because it is incorporated under American law, its officers and trustees, as well as members, represent various nationalities, and its property is situated in a French concession, across the border from an international settlement, in a Chinese city.

The new hospital, superintended by Chinese women doctors and nurses, is financed largely by Chinese. A certain amount of charity work, both in the clinic and in the wards, is done, while the school for poor Chinese children is open to charity pupils who cannot afford to enter other schools. Public schools in China are still absent, and hospitals for women and children are only too rare.

Through the kind offer of Mr. Louis Mayer, sculptor of Eugene V. Debs, Walt Whitman, and Senator Robert M. LaFollette, a bust of my father, Gilbert Reid, has been cast into bronze and is offered to the International Institute free, provided other friends raise the sum of five hundred dollars to be donated to the Institute. The New York committee of the Institute is planning an appeal for

subscriptions to secure this bust, and any interested persons may write either Mr. G. T. Pearsons, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, as Hon. Treasurer of the New York committee, or myself, at 1526 Walnut Street, Berkeley, California, as secretary of the Institute.

If the Institute were fortunate enough today to have an annual financial support from this country, its work might be extended in many directions. As it is, owing to limited income, its work is likewise limited to what seems most practicable and essential in a time of so much change and confusion in China. I trust, in time, the International Institute work in China may receive added life and that an organization along similar lines may be feasible also in this country. The principal aims, after all, are to help China help herself and to better friendly relations between Chinese and other nationals. This platform is broad enough for anyone.

THE WHOLE DUTY OF MAN

BY DR. GEORGE YEISLEY RUSK

I

IN recent years belief in a revealed religion has become impossible for the great majority of people who have become informed with regard to the historical origins of Christianity. For them it is necessary that ethics assume and merit the position of authority formerly held by the practical teachings of Christianity,—if they are to be saved from an unperceived drifting toward the rapids of practical materialism which after not many days can issue only in the vortex of pessimism. Man is too logical a creature to live happily with *no* answer to the ultimate questions of his duty to his fellows, and he is too spiritual to do so with any answer which does not somehow do justice to his very spirituality.

Candor forces us to admit that up to the present time no system of ethics intellectually and spiritually satisfactory has ever been formulated. In so far as an ethics has been self-consistent it has necessarily been written from one rigidly defined point of view. Therefore, although it has dealt in some fashion with all the problems of conduct, it obviously has done so from only one point of view, and so has not been able to do full justice to all ethical truth. This is often inadvertently acknowledged even in the systems themselves. And therefore each system, if consistently carried out in practice, would lead to flagrant injustice.

Let us consider first, for example, the a priori ethics of Kant. If, as Kant teaches, an act is not moral which is in accord with inclination, none is moral which will make anyone happy. If so, then one ought constantly to do what will harm, or at most be indifferent to the good of, himself and others. But this conclusion contradicts the conception of ethics held in common by Kant and

all men, and it permits the commission of every injustice. Again, Bentham, in naming the greatest good of the greatest number as the end of ethical action, evidently repudiated the utilitarian basis of his ethics, for utilitarianism cannot deny itself long enough to look beyond immediate passion to the whole of the personality and to the entire company of mankind. But if utilitarianism does not supply a basis for disinterested action, it must, like the Kantian absolutism, countenance every form of injustice. And finally, the theories of self-realization provide no objective definition of the self, and so at least permit an identification of the self with immediate desire. But actually immediate desire never is regarded by these systems as the whole of the personality. Thus these theories also are self-contradictory and set no bar to indulgence in every injustice. Ethics has had a history quite as contradictory as has theology—each system being opposed to all others and not even at peace with itself. If the history of ethics has not been as turbulent as that of theology, it has not been so only because to ethics humanity has never entrusted its supreme interests. The ethics of the future, the true ethics, while forming a consistent system and recognizing all concrete values, must not be a one-sided, contradictory, organization of human relationships—a mere abstraction. But how can we conceive of such an ethics?

We can construct a valid and authoritative ethics, I believe, if we bear in mind that we get into our unfortunately abstract ethics by forgetting that ethics is ultimately *practical*. We forget that it deals with full-orbed acts and not with one-sided abstractions. Let us therefore cast about for some *acts* to be the basis of ethics—its organizing principle, if such a phrase is not already too abstract a designation for the basis of a *concrete* system of ethics—a designation which will lead us imperceptibly into an abstract system. I would suggest that we consider if we shall not have in the following acts that basis of a concrete system of ethics for which we are looking:—

- (1) The provision for one's self and dependents of a comfortable way of living.
- (2) The provision of a fund for taking part in various charities.
- (3) The cultivation of the non-competitive values.

It will be noticed that these acts form a necessary, Hegelian, trilogy of thesis (personal and family interest), antithesis (the in-

terest of others) and synthesis (the common interest of self and others). The acts ascend from the practical to the spiritual. Let us consider each of these fundamental duties in some detail.

II

Everyone would admit, I believe, that it is the duty of every able-bodied and able-minded man to provide a comfortable way of living for his dependents. But they would differ as to just what constitutes comfortable living. I think that all would agree that it certainly includes the provision of the conditions of efficient living. That is, I think that everyone would agree that it is the duty of every normal man to strive to earn wages large enough to buy a healthful environment and labor-saving devices for his family, for thus his family is enabled to produce the most for itself and the world. Since some families are capable of making better use of formal leisure than are others, it is ethically right for some to spend much more on themselves than for others. A trip to Europe, for instance, may bring forth a hundredfold in the soil of one family, but leave sterile that of another. In the former case the taking of such a trip would be ethical; in the latter it would not be so.

But when we have gone this far in a definition of ethical expenditures we have not exactly prescribed the duty of man with regard to his standard of living, and I for one am glad that we have not done so. Exact definition of ethical duty prevents the rhythmic action of the human mind within limits which modern psychiatry teaches us is absolutely essential to psychic health. Man needs a goal but not a straight-jacket for normal, effective, happy living. Duties cannot be exactly defined because the values to which they refer cannot be rated absolutely. One value can frequently be substituted for another. No one value is essential for ethical living. We often come to appreciate a certain new value only because we have by chance played the harlequin to another now held in high reverence.

Perhaps we can best make clear how values can be substituted for each other, and show why it is impossible to enumerate those which should govern the lives of men—in particular with regard to their expenditures—by quoting a passage from Lamb's *Essays of Elia* (Everyman Edition, p. 288). In this passage the delights of an intense enjoyment of a few objects of art, such as is forced

upon the poor, are substituted for the superficial enjoyment of many such objects which is inevitable for the rich:—

“‘I wish the good old times would come again’, she (Lamb’s fictitious cousin) said, ‘when we were not quite so rich. I do not mean that I want to be poor; but there was a middle state’—so she was pleased to ramble on,—‘in which I am sure we were a great deal happier. A purchase is but a purchase, now that you have money enough and to spare. Formerly it used to be a triumph. When we coveted a cheap luxury (and, O! how much ado I had to get you to consent in those times!)—we were used to having a debate two or three days before, and to weigh the *for* and *against*, and think what we might spare it out of, and what saving we could hit upon, that should be an equivalent. A thing was worth buying then, when we felt the money that we paid for it.’

“‘Do you remember the brown suit, which you made to hang upon you, till all your friends cried shame upon you, it grew so threadbare—and all because of that folio Beaumont and Fletcher, which you dragged home late at night from Barker’s in Covent Garden? Do you remember how we eyed it for weeks before we could make up our minds to the purchase, and had not come to a determination till it was near ten o’clock of the Saturday night, when you set off from Islington, fearing you should be too late—and when the old bookseller with some grumbling opened his shop, and by the twinkling taper (for he was setting bedwards) lighted out the relic from his dusty treasures—and when you lugged it home, wishing it were twice as cumbersome—and when you presented it to me—and when we were exploring the perfectness of it (*collating* you called it)—and while I was repairing some of the loose leaves with paste, which your impatience would not suffer to be left till daybreak—was there no pleasure in being a poor man? or can those neat black clothes which you wear now, and are so careful to keep brushed, since we have become rich and finical, give you half the honest vanity, with which you flaunted it about in that overworn suit—your old corbeau—for four or five weeks longer than you should have done, to pacify your conscience for the mighty sum of fifteen—or sixteen shillings was it?—a great affair we thought it then—which you had lavished on the old folio. Now you can afford to buy any book that pleases you, but I do not see that you ever bring me home any nice old purchases now.’”

A second question naturally arises with regard to man's duty in providing for his family: how far should he injure others in securing what he wants for himself? He should get out of his present business if, when conducted honestly in respect to both consumer and employee, it does not provide an adequate living—even at the cost of reducing his family to the bare necessities of living. If he can earn an adequate living at other employment, he should do so; if not, he should without shame depend upon charity, for society owes an honest man a living. In every concrete case, however, the question arises whether the reason a man cannot make a living is his honesty or is some lack in himself either of mental ability, of emotional stability due to psychological complexes or of imperfect training. Since society demands such a high standard of efficiency today and since it is always possible to read a man's failures in terms of the environment (luxurious or poverty-stricken) in which he was brought up, when a man finds himself *for any cause* unable to provide for his family he should turn to charity for support till an adequate position can be secured for him and he be fitted for it. If adequate charity, even, cannot be secured for him, a man is justified in being dishonest, for a society which does not provide even charity for its members cannot make any ethical claims upon the individual and should be destroyed as a result of a growing lack of mutual confidence. One can make evident the evils of society only by himself acting evilly in view of them. If an earthquake, war, or other "act of God" has made temporarily impossible the earning of a living for one's self or family, the duty to do so does not exist. The suffering which ensues has nothing at all to do with human morality,—whatever we may think about the way it ought to affect the divine conscience.

In support of the contention made above that in extreme and irremediable need a man may be dishonest, I shall adduce the opinion of the leading Christian theologians in the days before property became sacrosanct in the western world:—

"The Fathers, as we have seen, held that almsgiving was an act of justice, not of mercy, because the rights of private property cannot alter the fact that God meant the earth to furnish its fruits for the maintenance of all men. The Canonists, too, set out very clearly the principle that no man has really the right to hold for himself more than he needs. Gratian cites, as from St. Ambrose,

a passage denouncing as unjust and avaricious the man who consumes in luxury what might have supplied the needs of those who are in want, and maintaining that it is as great a crime to refuse the necessaries of life to those who are in want as it is to take from a man the things which are his . . . St. Thomas . . . maintains that . . . if there is evident and urgent need, a man may legitimately take either openly or by stealth what he needs . . . In the case of extreme necessity, St. Thomas says, all things are common." (*Property*, edited by Bishop Gore, p. 136).

A nice, critical question arises when one considers what a man ought to do if he faces this situation: that he cannot earn his living honestly if he has a child, but that he knows ways of earning dishonestly the money necessary for the wise rearing of a child. He should not be dishonest and bring a child into being, for a life based upon persistent dishonesty would not be worthwhile for either parent or child. But the man would be justified in bringing a child into the world and then in accepting all possible charity and in joining whatever reformatory movements exist in order that larger opportunities might be provided for all workers of average ability.

It may be claimed, however, that decisions as to whether or not to bring children into the world are not based on abstract ethical considerations—as the foregoing discussion would imply. I am not so sure. I believe that abstract considerations do lie behind the concrete problems which parents consider when discussing procreation. Certainly it is a general rule that outstanding idealism grows dim when marriage and family responsibility press upon a man, and often the necessities of the family, hovering like a bird of prey over a man's head, lead him to employ shady business methods. One need not be too careful, however, about foreseeing how one's family will be provided for before bringing it into being. For the struggle against odds and the necessity of taking advantage of every opportunity—however adventitious—which a family which is plainly not secure must experience will give the children in it just the training essential to great success—as an acrobat, the minister of an unorthodox church, a candidate for the presidency of the United States or a stock broker. I once heard a man say of another that he had the native ability to be a great success—and would have become so if only he had been born a bastard.

III

In addition to providing for one's family a man should earn and set aside funds to be expended in charity. The size of these funds should be proportioned to the smallness of the increment of additional cost which its amassing would necessitate in the sale price of the article which he manufactures, or upon the size of his income if he cannot dictate the sale price of his "line"—either because of the severely competitive conditions in his industry or because he has not an executive position; or if he is in a profession and works on salary. Thus a man who needs to add, say, ten cents on the hundred dollars to the retail price of his article or deduct ten cents on the hundred dollars from the pay of his employees in order to amass a million dollars for charity should do so. But one who would need in the former case to add one dollar on a hundred or in the latter to deduce one on a hundred ought not to create a fund of more than perhaps ten thousand dollars for charity. Of course a man who works on a fixed income or on a salary should give to charity in proportion to his income or salary and in inverse proportion to his necessary expenses.

It is not right for a man to amass a great charity fund at the expense of his ultimate consumers or of his employees. If this were generally done, too large a place would be given to charity in the general economic scheme of things and honest labor would be discouraged. Yet it is requisite that some money be earned in order that it may be given to others. In the first place, the very fact that a man can earn the money suggests that for it he can give more immediately valuable service to society than can anyone else. Therefore it is socially important that he earns it—earn it even if he cannot well spend it on himself and so will find it almost necessary to give it to charity. In the second place, many people who are capable of making excellent deferred payments to society for all they receive can give small service till aided by charity. Them it is morally necessary to aid. They may produce a hundred-fold upon the investment made in them by their benefactors. The provisions for the needs of the able poor also have this subsidiary effect: it enables them to force the comfortably rich to remain at work in order to retain their relative place in society. Thus one may through wise giving to specific institutions or persons raise to some extent the general level of national attainment. In the

third place, there is an element of chance in human success and failure. As we have already pointed out, it is always possible to read a failure—if not due to congenital weakness, in which case society must assume permanent charge of the sufferer—as due to the warping effect of an environment in which society has allowed the mal-adapted person to grow up from earliest infancy. It is only right, therefore, that society should seek increasingly by wise charity to rectify the more glaring freaks of fortune and the effects of unfavorable environments upon the individuals who have been harmed by them. And finally, in establishing the poor in comfortable circumstances their benefactors increase the actual consumption of goods (physical and mental) by society—including those which the benefactors themselves produce. Thus by their charities they increase their own incomes. Also by increasing the number of efficient workers by their charity they decrease the cost of living in the country, and so the cost of their own living.

IV

The third duty of man is to cultivate the non-competitive values. By the non-competitive values we mean, in the first place, the artistic values, for these a person can enjoy without lessening their enjoyment by others, for instance,—listening to music, viewing art, taking part in conversation. Perhaps the chief question which naturally would arise with regard to their cultivation is: how much should one spend in doing so? That depends upon the extent of his genius and upon whether or not he hopes ever to entertain others by the use of his gifts. If there is no marked ability, there can be no absolute rule. We must revert to what we said above about the expenses which a man is justified in incurring for his family. Even if by certain concrete expenditures some values are neglected, others, however, will nevertheless by the same expenditures be advanced; and so, if the cultivation of values is the consistent aim of one's life, his life will be as full as possible of some sort of value, and that is the only justified goal for anyone.

By the non-competitive values we mean, in the second place, the virtues. The cultivation of no virtue prevents its cultivation by others; and most virtues immediately, all ultimately, bring men into reconciliation. We mean *all* the virtues, but *no one* taken singly, for each virtue taken singly leads off upon a path diverse from the

others, a path at length ending in a quagmire of absurdity. Thus if with Paul of Tarsus one puts love upon the supreme throne, high and lifted up, he finds that the requisite devotion to it requires that he approve of unworthy forms of conduct. If he enlarges the boundaries of love to include hate of the unloveable, he has robbed love of any distinctive meaning. If to avoid this predicament, one name redemption of wrong-doers as the final purpose of his life, he will become oversensitive to the faults of others, self-righteous, hard. Ever reasoning acutely in defense of his own position, he will be incapable of seeing what lies beyond it. But something always does lie beyond every concrete judgment of creatures of time and space. No judgment is absolute, fit to be the standard to which all other truth must logically conform,—except only a devotion to *all* values such as we here advocate. If one attempt to be faithful to every virtue taken singly, he will be plunged into a “sad weighing and discussion of sin,” from which the tortured soul can never be set free. For, as we have seen, each virtue leads in an opposite direction. No sooner would one heed the call of one than he would hear the cry of the rest. And in the service of no one of the others would he find greater peace. The only possibility for ethical living lies in a serene devotion to *all* the virtues conceived as an ultimate unity. But, it will be asked, how can such a general law determine concrete speech and conduct?

(1) A general law of morality can determine concrete speech and conduct, in the first place, because the mind in the last analysis is one. There is only one stream of consciousness. Therefore there is no such thing at the time of action—however we may botanize afterwards—as a general intention as separated from the determination to do some specific act.

(2) In the second place, the life of one who has sworn high fealty to all the virtues is so ennobled that he envies no one. Not all the wealth of Atlantis could enrich him. Therefore, for him it is not possible to encroach upon the rights of others. His acts and speech must be essentially just. *Noblesse oblige* in all his relations with his fellow men becomes the inevitable expression of the acknowledged imperial nature of his soul. Yet as his patent of nobility has come only from his service to the non-competitive values, it cannot inspire within his soul a prideful distinction between himself and other men. He must simply rejoice at every

evidence that he can find in the lives of others that the ancient virtues increasingly extend their sway.

(3) In the third place, one who governs his life by all the virtues acts virtuously in concrete situations because he will not allow any virtue taken singly to assume undue importance in his decision. He will act in view of the sum total of all his past experience and of his unprejudiced understanding of the situation before him. These will give the special form that his general ethical purpose will take. If his decision is not in accord with that of another man, he will listen to the argument of the other without prejudice. He will listen without the arbitrary protruding of any special part of past experience which prevents the judging of the argument on the basis of the totality of past experience. When one does this he is acting normally. Of course one who claims that he is acting in view of all past experience and the objective facts of the present situation may not actually be doing so; but in that case he is not sincerely trying to serve non-competitive values either—whatever his claims may be. If through some defect of past experience one act unjustly in any case, the injustice is not a moral fault on the actor's part, and knowledge of its consequences will soon repair the defect in his experience upon which it was based. By describing ethics so one makes it practical. He makes the good life possible for all men. For all men, except those under unrealized nervous strain, can control the obtruding special idea by the sum total of experience.

(4) In the fourth place, a general devotion to ethical values can determine concrete deeds because it is possible to embody in a concrete deed several conflicting values. This can be done by the use of different organs of the body,—while condemning with words one can reveal a brotherly feeling by putting a hand on the shoulder. It can be done by expressing a position as one's own which is a compromise between all the various truths implicit in a situation. It can be done by expressing successively (perhaps at different times) the various truths implicit in a situation.

Concrete ethical decisions, we say, depend upon the special nature of one's past experience and the special nature of each situation that presents itself. Therefore it is impossible more exactly than we have done to show how a general devotion to ethical ideals determines concrete deeds. It is never possible to recount fully the

sum total of a man's past experience (conscious and unconscious) and to describe fully any concrete situation. Even the United States Supreme Court with its libraries of precedents to guide its judgments will not attempt to say what the general law means concretely—except in application to the exhaustive descriptions of a concrete situation given by opposing counsel. And it is willing to give judgment on the basis of even such descriptions only because no completer knowledge can be had. And when the decision is rendered, ideal justice is never done. The judgment of the court at best is what the litigants should have known that it would be in view of all previous relevant judgments. But we are considering the problem of absolute right, for with it alone does ethics deal. We are concerned about facts that can never be even approximately determined and about the inner elusive motives of men's deeds—not merely, like the courts, in their proved deeds in certain largely standardized relationships. Therefore we cannot apply a general devotion to ethical values to concrete situations *with any exactness*, that is, we cannot relate them by any logical process. We can only affirm, as we have done, that devotion to all ethical values enables one to be just in concrete decisions because every mind is ultimately one, because such devotion ennobles men, because men are thus saved from being led astray by any separate virtue, and because they are able to express many conflicting values in a single deed. We can only add, as we did in the case of the artistic values, that in so far as one in any case fails to advance one value he will be advancing another—if he is sincerely devoted to all values. Thus if one tells a minister that his discourse was very interesting—with a particular intonation—the minister is not as hurt as if he had been told the full truth, and so charity has been promoted, but even so he probably gets as much of the truth as he can use.

V

If one accepts the doctrine of ethics which has been advocated in this paper, then, in the first place, all meticulous, distressing self-examination and inexorable self-condemnation for not equally forwarding every virtue in every deed will be done away. They will flee like shadows before the ascending sun. Then one will take a carefree, joyous, welcoming, and so vital, attitude to life. And this

attitude will enable one easily to correct, as opportunity presents itself, the inevitable onesidedness of any particular action. But if one repudiates it, if he tries to be absolutely correct in every instance, the soul will become so sensitive to evil that it will cling to its accustomed virtues in increasingly specialized forms, carry them to extremes, ignoring the others, and in the resultant conflicts with the sum of virtue and with persons with different codes the personality will become permanently distraught, suspicious, unjust.

In the second place, those who take what I may call the vital attitude to ethics, will not, as the legalist must, by a priori standards automatically rule out from consideration large classes of action which, although innocent and relaxing are not the most worthy of pursuit at the time. Thus the vitalists get the experience and enjoyment of these kinds of action as they pass through the mind prior to rejection in favor of the actions to be preferred. Therefore their lives are incomparably richer than those of the legalists. And their lives are not as defenseless before temptation as are those of the legalists because, having often viewed all aspects of experience, none can take them by surprise; and because their moral natures are strong by reason of repeated exercise upon innumerable occasions.

In the third place, the ethical vitalist may find support for his ethical living in religion. For God is simply that unity of all values, which we have named the true standard of all living. The only absolute unity is personality; so if all values are unified, it must be in a personal God. John Calvin, as part of his doctrine of election, taught that no deed could be good unless done unto the greater glory of God. So we have taught that each act derives its virtue from devotion to the sum total of ethical values. Religion, then, differs from ethics only in emphasizing the *final unity* of non-competitive values in personality, that is in God, and in inviting the neophyte to make the non-competitive values regnant in his life by using the most powerful motive known to men,—that of personal attraction and devotion. So viewed, religion loses its special, contradictory, obsolete commands. It strips itself of every impediment and is prepared to stride thru the ages abreast of the race, ever calling mankind to transcend this or that partial truth in a synthetic truth, because at all times it reminds of the holiest, highest. And the deliverance from the questioning pursuit of this or

that one-sided abstraction of duty thus wrought will bring to the human spirit a unity, a peace, a freedom and a power which in the past it has fully known only when the saints have mounted upon the concrete commandments of their religions into the throne room of the Eternal, and there have received words which made them unwilling to serve aught less perfect than God forever more.

To labor for those whom we freely love and for those who need succor from our abundance and to cultivate those values which, like the widow's cruse of oil, ever replenish themselves for our need and the need of all men—this is the whole duty of man. Surely the way of life is broad and straight. Wherefore, having divested ourselves of every needless anxiety from the days of our ignorance, let us, O child of man, with fortitude and rejoicing, fare forth upon it!

THE SYNAGOGUE OF SATAN

BY MAXIMILIAN J. RUDWIN

THE Synagogue of Satan is of greater antiquity and potency than the Church of God. The fear of a malign being was earlier in operation and more powerful in its appeal among primitive peoples than the love of a benign being. Fear, it should be remembered, was the first incentive of religious worship. Propitiation of harmful powers was the first phase of all sacrificial rites. This is perhaps the meaning of the old Gnostic tradition that when Solomon was summoned from his tomb and asked, "Who first named the name of God?" he answered, "The Devil."

Furthermore, every religion that preceded Christianity was a form of devil-worship in the eyes of the new faith. The early Christians actually believed that all pagans were devil-worshippers inasmuch as all pagan gods were in Christian eyes disguised demons who caused themselves to be adored under different names in different countries. It was believed that the spirits of hell took the form of idols, working through them, as St. Thomas Aquinas said, certain marvels which excited the wonder and admiration of their worshippers (*Summa theologica* II.ii.94).

This viewpoint was not confined to the Christians. It has ever been a custom among men to send to the Devil all who do not belong to their own particular caste, class or cult. Each nation or religion has always claimed the Deity for itself and assigned the Devil to other nations and religions. Zoroaster described alien worshippers as children of the Divas, which, in biblical parlance, is equivalent to sons of Belial. The Greeks ascribed the origin of the Scythian race to the Devil, while to Jewish eyes all Gentile races were demonic. In considering other religions as "devilish," Christianity did nothing more than accept the belief of its parent faith. If this viewpoint were confirmed, it would be safe to say

that the believers in Beelzebub outnumber to this day the worshippers of the Blessed Lord. The Christians, as far as numerical strength is concerned, play even now a rather insignificant part as compared with the followers of other religions, since only a fourth of the population of this earth is Christian.

The belief in the eternal damnation of all non-Christians is not greatly stressed nowadays. But the medieval Church was emphatic in its assertion that all who did not seek salvation in its bosom served Satan. Romance and history combined in representing those outside the pale of the Church as the personal vassals of Satan, who worked his deceptions among them. Jews, Turks and heretics, in addition to the heathen, were believed in all Christian lands to be allies of the infernal powers. The Jews were supposed by the Christians to worship the Devil and to accumulate their wealth with his aid. The Jewish synagogues were regarded by Christians as temples of Satan. The belief that every Jew wears horns has persisted in certain Christian circles to the present day. In the opinion of Emmanuel Malynski, a contemporary Polish-French writer, the Talmud has been inspired by the Spirit of Evil.

The Saracens were also regarded in the Middle Ages as living under the yoke of the demons, with whom they are even identified in *le Charroi de Nîmes*, one of the French medieval epic poems called *chansons de geste*. The Devil and the Turk were commonly thought in the Middle Ages to be closely related and often joined together. Martin Luther also called all Turks devils.

Similarly, in the eyes of the Catholic Church, heretics were the spawn of Satan. Heresy was traced by the Church to the blowing of Beelzebub's bellows into the ears of humanity. The Albigenses were called by the Catholics "members of the Devil," and the Waldenses were considered confederates of the powers of hell.

When the Church, at the advent of the Reformation, was divided against itself, each part accused the other of serving Satan. Catholics and Protestants never wearied in accusing each other of being influenced by the spirits of hell. Priests taught that Protestants were devil-worshippers and magicians (Samuel Harsnett: *Declaration of Egregious Popish Impostures*, 1603). The French Huguenots, among other Protestant bodies, were believed by the Catholics to be on intimate terms with the Devil.

The Protestants, on their part, stoutly maintained that the

Catholics were in the service of Satan. The Reformers attributed the miracles of the Catholic saints to an infernal origin, just as the Jews had believed the miracles of Christ to have been performed with the aid of Beelzebub (Matt. xii.24). The Calvinist Calhfill, in his answer to Martiall's *Treatise of the Cross* (1564), maintained that the Catholics were in reality serving Satan, while they believed that they worshipped the Lord. Martin Luther similarly considered the Catholic Church as an emanation of the Evil Spirit. The Roman Catholic and Apostolic Church was, in his eyes, the whole host of wickedness spoken of in the Book of Revelations. "Alongside of God's sacred Church," the German reformer affirmed, "the Devil has built his chapel, and keeps up in it his ape-like play with holy water" and other Catholic ceremonies.¹ The Protestant leaders supposed Roman ecclesiasticism to be tainted by a connection with the powers of hell. They saw the Devil, in his traditional form of horns, hoof and tail, standing with an immense bellows behind the Pope, the cardinals and the other prelates of the Roman Church, and filling them with hostile plans against the reformed teachings. Luther meant no metaphor when he described the Catholic clergy as the Devil's priests, and the monk's hood as the proper garment of Satan himself; and Melanchthon was deeply in earnest when he called the Papists the slavish imitators of magicians and necromancers whom he termed the agents of hell. The Jesuits were considered as the most "devilish" of all Catholic monks. Phineas Fletcher, in his poem, *The Apollyonists* (1627), identified the Jesuits with the spirits of hell by naming them after the biblical demon, Apollyon. In Béranger's belief, the Jesuits even outdo the demons of darkness in wickedness. The Pontiff in the Vatican himself was accused of diabolical relations in the writings of the Protestants. He was believed to have been crowned by Satan and to represent hell rather than heaven on earth. Others went so far as to maintain that the Pontiff of Rome and the Prince of the Pit were identical. Still others saw in the head of the Roman Church Antichrist in person.²

¹ Victor Hugo, in his novel *les Travailleurs de la mer* (1866), deduced from the idea that Satan had taken a fancy to the Catholics and sought their company a great deal the belief that the Devil was more Catholic than Protestant.

² The pope is described as Antichrist in Leconte de Lisle's poem "la Mort du moine" (1895). An interesting story about the relation between the head of the hierarchy of hell and the head of the Catholic hierarchy is Richard Garnett's "The Demon Pope" (1888), reprinted in the present writer's anthology of *Devil Stories* (1921).

The Protestant sects, warring among themselves, accused each other of connections with the powers of darkness. The Lutherans gave the Calvinists the rather unflattering name of "white devils." The Methodists considered the Presbyterians as devil-worshippers. "I perceive that your God is my devil," said John Wesley, the founder of free-will Methodism, to George Whitefield, the leader of the Calvinistic Methodists, one day in the course of an argument about predestination. The poet Swinburne considered all Puritans agents of hell. Judge Rutherford, the present head of "Russellism," declared the whole organized Church, Protestant as well as Papist, to be "Satan's organization." Thus not only all non-Christians but even the Christians themselves, if we are to credit their invectives against each other, belong to the Devil rather than the Deity.

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Apart from this diabolization of other men's deities as a result of denominational differences and sectarian strife, there actually were within the Church, down to the thirteenth century, many heretical sects, who fully deserved the term of devil-worshippers.³ Among the groups who continued within Christianity the traditions of Persian Magism, Gnosticism and Manichæism, we may mention the Priscillianists of Spain, the Paulicians, the Bogomiles, the Catharists, and the Albigenses. The German Luciferians, of the thirteenth century, expressed their adoration for Lucifer in the belief that he had been unjustly banished from heaven and pronounced anathema against St. Michael, his conqueror. The French woman novelist, George Sand, puts her belief in the unjust treatment dealt out to the Devil by his celestial comrades into the mouth of the followers of Johann Huss in Bohemia, whom she designates as Lollards, a term really applied to the followers of Wycliffe. In her novel, *Consuelo* (1842-43), she tells us that

"In the opinion of the Lollards, Satan was not the enemy of

³ The Devil has always counted his admirers and adorers even among the orthodox Christians. Many devout church folk, wishing to be on good terms with both parties, offer their allegiance to both the Lord and Lucifer. An English preacher of American extraction, M. D. Conway, tells of a Christian lady residing in Hampshire, England, who made her children bow their heads whenever they mentioned the name of the Devil. When asked the reason for her queer conduct, she replied: "It is safer." He also relates the story of a French peasant woman who was found one day in a church kneeling before a marble group. When she was warned by the priest that she was worshipping the wrong figure, namely, Beelzebub, she replied: "Never mind, it is well to have friends on both sides." (Cf. M. D. Conway: *Demonology and Devil-Lore*, 2 vols., London, 1879, II, 13.)

the human race, but, on the contrary, its protector and patron. They held that he was a victim of injustice and jealousy. According to them, the archangel Michael and the other celestial powers who had precipitated him into the abyss, were the real demons, while Lucifer, Beelzebub, Ashtaroth, Astarte, and all the monsters of hell, were innocence and light themselves. They believed that the reign of Michael and his glorious host would soon come to an end, and that the Devil would be restored and reinstated in heaven with his accursed myrmidons. They paid him an impious worship and accosted each other by saying, *Celui à qui on a fait tort te salue*—that is to say, He who has been misunderstood and unjustly condemned, salute thee—that is, protect and assist thee.”

Among contemporary devil-worshippers we will mention the Yezidis, a sect living in ancient Assyria, on the slopes of the mountain called Djebel Makub, who still worship the Devil as creator of the world and author of evil, the black Jews in Cochin, British India, and the Voodoos of the West Indies and Haiti. There are infernal cults also in the North of China, in Africa, near Lake Tschad, in the Solomon Islands, and in the New Hebrides.^{3a}

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* *

The members of the witch-cult were equally, though perhaps less justly, regarded as devil-worshippers by the Church. It is generally believed that the Witches' Sabbath, as the reunion of Satan and his worshippers was called, applied particularly to the members of the gentler sex, had no basis in reality. The general assumption among the enemies of the Catholic Church is that medieval witchcraft was an invention of the Inquisition. Modern historical research, however, has established the fact that witchcraft was not wholly an imaginary affair, but had its foundation in solid reality.⁴ It should be added, though, that the mass of superstition built around it had its inception in the imagination of demented hags taken and tormented by the Inquisition.

The witch-cult was a lineal descendant of the old indigenous heathen religions that covered Europe before the advent of Christianity and that were not easily wiped out by the religion imported from the East. Even for many centuries after the conversion of the European peoples to Christianity, the new faith was only a

^{3a} On the Yezidis, consult Isga Joseph's thesis, *Devil-Worship*. (Boston, 1919.) See also R. M. Macdonall's article "Solomon Islands and the New Hebrides" in *Cornhill's Magazine*, vol. LXIV (1928), pp. 178-92.

⁴ The historicity of the Witches' Sabbath is maintained by Miss Alice Murray in her well documented thesis, *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* (Oxford, 1921).

thin veneer. In many districts, the masses refused for a long time to abandon their pagan rites. Men and women, in particular living far from the advanced areas, tenaciously clung to their ancient beliefs and observances. Inasmuch as the Christians identified the old indigenous gods with the devils and evil spirits of the new religion, their ritual was decreed as devil-worship, and their priests and priestesses were branded as wizards and witches. The rites of ancient worship, which now came to be known as witch-cults, were chiefly devoted to the fertility of field, fold and family and by their "obscenity" scandalized the people whose very ancestors had practised the same ceremonies in pagan times.

The witch-cult may thus be considered as primarily a survival of the old fertility ritual. In fact, we can discover in the Witches' Sabbath many vestigial remains of the old fertility worship. The Devil of the Witches' Sabbath is successor to the ancient god, who may be recognized, in a degenerate form, by all the disguises which he assumed at these nocturnal ceremonies. It is well known that, on such occasions, the Devil appeared most frequently in the form of a goat, the animal sacred to Priapus, the Greek god of vegetal and animal fertility. The goat also served as the witch's steed when she repaired to the Sabbath. The broom or stick which was likewise employed by her as a mount and which was also ridden in the dances of the Witches' Sabbath, is similarly a fertility symbol.⁵ Furthermore, the unholy ecstasy and unlicensed revelry with which the Witches' Sabbath terminated should be explained as a survival of the physical unions which formed part of the ancient fertility worship.

Next to the fertility rites, the ancient fire-worship may be recognized in the Witches' Sabbath. The witches worshipped their god as the universal father and protector, and such paternal attributes are generally applied to the ancient sun-divinity. Fire figured prominently at the Witches' Sabbath, as it did in all pre-Christian festivals. The torches, with which the gathering-places of the witches were lighted, had their origin in the Beltane and solar festivals. The worshippers held candles to the Devil when he performed certain rites, and thus the expression originated, "to hold a candle to the Devil." A candle was also carried in the witch-cult by the Devil himself, frequently on his head, in his quality as Lucifer.

⁵ The broom, however, may also represent the sweeping storm, which was the habitation of the Devil. On the medieval stage, the Devil was often represented with a besom in his hand.

The witch-cult was also brought into connection with the weird superstition of the wild hunt, the rout of restless, wandering spirits, which was spread in all the European countries.⁶ The witches repaired to their Sabbath on air-minded brooms or goats, just as the avenging maidens of Woden flew through the night air on magic steeds or in the form of swans. The Devil, who conveyed the women to their midnight convocations, was the successor to the Wild Huntsman. Popular belief mentions Diana, the goddess of the hunt in classical mythology, and Herodias, the wicked woman of biblical history, as leaders in this nocturnal air-flight. The "Canon Episcopi," of the ninth century, had already associated the Latin goddess and the Judean queen with the women who flew at midnight through the air. The *Malleus maleficarum* or *Witch Hammer* written by the two inquisitors, H. Institoris and J. Sprenger, in Germany toward the end of the fifteenth century, also mentioned Diana and Herodias as leading the wild women during their nocturnal trips in mid-air by the order of the Devil. No lesser persons than Albertus Magnus and Alexander of Hales put their faith in this superstition. Turrecremata, the Spanish commentator, who lived in the fifteenth century, expressed his doubts as to this belief, on the ground that Diana never existed and that Herodias was in all likelihood not permitted to leave hell in order to join the midnight air-processions.

The witch-queen Herodias, the Wandering Jewess, the counterpart of the Wandering Jew in Christian mythology, who leads the midnight revels of devils and witches in medieval superstition, is not, as is generally assumed, the wife of Herod Antipas and the mother of Salome. The idea that both mother and daughter were afflicted with the curse of eternal wandering because of their sinful love for the Baptist, which we find in Heinrich Heine's poem *Atta Troll* (ch.xix), has no foundation in popular belief. The Herodias who figures as leader of the medieval wild hunt is Mariamne, the wife of Herod the Great. She is believed to have brought down upon herself the wrath of the Lord for her contemptuous treatment of the Magi, when they passed Jerusalem on their way to the manger of Christ. It is said that she refused to go to the window

⁶ Consult H. Plischke's thesis, *Die Sage vom wilden Heere* (Eilenburg, 1914). A beautiful description of the wild army will be found in Heine's poem *Atta Troll* (1842). In Bürger's ballad, "Der wilde Jäger" (1786), the poet gives expression to his indignation over the oppression exercised by some nobles upon their subjects.

to see them, pretending that she was busy sweeping the room. For this reason, she was doomed to wander through the air at night riding on a broom-stick. Legend thus links her with Epiphany Day, and on the Eve of this day, which, in the South of Germany, is not very much different from Shrove Tuesday or Carnival Day, Herodias-Berchta is led in procession through the streets riding on a broom-stick.⁷ This fact points to an identification of the Judean queen with the Germanic goddess Berchta (Perchta, Bertha or Hertha), who, it will be remembered, is an appellation given in Southern Germany and in Switzerland to a spiritual being who probably corresponds to the Hulda (Holda or Holla) of Northern Germany. Frau Holda (Holde or Holle) is, in reality, an old goddess, indeed the chief goddess Frigg or Fria, the queen of heaven, the goddess of marriage, as Mother Earth is the goddess of agriculture, fertility, and growth. Friday is named after this goddess. In the country districts of Germany to this day, all marriages are celebrated on Friday. Holda signifies "the gracious, the benign one." This Frigaholda—even that name appears in an old manuscript—is the patroness of spinning maidens. She punishes idleness and slovenliness in spinning, and awards diligence and care. During the "Twelve Nights," the distaff and spindle were not to be touched on pain of inviting the wrath of Holda.⁸

In Thuringia, Frau Holda or Holla rides with the wild hunt on Walpurgis Night. In other parts of Germany, an image of this goddess, on her flying bed of snow, is still cursed, scourged, and burnt as Herodias. Thus the Judean queen, after having been identified with the ancient Germanic goddess, was assigned to be a companion to Diana, the savage goddess of hunting in Roman mythology, who, in medieval belief, assumed the character of a witch, and both were turned into wandering spirits eternally engaged in a wild hunt.⁹

⁷ Consult MacCallum's article "The Great Blessing," in the periodical *Asia* for July, 1927, for Greek Orthodox customs on Epiphany Day, the festival of the baptism of Jesus. In Italy, the peasants, who do not understand the Greek term *epiphania*, have turned it into a fairy or witch Befana, just as an English sailor calls Bellerophon, Billy Ruffian. This Befana, who in Italian popular belief has been identified with Diana, wanders in the winter nights much in the manner of Odin in Scandinavian mythology.

⁸ See B. Waschnitius: *Percht, Holda und verwante Gestalten*. Wien, 1913. (Sitzungsberichte der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften.)

⁹ For further study of the legend of Herodias, consult Jacob Grimm: *Teutonic Mythology*. Transl. from the 6th edition of the German by J. S. Stallybrass. London, 1880-88; Karl Simrock: *Handbuch der deutschen Mythologie mit Einschluss der nordischen*. 5 Aufl. Bonn, 1878; E. K. Chambers: *The Medieval Stage*. Oxford, 1903.

Medieval witchcraft is likewise a survival of pre-Christian magic. It may perhaps be traced, as Gustav Freytag suggests, to the cult of a group of dark demons, who figured in the paganism of the old Nords and who were represented as engaged in an eternal war against the bright deities.¹⁰ The priests of these gloomy gods performed their sacred rites by night and sacrificed to their titular spirits dark-colored animals of all kinds. These priests also possessed the power, through the magic agency of their gods, to blast crops and to destroy flocks and herds. Similar beliefs seemed also to exist in ancient Rome. Pliny tells us that in his country laws were enacted against injury to crops by "fascination." The medieval witch or wizard was supposed to possess the power to harm both beast and man. In popular belief, the Devil and the sorcerer or sorceress united in a contract of witchcraft, as the term was understood in the Middle Ages,¹¹ joined their various powers of doing evil to inflict calamities upon the persons and property, the fortune and fame, of innocent human beings. The witch was especially dreaded in the Middle Ages. She was known as a compounder of philters and poisons, a caster of spells, a wicked woman, and a hideous hag.

The Devil also bestowed his power of physical tergiversation upon the witch and warlock, who thus could transform themselves into all sorts of animals. French witches generally changed themselves into wildcats, whereas the British witches preferred to be transformed into hares.¹² The wizards liked to crawl into the skins of wolves, but, at certain of their assemblies, they also changed themselves into stags, which explains the origin of the expression "stag parties."

The witch organization permeated the lower classes in France, Germany and England. The French historian, Jules Michelet, in

¹⁰ Cf. Gustav Freytag: *The Devil in Germany During the Sixteenth Century*. Transl. from the German by Wm. A. Hervey (New York, 1893), pp. 7-8. This essay originally formed the second chapter of the second volume of *Bilder aus der deutschen Vergangenheit* (1859).

¹¹ The contract of witchcraft differed from the regular devil-compact in so far as it was not witnessed by an instrument written and sealed. The witches and their companions went over to the worship of the Devil and acknowledged him as their lord merely by giving him the oath of submission or by performing a certain act of homage, such as a kiss on a certain part of his body.

¹² Witches can also transform animals into human beings. A witch changes her cat into a cavalier in Théophile Gautier's poem *Albertus* (1830).

his book, *la Sorcière* (1862),¹³ attributed the spread of witchcraft among the lower masses to the despair of the poor at finding that even the Church, long their friend and protector, had become feudal and tyrannical, even more tyrannical than their lay oppressors. He saw in the Witches' Sabbath the first glimpses of women's rights, of the equality of sexes, and, in fact, of all modern social reforms. The Black Mass was, in his opinion, "the protest of the oppressed masses, the symbol of the approaching freedom, the communion of rebellion." This author represents magic and sorcery as Nature's protest against the Church's proscriptions and the final victory of *terra mater* after centuries of struggles and atrocious persecutions.

The predominance of women over men in the witch-cult is easily explained by the fact that women are more conservative than men and hold more firmly to ancient beliefs and traditions. Jules Michelet, however, maintains that so many members of the weaker sex surrendered themselves to Satanism in medieval times for the reason that Satan lifted woman from the low position in which she had been held by the Church. His portrait of the medieval witch contains more poetry than history. In his opinion, she is the forerunner of the modern social reformer and natural scientist. She had neither father nor mother, nor son, nor husband, nor family. She was a marvel, an aerolith, alighted no one knew whence. Her place of abode was in spots impracticable, in a forest of brambles, on a wild moor where thorn and thistle forbade approach. She passed the night under an old cromlech. If any one found her there, she was isolated by the common dread; she was surrounded, as it were, by a ring of fire, and yet she was a woman. This very life of hers, dreadful though it appeared, tightened and braced her woman's energy. "You may see her endowed with two gifts. One is the inspiration of lucid frenzy, which, in its several degrees, becomes poesy, second sight, depth of insight, cunning simplicity of speech, the power especially of believing in yourself through all your delusions. . . . From this gift flows the other, the sublime power of unaided conception." But now the witch has nothing to say. "Her ashes have been scattered to the winds." She has perished, chiefly by the progress of those very sciences which began with her through the physician, the naturalist, for whom she had once toiled.

¹³ Mr. A. R. Allinson has translated this book into English under the title, *The Sorceress, A Study in Middle Age Superstition*. The translation appeared in 1904 in Paris.

The witch groups were organized in worshipping congregations governed by boards known as "covens." The leader was believed to have divine inspiration by his followers, diabolic inspiration by outsiders. He was called the Devil, and in the ceremonial processions he brought up the rear, thus giving rise to the old saying, "the Devil take the hindermost." Mr. R. Lowe Thompson, in his recently published book, *The History of the Devil*, maintains that the leader in the witch-cult was first a magician—a magician disguised as an animal with horns and tail, who afterwards became a priest. When, in his later rôle as a god, he was dethroned by Christianity and driven underground, he turned into the lord of the underworld and king of the dead and finally into the Devil, as the medieval witch knew him. The Reverend Montague Summers in his recent book, *The History of Witchcraft and Demonology*, maintains that the Devil "was present in person for the hideous adoration of his besotted worshippers."^{13a}

According to popular belief, the witch repaired to her secret tryst with Satan in the following manner: She removed every stitch of clothing, sat down on a broom stick, took three swallows from a liquid contained in a black bottle, immediately flew up the chimney and was gone. If she employed the goat as a mount, the witch anointed her body with a certain oil which endowed her with the power to fly through the air with the rapidity of a flash of lightning.

The meetings of the witches were held at fixed spots, chiefly in desolate heaths and hills (like the Broken or Blocksberg in Germany¹⁴), sometimes near the water and often at some old stand-

^{13a} The book of this English clergyman represents wholly the medieval point of view. Mr. Summers shows himself in his work as an uncompromising inquisitor who would be only too glad to send heretics and "witches" to the stake if the secular authorities still executed the decrees of the Holy Office."

See also his book *The Geography of Witchcraft*. (London, 1927.)

¹⁴ Brocken is the Roman Mons Bructerus, the highest peak in the Harz mountains, in fact in Northern Germany. It is 3,745 feet above the sea-level. Old tradition has it that on this mountain witches, devils and all uncanny creatures meet for a great revelry on the night between April 30 and May 1. This tradition seems to go back to the old heathen spring festival, which the early Christians considered as "devilish." Goethe selected the Brocken for the place of one of the scenes in *Faust*, a fact which has greatly added to the popularity of this mountain. Its summit may now be reached during the summer months by a mountain railway, starting from Wernigerode. In winter the ascent, necessarily on foot, is sometimes difficult on account of the snow which often reaches a depth of several feet. Blocksberg is the popular name for the Brocken.

ing stone or megalithic monument. All around the meeting-place boiling cauldrons served as torches.

Spanish witches did not congregate, according to popular belief, in their own country, but across the seas in South America. Spain was too holy to permit a Witches' Sabbath to be held on its soil. The Spanish witches, unlike their sisters in other countries, did not mount on brooms or goats to fly to their revels with the devils, but repaired to their trans-Atlantic meeting-place in boats which sailed so fast that in three hours they travelled across the ocean and back again without ever being detected by their unsuspecting husbands. They must necessarily have had a strong wind at their command, for it was none other than the Devil himself who bellied out the sails of their boats (Prosper Mérimée: *les Sorcierès espagnoles*, 1829).

The main reunions of the witches occurred on May Eve (April 30), which was sometimes known as Toodmas in Great Britain and as Walpurgis Night in Germany,^{14a} and on November Eve (October 31), called Hallowe'en. As a later addition, midway between these nights of power, we have witches' gatherings on Candlemas (February 2), and on Lammas, otherwise called the Gule of August (August 1). At each of the great assemblies, there were two gatherings. One was the "Sabbath,"^{14b} a public meeting of all the witches in the district, who feasted, danced and celebrated their rites, worshipped their god, and indulged in all sorts of orgies. The other meeting, the "esbat," which was not open to the public, was a sort of business council at which the affairs of the cult were discussed by the officials, and the more esoteric rites were carried out by skilled hands. These secret ceremonies included blood sacrifices of creatures—such as a cat, a dog, a red cock, or an unbaptized child. In addition to the four great assemblies, smaller gatherings were held every week. It was believed that the devil-

^{14a} Walpurga was an English saint, who accompanied her uncle St. Boniface to Germany in the eighth century to aid him in the foundation of religious houses. Her commemoration day fell on the 1st of May, the date of the great heathen spring festival, which was decried by the early Christians as devil-worship. In consequence, by a strange iron of coincidence, the name of the good saint became associated with that "unholy carnival" into which the Christian imagination transformed the May Day ceremonies. See the scene "Walpurgisnacht" in the First Part of Goethe's *Faust*.

^{14b} The word "Sabbath," it should be remembered, has no relation to the Jewish day of rest, but is most probably derived from the French word *s'esbattre*, which means "to frolic." In contrast to the old Puritan Sabbath, the Witches' Sabbath contained elements of joy.



THE WITCHES' SABBATH. (After Picart)

worshippers met on Thursdays to forestall the Mohammedans, who gathered for the adoration of their god on Fridays; of the Jews, who observed their day of rest on Saturdays; and of the Christians, who worshipped the Lord on Sundays.¹⁵

The main part of the ritual of a Witches' Sabbath consisted of hymns and prayers addressed to the Devil.¹⁶ When the religious rites were ended, the feast commenced, all partaking of the choicest wines and the most delicious meats. Salt is said never to have been used in the witch ceremonies. The Devil, as heir of the ancient death-demons, appears in all European folk-lore as a hater of salt, the agent of preservation. Salt was used in the Middle Ages in the rites of exorcism. In the Catholic Church, a child is still given salt at baptism in order to drive out the Devil. "When I am at table and feel no hunger," we are told by Richalmus, a Cistercian monk, abbot of Schoenthal in Württemberg, who lived in the first part of the thirteenth century, "as soon as I take a little salt, the appetite, of which the Devil robbed me, returns; when my appetite disappears again after a while, I take salt again, and I am again hungry."

The feast was followed by lively dances accompanied by the music of violins, flutes, citterns, hautboys, tambourines and bagpipes. The feasts and dances led up to ecstasies and orgies of a rather promiscuous kind. It was believed that each and every witch had ceremonial union with the Devil, as her lord and master. These "Satanic stunts" reached their climax when "a Jew was married to a toad" (Alexander Pushkin: "The Hussar," 1833).

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The fact is worth noting that the church did not start its campaign of extermination against the witch-cult until the end of the Middle Ages.¹⁷ In the first centuries of the Christian era, the Church ignored this secret survival of ancient paganism and refused

¹⁵ The matter summarized in this paragraph has been taken chiefly from the books by Miss Murray and by Mr. Thompson. Cf. also the present writer's review of Mr. Thompson's book, which appeared in the *Sevance Review*, of October, 1929.

¹⁶ The music of the Witches' Sabbath was probably not of the best. The choir could hardly be expected to be composed of trained and well modulated voices. In Victor Hugo's novel, *Han d'Islande* (1823), it is said that "Beelzebub's punishment is frightful indeed if he is condemned to hear the chorus of the women of Drontheim once a week."

¹⁷ Jules Michelet unhesitatingly asserted that the witch first appeared in the "age of despair" engendered by the gentry of the Church.

to put any credence in the confused mass of superstition that gathered around witchcraft as a nucleus. An episcopal document of the ninth century reprimanded the belief, current among credulous folk, in the nocturnal mid-air trips undertaken by wild women at the order of the Devil. It was not until several centuries afterwards that the Church revealed its full faith in these superstitions and persecuted all whom she suspected of participating in revels which she had previously declared to be sheer phantasms. "After the Church itself stiffened into a hierarchy," writes Gustav Freytag, "after the unlimited pretensions of the popes drove many a stout heart to heresy, after more than one nation became stultified under the domination of the mendicant friars, then this superstition gradually developed in the Church into a well-grounded and deep-rooted belief. Whatever passed as devilish was wiped out in bloody persecution."¹⁸

After the famous and fatal bull "Summis desiderantes" issued by Innocent VIII in 1484, a burning of witches began in all European countries that continued, with interruptions, until far into the eighteenth century. The witch-hunt abated somewhat during the Reformation period, Catholics and Protestants being then deeply engrossed in persecuting each other. It was, however, soon revived and raged with greater fury than ever. Catholics and Calvinists vied with each other in burning the greater number of witches for the greater glory of God. The Puritans carried the witch-hunt into the New World. The witch-hangings at Salem and in other American towns form a dark chapter in the history of the New Continent.

Thanks to the heroic efforts of a Cornelius Agrippa, a Johannes Wierus and a Friedrich Spe, the belief in witchcraft gradually disappeared in the various European countries. Holland abolished witch persecution in 1610; Geneva in 1632, Sweden in 1649, and England in 1682. The last judicial execution for witchcraft in Europe took place in Poland in 1793, when two old women were burned at the stake. In one European country, witchcraft still has a legal status. Ireland even now recognizes witchcraft as an offence against the law. In the Commission of Peace, the newly appointed magistrate is empowered to take cognizance, among other

¹⁸ Gustav Freytag, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

crimes, of "Witchcraft, Inchantment, Sorcery, Magic Arts."¹⁹

The belief in witchcraft, however, has not wholly disappeared even in the twentieth century. An unbelievably wide-spread condition of superstition and sorcery still exists in many European countries. It is generally known that faith in witchcraft and fear of the evil eye are prevalent among certain uneducated classes in small European towns. An incident that recently occurred at Bordeaux, in France, shows that the belief in witchcraft has made headway even in the advanced modern cities. In our own country, "Voodooism" is manifestly a lineal descendant of medieval witchcraft. The "hex murders" in a small Pennsylvania town not so long ago furnish sufficient proof that the witch, in the United States, has not passed out of the realm of belief with the Salem persecutions. Witchcraft, however, is not limited to remote towns in the United States. It has repeatedly come to light even in our centers of civilization. In New York, in Chicago and in most of the big cities of this country, there are thousands of persons, mostly of foreign extraction, who still believe in and practice the arts of witchcraft. The fear of the evil-eye, which prevails among many classes in our big cities, has been brought over primarily from Italy, where this superstition still counts thousands upon thousands of believers. In Naples, the *jettatore*, as the owner of the evil eye is called, is so feared that, at his approach, a street is rapidly emptied of men, women and children. In India, China, Turkey, and Greece, there exists a belief that the evil eye affects also horses and cattle. The persistence of the belief in the evil eye shows with what tenacity old beliefs and ancient superstitions will continue to exist through the ages.²⁰

¹⁹ Cf. St. John D. Seymour: *Irish Demonology and Witchcraft* (New York, 1913), p. 248.

²⁰ The matter of medieval witchcraft is avowedly treated summarily in this paper. The reader, who is interested in this subject, is referred to the works by Miss Murray and Mr. Thompson already mentioned, and especially to Professor G. L. Kittredge's thorough work *Witchcraft in Old and New England*, which has just been published. Among German studies on the subject we will mention the following: W. G. Soldan: *Geschichte der Hexenprozesse* (1843, 3. Aufl. 2 Bde. 1912); Johann Diefenbach: *Der Hexenwahn* (1886). A curious little book on the Witches' Sabbath is *le Sabbat des Sorciers* by Bourneville and E. Teinturier, which appeared in the *Bibliothèque diabolique* (2nd ed., 1890). Of particular interest is the book *Là-Bas* by the French novelist Joris-Karl Huysmans (1891), which was originally intended by its author as a serious study rather than a novel. In the journal *Echo de Paris*, where it first ran in serial form, it had as subtitle "Etude sur le satanisme." *Là-Bas* is a store-house of occult sciences. We learn in it all about ecclesiology, liturgy, astrology, theurgy, therapy, alchemy, sorcery, necromancy, sadism,

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Nor is devil-worship wholly extinct in modern times. Contemporary Satanism, however, is not historic, but eclectic. It is not directly connected with medieval witchcraft, although it borrowed many elements from the cult. In contrast to the medieval witch-cult, modern Satanism is practiced by the cultured classes in the European capitals. Huysmans in his novel *Là-Bas* affirms that "the cult of Satan still survives in France as in the other principal European countries and that it has not been unknown even in England during the past hundred years."²¹ The English critic, Mr. Arthur Symons, who certainly cannot be accused of credulity, maintains that "all but the most horrible practices of the sacrilegious magic of the Middle Ages are yet performed from time to time in a secrecy which is all but absolute."²² The Reverend Mr. Montague Summers likewise asserts that "Satanists yet celebrate the Black Mass in London, Brighton, Paris, Lyons, Bruges, Berlin, Milan, and alas! in Rome itself. . . . Often they seem to concentrate their vile energies in quiet cathedral cities of England, France and Italy."²³

Although Huysmans' presentation of modern Satanism is offered in the form of fiction, the impression must not be gained that it was evolved out of the author's imagination. As a naturalist, Huysmans relied for his material wholly on observation and documentation. He must have read hundreds of folios and collected mountains of notes in the preparation of his book, which Léon Bloy calls a cataclysm of documents. Huysmans supplemented his reading by personal observation. For several years previous to the publication of his novel, he zealously frequented the circles of the vampirism, incubism, succubism, and all other varieties of black magic, in addition to somewhat more conventional subjects, ranging from painting to cooking. In this book, we are also told the history of Gilles de Rais, who was a leader in the medieval witch-cult, we are instructed in regard to the meaning of the sacrifice of Melchisedek, and we are informed concerning the person of Antichrist and the teaching of Paracelsus. This frightful book, as it has aptly been called, also appeared a few years ago in this country in an abbreviated English translation but was driven under cover immediately upon its publication.

²¹ Huysmans reiterated his firm belief in the existence of the Satanic cult in the prefatory essay he contributed to Jules Bois's book, *le Satanisme et la magie* (1895).

²² Cf. Arthur Symons: *Figures of Several Centuries* (London, 1916), p. 296, and *The Symbolist Movement in Literature* (London, 1919), p. 257.

²³ Montague Summers: *The History of Witchcraft and Demonology*. London, 1926.

Rosicrucians, Illuminists,²⁴ spiritualists and other occultists of the type of the Marquis de Guaita, who, in 1888, founded the neo-Rosicrucian Society of Paris, and Joséphin Péladan, who assumed the title of Sar and who dabbled in all sorts of diabolism. The bulk of his information with regard to modern Satanism was furnished Huysmans by the ex-abbé Boullan, of Lyons, to whom he addressed himself in a letter during the preparation of his novel, stating that he wished proofs of Satanism "in order to be able to affirm that the Devil existed, that he reigned, that the power he had in the Middle Ages had not diminished and that he still was the absolute Master, the Omniarch." The ex-abbé, who figures in *Là-Bas* under the most flattering aspects as Dr. Johannès, an exorcist, was well competent to furnish the desired information, inasmuch as he himself committed the acts which he attributed to others. He hoodwinked Huysmans with regard to his own work, presenting himself as an exorcist and a victim of the machinations of certain unfrocked priests, to whom he ascribed the very deeds committed by himself. The principal proofs of the existence of a cult of Satan furnished by Boullan to Huysmans were the frequent thefts of consecrated wafers throughout France, which, as he maintained, were employed in the celebration of the Black Mass.

The description of the Black Mass, which forms the central episode of *Là-Bas* and which is so marvelously painted in all of its revolting details, has been derived from the manuals of the Inquisition and the reports of the parliamentarians, and supplemented by a study of the life of Vintras, a wonder-worker, who was charged by two former members of his sect with the celebration of the Black Mass.²⁵ Remy de Gourmont also helped the author in his documentation on the tradition of the Black Mass. But Gourmont soon lost interest in these investigations, having finally arrived at the conclusion that no such diabolical ceremony had ever been celebrated in the Middle Ages, and left Huysmans to construct

²⁴ The original "Illuminati" were a secret mystical sect which sprang up in Bavaria under the leadership of Adam Weishaupt in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and which found adherents also in France. Secret societies were extremely numerous in that country and "Illuminism" of various kinds took particular hold of men's minds during the period just prior to the Revolution. Cf. J. P. L. de la Roche du Moine, Marquis de Luchet: *Essai sur la secte des Illuminés*. Paris, 1789.

²⁵ On the machinations of Boullan and Vintras and other men of their stamp, see Jules Bois: *les Petites religions de Paris* (1894).

unaided the unsavory episodes of his novel.²⁶ Johann Bricaud, who knew Huysmans personally, maintains, however, that the novelist actually assisted at a Black Mass in the rue de Sèvres, the street in which he lived,²⁷ although he may have drawn largely on his documentation for many of the most diabolical diversions connected with this ceremony. The reader cannot bring himself to believe that practices of this kind still exist in modern times—from the horrible profanation of the Eucharist, with which the Black Mass begins, to the atrocious and promiscuous orgies, with which it ends. It is also doubtful whether a woman of the type of Mme Chantelouve exists even in the Bohemian quarters of Paris. The contemporary cult of Satan is primarily a diabolism of debauchery. The principal part of the modern Black Mass consists of sexual perversions of all kinds. The materialist Des Hermies in *Là-Bas* reveals a deep insight into human nature when, with regard to Durtal's description of the Black Mass supposedly celebrated in Paris, he remarks: "Je suis sûr qu'en invoquant Belzébuth, ils pensent aux prélibations charnelles" (I am certain that in invoking Beelzebub, they only think of carnal prelibations).²⁸

Huysmans, following the lead of other ultra-Catholic writers, includes the Masons among the devil-worshippers in his novel

²⁶ Remy de Gourmont's essay on Huysmans' *Là-Bas* entitled "le Paganisme éternel" in his book of essays *la Culture des idées* (1900) is very interesting in the light of our discussion.

²⁷ Cf. Johann Bricaud: *J. K. Huysmans et le Satanisme* (1913), p. 16.

²⁸ Mr. Harry Kemp, in an article contributed to the Sunday edition of the *New York World*, of August 2, 1914, described the activities of a Satanic cult in London, which he claimed had even spread to this country.

It is not the object of this article to go at length into the matter of modern devil-worship in France, but the reader, who is interested in this question, will find ample material in the following books and magazine articles: Alexandre Erdan: *la France mystique* (1853); Charles Sauvestre: *les Congrégations religieuses dévoilées* (1867); Stanislas de Guaita: *Essais de sciences maudites* (1886). M. Jules Bois, who is at present residing in the United States, has constituted himself the historian of modern Satanism by his book *les Petites religions de Paris* (1893) and especially by his study *le Satanisme et la magie* (1895). M. Bois's views on modern Satanism are detailed by Miss Marie A. Belloc in her interview with this French writer, which appeared under the title "Satanism: Ancient and Modern" in the London monthly magazine *The Humanitarian*, vol. XI (1897), pp. 81-7, and by Thomas Walsh in his article "The Amateurs of Satan" published in the *New York Bookman*, vol. IX (1899), pp. 220-23. M. Bois has in recent years found a competitor in R. Schwæblé, who has written the novel *Chez Satan: Roman de mœurs de satanistes contemporains* (1906) and the two studies *le Satanisme flagellé; Satanistes contemporains, incubat, succubat, sadisme et satanisme* (1912), and *Chez Satan, Pages à l'Index. Possession* (1913). Johann Bricaud, author of *J. K. Huysmans et la satanisme* (1913), already mentioned, announced for publication a study, *le Satanisme contemporain*, which apparently has not yet appeared.

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Là-Bas. But especially in his preface to Jules Bois's study on Satanism, he expresses his belief that the Masons worship the Devil, although he calls them Luciferians in contrast to the Satanists and thus renders them slightly less odious than other devil-worshippers. The distinction between these two classes of diabolists consists in the fact that, while the Satanists worship the Devil as the spirit of evil, the Luciferians see in him the spirit of good. Huysmans has many surprises for the American reader. One may learn from him that devil-worship existed in our own country as well as in Europe, and that Americans were at the head of the two international associations for the Propagation of the Faith in the Prince of Darkness. Huysmans asserts that the "Ré-Theurgists-Optimates,"²⁹ founded in 1855, with headquarters in America, had for their Grand Master no less a person than the poet Longfellow, whose official title was "Grand-Prêtre du Nouveau Magisme Evocateur" (High Priest of the New Evocatory Sorcery).³⁰ At the head of the second diabolical organization in America stood the Southern poet General Albert Pike, who was called "le vicaire du Très-Bas, le pontife installé dans la Rome infernale" (The vicar of the Very-Low, the Pontiff installed in the Infernal Rome), by which infernal Rome was meant our good Southern town of Charleston, S. C. Albert Pike, together with the Mormon bishop John Taylor, is alleged to have introduced into France, in 1881, the so-called "Maçonnerie Palladique" (Palladic, *i. e.* Luciferian Masonry).³¹

The Catholics have always considered the Freemasons allies of the Devil. They are believed to have surrendered their souls to Satan, whom they worship in their rites and ceremonials. But, toward the end of the last century, Europe was literally flooded with accusations of devil-worship and immorality against the Masons. This occurred on the occasion of the papal encyclical "Humanum genus," in which the faithful were urged to "snatch from Free-

²⁹ This extraordinary phrase is, according to Mr. F. Legge, "apparently composed of three languages: Optimates is used by Cicero for the aristocratic, as opposed to the popular, party; Theurgos is a man who works wonders by means of the gods, . . . Ré is apparently the Egyptian sun-god Ra" ("Devil-worship and Freemasonry" in *The Contemporary Review*, vol. LXX [1896], p. 472, note).

³⁰ Huysmans innocently followed his authorities, who, curiously enough, confused the poet Longfellow with a Scotchman by the same name, who was said to have helped in the organization of the "New Reformed Palladium." Cf. Arthur Edward Waite: *Devil-Worship in France* (London, 1896), p. 35.

³¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 32 ff.

masonry the mask with which it is covered, and to let it be seen what it really is." The ball was set rolling by Léo Taxil (pseud. of Gabriel-Jogand Pagès), who, in the very year of his conversion, gave to the world the first of his "complete revelations concerning Freemasonry," in two volumes called *The Brethren of the Three Points* (1884). This writer started his literary career as editor of *l'Anti-Clérical*, an anti-clerical paper of the lowest type, but later was converted, or reverted, to the faith of his childhood. He published his books under various pseudonyms in order to gain greater credence among his readers. He kept up this deception as long as he could, and, in the year 1897, on the eve of being exposed, publicly confessed that all his revelations about Masonic devil-worship were a hoax. Other books by this anti-Masonic writer are: *The Cult of the Grand Architect* (1886); *Sister Masons*, or *Ladies' Freemasonry* (1888); and *Are There Women in Freemasonry?* (1891). His novel, *The Devil in the Nineteenth Century*, appeared in serial form, in 1892-1895, under the pseudonym of Dr. Bataille. His *Memoirs of an ex-Palladist* were passed off as the work of an English lady, Miss Diana Vaughan, who claimed that she had seen Lucifer appearing at one of the meetings of a Masonic ladies' auxiliary as a very handsome young man, clad in a golden *maillot* and seated on a throne of diamonds.

This great accuser of the Masonic Brethren was followed by others, chief among whom were Mgr. Léon Meurin, S. J., archbishop of Port-Louis in Mauritius, author of the book entitled *The Freemasonry: The Synagogue of Satan* (1893), and Signor Domenico Margiotta, commander of a pontifical order, whose chief book of accusation against the Masons is named *The Palladism as Cult of Satan-Lucifer* (1895). Obviously Signor Margiotta does not uphold the distinction between Satanists and Luciferians marked by other writers. He received from the Pope the apostolic benediction for his denunciation of the Masons, his former associates. Other anti-Masonic writers were Paul Rosen, author of *Satan and Company* (1888), and Jean Koska (pseud. of Jules Doinel), who wrote a book with the significant title of *Lucifer Unmasked* (1895).³²

³² The reader who is interested in this Catholic-Masonic controversy, in addition to the writings of Legge and Waite already mentioned, is referred to the following books and magazine articles: Arthur Lillie: *The Worship of Satan in Modern France* (1896); Bräunlich: *Der neueste Teufelsschwandel* (1897); and Charles Henry: "Der entlarvte Lucifer" in the Stuttgart Socialist monthly *Die neue Zeit*, vol. XV (1897), II, pp. 490-98.

THE LATER AWARDS OF THE CORNPLANTER MEDAL

BY FREDERICK STARR

THE history of *The Cornplanter Medal for Iroquois Research*, from the time of its establishment to its fifth award has been made known through a series of articles, which, not only reached the readers of the magazines in which they were printed, but as separately printed were further distributed.¹ Since the fifth award, in 1912, no detailed publicity has been given to it. In the present article its further history, from that time to the present is sketched.

In establishing the medal in 1904 I indicated four classes of recipients—Ethnologists, Historians, Artists and Philanthropists. First awarded in 1904 to General John D. Clark of Auburn, New York, the medal is administered by the Cayuga County Historical Society and is given once in two years. There has been a slight irregularity in the award of late but the intention is that it is to be given in February of the even-numbered years. The awards to date are as follows:

- 1904. John D. Clark, Auburn, N. Y.
- 1906. William M. Beauchamp, Syracuse, N. Y.
- 1908. David Boyle, Toronto, Ont.
- 1910. William P. Letchworth, Buffalo, N. Y.
- 1912. Reuben Gold Thwaites, Madison, Wis.
- 1914. J. N. B. Hewitt, Washington, D. C.
- 1916. Arthur C. Parker, Rochester, N. Y.
- 1919. Alvin H. Dewey, Rochester, N. Y.
- 1920. Mrs. Mary Clark Thompson, Canandaigua, N. Y.

¹ *The Cornplanter Medal*. The American Journal of Numismatics, 1905; *The Cornplanter Medal*. The Open Court, March, 1905; *William M. Beauchamp and the Cornplanter Medal*. The Open Court, February, 1906; *The Cornplanter Medal for Iroquois Research*. The Open Court, May, 1908; *The Cornplanter Medal and William P. Letchworth*. The Open Court, 1910; *The Cornplanter Medal for Iroquois Research and Reuben Gold Thwaites*. The American Antiquarian, March, 1912.

1923. Frederick Houghton, Buffalo, N. Y.

1926. Edward H. Gohl, Auburn, N. Y.

It is expected that an award will be made in 1930. The Medal has come to be highly prized and there is no lack of names submitted for its award.

In 1914 the medal was given to a man eminent in the field of American ethnology. He is himself of Indian descent—Iroquois, a Tuscarora. John Napoleon Brinton Hewitt was born at Lewiston, N. Y., on December 16, 1859. So far as gained through schools, his education was received from the local public schools. He was ever a diligent student and an indefatigable worker. When but twenty years of age he became the amanuensis to Mrs. Erminnie A. Smith



ARTHUR C. PARKER



J. N. B. HEWITT

BY G. V. BUCK, WASHINGTON, D. C.

of Jersey City, who was a worker in the Bureau of American Ethnology, especially interested in Iroquois legends and ceremonies. She became acquainted with young Hewitt in her field work and owed much of her achievement to his assistance. Mr. Hewitt remained in association with Mrs. Smith until 1885, a period of six years. He was then for a year in business life, employed by the Adams Express Co., but then became definitely connected with the Bureau of American Ethnology, a connection which has continued to the present time. J. N. B. Hewitt is a member of the Washington Anthropological Society and of the American Anthropological

Association. His work has been especially in the direction of the mythology, sociology and sophiology of the American Indians, particularly of the Iroquois. Mr. Hewitt is an authority on the languages of the Iroquois and a large part of his printed work consists of interlinear (Iroquois and English) texts in the subjects mentioned. No one in the field commands greater respect for genuine scholarship than Mr. Hewitt and the founder of the medal and the society which administers it, felt especial satisfaction in this first award of it to a member of an Iroquois tribe.

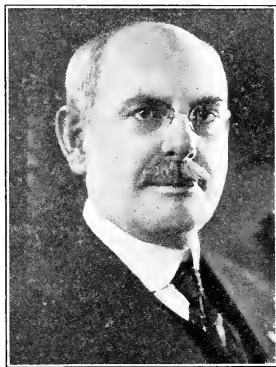
It happens that the award of 1916 was also made to an Iroquois. Arthur Caswell Parker is a member of the Seneca tribe and was born on the Cattaraugus Reservation on April 5, 1881. He was the grandnephew of General Ely S. Parker, who was military-secretary of U. S. Grant and a co-worker with Lewis H. Morgan in the preparation of that famous book—*The League of the Iroquois*—a classic in American ethnology. Handsome Lake, "the Seneca Prophet" and founder of "the New Religion," was Arthur C. Parker's grandfather's grandfather. Arthur received his education first in the reservation schools and then outside in high school and seminary. Later, he made studies in American archaeology under Professor Frederic Ward Putnam of the Peabody Museum, Cambridge. Mr. Parker did a valuable and useful work in connection with the Society of American Indians. One of its founders in 1911, he long served as its secretary-treasurer and the editor of its magazine. His writings upon the status, condition and problems of the Indian have been many and valuable. His scientific work has been chiefly in the direction of Iroquoian archaeology and ethnology. His professional work began with field exploration in 1901 for Professor Putnam and the American Museum of Natural History. In 1905 he did archeological work for the New York State Educational Department and in the next year he was appointed archeologist for the State Museum at Albany. He here built up a most interesting and popular department and published a series of works dealing with Iroquois subjects. *The Code of Handsome Lake*, published by the Museum has a double interest in itself and in the fact that Mr. Parker is a descendant of the prophet. Limitations of space prevent a full discussion of Arthur Parker's printed works. His *Archeological History of New York* and his *Seneca Folk-Tales* are perhaps the best known. Since 1925 Mr. Parker has been the director of the Rochester Municipal Museum, which under his con-

trol has grown from obscurity and insignificance into an institution which is creditable to that beautiful city and promises a great future development.

In 1919 the Cornplanter Medal was given to Mr. Alvin H. Dewey of Rochester, in which city he was long a real power, his influence being felt alike in business, civic and social life. He was born in Watertown, New York, August 5, 1859. He was educated in that city and for a time published a daily paper there. He removed to Rochester in 1885 and from that time up to his death, in 1928, he was in active business in that city. His interest in archaeology began early. He came into personal contact with the Indians, who gave him the name *Gawa Sowanch*, meaning perhaps "the Talking Leaves." He was active in the founding of the Lewis H.



MRS. MARY CLARK THOMPSON



ALVIN H. DEWEY

Morgan Chapter of the New York State Archeological Society and for twelve years was its president. At the time of his death he was president of the State Society. Mr. Dewey was greatly interested in the founding and development of the Municipal Museum, serving as president of its committee and his sympathy and helpful advice have counted for much in its growth.

The one woman to receive the medal up to the present was Mrs. Mary Clark Thompson, to whom it was given in 1920. Daughter of Myron H. Clark, once governor of the State of New York, she was born in the village of Naples, December 27, 1835. Her parents

moved afterward to Canandaigua. She received her education in the village schools and in the once famous Ontario Female Seminary. She was married in 1857 to Frederick Ferris Thompson, well known New York City banker. A woman of large means and social position, Mrs. Thompson was constantly a contributor to varied and helpful community services. While she spent much time in the great city and at beautiful country homes she was always particularly interested in the advancement and improvement of Canandaigua. Without ostentation or display, she liberally contributed to many worthy causes. She aided not only New York and Canandaigua enterprises, she gave substantial assistance to Vassar College and Williams College. Her chief claim to the Cornplanter Medal was the fact that she provided the means for the construction of the series of Iroquois Indian "habitat groups" at the State Museum in Albany. At the time when they were made Doctor John M. Clark, her kinsman, was the director of the Museum and Mr. Parker was State Archeologist. It was under his direction and in accordance with his plans that they were assembled. There are six of them, representing hunting, warfare, council, ceremony, industry and agriculture. The figures in the groups are of life size and were made from living models. Mrs. Thompson is said to have supplied \$60,000 for the project. When the Cornplanter Medal was awarded to her, Mrs. Thompson was unable to be present and Doctor John M. Clark went to Auburn to represent her and receive it. Mrs. Clark died in Canandaigua in July, 1923, at the age of 87 years. She will be long remembered for her good works.

One of the best museums in the United States, one in which the idea of popular education is particularly emphasized, is the Buffalo Museum, outgrowth and development of the old Buffalo Society of Natural History. Mr. Frederick Houghton, principal of Public School Number 69; is one of the men to whom it is due. He has been a deep student of the early history and archeology of his region. From 1908 to 1918 he was in charge of the archeological and ethnological department of the museum of the Buffalo Society of Natural Science (originally the Buffalo Society of Natural History). He carried on field work, organized the displays, and studied all printed sources of information. By careful comparative studies, based upon the excavation of town sites and archaeological specimens, he separated the difficult cultures represented in the region

and was able to trace the movement of the Senecas into the area. He clearly characterized three cultures,—that of the Neutral Nation, that of the Senecas, and that of an unknown Iroquois tribe who were in possession before the Senecas came crowding in. The results of his investigations were presented in a series of scholarly papers. Professor Houghton not only traced the movement of the Senecas into the Western New York area, he followed their history from the time of their arrival up to the present. He has shown a practical interest in the recent dispute between the Seneca Indians and the State of New York and has aided the Indians in the effort to re-establish their legal rights. He has also been active in securing the free passage of the Seneca back and forth between the United States and Canada, passage which had been barred by the customs authorities. Mr. Houghton, is of course, a member of the Board of Directors of the new Museum of Natural History. His school service deserves mention. He has been on the public school force for thirty-five years, and has three schools, with nineteen hundred pupils, mostly Polish, in his charge. He is also director of immigrant education for Buffalo and has about one hundred classes of adult foreigners in citizenship instruction under his jurisdiction. His list of activities is, however, too long to be further followed.

The last award of the Cornplanter Medal was made under exceptional circumstances. Edward Heinrich Gohl was born in Harrisville, Pennsylvania, November 3, 1862, the tenth in a family of sixteen children. From early childhood he was an indefatigable reader and a serious student. As a little boy he used a pencil and delighted to copy and recopy the illustrations of a book about Indians that was on the family bookshelf. From a neighboring boy friend he learned of Indian relics and became so keen a collector that at fourteen years he had accumulated a large collection. At that time he determined to devote himself to art and, disposing of his collection, discontinued his archaeological activities. Through his early life he was delicate and weakly. His out-door rambles, archaeological and artistic, no doubt did much to improve his physique but he was always frail and slight—his height but five feet three inches and his weight never more than ninety-eight pounds. Once committed to art Mr. Gohl threw himself into it with enthusiasm. His success in landscape was greater than in portraiture. In

1884 he visited the Finger Lake Region of New York and was so much pleased with it that he settled in Auburn, which was his home from that time. Here he plied his art and here he resumed his interest in Indians and in archaeology. In 1906 Mr. Gohl made a series of mural paintings for the grill-room of the Osborn House. They represent the coming of the first white settlers and the life of the Cayuga Indians. Mr. Gohl used Iroquois (Onondaga) models and made warm friendship with them. He became deeply interested not only in them, but in their people. He was adopted by them and given the name *Tai-Goh-wens*. Mr. Gohl was long interested in Socialism and was for a time an outspoken champion and supporter of its principles. He was an ardent admirer of Lewis H. Morgan's *Ancient Society*. He was interested in designing and materializing the bronze memorial tablet to Morgan which is at Wells College, Aurora. It was perhaps his political views which gave him a particularly keen sense of the wrongs done the Iroquois. He was a staunch supporter of their rights and actively opposed measures, both at Albany and Washington, which he considered against their interest. At Auburn he resumed his studies in archeology and early local history. He not only located unknown village sites and explored them, he aroused an interest in other Auburnians in the subject and called the attention of the state archeologists to his finds. He was a devoted friend of the Cayuga County Historical Society and in the candidates for the Cornplanter Medal. He had long been in line for the award, but actively interested himself in directing its bestowal on others—Parker, Dewey, Mrs. Thompson. When, in May, 1926, Mr. Gohl was seriously ill and it was recognized that death was approaching, it was decided that the medal should be given him without delay. A special meeting was arranged at the home of the president of the Society. A program was carried out in which Mr. Parker—coming from Rochester for the purpose—made the chief address and received the medal on Mr. Gohl's behalf. A small committee, including President Searing and Mr. Parker, then went to Mr. Gohl's apartment, where the medal was transferred to him. He was keenly appreciative and deeply touched. A few days later he died.

Surely the recipients of the Cornplanter Medal for Iroquois Research form an interesting, a worthy, list.

THE VITAL ELEMENT IN BELIEF

BY RUSSELL F. SPEIRS

I HAVE lately been reading De Unamuno, Bertrand Russell, Santayana, and Whitman. I have been interested in the manner in which each has expressed himself upon that great problem which brooks no solution—the problem of immortality. Having listened to what each has said, I find that I am neither for nor against the belief in immortality. As mere beliefs, immortality and mortality may avail nothing and indeed be unimportant to man. We do not live by what are commonly called beliefs but by hungers and passions, for of these is begotten insight. And we live by insight, which is vital belief. Before a belief can become vital it must be integral with the spirit of man, one with his entire being; and by that time it has attained an intensity and purity which have made of it something more than a mere belief. Instead of it, whatever *it* may be, being a part of man, man sees to become a part of It. (I have capitalized this last *It* advisedly.)

How many people, people who think men good or bad according to what beliefs they maintain, in seeking to know a person, ask the question: “Do you believe in God?” or “Do you believe in immortality?” and are satisfied with a simple *Yes* or *No*, whichever corresponds with their own prejudice. “Good,” they say, “I know you. You are right; you will be admitted into the fold.” But in truth they only reveal the fact that they do not even know themselves. Beliefs *per se* are of no great value. Believing persons whose whole spirits have been kindled by what they believe, are of value. They belong to Earth’s best. They have some vital connection with existence. They are God’s handful and justify His experiment with this mystery that we call Life.

When is a belief important? When does it become more than a mere belief? When it has the kindling power of wine, or fire.

But it must do more than kindle. We have all known "possessed" persons, the lesser breed of fanatics, who have plenty of fire in them but who are enveloped in their own smoke, a smoke that also envelops others and causes confusion and discord. A belief is important when it astonishes the believer with the light it sheds upon the whole of existence. In a vital belief the importance of illumination transcends that of comfort. The belief of a person in immortality because he is horrified at the thought of his own annihilation is only significant in that it reveals something of selfishness and cowardice. But one such belief does not convince us that all belief in immortality is selfish, cowardly, worthless. It does let us see that beliefs are not necessarily coeval with values.

It must be admitted that a great deal of what has been said and written about immortality is offensive stuff. In those who scoff at the idea there is often a meanness of spirit, a petty arrogance, or a sniveling grief. In many who prate about the idea in churches there is a certain lack of manliness and courage. They use a terminology that is old and lifeless. It is at once apparent that they have no living experience to impart; all they have is an absurd, aenemic vocabulary. They speak to us of eternal life, but the death-rattle is in their words. One listens and hears the hollow tones of Death speaking of immortality. Horrible mockery! Of what value is a belief if it quicken not the spirit of the believer but is at most a pleasant opiate?

How much finer is the attitude of De Unamuno, who, feeling that reason cannot invalidate the claims of the spirit nor the claims of the spirit entirely invalidate reason, welcomes the divine uncertainty that produces "the eternal disquietudes of the spirit," the life-giving conflict of spiritual hunger with human reason. One cannot solve the problem of immortality and turn to worldly things; one can but engage in a spiritual warfare destined never to end but destined to strengthen the strongholds of the soul. Who would have the question of immortality answered once and for all and recorded as the solution of an equation that has been solved, when it is the very uncertainty of the problem that gives life and virility to Whitman's beautiful faith, expressed in the lyric cry of his hungering heart? Who would crave the certainty that would kill such hunger, leaving unborn the most ecstatic utterances of one of the world's brave, beholding spirits?

And who, on the other hand, would disallow the value to the

human spirit of those who passionately disbelieve? Who would be so poor in spirit and such a cowardly half-believer as to deny the spiritual lift, the soul-strengthening courage in the beautiful faith of Santayana, a faith that is built upon disillusion? Or who that has read Bertrand Russell's *A Free Man's Worship*, in which the hope of immortality and of other long cherished human desires is denied, can find nothing of heroic proportion in the strong faith that yet persists amid so much honest denial?

Shall we praise Whitman for his belief in immortality and censure these others for their unbelief or doubt? Or shall we censure the first mentioned and praise the others? We shall do neither. To do one or the other would be an admission that, for the life of the mind and spirit we have substituted beliefs that are without vitality because they are still in that low stage of development that makes of them mere formulas. To do either would be to attach values to beliefs that beliefs *per se* do not possess. Life is not so simple as that. We cannot live by creeds and equations. We cannot live by the beliefs of others or make them wholly our own. Our belief must, if it be our *very* own, have in it an element that is unique. In order that we may live significantly, our faith in beliefs that are formulas merely must fall away before the life-giving heroic spirit of man, in whatever form it may be expressed. Above all, in the development of a clear, resilient life of the spirit, we must never become "light half-believers in a casual creed." That way stagnation lies. Ever vigilant, we must remain forever receptive of the waters of Life, the fount of which is the exclusive possession of no single individual or school. These waters flow in many directions and from many sources; and from such diverse streams as Whitman, Santayana, Russell, and De Unamuno we may extract the nourishment that the soul needs.

POPULAR RELIGION

BY H. G. CREEL

THE major portion of the study of Sinism has been devoted to the Chinese "intellectuals" of our period, while comparatively little space has been given to things popular. This accords with the accepted traditions of scholarship, which has, until recently, given but little attention to popular ideas, popular religion, and cultural history, as opposed to high philosophy, sacred scriptures, and political history. Against the charge of remissness, in this connection, the scholar may defend himself, however, by pointing out that the materials bequeathed to him, with which he must work, tell him very little of the ways of the common people, but deal almost exclusively with the more "elevated" strata of society. If this be true everywhere, it is doubly true of China.³¹⁵

The reason for our lack of knowledge of the people, as distinguished from the intellectuals, is self-evident. Without archeology, we are chiefly dependent for our information upon written records. In any but a modern civilization, the very fact that a man is able to write usually signifies that he belongs in a class apart from the common people, for whom he often has the greatest disdain. He would seldom think of soiling his papyrus, or parchment, or bamboo, or silk, by recording the ordinary comings and goings of mere peasants. The "nobler" themes of philosophy, and the courtly and religious life of the aristocracy are his subjects, and concerning

³¹⁵ This is especially the case because of the absence, verging on relative totality, of archeological excavation in China. It surely cannot long remain true that the oldest of the great cultures living today is also the one about which we know least. Archeological work has already begun on a small scale, and it may confidently be expected that means will be provided, before many years have gone by, to fill this appalling and colossal blank in the history of mankind. The beginning of the great awakening may already be seen, in Bulletin No. 10 (April, 1929), of the "American Council of Learned Societies," entitled "Promotion of Chinese Studies."

these he never tires of telling us the same things over and over again.

Happy it is then when we can run across so unusual a work as the *Lun Hêng* or *Scale of Discourse*, written by the eccentric Wang Chung about 83 A. D. Wang received the usual education for a political career, but not without the necessity of struggling for himself. He acquired the usual self-confidence of the self-made man, with the result that when he received a small office he not only thought that he knew more about how to run things than did his superiors, but made the mistake of telling them so. This resulted in an early termination of his career. Embittered, he retired and wrote books, of which only the *Lun Hêng* survives. Its most frequently recurrent theme is that a man's career, and his winning of honors or failure to do so, do not at all depend upon his deserts, but only upon an utterly blind fate. Second only to this is his delight in dwelling upon the utter incapacity and imbecility of almost all of those in power, and their complete inability to recognize a man of parts when they see him. But it is not for these cleverly disguised "defense mechanisms" that Wang's book is cited here.

Wang conceives himself as a crusader against the "silly superstitions" of his day, and in preaching against them he sketches them in detail. Because of these descriptions, his lengthy volume (which has been handed down to us almost intact) is of priceless value. Certain cautions are necessary in using it, however. It must be remembered that Wang himself is after all a member (albeit not in very good standing) of the literati. His material is not all based on personal observation. Much of it is based on older literary sources, and he often quotes verbatim from the *Shan Hai King* and other works, as Forke has shown in the careful notes to his translation.³¹⁶ Furthermore, we must remember that, notwithstanding the very modern ring of occasional passages, Wang was a true child of his age, and held some ideas which we find quite as "absurd" as those which he so characterised. Lastly, Wang likes to argue, and in order to make a point will not hesitate completely to reverse a position which he has defended no more than ten pages previously. For all of these reasons, his testimony must always be taken with some reservation.

Western writers have called Wang a "heretic," and he has never been very popular in China. His heresy would seem to lie chiefly

³¹⁶ Alfred Forke, *Lun Hêng*, 2 vols. Quotations from Wang, used herein, are taken from Forke, though sometimes slightly altered on the basis of the text.

in his willingness to subject almost everything, no matter how sacred, to the scrutiny of his very keen critical faculty. It has been said that Chinese thinkers did not bother much about systematising their philosophies. Wang, although conspicuously inconsistent himself, was merciless in pointing out the most embarrassing discrepancies in the thinking of others, and even in the *Classics*. Little wonder that he has not been popular!

A careful study of the *Lun Hêng* provides a standard by which it is possible to judge, in some degree, what was the relation of that changing and evolving philosophy which has been called Sinism, to popular thought in China in the first century A. D. and thereabouts.

The first fact brought out by such a comparative study is that Sinism is a philosophy of the state, of society as a whole, while popular thought has to do with the individual, or at most with the family. Sinism is concerned with government, with people *en masse*; the individual as such counts for little with it, whereas in popular thought the individual is everything. Sinism has nothing to do with the illness of an individual, unless he be the emperor or some other very important person, but formulas for curing even the most obscure peasant have an important place in the popular lore. This body of popular knowledge includes techniques for meeting all of the life-needs of individuals, such as protection from death, provision for welfare after death, protection from ghosts, protection on journeys, the interpretation of dreams and other omens, and general guarantees of livelihood, long life, and offspring.

It is plain that these techniques would not have been confined, in their exercise, to the plebeians alone. The philosopher, the ruler and the statesman, were also men, experiencing the desires and meeting the crises of men. And while it is true that they might have trusted in the certainty of that felicity which Sinism promised for the faithful discharge of their duties, not all of them did. Confucius is a conspicuous exception,³¹⁷ but Wang repeatedly accuses the scholars of his day of having the fullest credence in every sort of charms and auguries (I,525-526; II,250,393,402). Further, it is well-nigh impossible to draw any certain line between the various techniques for divination, protection, etc., which are mentioned as appearing promiscuously among the people, and those which are mentioned and sanctioned in the *Classics* themselves. Popular Lao-ism, developing along lines foreshadowed in the *Tao Tê King*, be-

³¹⁷ *An.* 7,34.

came almost entirely a complex of techniques for securing longevity and other values for the individual.

Even to catalogue the various popular ideas and techniques which were extant would require an entire work. Such a task is quite beyond the possibilities of this chapter. The most that can be done here is to indicate their nature. Certain of them are evidently based on the agricultural life of the people, probably survivals from earlier times. Such ceremonies are the rain sacrifice (II, 335), the practice of offering the first-fruits before eating of the new crop,³¹⁸ the offerings to the five household *shên* (I, 517), the spring ploughing ceremonies in which clay figures of men and women labouring in the fields were set up (II, 355), etc. The Han emperors went to some pains to restore the ancient agricultural rituals, which had fallen into desuetude in the disorders preceding their reign.³¹⁹ While many of these practices had impressed themselves upon Sinism, and were definitely a part of it, the reverse process of modification of the ceremonies by Sinism itself does not appear to have operated conspicuously.

Another factor in the formation of the popular ideology, which we cannot, as yet, begin accurately to gauge, is foreign influence. That it did operate we may be sure. Precisely how it operated must be determined by future research. One very important ingredient, the cycle of the twelve animals (corresponding to the signs of the zodiac) has been held by Chavannes to be Turkish in origin, and of late introduction into China.³²⁰

Still another origin of these popular ideas is the pun. When we consider that the Chinese vocalize some thousands of characters with a few hundreds of sounds, and that they make up all of their characters out of a small number of basic elements, it is readily seen that puns, both auditory and visual, must occur constantly. These were, and are, believed to be fraught with the deepest significance. The characters which mean, respectively, "peach-tree" and "be gone!" are both pronounced *t'ao*. This is perhaps why peach-wood is considered a sure protection against spectres. Wang tells us:

One avoids grinding a knife over a well—lest it fall into the well, or, as some say, because the character *hsing* 刑 (capital punishment) is composed of *ching* 井 (a well) and *tao* 刀 (knife). Grinding a knife over a well, the knife and the well

³¹⁸ *Li Ki* (in *S.B.E.*) p. 75.

³¹⁹ Granet, *Religion*, pp. 63, 126. ³²⁰ *T'oung Pao*, 1906, pp. 52, 84.

face each other, and one apprehends suffering capital punishment (II, 385).

A whole system of divination was based on the dissection of written characters.³²¹ Still another sort of pun is represented by the case in which a man, suffering from a skin disease known as "rat," cures it by eating a cat, since cats eat rats. The number of such practices, based on puns, is endless.

The general metaphysical principles of Sinism are found in the popular beliefs.

People universally believe that he who is good meets with happiness, and that evil-doers are visited with misfortune. They believe that Heaven sends down happiness or misfortune in response to man's doings, and that the rewards graciously given by the sovereigns to the virtuous are visible, whereas the requital of Heaven and Earth is not always apparent. There is nobody, high or low, clever or imbecile, who would disagree with this view (I, 156).

Harmony is the ideal still, and people look back longingly to the times of "universal peace," and hope that they may be reproduced in the future as they existed under the ancient sage-kings. Omens such as vermilion grass, springs of wine, the flying phoenix, sweet dew, "the brilliant star," auspicious grain (a special variety which never grew in ordinary times), the marvelous "meat fan," the monthly plant (a kind of automatic botanical calendar), the "indicator" (a plant which grew in the palace and pointed out wicked persons), mountains giving birth to chariots and lakes producing boats, all were considered the concomitants of such a harmonious epoch. In such a time people were believed to agree perfectly together. There were no robberies, there was wind only once in five days (but it did not howl in the boughs), and it rained once every ten days but did not wash away the earth from the roots of the crops (II, 315). Here is the Sinistic "Utopia" made specific and popular. In such a time, people were taller and more long-lived than usual (I, 315), the sun and the moon were specially brilliant (II, 324), and gold and gems were plentiful (II, 215).

The *yang* and *yin* and the five *hsing* figure very prominently in the popular ideas, but they are probably older than Sinism. In order to obtain some idea of the way in which Sinism is reflected in popular thought, let us arbitrarily select certain test factors of Sinism and then inquire if these have had any influence on popular ideas.

³²¹ Doré, *Researches into Chinese Superstitions*, vol. IV, pp. 356-62.

For this purpose, the following will serve: the ruler, Heaven, the sage, the governmental officers, the four geographical quarters.

With regard to rulers, both the emperor and the feudatories, the usual formulas of Sinism seem to have been taken over by people in general. The ruler is at the center of things; if he does well, all things in his territory prosper, if he does not, all goes badly. If the ruler becomes angry, he causes droughts; his dissipation brings floods (II, 343). When the sovereign punishes, it becomes cold; he must be careful, then, to punish only in the fall, not in midsummer, lest he blight the crops. The reverse is the case with the giving of rewards (II, 119). The government has the general responsibility of keeping the *yin* and the *yang* in harmony; the growth of insects in unusual numbers is traceable to the failure of the government in this duty (II, 367).

In conformity with the ancient Chinese theory, the emperor rules as the viceroy of Heaven. So long as he is virtuous, he certainly prospers, but if he departs from the right way, Heaven warns him by causing extraordinary occurrences, such as comets, etc. If he still continues in his evil ways, calamities are first visited on his people, and finally on himself (I, 109, 119, 126). Thousands of omens, of every conceivable sort, are listed by Wang as having appeared as warnings or felicitations for bad or good emperors.³²²

An emperor is believed to be personally very different from ordinary men. The marks of his future greatness are on his body at the time of birth (I, 131). This belief is found in the Occident, also, of course. Certain of the more ancient kings were believed to be no more than half human in form, having the faces of dragons, etc. Huang Ti was able, it is said, to talk at birth (II, 124).

T'ien, Heaven, appears in the *Lun Hêng* as a very tangible entity. *T'ien shên*, the "spirit," "intelligence," or "essence" of Heaven is an appellation which Wang Ch'ung employs frequently. Heaven has a body (II, 155). The *shên* of Heaven lives in certain constellations, just as a king lives in his various palaces. In the popular imagination, Heaven did not merely punish kings, nor visit calamities only on society as a whole; it might even visit its wrath on individuals, striking them dead with bolts of thunder. Such a death was a sure sign of guilt (I, 294). It might also order the

³²² I,137,235,245. II,161,206,207,215,216,306,309. Cf. also H. G. Creel, *Chinese Divination as Indicated by the Lun Hêng* (D.B. Thesis, Chicago), pp. 10-23.

myriad spirits, of whom it was master, to punish recalcitrant individuals. This was the more usual practice, but personal manifestations of Heaven were not uncommon. The genealogies of certain royal houses were traced back to *liaisons* between *T'ien*, manifested as a dragon or a giant, and a female ancestor. It was believed that the widely used divination by the tortoise-shell was a direct interrogation of Heaven (I, 182). The noise made by wind was believed by some persons to be the voice of Heaven and Earth (II, 173). Wang goes so far as to declare that "even Heaven may be induced to respond, by tricks." Certainly, this is a far cry from the lofty conception of Heaven entertained by most of the Sinistic philosophers. Yet the place of Heaven, as supreme governor of the world, remains the same.

Popular fancy invested the sage with marvelous powers much like those which it gave the emperor. Although Mencius specifically said that sages were not different in species from common men,³²³ such an idea could not have been expected to win currency. According to Wang Ch'ung, even the *ju*, (literati) spiritual posterity of Mencius, declared that a special essence of Heaven replaced human sperm in the birth of sages (I, 318). Since the sage was distinguished by his powers of knowledge, these were raised to the *n*th power by those who would exalt him. Sages were declared to know the events of the past, for thousands of years, and to tell of the future for ten thousand generations. Their knowledge of all things came spontaneously, without any labor of learning. Upon seeing a thing for the first time, they knew all about it. Therefore, the sage was considered to be *shên*, "super-usual," "spiritual," by many persons (II, 114). Wang Ch'ung, the sceptic, does not believe that sages are *shên*; according to him they are ordinary men, but their powers of observation and inference are so phenomenally keen as to make it possible for them to accomplish the marvels of mind-reading, etc., for which they were known among the people. Wang conceived the sage as a sort of "super-Sherlock Holmes" (II, 117, 288, 289). Wang tells the following story, which he got from the *Tso Chuan*:

Hearing a cow lowing (Ko Lu) said, "This cow has already had three calves, but they have all been taken away from her." Somebody asking how he knew this, he replied that her voice disclosed it. The man applied to the owner of the cow, and it was really as Ko Lu had said (II, 122-123).

³²³ *Men.* 2(1), 2, 28.

On another occasion, Chan Ho heard a cow lowing outside the gate, and was able to tell that it was a black cow with whitened hoofs. But this, Wang thinks, was not such a great feat; why did not Chan Ho also tell who was its owner, and why its hoofs had been whitened? (II, 122). The *Lun Hêng* recounts such stories by the dozen.

Apocryphal legends concerning Confucius equal those surrounding Jesus, Mohammed, and Gautama. Although his lineage had been concealed from him, Confucius had only to blow the flute in order to discover all of the details of his ancestry (II, 115).³²⁴ He was reputed to have been able to see a thousand *li* (more than three hundred miles) with the naked eye (II, 242). When he died, he left a book of prophecies, which came true (II, 114). His tomb was on the shore of the river Sse; when he was buried there, the waters of the river flowed backwards (II, 223, 251).

It was, of course, the aspiration of every educated man to be appointed to governmental office, and every family hoped that one or more of its members might attain this dignity. Such a happy event was supposed always to be foretold by omens (II, 25), and a regular system of these auguries was developed. A man predestined to office was believed to show his happy fate, in his countenance, from birth; he was a marked man (I, 131).

Any disaster befalling the people of a district was likely to be laid to the account of misconduct on the part of its officers. If tigers carried off a number of men, that was because the high commissioners were fleecing their subordinates, since, just as the tigers were fiercest of beasts, the high commissioners were the chiefs of the officers (II, 357). Plagues of insects were considered to be caused by the misdeeds of officers; if the insects had black bodies and red heads, the military officers were to blame, but if the bodies were red and the heads black, then it was the civil officers who were the culprits. Wang says that when such visitations of insects occurred, the officers to blame were "flogged and maltreated, for the purpose of removing the calamity" (II, 341, 363). It is related that during the reign of P'ing Ti, 1-5 A.D., all of the districts of Honan province were ravaged by locusts, save only that one ruled by the

³²⁴ It is interesting to remark that Wang uses a valid principle of literary criticism to discredit these tales. They are all built, he declares, after a few regular patterns taken from old legends (II, 115).

magistrate Cho, which was spared because of the wisdom and virtue of its ruler (II,190).

The division of China into four quarters, by lines passing NE-SW and NW-SE, and the correspondence of the five *hsing* to these quarters and to the directions, provided the basis for many popular techniques of control. A citation will illustrate the way in which they were used:

When people dig up the earth for the foundation of a building, the year-star and the moon will swallow something,³²⁵ and on the land which they consume a case of death occurs. If *e.g.* the planet Jupiter is in the sign *tse* (the north), the year-star swallows up some land in the sign *yu* (the west), and if the moon in the first month stands in *yin* (east-north-east), it consumes some land in the sign *sse* (south-south-east). Some building being erected on land situated in *tse* and *yin*, people living in *yu* and *sse* are swallowed up, and being about to be thus injured, they have recourse to charms to counteract these influences, using objects made of the five *hsing*, and hanging up metal, wood, water, and fire. Should, for example, Jupiter and the moon infest a family living in the west, they would suspend metal,³²⁶ and should those luminaries be going to devour a family in the east, this family would suspend charcoal.³²⁷ Moreover, they institute sacrifices with a view to averting the evil, or they feign to change their residence, in order thus to eschew the calamity. There is unanimity about this, everyone doing like the others (II,387).

An objection which might be made to the foregoing study is that, whereas it pretends to be a description of popular ideas, it actually deals in large part with notions which were shared even by the emperors, the high officials, and the literati. The reply is that, while many of these theories and techniques were undoubtedly originated by men who had at least some smattering of book learning, there is little doubt that they were shared, at least in their fundamental premises, by the people, the peasants and the artisans. They do, then, present an accurate cross-section of a portion of the popular lore of the land.

Further, it must be remembered that in the China of the first century A.D. a man could be a member of the literati, an officer,

³²⁵ *I.e.*, will cause a disaster. This idea probably springs from the belief in the sacredness of Earth (Cf. II,394,400).

³²⁶ The *hsing* of the west.

³²⁷ The element of the east is wood, and that of the south where the inimical luminaries are placed, while menacing the family, is fire. Charcoal is a combination of wood and fire (Forke's note).

or an emperor, without necessarily being a member of what we might call the "intelligentsia." Confucius, Mencius, and Mo Tse would have laughed at much of what has been recounted, but not every man who could write was "enlightened," in these latter days. In these times, it was more necessary that an emperor be a good military strategist and a good schemer, than that he be intellectually sophisticated. It will be recalled that the founder of the former Han dynasty rose to power as the leader of a bandit gang; this is not to say that he was not an able man, but it is well known that he was not a learned one. The Chinese court of these days was likely to be the headquarters for the diviners, soothsayers, and sorcerers of the nation.

Certain fundamental attitudes and conceptions lay behind these various techniques by means of which the common people were striving, not merely to live, but to live more securely, more happily, more abundantly. This inarticulate and incoherent folk-philosophy is not by any means identical with Sinism, that flower which was the product of the labors of centuries of intellectuals. But it will be noted that it does not conflict with Sinism, either, and that where the two impinge on each other they agree in the essentials. It is as if an illiterate man were trying, with the best of will but only the vaguest understanding, to comprehend the intricacies of a metaphysical system. Of course he exaggerates the marvelous powers of the sage, of course he makes Heaven very like a big man living in the sky—not from any intention to contradict or to offend, but because of too much zeal to agree.

It is not supposed, however, that Sinism first grew up, as a high philosophy, and then was taken over and vulgarized by the masses. It is rather the case that the attitudes grew up, by the process briefly sketched in the first part of this study, as a result of racial experience. Side by side, the popular and the more esoteric expressions of this national philosophy developed.

It is this fundamental agreement between the ideas of the common people, on the one hand, and those of the high philosophers, on the other, which provides the most certain evidence that Sinism was not the chance creation of a handful of Chinese intellectuals led by Confucius, but that it was rather the expression, in philosophical form, of the historically-evolved world-view of the Chinese people.

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