

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

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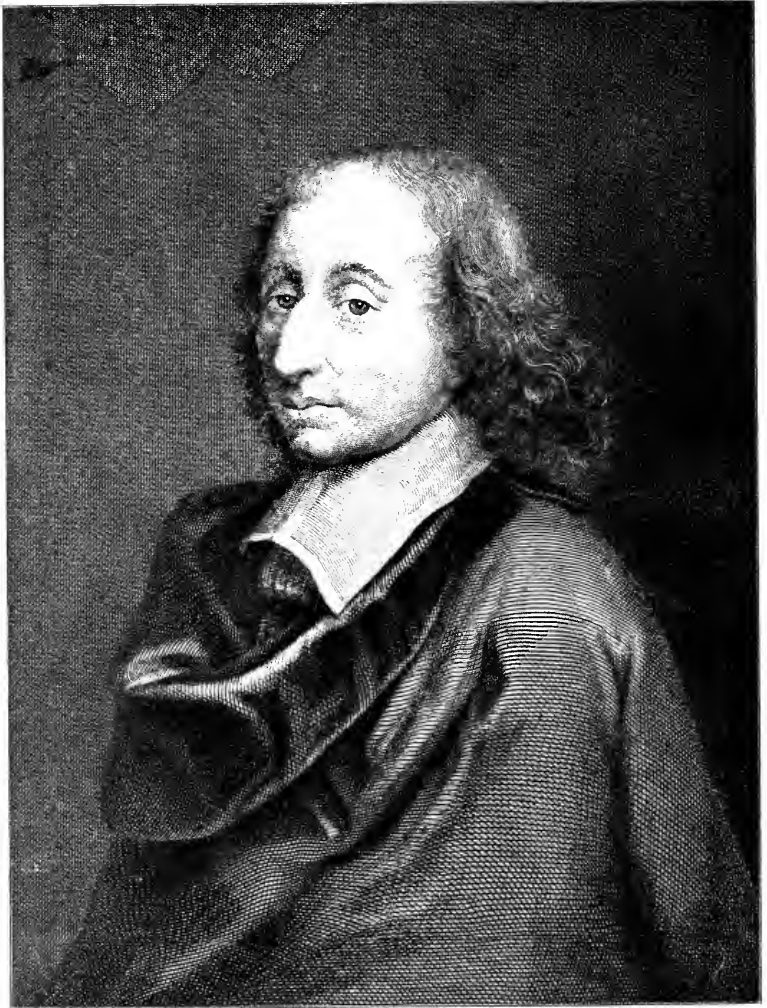
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BLAISE PASCAL

Frontispiece to The Open Court

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SCIENCE AND THE BIBLE

BY T. E. SAVAGE

THERE is a rather widespread impression that the teachings of science tend to destroy faith in God, and that belief in the doctrine of evolution is not compatible with veneration for the Bible, and reverence for religion. Instead of being atheistic, the teachings of science have wonderfully enlarged our conception of God, and they support in so many ways the moral precepts of the Bible that they invest with added authority the scripture message. Instead of being irreligious, the doctrine of evolution has furnished a fuller and more exalted revelation of God, and of his purposes and ways of working in the world than was ever known before.

We are able to properly understand the present only in the light of the past out of which present things have come. Our conception of God, and of the Bible, and of our religion do not furnish an exception to this rule. The evidence is conclusive that not only the ideas of God we hold today, but also our Bible and our religion have all passed through a gradual process of growth or evolution.

In any field of knowledge and experience, the views we hold today are quite different from those we held in our childhood, and from those held by the early workers in the same field. In fact, everything that exists around us, the features of the earth, the forms of its life, our forms of thought, and our ideas of God and His ways of working in the world, are but the last links in the chain of changing events and ideas that extend back a very long distance into the past.

The conception of the relation of the teachings of geology and Genesis has passed through three distinct phases. The earliest view was that the story of Genesis was literal history, and that creation was completed in six days; that the earth and its forms of life were

perfect at the time of creation, and have continued to exist without essential change from that time to the present.

As geologists studied more thoroughly the record in the rocks, they found there was something wrong with the history inscribed in the rock strata, or with the creation story as told in Genesis. Devout men such as Hitchcock of Amherst, Guyot of Princeton, and Dawson of Montreal, studied the scriptures and the strata in an earnest effort to reconcile the records that each disclosed. The conclusion was reached that the days of Genesis were geological eons, or very long periods of time. This effort of reconciliation of geology and Genesis marks the second phase of Bible interpretation.

As the sequence of the earth's strata, and of their fossils, became more perfectly known, it became evident that the order of appearance of life on the earth as revealed by geology could not be harmonized with the creation story of the Bible. As men began to despair of reconciliation, help came from an unexpected source: from the more thorough study of the Bible itself. Bible students like Professor Bacon of Yale Theological Seminary, Moore of Andover Seminary, the late President Harper of the University of Chicago, and many others have shown that the early books of our present Bible were compiled and edited from two main records, the older of which had been made by Prophetic writers, and the later one by the Priests. These records contained a mingling of history and folk tales or traditions written by men who held quite different view points. When a later editor brought together these two records, he did not rewrite the history as our modern historians would have done, but extracted portions bodily from one or the other of these records without changing them, and thus was preserved all of the peculiarities of words and expressions of each of the original writers. The compiler also occasionally inserted editorial additions of his own. This dual character of the main early Bible sources explains why the narrative of the same events in the Bible so often appears twice, the two stories not always being in agreement, like the stories of creation in the first and second chapters of Genesis.

In the excavations of ancient cities of Babylonia, there have been recovered tablets that contain legends or folk tales of the creation and the flood, similar in the main to these stories given in Genesis except that several Gods were thought to have taken part in creation. These Chaldean stories antedate the Bible narrative by more than 1,000 years. George Smith has described some of these tablets and

their translation in his book, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*. Abraham's early home was in Ur of Chaldea. When he went out from there to found a new nation, he took with him a large store of traditions and folk tales of this kind. These he handed down to his children, and they became the common heritage of the early Jewish people.

When very much later the Prophetic and Priestly writers prepared a history of the Jewish people, they incorporated these old stories of creation as an explanation of the way the earth and living beings came into existence. However, the Jews were an intensely religious people. They developed the idea of one God, as contrasted with the polytheistic beliefs of the neighboring peoples, and so the writers of Genesis modified the creation stories in such a way as to make them consistent with their monotheistic God conception.

At the present time, the Bible scholars agree that the creation and flood stories of Genesis are not intended to teach either history or geology, but were modifications of existing legends to teach the great lessons of one God as the creator of all things and that this God rewards righteousness and punishes sin. This is the third and present view of the relation of the teaching of geology and Genesis.

Since Genesis was not meant to teach geology, we are no longer disturbed that the stories of creation as told in Genesis do not agree with each other, or that neither of them agrees with the order in which geology finds the succession of life to have appeared on the earth.

The writers of Genesis had no conception of the largeness of the world, and their story of the universal flood reflects the limitations of the world conception they held. Geology can give competent testimony on the matter of a universal flood, for bodies of water on the land leave positive records in the form of sedimentary deposits, beaches, wave-cut cliffs and terraces. Such features are not present as they would have been if water had covered the lands at a time so recent as since man's appearance on the earth.

The study of the present geographic distribution of animals with reference to the regions in which the evolution of the various classes of animals occurred also has a direct bearing on the question of a universal flood. The fauna of Australia is peculiar in the abundance and variety of its marsupials and the absence of placental mammals. The vertebrate fossils found in Australia indicate that marsupials had developed and flourished there throughout Cenozoic

time, and none of the higher placental mammals were there when the island was discovered.

Even if Australia had been known to Noah, he could scarcely have brought the marsupial species of that island to Asia, and returned them again to Australia without any mixture with the higher mammals, or the addition of other migrants to the island. Such restricted distribution as that of the Sloths and other peculiar inhabitants of South America, and of such islands as the Galapagos and Madagascar offer a similar fatal objection. The details of the present distribution of animals when studied in connection with their distribution during Pleistocene and Pliocene time makes the story of a universal flood impossible, even if Noah and his contemporaries had known of the existence of all the different continents, and if they had had boats sufficiently large to cross the oceans to reach them, and means of capturing the animals when they found them, and if the natural enemies could have been induced to drown their animosities for the period of the journey. The discovery of America would not have been delayed until many centuries later if such voyages and such collections of animals had been made from all the lands of the earth.

The writers of Genesis also had no conception of the great number of kinds or species of living things on the earth. The measurements of the ark into which two individuals of each kind were to be collected are given—300 cubits in length, 50 cubits in width and 30 cubits in height. Imagine a boat with three floors, each 550 by 90 feet in size accommodating two individuals of each species of living things (more than a million) with room for provisions for a 150-day voyage. Such a boat would not even accommodate a fair-sized menagerie.

Chaldean tablets have been found that contain the story of the flood essentially like the stories recorded in Genesis, and which doubtless were their source. However, the writers of the Bible used these stories to teach the moral lesson of how God punished evil doers and rewarded the righteous.

The Hebrew sages were wonderful students of life and morals. All along the Bible history they grasped great truths from the events and experiences of their times. Their religious instincts explained every uncommon circumstance, blessing or disaster, as due to the direct intervention of God. Each writer interpreted God, his motives and manner of action, in the light of the knowledge of nature and

the conception of God that prevailed at the time in which he lived. The early conception was that of a national God; "jealous of his rights and authority, as were all the rulers of that ancient time. He was intensely interested in the national life and supremacy of the Jews, but quite oblivious of the rights of other nations." Since this is true, it is not strange that we find in the writings of the Bible, a record of the development of the Jewish people from earlier crude ideas, to later, more noble conceptions of God. In Genesis, God is in places conceived as a man. He is represented as appearing to men in bodily form, and as talking and eating with men, as a man. He changes His mind and His plans as a man. Like man He harbors hate, jealousy and revenge, just as the Gods of other early peoples.

Traces of a lingering of polytheistic belief were left in the creation story of the Bible in the statements: "And God said, 'Let us make man in our own image'." It is shown in such expressions as, "He is to be feared above all Gods"; "God standeth in the congregation and He judgeth among the Gods"; Before the Gods will I sing praise unto Thee." These ideas are similar to the beliefs of Babylonia and other polytheistic peoples who recognized many Gods, but usually gave to *one* the chief place of authority and power. From these conceptions it is a great advance to the idea of one God, and that one a universal spirit.

The progressive moral standards recorded in the Bible show an equally great development. The early books of the Bible represent standards of an ignorant and cruel age. The idea of the story of Jehovah commanding Abraham to slay his son was not far removed from the practice of human sacrifice. The story of God demanding the innocent family of Achan to be stoned; or destroying thousands of innocent people as a punishment for David's sin while the real offender goes free; or of Samuel hewing King Agag in pieces before the Lord, are not consistent with later conceptions of a God that loveth mercy. Such actions are not in accord with the spirit and teachings of the later prophets, and with the new commandment of Christ.

The imprecatory psalms and prayers for vengeance on their enemies are not in agreement with the command to love your enemies. The early Jewish law of the avenger of blood is very different from that of overcoming evil with good. An enlightened civilization would not sanction the ancient practices of polygamy and slavery;

nor would it countenance the missionary methods of the Israelites when they attempted to free the land of Canaan from heathen practices.

The personal relation of the individual with God shows just as great an evolution. At first, Jehovah, like the God of other primitive peoples, was God of the nation rather than of the individual, the God of battles, or the God of the host of Israel. Very slowly His more intimate relation became recognized, and He came to be addressed as "Our Father."

The earliest writers of the Bible conceived of God as localized. Only at Sinai or Horeb or some other particularly sacred place would God meet with man. It was a long step from this conception to the idea that each person is a living temple in which God abides. Then, too, the early Hebrews like other ancient peoples regarded their God as restricted in His realm; the God of Israel only. Not until the time of the second Isaiah do we find him recognized as a God whose justice and mercy extend to all people. Not till much later still is the truth stated that in every nation he that feareth God and worketh righteousness is accepted of Him.

There is also shown in the writings of the Bible a progressive development of the idea of God as a God of love rather than as a God who executes judgment on evil doers; as a being whose anger must be appeased by sacrifices and whose favor must be gained by gifts.

The inspiration from the Bible does not come from its being an infallible book sent down complete, God made, from heaven, and containing nothing but perfect standards of moral and religious thought. Its value lies in the record of how the Hebrew people grew up from habits of cruelty, injustice and revenge into an appreciation and practice of righteousness, mercy and love; that, beginning in polytheism, idol worship, and human and animal sacrifices they grew up to the worship of God as a heavenly father. Each step of this progress was carved out of the experiences through which they passed. Each better moral standard was long practiced as an unwritten rule of conduct and life, and found to be good for men, before it was written down as a law of God. Each nobler conception of truth, and of God, was acquired in the same way that knowledge of any other truth has been attained; as a result of search and study and effort; and was gained by minds strengthened by their striving for larger knowledge.

This does not mean that all through the ages God's part of revelation was not universal. God is no respecter of persons, or of peoples. He is in no way a partial God, choosing one nation above another to which he revealed His will, and leaving all other peoples with no way of finding Him. It means, rather, that man's recognition of God, or God's revelation to man, became ever more perfect the more men sought to find Him in the world and in their lives, as the Jewish writers did, and the farther they advanced from ignorance and superstition into knowledge. As the poet says:

"God sends His teachers into every age:
To every clime and every race of men:
With revelation fitted to their growth
And shape of mind. Nor gives the realm of truth
Into the selfish rule of one sole race.
Therefore, each form of worship that hath swayed
The life of man, and given it to grasp
The master key of knowledge—reverence
Unfolds some germs of goodness and of right."

The attitude of science teaches us to look upon all the Bibles of the world as God's word, as far as they contain elements or partial conceptions of the truth. It recognizes all religions as divine, as far as they enable their adherents to overcome their fears, to know their God as a friend, and to have peace of mind and confidence in His help. It assures us that nowhere has God left Himself without a witness to minds that earnestly seek for Him. It finds in the crude and imperfect religious message of any age but the measure of the ignorance that darkened the mind of the inspired teachers. It discovers more of deep identity in the yearning after God, in the sense of sin or separateness from God, and the longing for His favor, present in all religions, than of difference in the forms of religious expression, or of the methods of approach to God. Of course, the character of the God-conception, the religious ideas and ideals, and the standards of right and wrong differ widely in different people, for these change in each individual and in every people with increasing knowledge.

Not only is the God-ward striving universal but the highest moral conceptions and ideals reached in all of the great religions are also surprisingly similar. The teaching of Zoroaster—"Righteousness is the best good," is much like that of Confucius—"Do not

do to others what you would not have done to you by others"; and like Plato's ideal—"Virtue is the great aim of life, and that without thought of reward"; or like the ethics of Buddha: "Commit no evil but do good and let thy heart be pure"; and all of these are consistent with the reputed statement of the old Babylonian King Marduk, "The great God has made me king that I should protect the weak, and destroy evil and procure justice to all."

These may be pagan ideas and ideals, but even the pagan saints and sages proclaim our God. Truth is truth, and righteousness is righteousness, and love is love wherever found; and these are everywhere and always the cornerstones of the kingdom of God. Did the followers of these so-called pagan teachers sadly pervert the doctrines their masters taught? So did the followers of Christ, and the pages of Christian history are reddened with the blood of martyrs and of holy wars, and with the crimes of witchcraft and the inquisition.

Science finds not in all Gods dealing with men any exclusiveness that would for ages leave all but one nation without hope and without God in the world. One people has acquired a rich experience of righteousness and of God through their constant effort to realize God and righteousness in their lives. Another nation has sought God in nature, and in their ideals of beauty; and they have enriched the world with their art, and literature, and intellectual culture. Another has striven to realize God in legal enactments, and so has educated the world in law and organization and government. The particular temperament and bent of mind of each people has largely shaped the ideal towards which it has striven. Seek and ye shall, by the seeking, be made stronger to find what ye seek after. "To him that hath shall more be given." This is the law of life.

This does not mean that all Bibles or all religions rank equal in their influence upon mankind. We believe that the Christian religion contains nobler conceptions of God; higher standards of morals, and leads to the development of better living than any other religion that has influenced humanity. It is also more fruitful in its power of adaptation to increasing knowledge. We should expect this to be true because of the fact that it is among the latest products of religious evolution, and also on account of the cosmopolitan influences that have contributed to its ideals. The Christian religion has inherited from the Hebrews the idea of one God and that "This God demands righteousness of His people." In the development of

this idea the Jews became benefactors of the human race. It has received from the Greeks the intellectual interpretation of God and of life; the emphasis that God is immanent in nature and in men. For, as one of the Greek poets has said, "Ye also are His offspring." Rome has contributed the conception of an imperial God sitting outside of the earth and ruling the world by arbitrary laws which must be implicitly obeyed. Occasionally, he interfered with normal processes of the earth for the purpose of punishing evil doers, or rewarding the righteous. Such a ruler could only be approached through a mediator. It is this conception that gave rise to the idea of sin as the transgression of an arbitrary law, that regarded forgiveness as a personal pardon of a personal offense, and that made satisfaction for violated law demand a propitiation or atoning sacrifice to satisfy divine justice and appease divine wrath. It is no wonder that the reconciliation of divine justice and infinite mercy has for centuries taxed the ingenuity of the church. Christianity may also be indebted to eastern mysticism for the idea that man can gain a direct revelation of religious truth through dreams, visions, trances, or states of ecstasy, and for the idea of losing one's identity or self in God.

In these later days, science has greatly changed the world-thoughts, and God-conceptions of men. It has shown us how God has not only been educating man since his advent in the world, but in a similar way He has been educating sentient life through its interactions with the orderly processes of nature since its first appearance on the earth.

The Bible conception of God and His relation to the world, so vividly portrayed in Milton's immortal poem, was found impossible when geologists discovered the structure and constitution of the earth, and astronomers gave us the modern conception of the universe. We are introduced upon the earth while it is yet in an unfinished condition. Each new day is a creative day. Each day's creation is, and has always been, accomplished by the forces of nature acting in their uniform and orderly ways. Some call the process evolution, and others call it God. By whatever name it is called, evolution is the method God chose to create the world and man its highest product. The forces of nature would seem to be the agency through which God has worked, and still works, in the creative process.

The verdict of science as well as the Bible is that God is in the world: that His presence permeates all the beauty and order and majesty of nature. God is the intelligence that constitutes the intelligence of nature. Out of the interaction of living beings with the intelligence and order of nature there was developed intelligent mind and reason in man. If nature's laws had not been always constant, so that every cause was linked with its appropriate effect, intelligence and reason would probably never have appeared upon the earth. Out of the reaction between reasoning men and reasonable nature have emerged the conceptions of God and of man's relation to Him which constitutes religion. Both the reason of man and the religion of man would seem to be the reflection of God expressed in the orderliness of the world. This view explains:

“How exquisitely the individual mind
To the external world is fitted.
And how exquisitely, too, the external world
Is fitted to the mind.”

This conception makes nature and man alike divine. It makes science the systematic study of God's purposes and modes of action. It makes the forces of nature partake of the spirit of God Himself. It removes the false notions that have set up the natural as distinct from the supernatural, that have divided the secular from the religious, and that have kept man apart from God.

In the past men have looked for God too much in signs and wonders. They have lived in His very presence, but their eyes were holden so they did not see Him. In Him they have lived and moved and had their being, and at the same time imagined God was far from them.

If God's presence permeates nature in such an intimate way, we should expect to find nature's laws teaching the same moral lessons as the Bible, and working along lines parallel with it in bringing about righteousness in the earth. In a very large way this is true. The Bible says, “Prove all things, and hold fast to that which is good.” Science has accepted this rule as one of its fundamental principles. The Bible says, “The wages of sin is death.” Science repeats the same warning and shows us how nature works to bring about this result. When a man indulges in evil practices and persistently transgresses the laws of health, his physical vigor and power of resistance are lessened thereby, and he falls an early vic-

time to disease. Nature detects even those that appear to be sound, but are rotten at the core. The Bible says, "the iniquities of the fathers are visited upon the children to the third and fourth generations." Science shows clearly the truth of this statement. Where parents are dissolute and victims of sinful habits, the children also possess weakened constitutions as well as sinful tendencies, either as a result of inheritance, or of early environment and neglect. Where for only a few generations parents are persistently vicious the stock grows weakened, idiotic and eventually becomes extinct. Persistent sinfulness is stamped out in a few generations by natural selection acting through heredity. In the language of science the sinner is out of harmony with his environment and if he and his posterity will not or cannot change, natural selection will as surely cut off his race as in the case of any other animal not in adjustment with its environment. This is "the power not of ourselves that makes for righteousness." Happily, in a similar way the higher qualities of character developed by the parents are also impressed upon the children by early education and example. The Bible says, "the righteous shall inherit the earth," and science assures us that righteousness or right living makes for health and length of life.

The sorrow and remorse that we feel for wrongs committed or for duties omitted are nature's warnings that we are out of harmony with her ways. Unrest and dissatisfaction of mind are nature's calls to higher standards of thought and living. Peace is gained through striving to live in harmony with God's will, which means in harmony with the purposes that dominate the world.

Science believes in the positive nature of sin; not sin as the transgression of arbitrary law, but sin as the failure to know and to conform to the physical, moral and spiritual laws according to which the best development of man and of society can be attained.

Science assures us of a ruling Providence in the world; a Providence which would require man to apply the means that God has provided for accomplishing results. "It finds a Providence, or foresight, in the orderly course of nature; not in the occasional interference of nature's activities." It believes that we honor God more by seeking to know His laws, and by following them in their ordinary application to life than by looking for, or trusting in so-called special Providences. The question of whether God's Providences are general or special is a lingering of the early conception of God that assigned to Him human limitations and imperfections.

Science also recognizes the importance of prayer; the kind of a petition that prays, "Thy will not mine be done"; the prayer that leads the petitioner to seek to know ever more perfectly the universal will and to seek to conform his life thereto. This is not the childish conception of prayer which would in any sense think to change the movements of universal order, either by reason of man's impotency, or his much speaking, or that expects God to do for man what he could and should do for himself. "God's plans are not so weak that they may yield to human wishes."

Science also teaches a most holy faith in the environing and all-embracing presence of God; a faith that His ways may be known; a faith that His laws will not fail those who put their trust in them. It enlarges our faith in a humanity striving towards a knowledge of God, and striving to make society realize His great purposes. It inspires a faith that displaces the pernicious notions of luck and chance by a knowledge that "all effects are linked with their appropriate causes"; a faith that finds growth in grace attained by the systematic practice of the graces, just as mental growth is accomplished by the exercise of the mind, and increased physical power results from the proper exercise of the body; a faith that believes the putting down of evil and the enthronement of good in the world will be accomplished by the aggressive, righteous life, and earnest efforts of individuals along the channels by which society is organized; a faith in the future of the race the trend of which has always been "upward and forward to that which is better, to a larger and a fuller and a finer life. Notwithstanding the suffering and diseases of body and the poverty of mind that still exist, the faith of science illuminates the future with the light from the past and assures us with a certainty that almost eliminates faith, that anything else than increasing good would reverse the laws of the ages."

Science also reveals the love of God; a love too deep and true to provide for the development of weaklings through constant ease and unearned pleasures; a love that holds virtue, strength of character, and ennobling progress far above passive enjoyment; a love that deals with men in such ways as to make them strong, and causes them to develop ever increasing powers. It finds this supreme love expressed in unvarying law, so that men may learn His ways, and trust His laws, and plan with them beyond the present hour. It is through a knowledge of and conformity to, these laws that have

come all of the attainments and achievements that make the present age the best the world has ever known.

When men can look out on the world from this viewpoint, they will realize that all is holy ground. They will see in the forces of nature that have developed them, that envelop and sustain their lives and by whose co-operation they perform their common labors, the presence of God Himself. Then they will recognize that life itself is sacred; that "right work rightly performed is worship," and that in the performance of his work man is a co-worker with God. Then will righteousness, reverence and fellowship with God be the reasonable and natural attitude of mind, and then will the Kingdom of nature be seen to be none other than the Kingdom of God.

PASCAL AS POET AND MYSTIC

BY M. S. STANCYEVICH

LITERARY, scientific and other academic societies of France, recently celebrated the tercentenary of Pascal, the enigmatic poet, mystic and philosopher of the seventeenth century, an author who stands by himself, claiming no ancestors, leaving no successors. Although some of his works abound in contradictions, he still remains a living spirit, unlike any other, passionate, profound, individual and immortal. His books have moved, and continue to move the entire world.

I

Blaise Pascal was born three hundred years ago (1623) in Clermont Ferrand, Auvergne, the son of a well-known family, many members of which had held responsible positions in civil service. His father held the post of a provincial administrator, and his mother had died when he was three years old. The elder Pascal was a pious but stern person, and by no means disposed to entertain or allow any undue exaltation in religion. He directed the education of his son and wished him, before learning mathematics, to become proficient in languages. But the boy showed more remarkable precocity in physics and geometry than in languages and humanities. At the age of sixteen Blaise wrote an *Essay pour les coniques*, which filled Descartes with incredulity and admiration. This was soon followed by invention of a calculating machine, which later was improved and perfected by Charles Babbage.

For some years, the youth devoted himself so closely to scientific study as to overtax his physical strength. "From the age of eighteen," says his sister, Mme. Périer, "he hardly ever passed a day without pain." But in spite of pain he continued to work with his

accustomed ardor, until the publication of his *Nouvelles expériences touchant le vide* (1647), when he appears to have suffered, not merely from acute dyspepsia, but from a kind of paralysis. Afterwards he lived in Auvergne where his health was somewhat restored. At the end of 1650 his family came back to Paris, when Blaise for the first time began to mix with better society, and to enjoy for a certain time a worldly and Epicurian life.

It must have been during this period that he became acquainted with Parisian men of fashion and of intellectual tastes, the Duke of Rouannez, the Chevalier de Méré, a great sceptic, and Miton, an intellectual libertine. These men helped Pascal to rub off some of his provincial manners and modes of thought, and to polish his style. Meanwhile he continued his studies and proved the hypothesis of atmospheric and barometric pressure. He also made practical inventions such as the hydraulic press and some vehicles like the modern "bus." At one time or another of his life he worked out the theory of probability in games of chance, and foresaw the questions in higher mathematics of differential and integral calculus.

At the age of thirty, when Pascal was in the full plentitude of his intellectual development, he composed some interesting tracts, such as his *Discours sur les passions de l'amour*. This is a series of scattered reflections, brought together in book form. The passions are defined here as feelings and thoughts which belong exclusively to the spirit.

Purity of spirit causes also purity of passion: that is why a great and pure spirit loves with ardor and realizes distinctly what he loves.

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The passions which are most natural to man, and which comprehend most others, are love and ambition. They are not mutually connected; yet they exist together quite often; but they tend to weaken and even to destroy each other.

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Many of Pascal's critics believe that this fine treatise was inspired by the writer's passion for the beautiful and charming Charlotte de Rouannez, sister of his friend. She was a woman in high station, and in the prime of her love she was too exalted to become the wife of Blaise Pascal. It was she to whom he made the following allusions:

Man alone is not a complete being; to be happy he has need of another. Usually we seek this second self in our own rank, because the freedom and opportunity to manifest our feelings are found most easily among our equals. Sometimes, however, we love a woman of higher rank than our own, and the passion grows within us, though we dare not tell it to her who has caused it.

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When we thus love a woman set higher in the world than ourselves, ambition may at first attend upon love, but the latter soon gains the mastery. Love is a tyrant that will endure no rival; it wants to reign alone, and all other passions must yield to it and obey it.

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At Paris it was rumored that a *grand mariage* was in prospect. But the little love affair was never realized between Mademoiselle de Rouamez and Pascal. His intellectual interests and his fragile health diverted him entirely from the folly of passion. His "revealed Beatrice" for whom he ravished in adoration decided to enter the Convent of Port-Royal at Paris, where one of his sisters, who was a goodly poetess, Jaqueline, had already accepted a position there as a teacher and took the veil.

II

The life which Pascal led in the world left him sorrowing, and soon the things of the spirit claimed him altogether. This was at the end of 1654 or the beginning of 1655. The Cistercian Abbey of Port-Royal for a long time was known by the virulent controversy between the Jesuits and the Jansenists. The doctrine of Jansenism originated in the seventeenth century through Cornelius Jansen, professor of theology at the University of Louvain, and later bishop of Ypres in Flanders. The teaching of this theologian developed a puritanical spirit analogous to that of the French Calvinists. He urged that in a spiritual religion experience, not reason, must be our guide.

This doctrine so pleased Pascal, that it came as a new order into his life and continued to the end. He was not now satisfied to take a merely academic interest in the disputes, but turned the attack against the enemy in his entrenched camp of morals. It was at this point that he dashed into the combat with his famous *Pctites Lettres* called *Les Provinciales*, which made him the champion of Jansenism. In these letters Pascal found his true style, and took rank at once among the great writers of France. He had probably been himself unaware of his own powers, since his previous scientific papers *De l'équilibre des liqueurs* and *De la pesanteur de la masse de l'air* together with his *Traité du triangle arithmétique*, show no trace of the admirable language of these letters. The style of the *Lettres Provinciales* is noble, simple and impassioned; it is vivid, full of individuality and free from all rhetorical device. If the Buffon's apophthegm, *Le style c'est l'homme même*, could not be used for every writer, it would certainly be safely applied in this case. Joseph de Maistre anathemized *Les Provinciales* as "a very pretty libel," and Chateaubriand characterized them as "an immortal lie." But in spite of this superficial condemnation they have great literary value, and they have secured for Pascal a place among the first masters of French prose.

We cannot speak here at length on the *Provincial Letters*. Outside France they are not much read today. Like all polemical and sarcastical writings, they would require a separate study, and should be treated historically before one could do them justice. For this reason they do not lend themselves to quotation. It is the *Pensées* that really bring Pascal into the region of the sublime; and it is of the *Pensées* that we would now speak.

After completing *Les Provinciales*, Pascal designed a work in defense of Christianity. He did not live to write it. In the last years of his painful life he wrote down his meditations, mostly on the subject of spirit and religion. After his death (August 19, 1662), these scattered memoranda, written sometimes criss-cross, and without any system, were found among his papers. They were published by the Jansenists of Port-Royal, with many excisions. Léon Brunschwicq in his new editions of 1904 has fortunately restored the full text from the original. In reading the *Pensées* now we may feel that we have them as they came from the author's pen.

The *Pensées* are written in prose form. But every line of this prose is vibrating with inspiration and poetry of the Christian religion. Their author never thought of gaining glory as a poet. Such a title would not flatter him. More than any other man he believed only one thing necessary: to assure eternity. Yet, many fragments of the *Pensées* can vie with the poems of any great genius.

The poets of today are almost unanimous in affirming that an idea, directly expressed as an idea in order to convince, cannot assume real poetic value. They would charge as folly the pretension to expand in poetry an idea developing it logically and dialectically. But it would be naïve to think that the terms which exclude each other from the modern standpoint, would refuse to associate in the eternal necessity of things. Our era is like other epochs: it is consulting its tastes, its tendencies and its possibilities. Experience has shown that the logicians, dialecticians and orators have not despised poetry. Who does not inhale the delicate perfume from the agile and captious arguments of Plato? Who would not feel quivering in such a picture of passion in which the ardent words of Bossuet give you a sensation as if the suffering of Jesus would traverse your body?

The subject of the *Thoughts* is in reality the unspeakable misery of humanity given up to its own forces without the luminous road of Providence. There are fragments in this work which describe the weak efforts of man to get knowledge, and these efforts seem to Pascal one of the episodes most poignant of our misery, and which is not taken into consideration by man in general. The divine poetry of Pascal rests on the gift of substitution. It is a kind of offering of all his being to the tearing pity of man. His lyrism is more than the lyrism of a man, it is the lyrism of the man. This lyrism is identification of man with humanity, so pitiable in its striking grandeur.

III

Lyrism, however, should not be identified with poesy. It is only one aspect of poetry. Romanticists and many other writers generally forget to detect this essential difference. The notion of poetry

is infinitely more vast than the notion of lyricism. Take for instance the following passages:

The whole visible world is but an almost imperceptible speck in the vast expanse of the universe. No idea of ours can approximate to its immense extent. However, we may amplify our conceptions, they will still be mere atoms in comparison with the reality of things. This is an infinite sphere, the center of which is everywhere, but its circumference nowhere.

Man is but a reed, weakest in nature, but he is a thinking reed. It is not necessary that the entire universe arm itself to crush him. A vapor, a drop of water suffices to kill him. But were the universe to crush him, man would still be more noble than that which has slain him, because he knows that he dies, and the universe knows nothing of the advantage it has over him.

There are critics who emphatically declare that formal versification is the fundamental requisite for good poetry. They would probably hesitate to accept the above lines as poetry. But Pascal is an example which evidently shows that the dominant quality of poetry is inspiration. His emotion, invention, and imagination "come from the heart and go to the heart," as Wordsworth would say. He is beyond doubt a poet *par excellence*. His ideas tend invincibly to assume poetic style and form, and to be expressed lyrically or not presented at all. In fact, they are something more than mere ideas. They are real life expressed too lively. The ardent dialectics of Pascal reverberate the spirit and heart, flesh and blood. His terms, as synthetic as language can furnish, are blended with the rhythm of life. One idea is spouting out another, in a nervous argumentation which seems like an élan; one pulsation of life is mounting on another. And this vivid dialectic, touching the summit of ecstasy, brightens up naturally into mental images or visions.

With Pascal, the vision is generally born from warmth of argumentation. For him it is a carnal argument. However, he has no predilection for noble or trivial vision. And just for that reason because he does not make selection of visions, but receives them as they appear in correspondence with his idea, he gives us the impression of a most modern author. Nothing is antiquated in his writings. With this gift of transforming ideas into rhythm and

sensation, that is into organic life, every problem considered by him in the order of thought is welded with drama and exalted into the pathetic. Here is not the question of cold considerations and gray distinctions which we want to attract or to evade. The problem of the limitation of knowledge transmutes into human suffering. Men who insatiably desire, move and go in search of the Absolute to obtain life, come to the scene. Before us is unfolded a convulsive fresco. With arms raised toward the planet-sprinkled sky, frantic emotions culminating in spontaneous outpourings, spasmodic pangs, overcome afflictions, incoherent dreams, despairing cries—all this forms Pascal's problem of knowledge and mystic experience. Some theme for poetry, indeed!

Besides poetry resulting from the pathetic and dramatic accent of thought, there are other aspects of Pascalian poetry, namely, the effective employment of imagination and immense perspectives open to vague reverie. Pascal possessed a strange gift of being able to pass spontaneously from the most precise and minute detail to the ensemble of all things. Under any object of thought presented by this mystic poet, one feels almost always the approaching of cosmic abysses which will carry him and swallow him up at the same time. With this gift of binding instantaneously the whole and the particulars, Pascal was able to create the highest intellectual poetry, consisting of compressed lines under which one feels the multitude of things and ideas not verbally expressed, but implicitly comprehended.

Cromwell was on the point of overturning all Christianity; the royal family would have been ruined, and his own permanently established, if a small gravel had not lodged in his ureter.

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The nose of Cleopatra—had it been a little bit shorter, all the world would have been changed.

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I put it down as a fact that if all men knew what each said of the other, there would not be four friends in the whole world.

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He who loves a female for her beauty, does he really love her? No; for let the small-pox destroy her beauty—his passion would subside.

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Men are governed far more by their fancies, than by reason.

You read these maxims and an abyss of meditations opens to infinite possibilities. Pascal was able to condense into one line or one phrase what would be necessary for others to write in volumes. His words in such cases are not *vains mots* but explosives. The most intense passages of his brilliant poetry are striking and dazzling beauties.

It has frequently been made a reproach to Pascal that he deals only with the darker and more terrible experiences of life. He has been represented as a sombre pessimist probing with uncanny skill the festering wounds of maimed and mangled Christian souls. Sometimes it has been more than hinted that the dyspeptic attacks and headaches from which he constantly suffered, had undermined his sanity, and that he had become incapable of seeing anything in the world but eternal despair, hate and tears.

All this criticism, however, fails to recognize the fact that Pascal is not a poet merely, judging him by his sublime style and diction, but one of the world's great masters of human tragedy. Like the supreme creations of Greek dramatic genius, Pascal's works portray the terrifying human soul as it fathoms the depths of suffering and sin. It is only under such extreme circumstances that the utmost possibilities of our nature can be tested, and it is just at this point that all spiritual resources of faith or hope stand revealed. Here lies the power of tragedy to convey some of the profoundest lessons of religion—a power which Pascal recognized and used as unmistakably as Aeschylus or Sophocles.

To understand well the great French moralist and mystic undoubtedly one must study and comprehend the times in which he lived. The seventeenth century was the age of coarseness, artificiality and shallowness. It produced such men as the rather brutish and absolutist, Louis XIV, who used to say, *L'état, c'est moi*. But we ought to remember that it was also the century of Pascal, one of the most spiritual, lofty and sober of all French moralists. He contributed more than any other French author to form the geniuses of Racine, Molière, Voltaire and Rousseau. His *Provinciales* and *Pensées* are considered perfect models in the literary art of writing. Pascal is not only the most illustrious man of the Port-Royal, he is the honor of the seventeenth century, the honor of France and of all humanity.

NEW LIGHT ON THE PROBLEM OF EVIL

BY VICTOR S. YARROS

FROM time to time, the Agnostic of the school of Spencer, Huxley, Tyndall, Haeckel, *et al*, is impelled or compelled to restudy the so-called Problem of Evil. Liberal theologians and others continue to wrestle manfully with that perplexing problem, and when they succeed in saying anything original or thought-provoking it is incumbent upon the advanced skeptical thinkers fairly and earnestly to consider that contribution to an old, yet ever-new subject of the deepest possible interest.

Thus, Principal L. P. Jacks of Manchester, philosopher, metaphysician, editor, social radical and man of letters, has challenged attention among thoughtful persons by a series of lectures—published in book form—which he delivered some time ago at Oxford on the subject of “Religious Perplexities.” What Principal Jacks really discusses in this little volume is the problem of evil, and his point of view is that of an enlightened, unconventional, candid Christian.

Mr. Jacks never offers us dogma in place of ideas. He affects no confidence which he does not feel. He is humble and tentative in his conclusions, although those conclusions are of the utmost significance to him. Are they to other independent and liberal thinkers? And is Mr. Jacks' method of reaching them scientific or philosophical? These are the questions we shall try to answer.

First, however, let us call particular attention to the frank and courageous spirit in which Mr. Jacks approaches the problem of evil. He assumes, as it were, the full burden of proof. He attempts no arbitrary simplification. He avoids no difficulty which he is able to perceive and underestimates none.

For example, he disclaims any sympathy with those who have been saying that the great world war, from the disastrous effects of which we are making no haste to recover, has emphasized in a new or exceptionally tragic way the problem of evil. He observes with truth that that notion is a very shallow one. The war was a terrible calamity, but it raised no new moral or spiritual problems. To quote Mr. Jacks:

“We are sometimes told that the great war has enormously increased the religious perplexities of mankind. I cannot see that it has. All the problems it suggests, all the questions it raises, were equally contained in the lesser wars that went before it; and even if the great one had never occurred, there would still be enough suffering in the world to challenge the strongest faith. An age which has needed the great war to rouse it to a sense of tragedy must have been living in a fool’s paradise. Every problem suggested by the great war has been there, plain for all ages to see, since suffering and death, folly and wickedness, first came into the world. . . . All that the great war can mean was summarized long ago by the man who saw the ‘whole creation groaning and travailing in pain together till now!’”

Dealing more generally with the same interesting and important point—the utter lack of novelty in religious and moral perplexities—Mr. Jacks says further:

“Too much is being made of the special difficulties besetting religion at the passing moment—those, for example, connected with the progress of science and with the higher criticism—as though this were the age of religious difficulty par excellence. Surely that is a mistake. Religious belief has always required the full courage of the soul to sustain its high propositions. . . . What science and the higher criticism have done is to turn attention upon new points, to divert perplexities into new channels, but not to alter their essential character, not to change the stuff of which they are made. The fact of evil is no discovery of the present age; it has been challenging the faith of men for thousands of years; there is nothing more poignant to be said about it today than was said ages ago by the patriarch Job. Suffering and death, the agony of bereavement, the tragedies of blighted

hopes and shipwrecked lives—these are not things peculiar to the twentieth century.”

How true all this is, and how well said!

No; there is nothing new in the religious and moral perplexities of the thoughtful and candid men and women of this day and generation. But no generation is content to accept any solution of the problem of evil which does not satisfy its own mind, or hit the mark from its own particular point of view, or find expression in terms and accents which harmonize with its own habits of thought and its own vague *weltanschauung*. Mr. Jacks is a representative of the most progressive and broad-minded Christian element of our time. Since he faces the old and ever-new problem bravely and manfully, his attempt at a solution of it in new terms is, to repeat, calculated to arrest attention and provoke reflection.

To begin with, Mr. Jacks does not promise any release from *all* religious and moral perplexities, or any *complete* intellectual solution of the problem of evil. A religion worthy of the name, he says, may give release from *some* perplexities, perplexities that belittle us and place us on a level on which the better part of our nature feels uneasy and uncomfortable. Perplexities attributable to selfishness, timidity, meanness or envy vanish in the light and warmth of any rational religion or philosophy. But, on the other hand, a rational religion—to quote Mr. Jacks:

“Confronts us with perplexities on a higher level, where our finer essence finds the employment for which it is made. Instead of hiding the great crises, instead of banishing them, instead of giving us anaesthetics to make us unconscious of their presence, religion reveals them, makes us aware of them, sharpens our consciousness of their presence, but at the same time reveals us to ourselves as beings who are capable of overcoming them. If, on the one hand, it uncovers the pain of life, and makes us feel it with a new intensity, on the other it liberates the love that conquers pain, a power mightier than death and sharper than agony.”

Mr. Jacks, as a Christian, advances the claim that Christianity revealed us to ourselves in the person of Jesus, brought to light a side of our nature which the Old Testament and other great books had not sufficiently emphasized. This claim has been and will be challenged by many adherents of other religious systems, and by

Agnostics and Atheists as well, but this is not the place to deal with that purely incidental issue. The question of immediate interest to us is not whether Christianity in its essence is the most enlightened and purest of all religions. Let it be admitted that Mr. Jacks' Christianity is advanced, noble and pure as any religion professed by non-Christian sages and thinkers. The issue is whether any religion removes the higher and graver perplexities and supplies an intelligible and significant solution of the problem of evil.

To make Mr. Jacks' answer clear, we may quote a few more passages:

There is "that in all of us which stands above the perplexities of life and is more than a match for them; which sees evil with the clearest eye and at the same time overcomes it with the deepest love. At home in the bright hours of life, which grow brighter under the radiance it pours into them, the Christ within is always ready when the dark ones arrive. 'I am equal to that,' he cries. 'Through the power that is given me, through the fellowship I have with the heart of a divine universe, I can turn that evil into good, and transfigure that sorrow into joy, and draw the stream of a deeper life from the very thing that threatens to slay me. . . ."

"On the surface of things there is discord, confusion and want of adaptation; but dig down, first to the center of the world, and then to the center of your own nature, and you will find a most wonderful correspondence, a most beautiful harmony, between the two—the world made for the hero and the hero made for the world."

I may note in passing that Mr. Jacks' solution coincides with that offered by Mr. Havelock Ellis in his chapter on religion in the new work rather paradoxically entitled, "The Dance of Life." Mr. Ellis tells us in that quite disappointing chapter the story of his own conversion to religious belief. He was an Agnostic in his youth and a self-complacent one. He had pondered the problem of evil and the patent want of adaptation on this earth and was disposed to accept the teachings of Huxley, Darwin, Tyndall and Spencer—particularly the affirmation that the finite human mind can never know what life is, or what the ultimate stuff of the universe is, or whether that stuff was created by some omniscient and omnipotent power, or what the destiny and purpose of the universe are. But the study of

a neglected or unappreciated book of James Hinton suddenly opened his eyes to the inadequacy and short-sightedness of Agnosticism, as well as to the momentous truth that the universe was not hostile or even indifferent to man—or, rather, to the best in man—but *distinctly friendly*. In other words, there is something in the universe which sympathizes with and responds to our better nature, our conscience, our sense of beauty, truth and goodness. To work with that power becomes a pleasure, a privilege and a joy—and that is the religious life and the law and prophets of sound religion.

Let us now candidly and critically examine the Jacks-Ellis solution of the problem of evil.

The first question that inevitably arises in the independent mind is one of fact—namely, *Is* the universe friendly to man at his noblest and best; *is* there the beautiful harmony discerned by Mr. Jacks between the heroic soul and the center of the universe—whatever and wherever that “center” is? Is it true that there is something in all of us which is capable of turning evil into good and transforming sorrow into joy?

It is but fair to point out that both Principal Jacks and Mr. Ellis appeal to general experience, to the average man—provided he is not a coward and prejudiced bigot—to “all of us,” in short, or to most of us. The claims of a few mystics or rare natures would, of course, possess no evidential value. Either the few exceptional natures would be treated as a privileged class, a group of supermen, living on a plane never attainable by the overwhelming majority of human beings, or else they would be simply disbelieved, suspected of self-deception, delusions of moral grandeur, or arrogant self-righteousness and offensive vanity. Religion is for all of us or it is for none capable of clear thinking and intelligent weighing of the evidence supplied by observation, self-examination and experimentation.

Messrs. Jacks and Ellis assure the average man, then, in effect, that if he will assimilate and apply the teachings of Christ as they are found in the new testament, his perplexities in connection with the problem of evil will fade away and vanish, and that harmony and beautiful adaptation will replace all apparent discord, maladjustment and heart-rending waste and woe. He will see that the universe is friendly, that evil can be turned into good and anguish into gladness.

Let us put ourselves in the shoes of the average man and consider certain concrete instances:

An early-morning fire destroys an orphan asylum, or a hospital for the insane, or a home for helpless cripples, and hundreds of lives are lost.

An earthquake suddenly wipes out thousands or tens of thousands of human and sub-human beings and inflicts misery and pain on other multitudes of human beings, besides turning hard-won wealth and capital into rubbish heaps.

A cyclone or tidal wave overwhelms a city and takes heavy toll of life—adult and infant.

Cancer kills hundreds of thousands of men and women of middle age—bread winners, mothers of families in need of care and protection.

Thousands of women in the most advanced communities die, despite the best medical and scientific ministrations, while giving birth to normal children.

Tens of thousands of infants die annually of "children's diseases" which are apparently unpreventable.

Here are perfectly familiar illustrations of evil and maladaptation. How will the most faithful observance of Jesus' teachings transform them into good, and draw life, inspiration, hope and joy from them? How does the friendly attitude toward the universe reconcile one to appalling waste and cruel suffering?

In vain will the anxious inquirer seek direct answers to these queries in Mr. Jacks' or Mr. Ellis' pages. The indirect answer he will glean is this: Lose yourself in service, forget your personal sorrow, work indefatigably for the physical and spiritual welfare of your unfortunate neighbors and fellowmen, and sooner or later peace, serenity and contentment will pervade your whole being. "Be ready": be cheerful and stoical; be hopeful and your life will be worth living.

There is truth—vital and significant truth—in this indirect answer, but that truth *affords no solution of the problem of evil. Intellectually speaking, it is not really relevant to that problem.* Service, the losing of self in useful and beneficial work, charity and enlightened benevolence unquestionably yield more satisfaction than a selfish, sordid, loveless, life; but it does not turn evil into good, does not transfigure sorrow into joy, does not draw life from sources

of destruction and death. *Evil remains evil; waste remains waste; undeserved suffering and pain remain undeserving suffering and pain.*

Indeed, the effort to abolish evil, while worthy of all encouragement and commendation—even from the narrower point of view of Hedonism—and the will to make or support such effort *are themselves proofs that evil continues to be envisaged and felt as evil.* Otherwise, why work to abolish or diminish it?

It is far more logical to argue that, since the universe is friendly, and the ultimate Purpose behind it positive and beneficent, evil should be treated as disguised good, and accepted with absolute resignation, than it is to contend that, because the best in us is stirred by what appears to us to be evil and waste, and because there is inner satisfaction in service and altruistic conduct generally, therefore our perplexities are dispelled and the problem of evil is happily solved.

And this brings us to the second important point. Messrs. Jacks and Ellis offer us a *moral* solution of an *intellectual* problem. This is hardly legitimate. We ask them to explain evil on the theory of a friendly universe, a beneficent Purpose in creation, and they tell us that, if we devote our lives to service, to the overcoming and abolition of evil, the mystery is solved, the perplexity removed. How? Principal Jacks speaks of mere anaesthetics so often proposed by superficial theologians or conventional moralists as remedies for human ills; he fails to see that he lays himself open to the charge of doing precisely the same thing—of suggesting social service, active sympathy and charity, as a means of *escape* from religious and moral perplexities. He fails to perceive that the missionary, the settlement worker, the sincere reformer, the martyr only combat particular evils, and find solace in doing so, *without denying either to others or to themselves the fact or problem of evil!*

It should be borne in mind that the Pragmatist and Agnostic, who find *no* evidence of friendliness to man in the universe, or of comprehensible Purpose in creation, though perfectly willing to entertain the Jacks-Ellis hypothesis, provided adequate proof be furnished in its behalf, reach the same moral and practical conclusions as Messrs. Jacks and Ellis in their own way. The Agnostic and Pragmatist say that they can form no conception of Universal Pur-

pose, or of omniscience and omnipotence, and that all the available evidence of astronomy, geology, and other sciences points to cosmic indifference to poor humanity, or to organic life generally as known on this little planet. But they do not deny that the best in us is responsive to human and animal need of succor and sympathy, and that the happiest life, irrespective of creeds, beliefs and theories regarding ultimates, is the life of disinterested service, of pursuit of truth and promotion of justice and good will. The Agnostic and Pragmatist, taking a frankly human view of the human situation, affirm that, whether the universe be friendly, indifferent or hostile to man, our own experience and reason tell us that the way to inward peace and rational happiness lies through the realization of our evolved and evolving ideals of fraternity and mutual aid. Do Messrs. Jacks and Ellis imply that, but for the hypothesis of Purpose and friendliness in the universe, the good and noble life would be impossible for man, or futile, or irrational? One cannot think so; but, in that case, why assume the friendliness of the universe at all in dealing with a moral and practical question, the question of the best means of human fulfillment and self-realization, the question of getting the maximum out of life?

It is to be feared that neither Principal Jacks nor Mr. Ellis has faced the intellectual aspect of the problem of evil with the clear-sightedness and single-mindedness it requires. They are not called upon to supply mystical proof in support of the gospel of service and the good life; that gospel is amply fortified by universal experience. What they are called upon to do is to treat the problem of evil scientifically, to offer a solution of it, if they can, which shall be intellectually satisfactory and free from question-begging premises or gratuitous conclusions. Whatever we may disagree upon, we must all recognize that in dealing with so ancient a problem as that of evil, our first and last duty, as upright, self-respecting thinkers, is to eschew rhetoric and vague phrase-making, to reject pseud-ideas and to demand of one another real ideas, significant propositions, as well as the production of proper and sufficient evidence in support of any theory we may tentatively advance.

The present writer has no intention of asserting dogmatically that there is no solution of the problem of evil. There may be one, but if there is, it is scientific, not sentimental. Religion may furnish

such a solution, but that religion will itself be based on science and reason. So far, it is clear, science has offered no solution of the problem of evil. Religions and theological thinkers have too often offered verbal and superficial solutions. With such, serious and high-minded men and women cannot rest content. They eagerly welcome every honest attempt at a solution and are grateful for a hint, a ray of light, a working theory at all fruitful and based on tangible evidence.

THE PROPHETIC FACULTY

A PAGE FROM THE LIFE OF EDWIN MILLER WHEELLOCK

BY CHARLES KASSEL

THE prophetic character which attaches to so many great names in sacred literature, and here and there in the secular history of mankind, carries a singular fascination even in this rigidly scientific age. We like to believe of a lofty intelligence that, in some fashion beyond our understanding, it is responsive to impressions which fall spent and unheeded upon a less sensitive mind, and that it achieves knowledge, not by labored reasoning, but by some sublime process of intuition. Even the charlatan who tells fortunes in these enlightened days, and preys on the informed and the ignorant alike, is only appealing to an interest which in every age reveals itself fresh and unwithered.

It would be too much to say that the seer, as distinguished from the scholar and the savant, is a purely mythical personage. A few years ago we knew enough of the mystery of mind, as we felt, to scout at any except the accustomed method of arriving at truth. In the newer light which falls upon the problem from modern research we see the danger of being too dogmatic. It may be, after all, that the strange insight into the workings of destiny, which finds so many memorials in the literatures of forgotten ages, is the legitimate function of a high order of mind.

Even among our humbler kindred of fin and fur and feather we are startled, now and then, by the working of rare powers and senses. As if to show that she has not exhausted her wizardry in the intellect of man, nature ever and again puts forth in the sub-human world some baffling example of her cunning. To call such things instinct is not to explain but only to give a name to what we do not understand. The curiosity of science seeks behind the term for the inward meaning of the phenomena. "It is almost

certain," says Professor J. Arthur Thomson, in his magnificent *Outline of Science*, published in 1922, "that instinct is on a line of evolution different from intelligence, and that it is nearer to the inborn inspiration of the calculating boy or the musical genius than to the plodding method of intelligent learning."

Such prodigies as the calculating boy and the musical genius are possibly anticipations of evolution in its higher reaches, as may be, indeed, the prophetic type of mind—fore-gleams of something in store for the race on a distant round of the endless spiral. Meanwhile, nature itself, even in the lowlier realms, gives hint of her boundless resources and seems to sport with man as she dangles before him the proof of almost magic faculties.

It is not always the statesman or historian who catches first the omen of a great convulsion. It is often the more sensitive nature of the secluded and contemplative scholar which feels the early tremors of the cataclysm. Before great seismic disturbances, as we read occasionally, flocks of sea-birds fly wildly inland, as if warned by an inner sense that disaster impends, and if war could be symbolized in nature by some huge, winged, preying thing, we should find bird and beast aware of its coming, possibly, long before man.

"Sooner or later," quotes Professor Thomson, from E. K. Robinson's *The Country Day by Day*, after a fine passage of his own upon that "aristocrat of the bird-world and terror of the skies," the peregrine falcon, "the day always comes in early autumn to birdland when the peewits, feeding in silent battalions together, and the gulls waiting impatiently to rob the peewits of their worms, suddenly arise and wheel in wild disorder to the horizon; when the clustered partridge coveys crouch like clods to earth, and flocks of small birds feeding in the open fling themselves like a shower of stones into the nearest hedge; when the blackbird issuing from cover turns before he has flown a yard and darts back again with a chatter of alarm; when save for the distant cawing of rooks perched on lookout trees, a parish apart, sudden perfect stillness holds the landscape. Then the peregrine falcon passes, smiting her way from horizon to horizon and spreading terror as she goes. Who gave the first warning of her coming it is hard to tell. Possibly it was a rook. But the marvel is that the majority of the birds, being young ones of the year, can never have seen a falcon before; yet they fling themselves wildly to right and to left long before the speck in the far skies reveals itself to human eyes as a bird of prey."

Whatever power it be which, in the new day as in the old, mankind calls, for want of a better term, the prophetic ken, that power, in high degree, was possessed by Edwin Miller Wheelock. In the September issue, 1920, of the *Open Court*, as in the February and July issues, 1922, and in the March, August and December issues, 1923, we took a sweeping glance at the writings and the career of the author of *Proteus*. We beheld his heroic stand with the crusaders for the abolition of slavery before that agitation had become popular at the North, and, as the execution of John Brown passed in review, we paused to contemplate the rare forevision which could read so clearly in the tragedy at Harper's Ferry the nearness and essential character of a great national crisis. This extraordinary discernment did not leave him with the coming of war. Standing in his pulpit at Dover, New Hampshire, where, a few years before, as a young man of twenty-eight, he had been ordained into the ministry of the Unitarian church, he interpreted, as from a watch-tower, the events rapidly passing.

On April 12, 1861, the South fired the shot at Fort Sumter which, like that of the embattled farmers at Concord, was "heard 'round the world." The war had commenced. The nation which had thrown its flag to the skies but a few decades before was now divided against itself.

It was inconceivable at the North that the secession movement could withstand a show of force. It was felt, as, indeed, the newspapers boasted, that the thunder of the tramping of an armed host would sober the Southern leaders into a sense of the wickedness and folly of fratricidal strife, but, at worst, it was said, early success was sure for the Union cause. That the South would protract the struggle for years instead of months, that the Northern armies, incapably or timidly commanded, would lose battle after battle and yield steadily before the brilliant genius of the Southern generals, no one foresaw.

Bull Run, the historians tell us, ended in a rout, and at Ball's Bluff, too, success came to the South, though the moral effect of these victories was offset somewhat by the achievements of Farragut at New Orleans and of Grant at Fort Donelson. The Peninsular Campaign upon which McClellan set out with a splendid army and the high hopes of his government ended by July in ignominious failure. Close upon the heels of this crushing disappointment followed the disaster of Pope in Virginia and the summer of 1862 went out

in a pall of gloom. Displacing McClellan in command of the Army of the Potomac, Burnside struck at Fredericksburg in December, 1862, and suffered a terrible defeat, while Hooker, succeeding Burnside, went down before Lee at Chancellorsville in May following. The North was without a general and was paying the price of its unreadiness in a sickening sacrifice of the flower of its youth.

"For a year," says James Ford Rhodes, in his history of the twenty-seven year period between 1850 and 1877, "the North suffered the bitterness of defeat. McClellan's failure on the Peninsula, Pope's defeat at the second battle of Bull Run, Burnside's disaster at Vicksburg, Hooker's overthrow at Chancellorsville, but slightly relieved by the partial victories at Antietam and Stone's River, were a succession of calamities," and he quotes the words of leading men at the North in token of the gloom that prevailed.

"Summer comes to dinner," set down Longfellow in his journal, September 14, 1862, "he is very gloomy and despondent and cries out every now and then, 'Poor country! poor, poor country!' So, Governor Morton wrote to Lincoln twenty-three days later, "another three months like the last and we are lost—lost." Again Phillips Brooks said on October 23, 1862, "things certainly are at their blackest now—a great deal blacker than when we ran from Bull Run. Then we all meant to be up again and doing it. Now we are beginning to ask whether we shall or not." Holmes wrote to Motley, December 17, 1862, "there is no question that this news has exercised a most depressing effect on all but the secession sympathizers." Richards remembers that "they were dark days—days when as Brooks and I met on the street corner, after some bloody reverse of our armies, he could only wring my hand and say, "is it not horrible," and pass on gloomily."

That hour of despondency saw the sentinel at Dover gazing undismayed, though with deep emotion, upon the struggle. The terrible strife he had foreseen was now in progress. The hands of the North and of the South were lifted high in battle. The prophecy of John Brown was a fearful reality.

In the sermons of that time, just as in those before the outbreak, there is no note of despair. Then, as before, the utterance is clear and full. Impatience appears because the North still palter with slavery and an evil fortune is foreseen for the Union armies as long as compromise with slavery is in the thought and on the lips of Northern leaders; but that the struggle is providential he makes no

question and of its outcome the prophetic young preacher holds no doubt.

“What we need now especially to feel is the ever-living activity of a Divine Worker in the affairs of men, of One who sees the end from the beginning and continually reshapes His work. If in the light of this great end we look upon the revolutions of nations we shall see enough to show us that every upturning of the kingdoms of the world have directly brought us a step nearer to the divine purpose.

“Through all periods of American history we can see the inevitable chain of events, tending link by link, under the guidance of a heavenly hand, towards a divine end, still in the future. Our freedom is only a partial one. With the democratic wheat the tares of despotism have been growing until now the harvest hour has come.

“I know well the stern sacrifices, the voiceless grief, the dark perils which this war is causing, but I know, too, that only through this means can the Union be rebuilt. Better that a whole generation should be cut off by the fire and sword of a civil war than that the republic should be dismembered and the last hope of humanity fail, for Heaven has bound up with the continuance of this union the highest hopes of mankind.

“On all sides we hear the deep-breathed vow that come what will the last experiment of liberty shall not be permitted to fail; that we will guard well those holy waters gushing out of the rock on which the pilgrims knelt and prayed. There is a shaking of statesmen and of states, a throbbing of telegraphic wires, a swaying to and fro of vast populations, a rushing of armed squadrons along every highway pouring towards the capitol and all to tread down that devouring flame.

“On this wild and mighty sea of strife that sweeps over the whole land, politics are tossed as fishing boats off Newfoundland when the stormwind of the equinox descends. All the other great interests are rocking. Yet there shall be no death of any vital force. Government, religion, liberty, free industry, all shall live and live a higher life for the struggles through which they are now passing.

“Only the slave-power shall die, struck by the bolt of God’s wrath; and when this dark cloud, that now stretches from Baltimore to the Rio Grande, shall roll away, it will leave us a truly

free and united nation, with four millions of our countrymen kneeling on their broken fetters and returning speechless thanks to God!"

One of the noblest of the war sermons is that of September, 1861, which lies before us in manuscript. It was evidently the first discourse after the summer vacation, and it seems the vacation had been an unusual one and that its occasion had been the ill-health of the minister, for he mentions "the long holiday" that had been "so freely and generously granted," and adverts to "the fresh strength and restored health" with which he was returning to his duties.

"I find the topic of my discourse made ready to my hand. The social crisis on which we have fallen is uppermost in every brain and heart. The guns of treason have, with deadly earnestness, dispelled the last hope of peaceful settlement and substituted the sombre realities of strife. For libraries we are forming arsenals: for books, bayonets. The tide of wealth that has cast up, during our era of prosperity, an alluvial soil of luxury and culture, is now rolling on to form a great ocean-dyke against the sea of treason and slavery. The more serene and genial discourse of literature dies away, as songbirds cease their music before a storm. The spirit of the camp inspires the school-boy and invades even the drawing-room. Conversation, dropping its levities, becomes sharp, serious and decisive. The hidden forces of character, concealed during the era of peace, are coming to the surface. Sham reputations burst like bubbles and legal subtleties and windy speech give place to vital forces.

"There is a divinity which has prepared this crisis and shaped it and ripened it. Plainly as if His voice thundered to us out of the heavens He summons us to this grappling with the sons of Belial. Liberty and religion and the future of America are involved in the conflict and are staked upon the issue.

"Our summer campaign has failed. The last two months have come laden with the tale of routs, reverses and sore defeats — reverses that yet have proved beneficial and defeats more gainful than victory. Many millions of eyes were sleepless through the awful night of Monday, July 22nd, after the first tidings came over the wires, but when the first terrible shock had passed by I believe the heart and resolve of all true and loyal men rose higher than before.

"The defeat of the National Army is working just the good that we needed. It has hushed the offensive bragging of the newspapers. It has shown our work in its terrible magnitude. It is making us realize what we have only declaimed, with stale holiday rhetoric, that this is our day of judgment and of trial. The overshadowing danger is drawing us together; it silences our little disputes, 'as a clap of thunder hushes the noise of a rookery.' Now every man must be a part of every other man and only one pulse beat through us all. A voice comes articulate out of the peril, saying 'Merge all smaller questions in the great one. Move with one step when you march. Keep in solid ranks when you stand.'

"It was only the trumpet blast of defeat that could summon us out of our drugged and sleepy prosperity and bring us to our feet and sift us in the winnowing breath of the Lord. The loss of Sumter hushed the cry of faction; the defeat of Manassus showed us the awful proportions of our work. Perhaps another great reverse will smite us before the manhood of the nation will rise supreme over life, over property, over ease, over pleasure, over everything, and move in serried numbers at the call of our country, our duty and our God.

"Our cause appeals to the holiest instincts of human nature. It summons all our faith in God and all our love of man. If God can only urge us on to higher ground by the sore blows of his discipline, by reverses and defeats, by the loss of leaders and of towns, we need not be dismayed. If a blacker cloud than any yet should break above us, and a heavier thunder-bolt fall, let us remember that He is scourging but not forsaking us, and that He is sure to bring his wheat out whole and clean from under the flails of his threshing floor and the swift winnowings of his resistless winds.

"It seems to be a law of providence that every people, like every person, must pass through a day of judgment, before they can attain a full salvation and a clear separation of the evil from the good. Dismiss the idea then that the politicians have raised this strife, or that some fine compromise, or balance of parties, might have prevented it. The politicians did not intend it. The nineteen millions who prayed that this cup might pass by did not intend it. Even the rebels did not mean war. They did not intend to draw down the thunder upon their heads with an earth-

quake trembling under their feet at the same time. They thought to carry their point by bluster and threats, as they had always done. But God has used the frenzy of these men for his own great purpose. He has brought the civilization of the continent face to face with its barbarism and said, "This or that must carry the day." It is the decisive conflict of the ages, which has been coming on for fifty years. The hour is not 'dark' except from the standpoint of atheism. To those who will see the finger of God and follow it, it is our day of redemption and glory in which it is a privilege to live—a day of transition from a lower to a higher plane of the people's life. Every tone of the swelling turbulence that fills our borders is freighted not with forebodings of despair and death but prophecies of the highest health, of kindling hope, of a grand, invincible national life.

"Times are upon us such as this generation has never witnessed. A Red Sea is to be crossed more deep and more perilous than God's Israel has ever crossed before. Suffering and disaster in some shape will come home to all of us and touch our nearest interests. We may possibly lose another great battle or more than one or even our capitol, but defeats will not hinder—they will only help us on. Out of every cloud our cause will break with a more conquering splendor. No matter what befalls, let this consciousness bear us up, that we are not acting under the pressure of accident, or out of our puny individualism, but that all the winds of God are blowing behind us and sweeping us on before His face. We are but the insects of the hour. God is revealing to us His serene and almighty justice and tells us, 'be consecrated to that; be baptized into it for life and for death.' Let us, then, think less of ourselves and of our losses and our sacrifices and more of our country and our duty and God's will."

It is impossible to read such words as these without a deep sense of the feeling which inspired them. In few of the utterances of that time is there such an exaltation of tone. He saw the fearful ordeal as a struggle between conflicting ideas. On the one side was the conception of liberty and democracy—on the other the oligarchical ideal. To him the upheaval represented the sequel and fulfillment of the Revolutionary War. In all the turmoil, in all the sorrow and suffering, he felt the hand of a power above man's, and his voice on every occasion echoes the thought.

“We belong to a race which has bought every luster of its greatness thus far with sweat and tears and blood, and which must again and again pay down more of that dear purchase money. God reigns and step by step as He moves through the ages carries the race with Him, and necessities are dark angels which drive the nations of the earth, now together and now apart, that a work higher than lies in their thought may be made manifest to them. This great affirmation has carried men hopefully and cheerfully through the darkest days. If we can receive it, it will rid us of that terrible anxiety which sees in every untoward sound the crack of doom. It will comfort us with the vision of Him who destroys that He may again create, and whose second creation is ever fairer than the first, though the night must come between.

“This year stands out as one of the great dates of American history. It closes the past and opens the future. New prospects are before us. We may have to labor and to suffer—for not in an hour are the crimes of seventy years to be washed out, not without sorrow and pain are guilty traditions and old complicities to be given up, but the hour of effort and of sacrifice is also the hour of deliverance.

“There are wars which do not mean anything, which are waged for conquest or vulgar glory. Not so here. This is not a contest of animal strength. It is a conflict of ideas. It has the health of a spiritual life in it, for Satan and God’s archangels stand face to face and foot to foot opposed. It is the grapple of the two eternal opposites of modern society. In this controversy the old issues are reproduced, old as human history—the Russian against the Greek, the Saxon against the Norseman, the Puritan against the Cavalier. It is a war of a few against the rights of many. Now, as in the days of the revolution, expostulation, reason, appeals to justice, pleadings for forbearance and peace, have all been tried and tried in vain. The strife has been thrust upon us. If we yield to its march we surrender our institutions; we undo all that was done by the heroes of our revolution; we put ashes on the heads of the aged; we transmit despair to the young; we blot out America from the map of nations.

“Those that go to this conflict should feel that in no fancied sense but in very truth they defend the Ark of the Covenant, carrying the banner of the Lord; that they march to scourge the defilers

of its holy things. The spirit of a long line of ancestors is sounding to us from every sacred battlefield from Marston Moor to Bunker Hill, and the same prize is at stake—liberty protected by law. Let us meet the issue in obedience to the call of God."

There is a suggestion of the Hebrew prophet in all this. So true is the insight into the meaning of events, so deep the feeling of divine agency at the heart of the storm, so calm the confidence in the outcome despite the blackest prospects. The land had grievously sinned and the sin must be washed out with blood as in the days of old, but the fate of the nation is sure and nothing can defeat the ends of Providence. Again and again he gives words to this thought. Thus in December, 1861:

"When we consider the condition the country is in now, the gloom of fear that possesses the public mind, the fightings and contentions that call forth armies a million strong from their families and their peaceful industries into the fields of mutual slaughter, with trade and commerce suffering in all its departments, bank doors closed and counters deserted, ships worthless and mills standing still, workshops empty and forge-fires quenched, rich men troubled about the payment of protested paper and poor men for the support of wives and children, we are not to forget that all this has come upon us not for our injury but for our good.

"In the dawning of a deadly struggle between two great principles, when the unwonted smoke of battle hangs over the land and darkens the sky, when after years of peaceful growth our country is called to pass through the ordeal of fire with life and death staked on the issue; in such a time more than ever have we need to remember that our chastening comes not of the hate of the Lord but of his love.

"From the experiences of the present, we shall draw our strength for our future destiny. The fever can be borne, and when it passes away we shall not only recover our wonted health but the old humors that have vitiated the blood will pass off with it and the old sores—the sins of our nation and race—will be dried up and we shall have a better expansion, a more vigorous frame than if it had not occurred."

Again, in January, 1862:

"Wars must come. In the present state of the world a nation can no more avoid them than can the individual soul avoid its

conflicts, temptations and strife. There never yet has been a people not tested and tempered by these fiery ordeals. The truth of God is mighty and it will prevail but not without a struggle. It can not move forward a single step or even hold its own without coming into collision with opposing forces.

"This war was inevitable. The evils in our body politic were such and so great that no milder remedy could be applied. Collision and war were needed to cleanse and temper and exalt the national character. Only the terrible fire of purgation which we are now undergoing could purify the metal from the dross.

"The feeling that should fill our hearts today is not the thought of future danger and certainly not weakness at the thought of the trial before us. Our prayer should be neither that the cup may pass untasted from our lips nor for vengeance upon those who force it upon us, but for patience, endurance and strength to be faithful to duty in this time of our country's need. The question is, shall republican liberty now become real on earth or must the human race take a backward step in the grand march of civilization? To us, to our young nation in all the pride of youth, this great problem has been given to solve. At last the final appeal is made to the sword. *It is the final appeal*; and there can be no true rest except in victory. We can not hope to keep at less price than our fathers paid the great blessing which they gave us, greater far than they ever conceived."

To the terrible earnestness of the young preacher these passages bear ample testimony. Even the handwriting of the old manuscript gives proof of his feeling. The pressure of the pen is firmer than was the wont in the more poetic sermons of the earlier and more placid years. Now and then, indeed, the stroke is jagged, as if an emotion peculiarly tense and strained were driving the hand. His all of thought and feeling, it is evident, was in the great struggle.

BERANGER'S "BON DIEU" AND "BON DIABLE"

BY MAXIMILIAN J. RUDWIN

THE MAN who first said a good word for the Devil in the nineteenth century did not belong to the Romantic school. A greater *révolté* than the Romantics, Jean Pierre de Béranger (1780-1857) had to be attracted to the great Rebel.¹ But in contradistinction to his Romantic contemporaries, our song-writer, who was nurtured in the teachings of the eighteenth century, continued the Classical tradition in his dealings with the Devil. He treated Satan in a humorous vein and used him mainly as a medium for satire. The satirists have at all times employed the prosecuting attorney at the celestial court extensively in their sarcasms, whether on politics, religion or domestic affairs; and, as was the case of William Hogarth, this practice often recoiled on their own heads.

It is known that Béranger believed neither in the Devil nor in Hell. As a matter of fact, his belief in a benevolent Deity may also be called into question. He remained an unbeliever to the end of his days. Upon reading Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme* (1802), he made in his twenties a grand but fruitless effort to become orthodox in his faith. The exertions on the part of his sister, a nun, to convert him to Catholicism during the last years of his life, proved just as unsuccessful. Certain it is that he did not believe in a Devil external to man and in a Hell as a geographical unit. In a very characteristic fragment, entitled "Enfer et Diable," and written between 1847 and 1851, our author teaches the important if not orthodox lesson that every human being is his own devil and the maker of his own hell:

¹ Béranger was the moving spirit of the revolution of 1830, and, according to Moritz Hartmann (*Bilder und Büsten*, Frankfurt a.M., 1860), even issued the proclamation to the French nation on that occasion. Our poet also helped Rouget de l'Isle, author of the *Marseillaise*, which, according to Chateaubriand, was of infernal inspiration.

"Sachez que chacun est son Diable
Que chacun se fait son Enfer."²

The Persian poet has expressed the same idea in the following couplet:

"I sent my soul into the invisible,
Some letter of the after-life to spell.
By and by my soul returned and answered,
'I, myself, am heaven and hell.'"

LA DESCENTE AUX ENFERS (1812)

"Vous n'avez pas des idées justes de notre enfer," complains LeSage's Asmodeus.³ In this ribald song impiously named after the *Descensus Christi ad Inferos* (3rd cent.), we find Béranger's vindication of the Devil and Hell. Our ballad-maker descends to the domain of the Devil on a broomstick in company with a modern witch, a young and beautiful woman. As the imps of Hell lack no appreciation of beauty, they come in swarms to kiss her naked feet. The netherworld, according to our author, is not what the lying priests have always described it to be. They used the fear of Hell as a means of driving men into the Church. The underworld resembles more a voluptuous Turkish harem than a vaporous Turkish bath. The court of the King-Devil cannot be surpassed in luxury by that of any earthly ruler. Our visitor to the infernal regions found no traces of kettles or flames and heard there no howling or gnashing of teeth. On the other hand, he found the floor strewn with oyster shells and empty bottles. The souls who are fortunate enough to go to Hell, eat and drink and make merry. Nothing is less frightful than the sight of Satan. The infernal monarch is a devil of a good fellow *chez lui*. He issues his severest decrees to the clinking of glasses and the playing of reed-pipes. His infernal majesty is a very genial host and entertains his guests royally. The spiritus infernali is surrounded at the banquet table by a crowd of red-faced drinkers, for whom he keeps pouring bourgogne and champaign. There is not much decorum in the halls of Hell. Ixion

² "Know that everyone is his own devil and that everyone makes his own hell.

³ Bernard Shaw, in his *Man and Superman* (1903), is of LeSage's opinion when he says that "Lucifer himself is contemptuous of mankind, and is more than vexed that hell is so little appreciated on earth. François Villon knew nothing of the underworld when he said: "Hell frightens."

is sleeping on the shoulder of Tantalus who is dead drunk, and Epicurus is making love to Ninon de Lenclos. After reading this poem, one is inclined to exclaim with St. Paul: "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?" The author himself draws a lesson from his words:

"Si, d'après ce qu'on rapporte,
On bâille au céleste lieu,
Que le diable nous emporte,
Et nous rendrons grâce à Dieu."⁴

LE BON DIEU (1820)

Béranger's "bon Dieu" is not much different from his "bon Diable." In this song we find the conception of a God, who, in a similar way, eats and drinks, sleeps and swears. This indulgent, even negligent God suffers his arch-enemy the Devil to play havoc with his world and laughs when he hears that our kings claim to represent him on this earth. The monarch of the Heavens amuses himself in his gay moments by passing in review the proceedings of popes and princes in this world—qu'on prétend que je gouverne; and each of his reflections ends in the exclamation:

"Si c'est par moi qu'ils règnent de la sorte,
Je veux bien que le diable m'emporte."

The Byronic Devil is nearer the truth when he exclaims in *The Vision of Judgment* (1822): "I've kings enough below, God knows!"⁵

LA MORT DU DIABLE (1828)

This is a satirical song directed against the Jesuits. Béranger was always poking fun at the priests. Even the Pontiff in the Vatican was not spared by his bold and boisterous satire. In Voltairean

⁴ This song has naturally enough not been translated into English. The Germans have rendered this couplet as follows:

"Wär' die Sage ausser Zweifel,
Und im Himmel gähnten wir,—
Ei, so hol'uns doch der Teufel,
Und wir danken Gott dafür."

⁵ This passage from Byron was quoted by the present writer also in his controversy with Mr. H. G. Wells, in regard to the latter's project of "Crowned Republics," which was printed in the *New York Nation* of February 14 and May 4, 1918

fashion he laughed Old Mother Church to scorn. For mere humor, this poem is almost unrivalled. It figured prominently among the poems selected as a basis for Béranger's indictment. The piece was denounced by the priests as irreligious and blasphemous, and its author was declared an enemy to religion. To this day, Béranger is believed by the Catholics to have been diabolically disposed. The archbishop of Paris and the other bishops hurled their anathemas in pastoral letters against our poet.

In "la Mort du Diable," Béranger gives the old legend of the death of the Devil a new and novel turn. He is not concerned with the demise of the high and mighty personage but with the events following it. The song is a satirical attack against Satan's supposed successors. The monks and priests wail when the news of the Devil's death reaches them. The reason is not that they loved Lucifer so well. What worries these good men is the fact that they have lost with his death their means of a livelihood. The Devil being dead, what man will now pay them to be delivered from his clutches? But Ignatius Loyola, the founder of the order of the Jesuits, bids them to stop their wailing. He himself now intends to succeed to the power of the prince of this world: and in order to be delivered from him, men will now pray and pay more than ever before. The reader would like to hear the poem in Béranger's own words. It is not so easy to give in a few excerpts an idea of the delicious humor and irony which this poem contains. We shall give it then in full first in the original and then in the first English translation.⁶

Du miracle que je retrace
 Dans ce récit des plus succincts
 Rendez gloire au grand saint Ignace,
 Patron de tous nos petits saints.
 Par un tour qui serait infâme
 Si les saints pouvaient avoir tort.
 Au diable il a fait rendre l'âme.
 Le diable est mort, le diable est mort.

Satan, l'ayant surpris à table.
 Lui dit: Trinquons, ou sois hommi.
 L'autre accepte, mais verse au diable.
 Dans son vin, un poison béni.

⁶ This poem has been repeatedly rendered into English. The translation quoted in this paper appeared in the *Westminster Review*, Vol. LX (1829), pp. 210-3.

Satan boit, et, pris de colique,
 Il jure, il grimace, il se tord ;
 Il crève comme un hérétique.
 Le Diable est mort, le diable est mort.

Il est mort ! disent tous les moines ;
 On n'achètera plus *d'agnus*.
 Il est mort ! disent les chanoines ;
 On ne paiera plus *d'oremus*.
 Au conclave on se désespère :
 Adieu puissance et coffre-fort !
 Le Diable est mort, le diable est mort.

L'Amour sert bien moins que la crainte ;
 Elle nous comblait de ses dons.
 L'intolérance est presque éteinte :
 Qui rallumera ses brandons ?
 À notre joug si l'homme échappe,
 La Vérité luira d'abord :
 Dieu sera plus grand que le pape.
 Le Diable est mort, le diable est mort.

Ignace accourt : Que l'on me donne,
 Leur dit-il, sa place et ses droits.
 Il n'épouvantait plus personne :
 Je ferai trembler jusqu'aux rois.
 Vols, massacres, guerres ou pestes,
 M'enrichiront du sud au nord.
 Dieu ne vivra que de mes restes.
 Le Diable est mort, le diable est mort.

Tous de s'écrier : Ah ! brave homme !
 Nous te bénissons dans ton fiel.
 Soudain son ordre, appui de Rome,
 Voit sa robe effrayer le ciel.
 Un choeur d'anges, l'âme contrite,
 Dit : Des humains plaignons le sort ;
 De l'enfer saint Ignace hérite.
 Le Diable est mort, le diable est mort.

[I sing today a lay of lays,
 A glorious miracle you'll see,
 Give the great saint Ignatius praise,
 Of little saints the glory he.
 A dirty trick—if saints can trick,
 And if the truth may all be said,
 Has done the business for Old Nick,
 The Devil's dead—the Devil's dead!

Old Nick went out one day to dine,
 And pledg'd the saint to drink his health,
 Aye, said the saint—and in the wine
 Some holy poison dropp'd by stealth;
 Gripes seiz'd the Devil—cruel-sick—
 He swears—he storms—and hangs his head,
 Then bursts, as bursts a heretic—
 The Devil's dead—the Devil's dead!

Alas! He's dead—the friars said,
 The Devil an Agnus shall we sell;
 Alas! the canons cried—he's dead—
 Not one *oremus* shall we tell.
 The conclave is in deep despair,
 Power and the iron chest are fled,
 O we have lost our father dear,
 The Devil's dead—the Devil's dead!

Love is not half so strong as fear,
 For fear was constant with her gifts,
 Who now her blazing torch uplifts?
 If man from us should once be free,
 What light may beam upon his head;
 God greater than the Pope shall be—
 The Devil's dead—the Devil's dead!

Ignatius came—"Let me but take
 His place—his right—and see; in brief—
 He has made men for ages quake.
 I'll make kings tremble like a leaf!
 With plagues, thefts, massacres, I'll ban

Both north and south—where'er I tread;
 Leave ruins both for God and man—
 The Devil's dead—the Devil's dead!"

"Come, blessed one," they uttered, "come,
 We hallow thy most saintly gall"—
 And now his Order—sent from Rome—
 O'ershadows, darkens, curses all.
 I heard a choir of angels tell
 Their sympathies for man, they said,
 "Ignatius is the heir of Hell,
 The Devil's dead—the Devil's dead!"]

L'ANGE EXILE (1828)

Béranger, however, could also speak of Satan seriously. In this poem addressed to a young woman, in whom our author believes to have discovered an angel exiled from Heaven, the legend of the fall of the angels is treated seriously. Among the legions of Lucifer was an angel who repented of his sin. The Lord brought him up from Hell to pass a period of probation on earth. This exiled celestial moves among men with his divine lyre to charm away their sorrows and to comfort them in their afflictions. As soon as he redeems himself in the eyes of God, he will be recalled to Heaven.

According to another version of the legend,⁷ the angels who were not hurled into the bottom of Hell but banished to our earth had maintained a neutral position in the rivalry between the Lord and Lucifer. It is not so generally known that during the war in Heaven the angels were not wholly divided into two opposing camps. There were many spirits who, untouched by partisan passions, remained aloof from the conflict and refused to don the uniform. They demanded their right of keeping out of a war which they did not bring about and in which they had no interest whatever. When the Lord defeated his enemy and cast him and his legionaries into the abyss, he did not hurl also the neutral angels into Hell, but, in order to give them another opportunity to choose between him and his rival, cast them down to the earth to which the scene of the battle

⁷ This legend is an attempt at a reconciliation of two contradictory passages relating to the punishment of the revolting angels; cf., Rev. xii., 9 and xx., 3.

had been transferred. From these angels, who married mortal maidens (cf. Gen. vi., 1), there has developed a race which has always shown a striking contrast to the human family. It has furnished humanity with its prophets and poets, with its reformers and revolutionaries. All great men at all times and in all places have belonged to this mysterious race which does not proceed from father to son, like other races, but appears here and there, at recurring intervals, in the families of mankind. The descendants of this union between the sons of God and the daughters of men have always stood in the first ranks of those who seek peace and abhor murder. They have proven valiant warriors in the eternal conflict between the Good and the Evil for the mastery of the world. They have long ago redeemed themselves, but they will not return to Heaven until they have also redeemed all men.

THE BHAGAVAD GITA, OR SONG OF THE BLESSED ONE

BY FRANKLIN EDGERTON

CHAPTER IV

PREHISTORY OF THE GOD OF THE BHAGAVAD GITA

IT COULD hardly be expected that the popular consciousness would be gripped by Upanishadic thought. It was too intellectual, too impersonal, to appeal to any but a small proportion of the population. The great mass of mankind demanded, as always, a personal, quasi-human god or gods to worship; it could not be satisfied by a refined, mystic contemplation of a nameless Soul, even if it be the Soul of the universe. Some more acceptable outlet for the religious feeling of the people had to be provided; and there is good reason to believe that it was provided. Unfortunately, the evidence about it is mostly indirect and secondary. We can judge of it, for the most part, only from its traces in such later works as the Bhagavad Gītā, which clearly presuppose a considerable development of popular religion, distinct from the higher thought of the Upanishads but contemporary therewith. In the Gītā these two streams are blended. We have no records that show us the popular beliefs of that period in a pure form.

For this reason, it is scarcely possible to attempt any extensive reconstruction of those popular beliefs. The principal thing to be said about them is that they were certainly theistic, and presumably tended towards a monotheism, of a more or less qualified sort. That is, presumably various local or tribal deities were worshipped in different parts of India, each occupying a position somewhat similar to that of Yahweh among the Jews—each being regarded as the chief

or perhaps the sole god of his people or tribe, though the existence of the gods of other tribes was not exactly denied. These local deities were, we may assume, of very different types and origins. Sometimes they may have been old gods of aboriginal, non-Aryan tribes. Sometimes they seem to have been local heroes, deified after death.

Such a local deity must have been the Krishna who appears as the Supreme Deity, the "Blessed One," in the Bhagavad Gītā. He was apparently a deified local chieftain, the head of the Vrishni clan. Indeed, he appears as such, in strictly human guise, in the greater part of the Mahābhārata. In the Gītā he is still both god and man: an incarnation of the Deity in human form. We know nothing of the process by which he attained divine honors, nor of his earlier history as a god, before the Bhagavad Gītā, which is probably the earliest work preserved to us in which he appears as such. In this work he has all the attributes of a full-fledged monotheistic deity, and at the same time, as we shall see, the attributes of the Upanishadic Absolute. In other words, the popular God is philosophized into a figure who can appeal to both the higher and the lower circles of the population. Therein lies the strength of Krishnaism in later India: it is many-sided enough to satisfy the religious requirements of almost any man, whatever his intellectual or social status may be.

The Upanishads themselves are not entirely free from quasi-monotheistic touches, some of which may perhaps be interpreted as concessions to this same popular demand for a personal god. Especially interesting, and important for later Hinduism, is the personalization of the philosophic term Brahman, as a name for the Absolute, which appears even in some of the earliest Upanishads. The word *brahman* is primarily and originally neuter in gender, and remains so usually throughout the Upanishads and the Bhagavad Gītā; but occasionally it acquires a personality, as a sort of creating and ruling deity, and then it has masculine gender. It thus becomes the god Brahmā, familiar to later Hinduism as the nominal head of the Triad consisting of Brahmā the Creator, Vishnu the Preserver, and Shiva the Destroyer. This trinity appears only in comparatively late Upanishads, and no clear mention of it is found in the Bhagavad Gītā, although the Gītā at least once refers to the masculine and personal Brahmā, "the Lord sitting on the lotus-seat."⁴⁰ But this grammatical trick was not sufficient to satisfy the craving of the human soul.

⁴⁰ 11.15.

Even masculinized, Brahman-Brahmā remained too bloodless to attract many worshippers. Later Hinduism pays lip-homage to him, but reserves its real worship for his colleagues, Vishnu and Shiva.

Vishnu and Shiva, under various names and forms, are the real gods of later India. Shiva-worship, though certainly much older than the Bhagavad Gītā, does not appear therein, and may therefore be left out of consideration in this book. But we must say a few words about Vishnu, since he was identified with Krishna, the Gītā's God, or regarded as incarnate in Him. This identification seems to me to appear clearly in the Gītā itself.⁴¹

Vishnu was one of the gods of the Rig Veda, and, like most of them, a nature-god. He was a personification of the sun. But the Rig Veda contains a number of sun-gods (perhaps originally belonging to different tribes, or else representing different aspects of the sun's power). Vishnu is one of the less prominent and less important ones. He is distinctly a minor figure in the Rig Veda. We hear that he measures the universe in three great strides, which refer figuratively to the sun's progress across the sky. The third stride lands him in "the highest foot-step (or, place; the word has both meanings) of Vishnu," which means the zenith. This is thought of as the highest point in the universe, and at times it is conceived as a kind of solar paradise, to which the spirits of the blessed dead may go. So in post-Rig-Vedic literature, we hear expressions of the desire for attaining "Vishnu's highest place." So, also, in this period, Vishnu is occasionally declared to be "the highest of the gods"; this is doubtless to be understood in a literal, physical sense, because Vishnu's abode is the "top of the world." In the same period, we find very frequently the statement that "Vishnu is the sacrifice." Why he should have been singled out for this honor, we cannot tell; there are other gods whose far greater prominence would seem to us to give them a better claim to be regarded as a personification of the ritual. But the frequency of the statement leaves no room for doubt that the priests of the "Middle Vedic" (Brāhmana) period generally thought of Vishnu in this way. And since, as we have seen, to them the "sacrifice" was the central power of the universe, we see that from their point of view no higher compliment was possible. Evidently Vishnu was acquiring a much more dignified position than he had in the Rig Veda.

⁴¹ A distinguished Hindu scholar, Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, thinks that Krishna is not yet identified with Vishnu in the Gītā, though he was soon afterwards. See his *Īśānavāsism, Śāivism and Minor Religious Systems*, page 13.

The Upanishads add nothing to the history of Vishnu. They—that is, the older ones, those which antedate the Gītā—mention his name only three or four times, and quite in the style of the Middle-Vedic period. But suddenly, in the Gītā and other contemporary writings, we find Vishnu recognized as a supreme monotheistic deity, worshipped either under his own name, or in the form of various incarnations, the chief of which is Krishna. This was at a time when the Vedic religion, as a whole, was nearly dead. Its gods no longer had a real hold on any class of the people. Their existence was not denied, but they were reduced to the rank of petty spirits. Even the once all-important sacrifices were largely falling into disuse. But if the ritual religion was perishing, the priestly class was not. By this time it was recognized as a definite and hereditary caste, the brahmanhood, which claimed the headship of human society. With this fact, probably, is to be connected the identification of the god or hero Krishna, and other popular gods and heroes, with the old Vedic god Vishnu. Thus a sacerdotal tinge was given to the thriving monotheism which had such a hold on the mass of the people. Brahmanism stooped to conquer; it absorbed popular cults which it had not the strength to uproot. The simple and ancient device of identification of one god with another furnished the means to this end.

It remains something of a mystery to scholars why Vishnu, rather than some other Vedic deity, was selected for this purpose. Even after the development described in the last paragraph but one, Vishnu is by no means the most prominent god of the pantheon. Many steps in the long process have evidently disappeared from our sight. But probably his frequent identification with the sacrifice, and his growing eschatological importance as the ruler of a kind of paradise for the dead in his "highest place," have something to do with it.

We have, then, finally, a union of at least three strands in the monotheistic deity of the Bhagavad Gītā: a popular god-hero of a local tribe, an ancient Vedic deity belonging to the hieratic ritual religion, and the philosophic Absolute of the Upanishads. The blend is, as we shall see, by no means perfect. Especially the monistic, Upanishadic element is sometimes rather clearly distinguished from the theistic element or elements; the author of the Gītā himself seems to have been conscious of this distinction at times.⁴² But for the most part it is hard to disentangle one from the other.

⁴² See Chapter VI.

CHAPTER V

THE TEACHINGS OF THE BHAGAVAD GĪTĀ

Soul and Body

We saw that the Upanishads center their attention on a search for the central, fundamental, and animating principle of the universe, and of man; that these two objects of research are conceived in them as parallel, the universal macrocosm being compared to the human microcosm; and that this parallelism tends to turn into an identity, which results in an equation between the "soul" or real self of man and that of the universe. So frequent and striking are the expressions of this idea in the Upanishads that it is often, though I think not without exaggeration, regarded as the prime motif of Upanishadic thought.

In spite of the fact that the Bhagavad Gītā is saturated with the atmosphere of the Upanishads, this great idea of theirs is not exactly prominent in it. It is not unknown to it; several passages in which it speaks of the human soul come very close to that idea.⁴³ It would indeed be strange if it had avoided the idea altogether. It is curious enough that it has so nearly suppressed it, in view of its obvious debt to Upanishadic thought. The chief reason for the suppression evidently lies in the fact that this monistic idea is felt to be irreconcilable with the ardent, devotional theism of the Gītā. Even though, as we shall see, the Gītā conceives God as immanent in all beings, and its author hopes for ultimate union with Him, still he seems to shrink from the bold assertion "I am God," which requires more courage than the Upanishadic "I am Brahman," simply because Brahman is impersonal and the Gītā's God is definitely personal. Union with God is projected into the future, and is not conceived on

⁴³ 2.17: "But know thou that That One (the human soul is referred to) by which all this universe is pervaded is imperishable. Of this immortal one no one can cause the destruction."—2.24: "Eternal, omnipresent, unmoved, unshakable, everlasting is He (the human soul)."—13.27: "Residing alike in all beings, the supreme Lord (the human soul), not perishing when they (the beings) perish,—who perceives this has true vision."

a basis of equality between the soul and God.⁴⁴ Once the Gītā speaks of the human soul as a *part* of God.⁴⁵ Generally God is conceived as a personality wholly distinct from the human soul, and infinitely superior to it.

The Upanishadic notion of the human soul is, however, clearly retained in the Gītā as far as concerns its individual nature. It is still the essential part of man, that which does not perish at death. Indeed, the dignity and importance of the soul is brought out if possible even more strongly than is usual in the Upanishads, in one respect: namely, in the contrast that is emphasized between the soul and what is not soul. This contrast is rather a minor matter in most of the Upanishads. They are so charmed by the contemplation of the soul, which they find in everything, that they virtually ignore the existence of everything that is not soul,⁴⁶ or else brush it aside with the summary remark that "whatever is other than that (the soul) is evil."⁴⁷ At any rate, most of them are not enough interested in the non-soul to speculate much about its nature. The Gītā, on the other hand, has definite theories about the structure of the non-soul or body,—largely inherited, to be sure, from older times, and to some extent hinted at in certain of the Upanishads. These are used to contrast the body with the soul; and the comparison, of course, is much to the advantage of the soul. Thus in the opening part of the dialog, Krishna instructs Arjuna that he should not grieve for the soul, because it is immortal, and inaccessible to the sufferings which afflict the body. "It is declared that these bodies come to an end; but the Embodied (Soul) in them is eternal, indestructible, unfathomable."⁴⁸ "He (the soul) is not born, nor does he ever die; nor, once being, shall he evermore cease to be. Unborn, eternal, everlasting from oldest times, he is not slain when the body is slain."⁴⁹

⁴⁴ Some of the Christian mystics seem more courageous. Compare Jacob Boehme's

"Ich bin so gross wie Gott,
Er ist wie ich so klein."

⁴⁵ 15.7: "A part just of Me, which is the eternal soul in living beings," etc.

⁴⁶ Some scholars say that they even *deny* the real existence of anything other than the soul, as the later Vedānta philosophy does. I do not agree with this view.

⁴⁷ Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad, 3.4.2.

⁴⁸ 2.18.

⁴⁹ 2.20. Compare also 2.11, 25, 30. It is painful to have to add that this doctrine is here applied to a justification of war, and of killing in general; since the soul cannot be killed, and the body does not matter (and since, moreover, it must die in any case, 2.26, 27), "therefore fight," says Krishna (2.18). A charitable explanation would be that this is a concession to the dramatic situa-

We find, in fact, that the Gītā's most usual and characteristic position is definitely dualistic. There are two eternal principles, eternally distinct from each other: "soul" (usually called *purusha*, "man, person, spirit"; sometimes *ātman*, "self"; other synonyms also occur), and what may perhaps be called "non-soul" rather than "body," since, as we shall see presently, it includes mental faculties; the usual Hindu term is *prakṛiti*, "nature, material nature, matter." The soul is absolutely unitary, undifferentiated, and without qualities; not subject to any change or alteration, and not participating in any action. Material nature, or the non-soul, is what performs all acts. It assumes manifold forms, and is constantly subject to change—evolution, devolution, and variation.

The variety of material nature is expressed in two ways. First, it is composed of three elements called *gunas*, that is, "threads, strands," or "qualities":⁵⁰ namely, *sattva*, "purity, goodness"; *rajas*, "activity, passion"; and *tamas*, "darkness, dullness, inactivity." Mingled in varying proportions, these three qualities make up all matter. Preponderance of one or another of these qualities determines the character of any given part of material nature.⁵¹ But material nature also includes what we consider the mental faculties of living beings, particularly of man. This is made clear in one passage in the Gītā,⁵² where we find a second and much more elaborate statement of the constituents of material nature—or rather, this time, of its evolvents; for, though this is not clearly stated here, it is obvious that we are dealing with an evolutionary theory which is very familiar in later Hindu philosophy. According to this, out of the primal, undifferentiated "matter" develops first the "will" or faculty of consciousness (the term, *buddhi*, approximately covers the term of the poem, as inserted in the Mahābhārata; and this could be supported by various texts in the Gītā which are distinctly hostile to violence. But we shall see that there are other ethical, as well as metaphysical, inconsistencies in the Gītā. See Chapter XI.

⁵⁰ The word seems to me both concrete and abstract in the Gītā; the *gunas* are both material "constituent elements," like strands of a rope, and qualifying characteristics. No clear distinction was made at this time between these two concepts (cf. Oldenberg, *Upanishaden und Buddhismus*, p. 217f.). The later Sāṅkhya philosophy insists that the *gunas* are physical, constituent parts of matter, not what we call qualities.

⁵¹ The results of the preponderance of each of the three qualities in various parts of *prakṛiti* are set forth in some detail in the Gītā, 14.6-18, and the whole of chapter 17. Generally speaking, the theory is that the best and highest forms of matter or nature are those in which *sattva*, "purity," predominates; in the worst and lowest forms *tamas*, "dullness," predominates; the predominance of *rajas*, "activity" or "passion," is found in a large variety of forms whose ethical values are mostly intermediate or indeterminate.

⁵² 13.5, 6.

both of these English terms) ; then the "I-faculty," the organ of self-consciousness (*ahamkāra*) : then the thinking organ (*manas*, sometimes etymologically translated "mind"), which mediates between sense-perception and the self-consciousness, and is regarded as the function of a special, "inner" sense-organ : with it the faculties of the ten sense-organs,⁵³ five intellectual (of sight, smell, hearing, taste and feeling) and five organs of action (of speech [function of the larynx], grasping [of the hands], locomotion [of the feet], evacuation, and generation) ; also the five "subtle elements," the abstract essences of the material objects (or as we say, reversing the direction, stimulants) of the five senses (sound, as the object of hearing, etc.) ; and finally the five gross elements, earth, air, fire, water, and ether.⁵⁴ All of these forms of material nature—twenty-four in all, including the "undifferentiated" form—are alike composed of the three above-mentioned "qualities" (*gunas*), in varying proportions. It will be seen that the two classifications are not inconsistent, but cross one another, the one being, so to speak, vertical, the other horizontal.

It is, as I have said, only "material nature" or "matter" that acts. "Actions are performed entirely by the qualities (*gunas*) of material nature. He whose soul is deluded by the I-faculty imagines that he is the doer."⁵⁵ That is, owing to the confusion created by the activity of the organ of self-consciousness—*which is part of matter, not of the soul*—one imagines that "he" himself (his soul, his real self, or *ātman*) performs actions. "But he who knows the truth of the distinction between (the soul, on the one hand, and) the qualities (of matter) and action (on the other), knowing that (in any action it is (not the soul that acts but) the qualities of matter that act upon the qualities, is not enthralled."⁵⁶ "And who perceives that acts are exclusively performed by material nature alone, and so that his soul does nothing, he has true vision."⁵⁷ "The disciplined man who knows the truth shall think: 'I am not doing anything at all,' whether he be seeing, hearing, touching, smelling, eating, walking,

⁵³ The Gītā seems to include both the physical organs and their functions in the same verbal expressions. I shall not here discuss the later Hindu usage.

⁵⁴ I shall refrain from describing the precise stages of this evolutionary process as set forth in the later Sāṅkhya philosophy. It is not clear to what extent they had been formulated in the time of the Gītā. One verse of the Gītā (3.42) lists a few of these "evolvments" in climactic order, but without asserting any genetic relationship,—in fact, perhaps implying rather that none exists, since the "highest" member of the series is there—the Soul—which is elsewhere clearly stated to be unrelated to matter.

⁵⁵ 3.27.

⁵⁶ 3.28.

⁵⁷ 13.29.

sleeping, breathing, speaking, evacuating, seizing, opening or closing his eyes; he holds fast to the thought that it is the (material) senses that are operating on the objects of sense."⁵⁸ "When the Beholder (the soul) perceives that no other than the qualities (of matter) acts and knows that which is above the qualities, he attains unto My estate."⁵⁹

What, then, is the function of the soul? As the passage last quoted indicates, it "beholds" the activities of matter, passively, and without participation. "Passively" in the sense that it has no relation to those activities at all; not in the sense that it is affected by them, for its true, fundamental nature is just as free from the effects of action as from its performance. "The Lord (the soul) does not receive (i. e., reap the fruit of) any one's sin, nor yet (of) his virtuous action."⁶⁰ "Swords cut him not, fire burns him not, waters wet him not, wind dries him not. He cannot be cut, he cannot be burnt, he cannot be wet, nor yet dried. Eternal, omnipresent, unmoved, unshakable, everlasting is he (the human soul)."⁶¹ Elsewhere the soul is called the "knower" of matter: "This body is called the Field. He who knows it (i. e., the soul), him those who know the truth call the Field-knower."⁶² The soul, then, merely looks on and "knows" matter and its acts, but has no real connection with them.

And yet, inconsistently as it seems at first sight, the soul is spoken of as experiencing pleasure and pain, which result from material contacts and processes. "Know that both material nature and the soul are eternal; know that both the evolvents (will, I-faculty, organ of thought and other sense-organs, and subtle and gross elements) and the qualities (*gunas*) spring from material nature. Material nature is declared to be the cause of things to be done, of action, and of agency; the soul is declared to be the cause of enjoyment (i. e., experiencing) of pleasure and pain. For the soul, residing in material nature, enjoys the qualities (*gunas*) that are born of material nature. The reason is its attachment to the qualities, in its various births in good and evil stations."⁶³ The key to the seeming inconsistency (which is really due to a certain laxity or inaccuracy in the passage just quoted) is indicated in the last sentence, the thought of which is more fully expressed in another passage, where it is said that the soul "draws to itself the (five) senses, with the organ of thought as the sixth, which spring from material nature. . . .

⁵⁸ 5. 8, 9.⁵⁹ 14, 19.⁶⁰ 5. 15.⁶¹ 2. 23, 24.⁶² 13. 1.⁶³ 13. 19-22.

Resorting to hearing, sight, touch, taste, and smell, and the organ of thought (all of which are really material), it pursues the objects of sense. Fools do not perceive that it (the soul) is attended by the qualities (*gunas*, of matter) when it is passing out or remaining fixed (in the body) or enjoying (the objects of sense). Those whose eye is knowledge see this."⁶⁴ It is only because the soul is associated with matter that it "enjoys," or rather (it would be more accurate to say) *seems* to "enjoy," material processes. "Those who are deluded by the qualities (*gunas*) of material nature are enthralled in the actions of the qualities."⁶⁵ In other words, it is, strictly speaking, not the soul that "enjoys"—experiences—anything. That it seems to do so is due to the confusion caused by the organ of self-consciousness, the "I-faculty," which is a product of material nature and really quite disconnected with the soul, and from which in turn spring all the sense-organs and their objects. Were it not for this, the soul would perceive that it has no relation whatever to the activities and sufferings of matter. Since to the Gītā the general Hindu pessimistic view of life is axiomatic, it follows that this "enjoyment" is in reality naught but evil and suffering, and that the association of the soul with matter is a bondage. "Purity (*sattva*), activity (passion, *rajas*) and dullness (*tamas*),—these qualities, springing from material nature, bind in the body the immortal soul."⁶⁶ It is only the unenlightened man whom they *can* bind. When one attains true enlightenment, that is, realization of the true nature of the soul and matter and their fundamental independence of each other, then, by virtue of this perfect, mystic knowledge, he obtains release; his soul transcends matter and is freed from it for good and all, and he is freed from the chain of rebirths. "Who thus understands the soul and material nature together with the qualities (of the latter),—in whatever state he may be, he is not (to be) born again."⁶⁷ "Transcending in the body these three qualities (of matter) that spring from the body, freed from birth, death, old age, and sorrow, one attains immortality (here a poetic expression for *nirvāna*)."⁶⁸ Mentally abandoning all actions (that is, taking no interest in any action which the body may perform), the Embodied (Soul) sits at peace, self-controlled, in his nine-doored citadel (the body), and neither acts nor causes action at all."⁶⁹

⁶⁴ 15.7-10.⁶⁶ 14.5.⁶⁸ 14.20.⁶⁵ 3.29.⁶⁷ 13.23.⁶⁹ 5.13. We shall have more to say of the various means of salvation found in the Gītā in Chapters VIII and IX.

Note that this is a distinctly anthropomorphic dualism. As we have already seen, it is characteristic of Hindu speculation that it thinks of the whole universe in human terms; this was particularly true of the Upanishads, and remains true, generally speaking, of all later systems. This attitude assumes various forms. The Gītā says: "All creatures whatsoever, motionless (inanimate objects and plants) or moving (animals), are produced by the union of the Field (material nature) and the Field-knower (the soul)."⁷⁰ This seems to attribute to all nature not only mental faculties,—will, self-consciousness, and thinking organ,—which are parts of material nature and its primary evolvents, but also a soul that is distinct from material nature. Some Hindu sects—particularly the Jains—clearly and definitely accept the extreme implications of this theory, and believe that even inanimate objects are inhabited by souls, which are subject to transmigration like animal souls. Most Hindu systems do not carry it as far as that, at least in definite statements. But to all of them man is the only part of the universe that really counts. Animals (usually plants also) are to them potential humans; and the rest of the world they virtually ignore in their speculations. We need not consider here the extreme idealistic monism of Shankara's Vedānta philosophy, according to which there is only One that truly exists, namely Brahman, the world soul, with which the human soul is really identical; all else is illusion (*māyā*), existing only in appearance, as a mirage, and not in reality. This system developed long after the Gītā, as it seems to me, although it claims to be founded on the Upanishads. In a sense it is founded on them; it is only the logical conclusion, or extreme application, of their doctrine that the essential part of man is one with the essential part of the universe. But the Upanishads did not say "the non-soul does not exist." They only tended to ignore its existence or its importance—to wave it aside as unworthy of their consideration; they were not interested in it. This explains why the Upanishads could be made the basis for such diametrically opposite systems as the monism of Shankara's Vedānta on the one hand and the Gītā's dualism on the other. The latter was worked up into more systematic forms by the Sāṅkhya and Yoga philosophies, both of which recognize the reality and independence of soul and matter. They differ on the existence of God, which is accepted by the Yoga but denied by the Sāṅkhya. The Gītā agrees with the Yoga in this respect. All of these views derive from the

⁷⁰ 13.26.

Upanishadic speculations centering about the human soul; and all agree that the non-soul, or material nature, is something from which the soul should utterly detach itself, whether it really exists (Gītā, Sāṅkhya, and Yoga) or is merely illusory (Vedānta).

(To be continued)

THE WISE LOCUSTS

BY GEORGE BALLARD BOWERS

LOCUSTS had swarmed into Bulao and other Gandara River villages of Samar in 1913 but, because of superstitions, the Filipinos refused to take any measures to protect their fields that would require killing the pests. This created a problem for the authorities to solve with tact rather than force. If the locusts were left unmolested, crops would be destroyed, the peasants without food would resort to brigandage and revolt. The simple folk had to be induced to destroy the newly-hatched locusts but without any appearance of coercion. This was the situation confronting young Davenport, a lieutenant of Constabulary.

Lieutenant Davenport had marched all night, he had been warned by his commanding officer that a few hours might mean success or failure. It was nine o'clock when he sighted Bulao, a cluster of palm-thatched huts on the Gandara. In the rice fields near the village, Davenport came upon a crowd of men, women and children arrayed in holiday attire but no one of them took any notice of him or his soldiers. Some of the villagers sang while others drew weird strains from bamboo flutes or beat gently drums of raw deer-hide. All were careful not to step on any one of the wingless, crawling millions of young locusts clearing the field of green as they advanced.

Davenport was amazed, he could hardly restrain his anger. He longed to disperse the peasants with the heavy cane he carried. His Filipino soldiers grinned significantly; they knew the customs of their people as well as the heart of their white leader.

[Editor's Note.—George Ballard Bowers was for fifteen years an officer of the Philippine Constabulary. He knows the customs and dialects of the Philippines. The incidents of the following story are out of his experience while in command of native troops in Samar.]

"*Tcnicnte, adi, cayo.*" brought the Filipino leader to take notice of Davenport who immediately continued in melodious Malay. "Why dost thou permit a holiday while thy fields teem with locusts? Look! At thy feet the ground is brown with crawling insects; soon they will take wing, the sky will be dark and thy fields as bare as after the harvest burning. Return to the village. Call all thy people that they may help to save the young plants not already devoured. Tomorrow it will be too late. Thy fields will have been stripped of their green and famine will lurk near."

"Does the young American mean we must kill these?" the Filipino pointed to the ground while a look of horror overspread his face.

"Yes, so the government orders."

There was dismay on the faces of the attentive listeners, their hands instinctively went to the long blades habitually carried.

"My people would never obey that order," he went on with an air of finality, his companions shouted an approving "*Oo, po.*"

Davenport did not fly into a rage but smiling blandly, listened while the old man spoke.

"My people would never obey that order. They would flee to the hills rather than kill intentionally a single locust.

"O American, it was but five years ago that the locusts came in such numbers as now. With them came a white man with soldiers as now. He ordered us to destroy. We obeyed only because of fear and respect for the wisdom of his blood. *Aghic-c! Aghic!* I would forget that year. *Aghic—c! Aghic!*" He pressed his lips and closed his eyes as if in intense pain. "We destroyed swarm after swarm, not enough were left to feed a swift. We were happy. Our fields promised an abundant harvest. Our young men praised the wisdom of the white man but the old men were fearful. The years had taught them that offended spirits find it hard to forgive. Those who believed in the white men did not long rejoice.

"Only a few days after the American and his soldiers had gone, there appeared a cloud in the sky, moving as swiftly as the wind. We watched with fear and trembling, hoping that the storm god might pass us over. The sound was not that of the wind but the hum of myriads of wings beating the air. Although high in the heavens, the sun could not penetrate the cloud. We saw his face not again until the next day.

"For a time we thought the cloud would pass over but to our dismay, it dropped to earth covering all as does the night. When the morning sun had returned our light, the locusts had gone. They had left our fields as if swept by fire. Our houses were mere skeletons, the thatch had been eaten, even the thatch grass of the nearby plain had been devoured. The locusts had avenged their brothers the white man had commanded us to kill. My people had to relearn the wisdom of our ancestors. We cannot risk the vengeance of the myriads that would follow these.

"American, we can not obey. Should you force us, we shall burn our dwellings and flee to the hills; it is better to risk the bullets of the white man than the wrath of the ancestral gods."

"I agree with thee," began Davenport slowly and gravely. "Thy people ought not to incite the anger of the ancestral spirits. But we should be able to devise some plan whereby thy harvest might be saved and famine averted." After a tense silence, Davenport continued. "Now, under the circumstance, I shall not ask thy people to slay the locusts eating thy fields. I shall ask only that thy people dig the pits and lay the traps. My soldiers who are paid by the state and own no property in thy community will slay the locusts."

The Filipino headman explained this last speech to his people. The old men unanimously agreed that the reasoning of the American was flawless. There appeared to be no reason for further argument or delay.

The crowd disbursed, the men to return with picks, shovels and long strips of 12-inch sheetiron. Davenport marked out the pits well in front of the sheet of crawling insects. The drive began, as fast as the pits were finished, each was filled by turning into it the stream of crawling insects by means of the sheetiron placed so as to form a V-shaped obstruction with its apex open to the pit. All locusts beyond the wings of the trap were gently swept back with a broom of shrubs. As soon as a pit was filled with live squirming locusts, it was covered with earth and tamped by the soldiers so as to relieve the peasants of the curse they feared.

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