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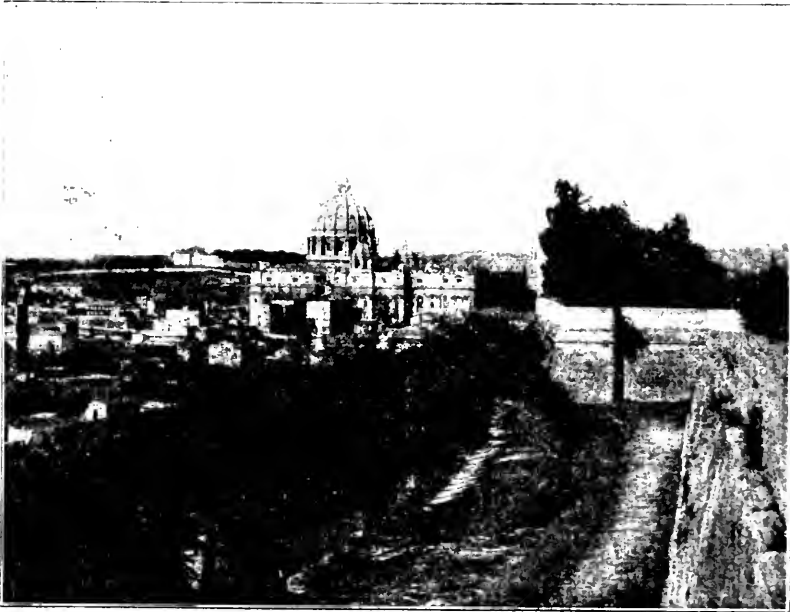
The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Editor: DR. PAUL CARUS.

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



ST. PETER'S.

The Open Court Publishing Company

CHICAGO

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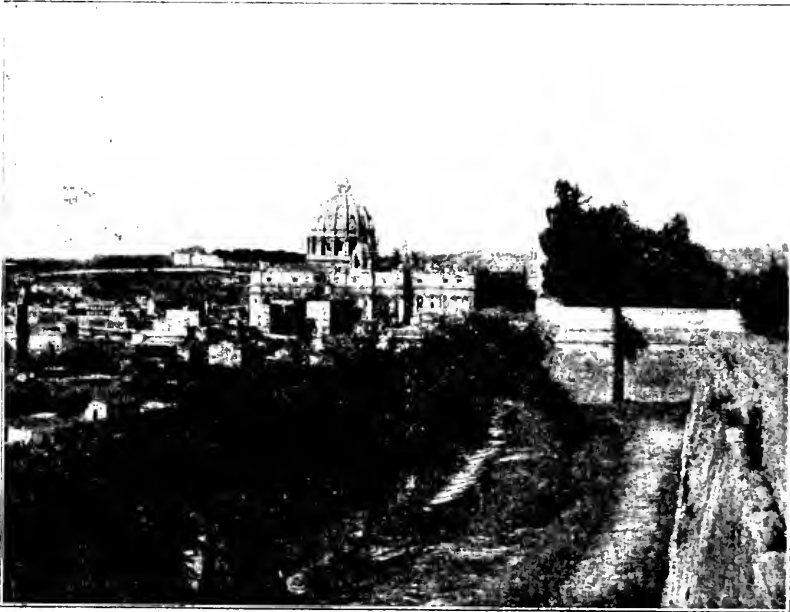
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HIS HOLINESS—POPE PIUS X.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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MODERNISM IN AMERICA.

BY AN AMERICANIST.

FATHER Tyrrell, less than a year before his too early death, said, speaking of Modernism in America: "I cannot understand America. With its freedom and intelligence, its representatives ought to be in the forefront of the Modernist movement. Yet Modernism has produced there hardly an echo. The Church in America is asleep; and I can conceive nothing that will awaken it, but the production of some book native to the soil, which will raise so loud a cry of reform that all who have ears must hear."

The disappointment expressed in these words has been felt and uttered by practically all the leading Modernists of Europe. On his visit here two years ago, Houtin said that Roman Catholicism in this country was in almost primeval darkness, and all but blind to what shall probably be considered one of the most momentous agitations of Christian history. Loisy in his mild way has wondered at the lack of intellectual activity among American Catholics, and Ehrhardt has expressed himself on the subject in terms of summary contempt, declaring in substance that the Church in America has yet to show the first sign of the possession of scholarship in the face of modern problems.

The astonishment and regret of these men are perfectly natural. They are engaged in a movement for a religious life which shall be intelligent and free. They are seeking to prove that religion is greater than the formulas which once were thought adequate to express it; that the life of the spirit is not of so contemptible a value as to be menaced because a text is shown to be spurious, or a devout legend unmasked; and that in seeking religious truth the intelligence of mankind ought not to be submitted to the coercion of any external authority, save the sovereign authority of critical and scientific evidence. What was more to be expected then, than that

they should look for support to America, and to their co-religionists in America? Whence could a more zealous advocacy of Modernism have rightly been anticipated? To what other country could a movement for emancipation, intellectual and spiritual, turn with more confident assurance? The assurance was all the greater, as from among us had appeared Modernism's precursor, Americanism. The late Pope condemned tendencies, which he said existed here, toward an undue independence, a restiveness under venerable restraints, and a general attitude of novelty, of experiment, and of modernizing. And it cannot be doubted that these admonitions of January, 1899, were received here with considerably more coolness than was to the fancy of the Papal court.

For one thing the Italian theologians were thoroughly unfortunate in the name they chose to affix to our domestic shortcomings. Americanism is a word that connotes patriotism. It seems to embrace all that is indigenous to this republic and is typical of it; and whatever becomes of Biblical criticism, or the philosophy of dogmatic conformity, the mass of Catholics in this country will not be un-American. So the *Testis benevolentiae*, which laid Rome's solemn disapproval upon Americanism, was not received with enthusiasm, and raised indeed in some quarters a levity not far removed from disdain which fitted ill with the letter's august source. It assuredly loosened rather than tied more firmly the bonds uniting America to Rome. Accordingly, when Modernism arose—again a word of singularly unhappy invention for its authors—the world felt sure that those who had been Americanists would make the easy transition and become Modernists. But we have produced no Modernists of eminence, though there are American names in the martyrology of the movement, and to this day this apparent inconsistency, this lack of response to the message of the greater prophets, in a country which prepared the way by its minor prophets, are a puzzle and a pain to the men who are so valiantly fighting the battle oversea.

It is worth while to look into the reasons for this condition of things, which undoubtedly is to the disadvantage of religious progress, and to venture a forecast as to the probable fortunes of Modernist Catholicism in the years to come.

But before going to the heart of the matter, a word must be said concerning the magnitude of this question of Modernism. It is not a squabble *intra parietes*, one of the petty ecclesiastical quarrels which the student of large problems can afford to despise. It is fundamentally a great question of spiritual liberty, attended, as

advancing liberty nearly always is, with the tragic element of suffering, as men strive to reach forward to the new light of the intellect while not relinquishing the ancient loyalties of the heart. It has brought a crisis perhaps of life and death to the mightiest religious organization that has ever existed among men. It aims at a restatement of the creed, a revolutionary change in the external polity, and a regeneration of the inner spirit of the mother-church of Christendom. Upon the issue of it depends, to an extent which those who know the movement best are most inclined to magnify, the future place of Roman Catholicism in the history of civilization.

Will the Church, which was once the arbiter of Europe, turn aside from traditions of secular ambition and authority? Will the great tribunal which retains its Index, still a power, and its Inquisition, now a shadow, say to the scholar: "I will not interfere with you; be free!" and to the heretic: "I will not anathematize you; be sincere!"? Will the institution which, claiming absolute infallibility, has moulded the minds of its devout adherents to total submissiveness, modify its claim, and relax the obedience in which it holds half the civilized world? These are the questions raised by Modernism. This is the crisis which has wrung a cry of terror from the present Pope. And the crisis is of so impressive a magnitude, extending indeed to other orthodoxies over and beyond the Roman; it is so full of possibilities for the religious history of the future that the interest in it must appeal not only to the Roman Catholic, but to every man reflective enough to read history in the events that happen before his eyes.

Why then has the Church in the United States taken so small a part in the agitation? Principally for two reasons: "First, Modernism, while not wholly, is predominantly, an intellectual movement. It began in Biblical criticism with Loisy, Lagrange, and Minocechi, all under the influence of German scholarship. It pushed its researches into the history of dogma and comparative religion, with Cumont, Turmel, and Batiffol. And it ended in philosophy, with an attempt at reconstruction and reconciliation, under the leadership of Blondel, Laberthonnière, Le Roy, and Tyrrell. Now any movement of distinctively academic parentage will be slow in penetrating either the clergy or the laity of the Roman Catholic Church in America. It is a simple fact that among them critical studies are in a state of infancy. The Catholic University at Washington, the best institution of that Church for furnishing an introduction to the methods of criticism, has only a handful of students, and the professors have repeatedly deplored the lack of

interest in their school. And, to come to the most conspicuous as well as to an absolutely decisive proof that the Church in this country is intellectually backward, in all the voluminous literature of Biblical criticism, the history of dogmas and religions, and the philosophy of religious phenomena, not a single work of competence and authority has yet been produced by an American Catholic, and the books that reach even the second class are hardly more than half a dozen.

There are, of course, mitigating circumstances. The clergy here are busy with the rough work of building up a rapidly growing Church; and—a fact not less important—the Church in this young nation has no traditions of scholarship, no generations of illustrious thinkers and teachers, as Europe has, and in consequence it lacks one of the most powerful inspirations to a life of study and research.

There is another less creditable reason which cannot be ignored. A few years ago at a meeting of Catholic educators in Milwaukee, two papers were read, written by priests who had had long experience in the direction of seminaries, which declared with a frankness that quite stunned the college officials present, especially the Jesuits among them, that the men sent up to the seminaries by Catholic colleges are in a condition of almost scandalous unfitness for prosecuting the higher studies of an ecclesiastical course. The indictment—for it was nothing less—stated that not only were these candidates deficient in positive erudition, but that they were mentally untrained, unable to grasp a problem, incapable of thinking for themselves, and formulating an independent personal conclusion on a matter of scholarship. The complaint was new only in the daring method of announcing it. It had been made years before in a less public manner, and is made still, by the professors of the Catholic University. Obviously a condition thus criticised must change before a fundamentally critical movement like Modernism can get a fair start.

The other reason why American Catholics have not investigated Modernism, even after the word and the thing became famous, is that we have had here neither a noteworthy book on the subject from a native pen, nor a *cause célèbre*. In Europe, not only is Modernist literature extensive, but Catholics have seen one review after another suppressed by Rome, eminent professors driven from their chairs, scholarly priests suspended with startling frequency, and condemnations of divers degrees of ecclesiastical severity striking down the best-known representatives of Catholic scholarship. Inevitably these agitations set intelligent persons thinking and investi-

gating. The air was and is full of the subject; and for an educated European Catholic not to know something about Modernism, has become almost as much out of the question as it would have been for an American of Civil War times not to follow the fortunes of Grant and Lee. With us the case is entirely different. No book has appeared here; no magazine has been founded; no anathema hurled; no scholar publicly silenced. We have made a solitude and we call it peace. The excitement reaches us only as it dies away in echo. Modernism has not been brought home to America.

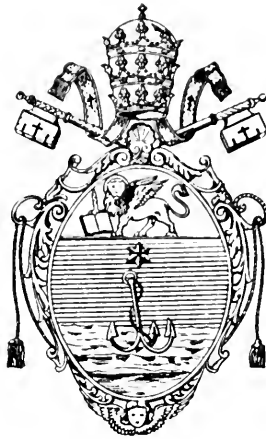
Shall it ever be brought home? We think so; and believe it will be in the manner suggested in the keen remark of Father Tyrrell quoted at the head of this article. The very air and soil of America are favorable to Modernism, as to all other movements that make for intelligence, strength, sincerity and independence. We know what the American spirit is in the political and social order. Translate it into the religious order, and you have Modernism at its best and purest.

The Church in the United States simply needs to know Modernism; then we may be sure, before long it will embrace it. The question is how best to teach it? How acquaint a clergy and laity, more or less indifferent to critical studies, with the problems which Modernism raises?

In the opinion of the writer of this article, a beginning should be made with Americanism. That is to say, the man who sets himself to that sore need of progress—the teaching of Modernism to Roman orthodoxy in this country—should put in the forefront of his work the contrasting attitudes of America and Rome toward the three fundamental ideas of personal liberty, especially liberty of conscience, separation of church and state, and freedom of opinion and research. These three principles constitute an Americanism which all who are true Americans indorse, Catholics as well as non-Catholics. Yet all three are condemned in the most explicit manner by the official theology of the Vatican. The American Catholic who sees this, who has it driven home to him by documents the most formal, and facts the most sure, will get his first awakening to the existence in the infallible church of elements which are out of harmony with progress and modernity. He will perceive that there is need for reform, and that his help should be given to the men who are fighting for reform. Above all, his mind shall have been thus prepared for the discussion of the graver questions of historical criticism which form the central fortress of Modernism. To have

seen the need of change in the lesser, is but one step short of acknowledging the necessity of improvement in the greater.

A few carefully selected examples of critical processes, as these pertain to the Bible and to the evolution of dogma, will open the eyes to the crisis which scholarship and truth have brought upon the creeds. It will appear that the catechism and the manual of dogmatic theology are not the last words of wisdom; that the old-fashioned cast-iron literalism in interpreting Scriptural texts and doctrinal formulas, must give way to a saner, freer, and more spiritual manner of approaching these things; and that, as the Church once assimilated Platonism, and later Aristotelianism, to the extent of expressing her dogmas in the terminology of these systems, so is there to-day a call for new formulations in conformity with the assured results of modern criticisms and religious philosophy. To put the case in a few words, such a work of awakening as Father Tyrrell looked for, should be, not a treatise on one or other specialized aspect of criticism, but a sort of prolegomena to the study of Roman Catholicism as confronted by modern civilization and scholarship. Only a book of this description, covering the ground from reforms that are roughly practical and disciplinary, to those that are dogmatic and radical, will do the required work of education, and give any notable assistance to the formation in the United States, of an intelligent and earnest sympathy for the men who are striving to save all that is best in the most stringent of orthodoxies from the wreck that threatens the entire establishment.



LETTERS TO HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X.

BY A MODERNIST.

EDITORIAL INTRODUCTION.

THE author of these letters to his Holiness Pope Pius X is not known to me personally, but I have heard enough about him to form a vivid picture of his character and attitude. My source of information is not limited to Catholics; in fact, my acquaintance with him is due to a widely known Protestant theologian, who lives in one of our Eastern metropolitan cities.

Judging from what I know, the author is a devout Christian and also a good Catholic in the broad sense of the word. He has been an active priest for many years, and is devoted to his pastoral work. But his piety has suffered severe shocks and he is fretting under the conflict between the ideal he cherishes and the realization with which, to his deep regret, he finds so much fault. The result is a state of mind which can be imagined from these letters to the highest ecclesiastical authority. They are written in the hope that His Holiness will hear the voice crying in the wilderness. If we are not mistaken in the signs of the time, this voice is not isolated. It finds a strong resonance in the minds of many pious Catholics, who realize that it would not be wise to speak out boldly because

of the subtle methods of the organized hierarchy, which have hitherto proved very efficient in meeting any attempt at reform. It is easy enough to force the discontented out of the church, but the church would scarcely be benefited thereby.

These letters are not intended to create a sensation, but to prepare for a future which, in moments of enthusiasm, seems near at hand. They have a twofold purpose. On the one hand our author wants to make the Curia feel its enormous responsibility, and on the other hand to educate both priest and layman for the work of reconstruction.

The author himself expresses the purpose which he has in mind in his recent correspondence as follows:

"Nothing can be truer than your declaration that one who would work for reform needs to examine his conscience as to his motives. I can say in very solemn truth that before setting to work on the 'Letters' I examined mine. Two years before I put pen to the final writing I made a beginning on them—and tore up what I had written because not yet satisfied that I ought to undertake so grave a responsibility. All the thought that I could bring to the decision, as well as all the counsel I could get, preceded the determination to go ahead with the work. So far as I can read the processes of mind and conscience that issued in the decision to write the book, these two considerations were foremost. First, to do a work of education among the priests of the church. I know that body of men well—their nobility, their vague aspirations, their concealed sufferings—and I am convinced to a degree of absolute certainty that the first step toward progress, and a primary need of truth, is to educate them—to undo, in part, anyhow, the results of a training in self-repression, which begins often when they are children of fourteen and fifteen—and leaves them for life with crippled personalities and perverted minds. Secondly, I desired to show—and make the effort, in the second part of the book—that dark and painful as the collapse of a cherished orthodoxy is—still, when criticism has done its worst, it leaves us a splendid Christ to revere, and an immortal spirit to purify and love. I hope that the book is both educational and constructive. I trust it attacks nothing that Truth itself and Progress are not attacking—and that it has something to offer for all that it takes away. At all events, every word of it is written in sincerity, and many words of it were written in feelings which, if possible, are deeper still."

In further comment I may add a word of my own.

I know the attraction which the Catholic church has, and at the

same time I know the shortcomings of Protestantism. Many Protestants look upon art as pagan, if not as superstitious, while Catholicism has inherited, or rather gradually acquired, the beauty of old paganism. Pope Gregory X, when rebuilding St. Peter's, crowned the cross of the aisles with the Pantheon in conscious recognition of his intention to have Christians imbued with the spirit of classical antiquity. This Pope, who was incapable of understanding the zeal of Luther and who is often denounced by Protestants as an infidel and a pagan, was, in his way, a reformer of the church. His love of art, quite in contradiction to the tendencies of early Christianity, has become an inheritance of the Roman church, while Protestants, in contrast to Catholics, have retained to a great extent a hostile attitude to art. This is especially true of the Puritans.

Both Confessions, Romanism and Protestantism, have pursued their ideals in their own ways. By concentrating their fervor on truth irrespective of consequences, Protestant savants have worked out philosophy, science, and Biblical criticism, and have made science the basis of a new and higher civilization. The inheritance of Catholics has been limited to art and mystical devotion, and whatever may be wrong in it, Protestantism is now ready to broaden and to accept of art what is good and noble. Superstitions, at least so far as belief in legend and liberalism is concerned, have in Protestant countries entirely lost their hold on the human mind and there is no danger of a relapse. It is time that the two hostile brothers should share their inheritance, and while Protestants would welcome art, Catholics might give the right of free inquiry and confidence in admitting to scientific truth a recognized place in their theology.

Should the Roman Catholic church not conform to the demands of the time, should the Curia continue to prevent a reformation so much needed, it is quite probable that many pious souls will break away from Rome and originate a genuine Catholic church. There are not a few who cling devoutly to the traditional form of worship, but who are dissatisfied with the narrowness of the old ecclesiastical institutions.

The present Catholic church is not Catholic but is Italian, and even Roman. Its first principle is that only an Italian can become Pope, and among the Cardinals few non-Italians are tolerated in order to keep the balance of power in Italy. Will the time ever come when the Roman Catholic church will drop the epithet "Roman" and will be simply a Catholic church in which Romans, Americans, English and Germans are on a parity?

In case Rome should be impervious to the kindly advice of

her sons, would not the natural outcome be a Catholic church independent of Rome?

The situation reminds us of Christ's lamentation over Jerusalem in Luke xix. 41-42: "And when he was come near, he beheld the city, and wept over it, saying, 'If thou hadst known, even thou, at least in this thy day, the things which belong unto thy peace! but now they are hid from thine eyes.'" Let the men who have the ear of Pius X read the handwriting on the wall.

* * *

I

The Need for These Letters

YOUR HOLINESS:

It has become unfortunately very rare, it is considered indeed to be not only improper but irreligious, for a simple Christian to offer counsel or remonstrance to his ecclesiastical superior. However tyrannical and unchristian the acts of Pope or prelate may be, however cruel the suffering he may inflict, the common faithful must raise no voice of protest. When recently the most illustrious laymen of France, among whom were such men as Brunetière, Thureau-Dangin, de Vogüé and d'Haussonville, earnestly recommended that your Holiness give a loyal trial to the Briand separation-law, and pointed out how uncalled for and disastrous would be the course which it pleased you to adopt, they were roundly scored for the impertinent presumption of giving advice to a Pope. When also the loyal Catholics of Italy, wearied unto very sickness with the Papacy's puerile attitude toward the Italian government, founded their League of National Democracy for the promoting both of patriotism to their country and devotion to their church, they were condemned and silenced, and their noble project put under ban of anathema. Even should it be that a bishop himself speak out in conscientious opposition, though in the most respectful terms, to this or that Papal policy, he is considered by the regnant autocracy at Rome as having transgressed the limits of the servitude which the Curia has imposed upon mankind. Witness the late bishop of La Rochelle, stricken in his very death-hour by Roman censure, because of his solicitude to mitigate the severity of your Holiness's condemnation of the Separation law. Witness certain of our own American bishops who informed Leo XIII ten years ago that his fancied Americanism did not exist here, and thereby came under the high displeasure of the Roman camarilla. Witness the three German bishops who only yesterday, as it were, supported the

project of erecting a monument to the pure-minded Christian scholar, Hermann Schell, and received from your Holiness summary disapproval and crushing rebuke. Schell's stainless name is hated at the Vatican; therefore no Catholic must venerate it. When the Pope speaks let every tongue be still; when the Pope acts let every head be bowed. If we feel righteous indignation at Roman folly, we must not utter it. Should even our very conscience revolt, we must repress it. Blind, stupid, slavish submission—this alone is left us.

So strongly is Roman coercion riveted upon prelates, priests and people, that the old Catholic independence is lost, the old episcopal dignity sunk to serfdom. Men of candor and strong personality, men who bend the knee to God alone and follow not the tricks of fawning—can such men obtain bishoprics to-day? No, except by accident, and a rare accident. Weakness, the inevitable consequence of subservience, is the universal result. Weak men are appointed bishops; poor, docile, unintellectual instruments who see no disgrace in being liveried lackeys of Italian congregations, deem it not dishonorable to profess in their official documents that they owe their successorship to the apostles "to the mercy of the Apostolic See"—*Sanctæ sedis misericordia*—and conceive it to be the highest purpose of episcopal statesmanship to make this year's Peter's Pence more opulent than the last.

It was not always so. Catholicism and Romanism were not always one; and if to-day we must hold our peace whether Rome does well or ill, time was when the spirit of manhood could coexist with Holy Orders, and not even the might of the Sovereign Pontificate dared to assail it with impunity. To one of your predecessors an Irish monk, Columbanus, wrote the splendid defiance, *Si tollis libertatem, tollis et dignitatem*; "if you destroy liberty, you destroy honor". To Pope Eugenius, St. Bernard, another monk, dared to send a sturdy warning against the corruption surrounding the Roman See. Disgusted with the profane pomp displayed by the successors of a Galilean fisherman, the austere Cistercian reminded the head of Western Christendom: "*In his successisti, non Petro sed Constantino*": "in this you make yourself the successor not of Peter, but of Constantine". (*De Consid.* Bk. 1V-c. 3).

The government of the Church, says Gregory 1, in words which we of this time can scarcely believe to be the words of a Pope, ought never to crush the right of honorable protest. "*Necesse est ut cura regiminis tanta moderaminis arte temperetur, quatenus subditorum mens, cum quaedam recte sentire potuerit, sic in vocis*

libertatem prodeat, ut tamen libertas in superbiam non erumpat." (*De Cura Past.* II-8.) So Hilary of Poitiers sturdily condemned Pope Liberius; so Catherine of Sienna poured an invective of fire upon the sordid souls of the Curialists of her time; so Strossmayer told the Vatican Council that the Italianizing of the world must cease if Catholicity is to prosper; so, to conclude with the first and greatest of such instances, Paul withstood Peter for betraying the spirit and the cause of Christ.

Yes, the sorrowful history of Roman tyranny has been now and then illuminated by spokesmen of freedom. Simple priests and humble monks and weak women have dared to speak their minds to the wearers of the triple crown; and at intervals the voice of candor has flung its challenge into halls that were better acquainted with the accents of subservience, falsehood and intrigue. In the spirit of these apostles of truth-telling, the writer of these letters ventures, your Holiness, to commit the impropriety of addressing you. Who I am is of the smallest consequence. Suffice it to say that I am an American, penetrated to the heart with the love and the traditions of my country; that as an American I cannot tolerate bondage, and must detest whatever man or institution endeavors to check the ever-growing, ever-rising personality of man in its aspirations for larger freedom and more perfect truth; that furthermore, I have been drilled and disciplined in the Roman system from my youth; that for years I could see no distinction between Romanism and Catholicism; but that now after long study and reflection, in the course of which I have tried to follow the highest ideals of Truth which God has permitted me to see, I have come to the conclusion that a Papal power capable in this twentieth century of such infamies as the Syllabus of Pius IX and your own campaign against modernism, is irreconcilable with civilization and is destructive of the religion of Jesus Christ.

II

The Purpose of These Letters

YOUR HOLINESS:

In writing these letters I am deluded by no false hope, no vain expectation. Had I the genius of Pascal, I should no more hope to influence the traditional spirit of the Roman See than that illustrious man in his day hoped to destroy Jesuitism. It goes without saying, that I wish some such words as these of mine might receive impartial consideration in the court over which you preside. Nothing is dearer to my heart than that the best traditions of Catholicity

—its splendid sanctity, its divine fecundity of heroism, its priceless mysticism, should gain access to the souls of modern men, and sanctify and save them. Yes, Holy Father, I devoutly wish, that you might bear with me even when, overcome by feeling, I speak perhaps too harshly of the history of your exalted office. Would that laying every prejudice aside you might say: "Why is the modern world so hostile to Catholicism? Why have the most enlightened nations of history rejected it and set themselves against it? What is the reason? Has it any justification? Can I do anything to correct mistakes and remove antipathies which are ruinous to the cause of Christ? I will listen to what sincere men would say to me. Their speech may be at times intemperate, but it is easy to overlook that if their intention be upright and their remonstrance true. These modernist reformers, so hateful to the Curia, are very often of high intelligence and unquestioned probity, and of a truth their number is astonishingly increasing. They are neither fools nor criminals; they have a message; they wish to serve religion. Let me see—me who am beholden to Jesus Christ, how I discharge my shepherdship if there be not in these loud cries some appeal to my conscience, some summons to a duty not yet fulfilled. May I not have to incur in my judgment-hour the reproach uttered by holy Bernard to one who wore my tiara: *Quousque murmur universe terra, aut dissimulas aut non advertis!* 'How long have you been deaf to the outcry of the whole world!'"

Alas! there is no ground to hope that either Pope or bishop will thus heed the reformer's cry. Every earnest spirit that in our time has attacked consecrated iniquity or ecclesiastical folly has been bludgeoned. Look at the men who have spoken for pure religion and truth against Roman oppression: Graty, Montefeltro, Gioberti, Montalembert, Lamennais, Döllinger, Schell, Murri, Tyrrell—why extend the list?—noble names, high-minded men of God, yet every one of them saw his dream dissolve, and died, or will die, forlorn, defeated, hopeless.

No, I have no expectation of succeeding where these great souls have failed. The walls of Jericho collapse no longer at the trumpet call of consecrated men. Save that the Papacy has been deprived of the power to shed blood, its grip upon its remaining adherents was hardly ever more suffocating than in this present day. Its autocracy has still a long history before it, and hundreds yet unborn are destined to be added to the lengthy list of its victims. But I do hope in these letters to your Holiness, to help the formation, especially among American Catholics, of a public opinion, which will

send across the Atlantic some ringing word, some typically American defiance, against the non-representative cabal whose only courtesy to us has been the taking of our lavish largesses of money. I do hope to open the eyes of some of our fair-minded priests to the appalling falsifications of their poor, pitiable seminary education, and to the mental and spiritual bondage in which, to the grievous injury of character and manhood, they are enslaved. I do hope to express in the name of America, which has thus far been silent, a protest against your frenzied crusade upon the rights of human intelligence. I do hope to tell you frankly why the Church is losing ground every day among civilized and enlightened peoples, and to put it before your conscience whether you, who alone can do it, will relieve the momentous situation, will turn your back upon traditions whose history reeks with blood and is foul with corruption, and take as your simple standard: Not the Curia, but Christ!

III

The Purpose of These Letters (continued)

YOUR HOLINESS:

It is my purpose to tell you why the modern world rejects and distrusts Roman Catholicism. Until we know the answer to that question Catholics are in a fool's paradise, their apologetics are inept, their dreams of conversions only hallucinations, their wider religious activities almost ridiculous. I am aware that in the marvelous mentality of the strict Roman theologian, the question is summarily answered. The most highly enlightened nations of the world have cast off Roman Catholicism because they are under the power of Satan, and of his chief instruments, the Free-Masons. *Voilà!* the problem is solved. This solution I have no intention of refuting. It would degrade the intellect of a grown man to discuss it. Merely let me say, Your Holiness, that the educated minds of Germany, France, England, and the United States, have not set the Father of Falsehood upon the altar of the God of Truth; and that whenever the Catholic religion shall appear before them as a purely spiritual society, existing for no other purpose whatsoever than to reproduce the Christ-life upon earth, they will turn to her with overflowing hearts, will merge all their differences in a world-wide spiritual brotherhood, and will recognize with new ardor the supreme leadership of Jesus Christ.

But now, and for imperative reasons, as I soon shall point out, they do not regard Roman Catholicism as a purely religious society.

They consider it, on its official, on its Roman side, a mischievous political institution that has done its best to wreck civilization in the past, and is still a deadly menace to the civilization of to-day and of the future. They can see nothing resembling Christ in the Roman Curia, and in the Papacy as it functions now. They dread it; they abhor it. Until it radically changes, until it candidly gives the lie to its past history, they will have no dealings and no patience with it. And the solemn responsibility that rests upon you, and upon those who will come after you, is whether you will save the souls of the modern world, or prefer to save the worthless forms of a dead and rotting theocracy.

IV

What Is Religion?

YOUR HOLINESS:

Before coming to the reasons on which the modern world bases its rejection of Roman Catholicism, let us go back to certain primary principles of religious life and thought. Bear with me while I touch upon a definition or two which a penny catechism furnishes indeed, but in hardly adequate terms. What, after all, is the Christian religion? What is the Church of Christ? Religion is the name for our God-obeying, Godward-growing life. Religion means union with Deity, character-culture in the pursuit of infinite Truth, Justice and Love. The Christian religion signifies the type and method of these spiritual relationships as shown forth and taught by Christ. Christianity is God-worship in the Christ-manner; soul-cultivation after the Christ-model. In a word, the aim of Christianity is to reproduce and perpetuate the Christ-life. A Christian Church is a brotherhood of Christian disciples; and that Church will be the best and truest church which teaches in the most pure and perfect way the Christ-life, the Christ-character. It seems too obvious to need remarking, but there is, as we shall see, abundant reason to remark, that Christianity, or the Christ-ideal, can never stand in opposition to morality, to the ideas of goodness, charity, mercy and truth which our Creator has placed within our spirit. Christianity is rather to purify and exalt these ideals. If they are attacked, it cannot be Christ that attacks them; and if it be that someone does attack them in Christ's name, we may straightway know that such a one is consciously or unconsciously misrepresenting the Lord in whom all our ideals shine forth divinely, and is an apostate from the perfect standard which he has left us.

Furthermore, religion is not the sole activity of man. In all

other departments of the higher life, too, we must grow; we must be forever dropping the less to reach forth for the greater. Growth in Truth and in Liberty is the law of the beneficent Providence which has made us men. And just as only a falsification and travesty of Christianity can contradict morality, so only a falsification and travesty of Christianity can contradict these other species of human progress. A true Christian Church therefore must perpetuate the Christ-ideal while never obstructing the higher evolution of mankind, which is as much a part of God's Providence as Christianity itself. Accordingly, the Church must be one, inasmuch as the ideal life which it is its *raison d'être* to inculcate, is one; it must be holy, because its purpose is the sacreddest possible to man; and it must be Catholic; that is to say, it must further all forms of human development by sanctifying the root and origin of all. If any Church—let us say it once more—does not fulfill this mission, if it officially degrades morality, and obstructs the pathway of the higher human evolution, to that extent it is faithless to the Christ-type, it is renegade to the Christ-teacher, it is a falsehood and an imposition; and instead of forming men to the Gospel standard, it will turn many of them away in disgust from any religion whatsoever. Can anything be plainer?

I have been using the terms Christ-spirit, Christ-life, Christ-ideal. I trust there is no need for detailed definitions here. Surely we know who and what was Jesus. He is the crown and glory of human character. Love of truth, that made Him defy a corrupt hierarchy; consecration to duty, that led Him to the cross; gentleness, that crowns him with winning loveliness beyond any other of the sons of men; mercy, that has let us see that no penitent or prodigal need despair; in these, how divinely great and glorious He is! How He rises above His nation by conceiving the Kingdom as not for the Jews alone, but for the world! How He scorns the caste-pride of the Pharisees by sitting down to eat with sinners! How He shatters the antipathies of narrow orthodoxy by putting forth as models the heretic leper who returned to give thanks, and the heretic philanthropist on the road to Jericho, who understood God better than the Levite or priest! It were sacrilege to think of Him as brutal; as striking with cruel fist any face upturned to God; as grinding any of the little ones He loved beneath the iron heel of tyranny. O Sovereign Pontiff, the standard of men and institutions is not Canon Law, but He, the Master; not ancient tradition, but the everlasting God as shining out upon us in the perfect Christ.

V

The Attitude of the Modern World Toward Official Catholicism
YOUR HOLINESS:

In due time I shall bring the subject-matter of the preceding letter to bear upon Papal history. Just now let me recall to you in detail some of the chief reasons for the modern world's refusal to embrace Roman Catholicism. You do not know them, I dare say; few in the Church over which you hold sovereign dominion appreciate them in any intelligent degree. What with all this fury over modernism, what with the puerile orthodox shuddering at Satan and Free-Masonry as the cause of the Church's troubles, the real reasons are persistently and foolishly ignored. Now then, in a candid and downright fashion, let us see what they are.

The enlightened nations of to-day, Holy Father, are decisively in opposition to Roman Catholicism, largely, yes, primarily, because as has been said, they look upon it as the irreconcilable enemy of progress and civilization. The sanctity which appears so often and so brilliantly in the Church, they acknowledge and revere. The intelligent American non-Catholic speaks as affectionately as would one of the Catholic household, of the Sisters who sacrifice their lives for the orphans, the aged, and the sick. He bows his head in veneration at heroic names like that of Damien. His Catholic neighbors he esteems according to their worth. Catholic charities he is liberal in helping to support. But over and beyond the diviner side of Catholicism he sees the sinister forms, he reads the foul history of Papacy and Curia. These he abhors. With these as they have been and still are, he cannot, while the world lasts, be reconciled. He regards the political Papacy and the autocracy of the Curia as a menace to human liberty, as destructive of enlightenment and subversive of pure religion. It is as impossible to convert Germany, England and America to the Papacy, as to Mohammedanism. The triumph of Islam itself in their judgment would be no more disastrous to mankind than the re-establishment of the sovereign of mediæval Rome.

I am speaking plainly, but with literal truthfulness. The Papacy and the Curia were the chief reasons for the revolt of the sixteenth century; the Papacy and the Curia are the chief reasons why that revolt is not abated in the twentieth. Now, then, why is there such an attitude toward Papal Rome? Is it not wholly unjust? Do not our pious histories inform us that the Papacy has been the savior of civilization? that the sovereign See of Catholic Christendom is a "Holy" See? that there the world's zeal and learning are

gloriously concentrated? Is it not pure bigotry, this hostility to the Roman Pontificate?

No, it is not pure bigotry. Neither is it in modernism, nor in the classic sources, Satan and Masonry, that we must find the cause of the ineradicable aversion of the modern world for the See of Rome. That cause lies in the notorious history of that See itself. It has been judged by its fruits, and by its fruits forever and irrevocably condemned. Let us see.

Nations, like individuals, cherish as most precious the possessions that have cost them most. To-day, at the basis of every free state are certain principles of liberty which have been gained only after centuries of heroic struggle and a dreadful expenditure of heroic blood. These principles of liberty are dearer to every free-man than his life. Sooner will a free country consent to give up the last of its sons to the sword and the last of its homes to the torch, than surrender the emancipating ideas which the slow Providence that overrules history has bestowed upon us. Backward the march of man can never go. Faithless to the heritage of freedom mankind can never be unless mankind goes mad. Barbarism shall never overreach civilization; Death shall never usurp the seat of Life.

The greatest of these principles of liberty is freedom of conscience. The relations of each man's soul with his Creator are a matter solely for each man's conscience, subject to nothing else than the fundamental morality and the social peace which must govern all human activities. Freedom of conscience is the highest of all freedom; it is the life-principle of every people that deserves to be called civilized. Precious as it is, fundamental as it is, it has been most painfully won. Through blood, and flames, and exile, and all terror, the right to worship Deity as conscience dictates has fought its way. To-day we blush for shame that it should ever have been violated. To-day we look back as to the highest type of heroism upon the exile banned by tyranny, because he would not lie; to the martyr dying at the stake, because he would not bend the knee to what he believed to be falsehood and superstition.

Sovereign Pontiff, do you ask why the Papacy is despised and rejected? It is, first of all, because this priceless right of conscience is denied as impious falsehood by your Roman See; it is because the Papacy's history with regard to it is perhaps the foulest infamy recorded in the annals of the world.

(To be continued.)

ASIA MINOR.

BY FRANZ CUMONT.

THE first oriental religion adopted by the Romans was that of the goddess of Phrygia, whom the people of Pessinus and Mount Ida worshiped, and who received the name of *Magna Mater deum Idea* in the Occident. Its history in Italy covers six centuries, and we can trace each phase of the transformation that changed it in the course of time from a collection of very primitive nature beliefs into a system of spiritualized mysteries used by some as a weapon against Christianity. We shall now endeavor to outline the successive phases of that slow metamorphosis.

This religion is the only one whose success in the Latin world was caused originally by a mere chance circumstance. In 205 B. C., when Hannibal, vanquished but still threatening, made his last stand in the mountains of Bruttium, repeated torrents of stones frightened the Roman people. When the books were officially consulted in regard to this prodigy they promised that the enemy would be driven from Italy if the Great Mother of Ida could be brought to Rome. Nobody but the Sibyls themselves had the power of averting the evils prophesied by them. They had come to Italy from Asia Minor, and in this critical situation their sacred poem recommended the practice of their native religion as a remedy. In token of his friendship, King Attalus presented the ambassadors of the senate with the black aerolite, supposed to be the abode of the goddess, that this ruler had shortly before transferred from Pessinus to Pergamum. According to the mandate of the oracle the stone was received at Ostia by the best citizen of the land, an honor accorded to Scipio Nasica—and carried by the most esteemed matrons to the Palatine, where, hailed by the cheers of the multitude and surrounded by fumes of incense, it was solemnly installed (Nones of April, 204). This triumphal entry was later glorified by marvelous legends, and the poets told of edifying miracles that

had occurred during Cybele's voyage. In the same year Scipio transferred the seat of war to Africa, and Hannibal, compelled to meet him there, was beaten at Zama. The prediction of the Sibyls had come true and Rome was rid of the long Punic terror. The foreign goddess was honored in recognition of the service she had rendered. A temple was erected to her on the summit of the Palatine, and every year a celebration enhanced by scenic plays, the *ludi Megalenses*, commemorated the date of dedication of the sanctuary and the arrival of the goddess (April 4th-10th).

What was this Asiatic religion that had suddenly been transferred into the heart of Rome by an extraordinary circumstance? Even then it could look back upon a long period of development. It combined beliefs of various origin. It contained primitive usages of the religion of Anatolia, some of which have survived to this day in spite of Christianity and Islam. Like the Kizil-Bash peasants of today, the ancient inhabitants of the peninsula met on the summits of mountains covered with woods no ax had desecrated, and celebrated their festal days.¹ They believed that Cybele resided on the high summits of Ida and Berecynthus, and the perennial pines, in conjunction with the prolific and early maturing almond tree, were the sacred trees of Attis. Besides trees, the country people worshiped stones, rocks or meteors that had fallen from the sky like the one taken from Pessinus to Pergamum and thence to Rome. They also venerated certain animals, especially the most powerful of them all, the lion, who may at one time have been the totem of savage tribes.² In mythology as well as in art the lion remained the riding or driving animal of the Great Mother. Their conception of the divinity was indistinct and impersonal. A goddess of the earth, called Mâ or Cybele, was revered as the fecund mother of all things, the "mistress of the wild beasts"³ that inhabit the woods. A god Attis, or Papas, was regarded as her husband, but the first place in this divine household belonged to the woman, a reminiscence of the period of matriarchy.⁴

When the Phrygians at a very early period came from Thrace and inserted themselves like a wedge in the old Anatolian races, they adopted the vague deities of their new country by identifying them with their own, after the habit of pagan nations. Thus Attis became one with the Dionysus-Sabazius of the conquerors, or at least assumed some of his characteristics. This Thracian Dionysus

¹ Cf. Vergil, *Aen.*, IX, 85 f.

² S. Reinach, *Mythes, cultes*, I, p. 293.

³ *πότνια θηρῶν.*

⁴ Cf. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, I, pp. 7; 94.

was a god of vegetation. Foucart has thus admirably pictured his savage nature: "Wooded summits, deep oak and pine forests, ivy-clad caverns were at all times his favorite haunts. Mortals who were anxious to know the powerful divinity ruling these solitudes had to observe the life of his kingdom, and to guess the god's nature from the phenomena through which he manifested his power. Seeing the creeks descend in noisy foaming cascades, or hearing the roaring of steers in the uplands and the strange sounds of the wind-beaten forests, the Thracians thought they heard the voice and the calls of the lord of that empire, and imagined a god who was fond of extravagant leaps and of wild roaming over the wooded mountains. This conception inspired their religion, for the surest way for mortals to ingratiate themselves with a divinity was to imitate it, and as far as possible to make their lives resemble his. For this reason the Thracians endeavored to attain the divine delirium that transported their Dionysus, and hoped to realize their purpose by following their invisible yet ever-present lord in his chase over the mountains."⁵

In the Phrygian religion we find the same beliefs and rites, scarcely modified at all, with the one difference that Attis, the god of vegetation, was united to the goddess of the earth instead of living "in sullen loneliness." When the tempest was beating the forests of the Berecynthus or Ida, it was Cybele traveling about in her car drawn by roaring lions mourning her lover's death. A crowd of worshipers followed her through woods and thickets, mingling their shouts with the shrill sound of flutes, with the dull beat of tambourines, with the rattling of castanets and the dissonance of brass cymbals. Intoxicated with shouting and with the uproar of the instruments, excited by their impetuous advance, breathless and panting, they surrendered to the raptures of a sacred enthusiasm. Catullus has left us a dramatic description of this divine ecstasy.⁶

The religion of Phrygia was perhaps even more violent than that of Thrace. The climate of the Anatolian upland is one of extremes. Its winters are rough, long and cold, the spring rains suddenly develop a vigorous vegetation that is scorched by the hot summer sun. The abrupt contrasts of a nature generous and sterile, radiant and bleak in turn, caused excesses of sadness and joy that were unknown in temperate and smiling regions, where the ground was never buried under snow nor scorched by the sun. The Phryg-

⁵ Foucart, "Le culte de Dionysos en Attique," *Extr. Mém. Acad. Inscr.*, XXXVII, 1904, pp. 22 f.

⁶ Catullus, LXIII.

ians mourned, the long agony and death of the vegetation, but when the verdure reappeared in March they surrendered to the excitement of a tumultuous joy. In Asia savage rites that had been unknown in Thrace or practiced in milder form expressed the vehemence of those opposing feelings. In the midst of their orgies, and after wild dances, some of the worshipers voluntarily wounded themselves and, becoming intoxicated with the view of the blood, with which they besprinkled their altars, they believed they were uniting themselves with their divinity. Or else, arriving at a paroxysm of frenzy, they sacrificed their virility to the gods as certain Russian dissenters still do today. These men became priests of Cybele and were called Galli. Violent ecstasis was always an endemic disease in Phrygia. As late as the Antonines, montanist prophets that arose in that country attempted to introduce it into Christianity.

All these excessive and degrading demonstrations of an extreme worship must not cause us to slight the power of the feeling that inspired it. The sacred ecstasy, the voluntary mutilations and the eagerly sought sufferings manifested an ardent longing for deliverance from subjection to carnal instincts, and a fervent desire to free the soul from the bonds of matter. The ascetic tendencies went so far as to create a kind of begging monachism—the *metragyrtes*. They also harmonized with some of the ideas of renunciation taught by Greek philosophy, and at an early period Hellenic theologians took an interest in this devotion that attracted and repelled them at the same time. Timotheus the Eumolpid, who was one of the founders of the Alexandrian religion of Serapis, derived the inspiration for his essays on religious reform, among other sources, from the ancient Phrygian myths. Those thinkers undoubtedly succeeded in making the priests of Pessinus themselves admit many speculations quite foreign to the old Anatolian nature worship. The votaries of Cybele began at a very remote period to practise “mysteries”⁷ in which the initiates were made acquainted, by degrees, with a wisdom that was always considered divine, but underwent peculiar variations in the course of time.

* * *

Such is the religion which the rough Romans of the Punic wars accepted and adopted. Hidden under theological and cosmological doctrines it contained an ancient stock of very primitive and coarse religious ideas, such as the worship of trees, stones and animals. Besides this superstitious fetichism it involved ceremonies that were both sensual and ribald, including all the wild

⁷ Cf. Hepding, *Attis*, pp. 177 f.

and mystic rites of the bacchanalia which the public authorities were to prohibit a few years later.

When the senate became better acquainted with the divinity imposed upon it by the Sibyls, it must have been quite embarrassed by the present of King Attalus. The enthusiastic transports and the somber fanaticism of the Phrygian worship contrasted violently with the calm dignity and respectable reserve of the official religion, and excited the minds of the people to a dangerous degree. The emasculated Galli were the objects of contempt and disgust and what in their own eyes was a meritorious act was made a crime punishable by law, at least under the empire.⁸ The authorities hesitated between the respect due to the powerful goddess that had delivered Rome from the Carthaginians and the reverence for the *mos maiorum*. They solved the difficulty by completely isolating the new religion in order to prevent its contagion. All citizens were forbidden to join the priesthood of the foreign goddess or to participate in her sacred orgies. The barbarous rites according to which the Great Mother was to be worshiped were performed by Phrygian priests and priestesses. The holidays celebrated in her honor by the entire nation, the *Megalensia*, contained no Oriental feature and were organized in conformity with Roman traditions.

A characteristic anecdote told by Diodorus⁹ shows what the public feeling was towards this Asiatic worship at the end of the republic. In Pompey's time a high priest from Pessinus came to Rome, presented himself at the forum in his sacerdotal garb, a golden diadem and a long embroidered robe—and pretending that the statue of his goddess had been profaned demanded public expiation. But a tribune forbade him to wear the royal crown, and the populace rose against him in a mob and compelled him to seek refuge in his house. Although apologies were made later, this story shows how little the people of that period felt the veneration that attached to Cybele and her clergy after a century had passed.

Kept closely under control, the Phrygian worship led an obscure existence until the establishment of the empire. That closed the first period of its history at Rome. It attracted attention only on certain holidays, when its priests marched the streets in procession, dressed in motley costumes, loaded with heavy jewelry, and beating tambourines. On those days the senate granted them the right to go from house to house to collect funds for their temples. The remainder of the year they confined themselves to the sacred enclosure of the Palatine, celebrating foreign ceremonies in a for-

⁸ Dig., XLVIII, 8, 4, 2.

⁹ Diodorus, XXXVI, 6.

eign language. They aroused so little notice during this period that almost nothing is known of their practices or of their creed. It has even been maintained that Attis was not worshiped together with his companion, the Great Mother, during the times of the republic, but this is undoubtedly wrong, because the two persons of this divine couple must have been as inseparable in the ritual as they were in the myths.¹⁰

But the Phrygian religion kept alive in spite of police surveillance, in spite of precautions and prejudices; a breach had been made in the cracked wall of the old Roman principles, through which the entire Orient finally gained ingress.

Directly after the fall of the republic a second divinity from Asia Minor, closely related to the Great Mother, became established in the capital. During the wars against Mithridates the Roman soldiers learned to revere Mâ, the great goddess of the two Comanas, who was worshiped by a whole people of hierodules in the ravines of the Taurus and along the banks of the Iris. Like Cybele she was an ancient Anatolian divinity and personified fertile nature. Her worship, however, had not felt the influence of Thrace, but rather that of the Semites and the Persians,¹¹ like the entire religion of Cappadocia. It is certain that she was identical with the Anâhita of the Mazdeans, who was of much the same nature.

The rites of her cult were even more sanguinary and savage than those of Pessinus, and she had assumed or preserved a warlike character that gave her a resemblance to the Italian Bellona. The dictator Sulla, to whom this invincible goddess of combats had appeared in a dream, was prompted by his superstition to introduce her worship into Rome. The terrible ceremonies connected with it produced a deep impression. Clad in black robes, her "fanatics," as they were called, would turn round and round to the sound of drums and trumpets, with their long, loose hair streaming, and when vertigo seized them and a state of anæsthesia was attained, they would strike their arms and bodies great blows with swords and axes. The view of the running blood excited them, and they besprinkled the statue of the goddess and her votaries with it, or even drank it. Finally a prophetic delirium would overcome them, and they foretold the future.

This ferocious worship aroused curiosity at first, but it never gained great consideration. It appears that the Cappadocian Bellona joined the number of divinities that were subordinated to the *Magna*

¹⁰ Hepding, *Attis*, p. 142.

¹¹ This point will be developed in a later article on Persia.

Mater and, as the texts put it, became her follower (*pedisequa*).¹² The brief popularity enjoyed by this exotic *Mâ* at the beginning of our era shows, nevertheless, the growing influence of the Orient, and of the religions of Asia Minor in particular.

After the establishment of the empire the apprehensive distrust in which the worship of Cybele and Attis had been held gave way to marked favor and the original restrictions were withdrawn. Thereafter Roman citizens were chosen for *archigalli*, and the holidays of the Phrygian deities were solemnly and officially celebrated in Italy with even more pomp than had been displayed at Pessinus.

According to Johannes Lydus, the Emperor Claudius was the author of this change. Doubts have been expressed as to the correctness of the statement made by this second rate compiler, and it has been claimed that the transformation in question took place under the Antonines. This is erroneous. The testimony of inscriptions corroborates that of the Byzantine writer.¹³ In spite of his love of archaism, it was Claudius who permitted this innovation to be made, and we believe that we can divine the motives of his action.

Under his predecessor, Caligula, the worship of Isis had been authorized after a long resistance. Its stirring festivities and imposing processions gained considerable popularity. This competition must have been disastrous to the priests of the *Magna Mater*, who were secluded in their temple on the Palatine, and Caligula's successor could not but grant to the Phrygian goddess, so long established in the city, the favor accorded the Egyptian divinity who had been admitted into Rome but very recently. In this way Claudius prevented too great an ascendancy in Italy of this second stranger and supplied a distributary to the current of popular superstition. Isis must have been held under great suspicion by a ruler who clung to old national institutions.¹⁴

The emperor Claudius introduced a new cycle of holidays that were celebrated from March 15th to March 27th, the beginning of spring, at the time of the revival of vegetation, personified in Attis. The various acts of this grand mystic drama are tolerably well known. The prelude was a procession of *cannophores* or reed-bearers on the fifteenth; undoubtedly they commemorated Cybele's discovery of Attis, who, according to the legends, had been exposed while a child on the banks of the Sangarius, the largest river of Phrygia, or else this ceremony may have been the transformation of an ancient phallogory intended to guarantee the fertility of the

¹² Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer*, pp. 263 f.

¹³ Hepding, *Attis*, p. 142.

¹⁴ Tacitus, *Annales*, XI, 15.

fields.¹⁵ The ceremonies proper began with the equinox. A pine was felled and transferred to the temple of the Palatine by a brotherhood that owed to this function its name of "tree-bearers" (*dendrophores*). Wrapped like a corpse in woolen bands and garlands of violets, this pine represented Attis dead. This god was originally only the spirit of the plants, and the honors given to the "March-tree"¹⁶ in front of the imperial palace perpetuated a very ancient agrarian rite of the Phrygian peasants. The next day was a day of sadness and abstinence on which the believers fasted and mourned the defunct god. The twenty-fourth bore the significant name of *Sanguis* in the calendars. We know that it was the celebration of the funeral of Attis, whose manes were appeased by means of libations of blood, as was done for any mortal. Mingling their piercing cries with the shrill sound of flutes, the Galli flagellated themselves and cut their flesh, and neophytes performed the supreme sacrifice with the aid of a sharp stone, being insensible to pain in their frenzy.¹⁷ Then followed a mysterious vigil during which the mystic was supposed to be united as a new Attis with the great goddess.¹⁸ On March 26th there was a sudden transition from the shouts of despair to a delirious jubilation, the "Hilaria." With springtime Attis awoke from his sleep of death, and the joy created by his resurrection burst out in wild merry-making, wanton masquerades, and luxurious banquets. After twenty-four hours of an indispensable rest (*Requies*), the festivities wound up, on the twenty-seventh, with a long and gorgeous procession through the streets of Rome and surrounding country districts. Under a constant rain of flowers the silver statue of Cybele was taken to the river Almo and bathed and purified according to an ancient rite (*Lavatio*.)

The worship of the mother of the gods had penetrated into the Hellenic countries long before it was received at Rome, but in Greece it assumed a peculiar form and lost most of its barbarous character. The Greek mind felt an unconquerable aversion to the dubious nature of Attis. The *Magna Mater*, who is thoroughly different from her Hellenized sister, penetrated into all Latin provinces and imposed herself upon them with the Roman religion. This was the case in Spain, Brittany, the Danubian countries, Africa and especially in Gaul.¹⁹ As late as the fourth century the car of the goddess drawn by steers was led in great state through the fields

¹⁵ Cf. Showerman, *Classical Journal*, II (1906), p. 29.

¹⁶ Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, II, pp. 130 f.

¹⁷ Hepding, *Attis*, p. 160.

¹⁸ Hepding, *Attis*, p. 193.

¹⁹ Cf. Drexler in Roscher, *Lexikon*, s. v. "Meter," col. 918 f.

and vineyards of Autun in order to stimulate their fertility.²⁰ In the provinces the *dendrophores*, who carried the sacred pine in the spring festivities, formed associations recognized by the state. These associations had charge of the work of our modern fire departments, besides their religious mission. In case of necessity these woodcutters and carpenters, who knew how to fell the divine tree of Attis, were also able to cut down the timbers of burning buildings. All over the empire religion and the brotherhoods connected with it were under the high supervision of the quindecimvirs of the capital, who gave the priests their insignia. The sacerdotal hierarchy and the rights granted to the priesthood and believers were minutely defined in a series of senate decrees. These Phrygian divinities who had achieved full naturalization and had been placed on the official list of gods, were adopted by the populations of the Occident as Roman gods together with the rest. This propagation was clearly different from that of any other Oriental religion, for here the action of the government aided the tendencies that attracted the devout masses to these Asiatic divinities.

This popular zeal was the result of various causes. Ancient authors describe the impression produced upon the masses by those magnificent processions in which Cybele passed along on her car, preceded by musicians playing captivating melodies, by priests wearing gorgeous costumes covered with amulets, and by the long line of votaries and members of the fraternities, all barefoot and wearing their insignia. All this, however, created only a fleeting and exterior impression upon the neophyte, but as soon as he entered the temple a deeper sensation took hold of him. He heard the pathetic story of the goddess seeking the body of her lover cut down in the prime of his life like the grass of the fields. He saw the bloody funeral services in which the cruel death of the young man was mourned, and heard the joyful hymns of triumph, and the gay songs that greeted his return to life. By a skillfully arranged gradation of feelings the onlookers were uplifted to a state of rapturous ecstasy. Feminine devotion in particular found encouragement and enjoyment in these ceremonies, and the Great Mother, the fecund and generous goddess, was always especially worshiped by the women.

Moreover, people founded great hopes on the pious practice of this religion. Like the Thracians the Phrygians began very early to believe in the immortality of the soul. Just as Attis died and came to life again every year, these believers were to be born to a new life after their death. One of the sacred hymns said: "Take

²⁰ Gregory of Tours, *De glor. confess.*, c. 76.

courage, oh mystics, because the god is saved; and for you also will come salvation from your trials.”²¹ Even the funeral ceremonies were affected by the strength of that belief. In some cities, especially at Amphipolis in Macedonia, graves have been found adorned with earthenware statuettes representing the shepherd Attis;²² and even in Germany the gravestones are frequently decorated with figures of young men in Oriental costume, leaning dejectedly upon a kotted stick (*pedum*), which represented the same Attis. We are ignorant of the conception of immortality held by the Oriental disciples of the Phrygian priests. Maybe, like the votaries of Sabazius, they believed that the blessed ones were permitted to participate with Hermes Psychopompos in a great celestial feast, for which they were prepared by the sacred repasts of the mysteries.²³

* * *

Another agent in favor of this imported religion was, as we have stated above, the fact of its official recognition. This placed it in a privileged position among Oriental religions, at least at the beginning of the imperial regime. It enjoyed a toleration that was neither precarious nor limited; it was not subjected to arbitrary police measures nor to coercion on the part of magistrates; its fraternities were not continually threatened with dissolution, nor its priests with expulsion. It was publicly authorized and endowed, its holidays were marked in the calendars of the pontiffs, its associations of dendrophores were organs of municipal life in Italy and in the provinces, and had a corporate entity.

Therefore it is not surprising that other foreign religions, after being transferred to Rome, sought to avert the dangers of an illicit existence by an alliance with the Great Mother. The religion of the latter frequently consented to agreements and compromises, from which it gained in reality as much as it gave up. In exchange for material advantages it acquired complete moral authority over the gods that accepted its protection. Thus Cybele and Attis absorbed a majority of the divinities from Asia Minor that had crossed the Ionian Sea. Their clergy undoubtedly intended to establish a religion complex enough to enable the emigrants from every part of the vast peninsula, slaves, merchants, soldiers, functionaries, scholars, in short, people of all classes of society, to find their national and favorite devotions in it. As a matter of fact no

²¹ Cf. Hepding, *Attis*, p. 167.

²² Perdrizet, *Bull. corr. hell.*, XIX (1905), pp. 534 f.

²³ Hepding, *Attis*, p. 263.

other Anatolian god could maintain his independence side by side with the deities of Pessinus.²⁴

We do not know the internal development of the Phrygian mysteries sufficiently to give details of the addition of each individual part. But we can prove that in the course of time certain religions were added to the one that had been practised in the temple of the Palatine ever since the republic.

In the inscriptions of the fourth century, Attis bears the cognomen of *menotyranus*. At that time this name was undoubtedly understood to mean "lord of the months," because Attis represented the sun who entered a new sign of the zodiac every month.²⁵ But that was not the original meaning of the term. "*Mèn tyrannus*" appears with quite a different meaning in many inscriptions found in Asia Minor. *Tyrannos*,* "lord," is a word taken by the Greeks from the Lydian, and the honorable title of "tyrant" was given to Mèn, an old barbarian divinity worshiped by all Phrygia and surrounding regions.²⁶ The Anatolian tribes from Caria to the remotest mountains of Pontus worshiped a lunar god under that name who was supposed to rule not only the heavens but also the underworld, because the moon was frequently brought into connection with the somber kingdom of the dead. The growth of plants and the increase of cattle and poultry were ascribed to his celestial influence, and the villagers invoked his protection for their farms and their district. They also placed their rural burial grounds under the safeguard of this king of shadows. No god enjoyed greater popularity in the country districts.

This powerful divinity penetrated into Greece at an early period. Among the mixed populations of the Aegean seaports, in the Piræus, at Rhodes, Delos and Thasos, religious associations for his worship were founded. In Attica the presence of the cult can be traced back to the fourth century, and its monuments rival those of Cybele in number and variety. In the Latin Occident, however, no trace of it can be found, because it had been absorbed by the worship of the *Magna Mater*. In Asia itself, Attis and Mèn were sometimes considered identical, and this involved the Roman world in a complete confusion of those two persons, who in reality were very different. A marble statue discovered at Ostia represents Attis holding the lunar crescent, which was the characteristic emblem of Mèn. His assimilation to the "tyrant" of the infernal regions trans-

²⁴ Pauly—Wissowa, *Realenc.*, s. v., and *Suppl.* I, col. 258.

²⁵ *Invictus* is the characteristic epithet applied to solar divinities.

²⁶ Pendrizet, "Mèn," *Bull. corr. hell.*, XX, col. 2687 f.

* *Τύραννος*.

formed the shepherd of Ida into a master of the underworld, an office that he combined with his former one as author of resurrection.

A second title that was given to him reveals another influence. A certain Roman inscription is dedicated to Attis the Supreme.²⁷† This epithet is very significant. In Asia Minor "Hypsistus" was the appellation used to designate the god of Israel.²⁸ A number of pagan thiasoi had arisen who though not exactly submitting to the practice of the synagogue yet worshiped none but the Most High, the Supreme God, the Eternal God, God the Creator, to whom every mortal owed service. These must have been the attributes ascribed to Cybele's companion by the author of the inscription, because the verse continues:‡ "To thee, who containest and maintainest all things."²⁹ Must we then believe that Hebraic monotheism had some influence upon the mysteries of the Great Mother? This is not at all improbable. We know that numerous Jewish colonies were established in Phrygia by the Seleucides, and that these expatriated Jews agreed to certain compromises in order to conciliate their hereditary faith with that of the pagans in whose midst they lived. It is also possible that the clergy of Pessinus suffered the ascendancy of the Biblical theology. Under the empire Attis and Cybele became the "almighty gods" (*omnipotentes*) *par excellence*, and it is easy to see in this new conception a leaning upon Semitic or Christian doctrines, more probably upon Semitic ones.³⁰

The question we shall take up now is a very difficult one, namely, the influence of Judaism upon the mysteries during the Alexandrian period and at the beginning of the empire. Many scholars have endeavored to define the influence exercised by the pagan beliefs on those of the Jews; it has been shown how the Israelitic monotheism became Hellenized at Alexandria and how the Jewish propaganda attracted proselytes who revered the one God, without, however, observing all the prescriptions of the Mosaic law. But no successful researches have been made to ascertain how far paganism was modified through an infiltration of Biblical ideas. Such a modification must necessarily have taken place to some extent. A great number of Jewish colonies were scattered everywhere on the Mediterranean, and these were long animated with such an

²⁷ Inscr. graec., XIV, 1018.

²⁸ Schürer, *Sitzungsb. Akad. Berlin*, XIII (1897), pp. 200 f.

²⁹ Cf. Zozimus, IV, 3, 2.

³⁰ Henri Graillot, "Les dieux Tout-puissants, Cybèle et Attis," *Revue archéol.*, I (1904), pp. 331 f.

† "Ἄττει ἰψίστω.

‡ καὶ συνέχοντι τὸ πᾶν.

ardent spirit of proselytism that they were bound to impose some of their conceptions on the pagans that surrounded them. The magical texts which are almost the only original literary documents of paganism we possess, clearly reveal this mixture of Israelitic theology with that of other peoples. In them we frequently find names like Iao (Yahveh), Sabaoth, or the names of angels side by side with those of Egyptian or Greek divinities. Especially in Asia Minor, where the Israelites formed a considerable and influential element of the population, an intermingling of the old native traditions and the religion of the strangers from the other side of the Taurus must have occurred.

This mixture certainly took place in the mysteries of Sabazius, the Phrygian Jupiter or Dionysus.³¹ They were very similar to those of Attis, with whom he was frequently confounded. By means of an audacious etymology that dates back to the Hellenistic period, this old Thracio-Phrygian divinity has been identified with "Yahveh Zebaoth," the Biblical "Lord of Hosts." The corresponding expression** in the Septuagint has been regarded as the equivalent of the *kurios Sabazios*†† of the barbarians. The latter was worshiped as the supreme, almighty and holy Lord. In the light of a new interpretation the purifications practised in the mysteries were believed to wipe out the hereditary impurity of a guilty ancestor who had aroused the wrath of heaven against his posterity, much as the original sin with which Adam's disobedience had stained the human race was to be wiped out. The custom observed by the votaries of Sabazius of dedicating votive hands which made the liturgic sign of benediction with the first three fingers extended (the *benedictio latina* of the church) was probably taken from the ritual of the Semitic temples through the agency of the Jews. The initiates believed, again like the Jews, that after death their good angel (*angelus bonus*) would lead them to the banquet of the eternally happy, and the everlasting joys of these banquets were anticipated on earth by the liturgic repasts. This celestial feast can be seen in a fresco painting on the grave of a priest of Sabazius called Vincentius, who was buried in the Christian catacomb of Prætextatus, a strange fact for which no satisfactory explanation has as yet been furnished. Undoubtedly he belonged to a Jewish-pagan sect that admitted neophytes of every race to its mystic ceremonies. In fact, the church itself formed a kind of

³¹ Cumont, *Comptes Rendus Acad. Inscr.*, Feb. 9, 1906, pp. 63 f.

** κύριος Σαβαώθ.

†† κύριος Σαβάζιος.

secret society sprung from the synagogue but distinct from it, in which Gentiles and children of Israel joined in a common adoration.

If it is a fact, then, that Judaism influenced the worship of Sabazius, it is very probable that it influenced the cult of Cybele also, although in this case the influence cannot be discerned with the same degree of certainty. The religion of the Great Mother did not receive rejuvenating germs from Palestine only, but it was greatly changed after the gods of more distant Persia came and joined it. In the ancient religion of the Achemenides, Mithra, the genius of light, was coupled with Anâhita, the goddess of the fertilizing waters. In Asia Minor the latter was assimilated with the fecund Great Mother, worshiped all over the peninsula,³² and when at the end of the first century of our era the mysteries of Mithra spread over the Latin provinces, its votaries built their sacred crypts in the shadow of the temples of the *Magna Mater*.

Everywhere in the empire the two religions lived in intimate communion. By ingratiating themselves with the Phrygian priests, the priests of Mithra obtained the support of an official institution and shared in the protection granted by the state. Moreover, men alone could participate in the secret ceremonies of the Persian liturgy, at least in the Occident. Other mysteries, to which women could be admitted, had therefore to be added in order to complete them, and so the mysteries of Cybele received the wives and daughters of the Mithraists.

This union had even more important consequences for the old religion of Pessinus than the partial infusion of Judaic beliefs had had. Its theology gained a deeper meaning and an elevation hitherto unknown, after it had adopted some of the conceptions of Mazdaism.

The introduction of the taurobolium in the ritual of the *Magna Mater*, where it appeared after the middle of the first century, was probably connected with this transformation. We know the nature of this sacrifice, of which Prudentius gives a stirring description based on personal recollection of the proceeding. On an open platform a steer was killed, and the blood dropped down upon the mystic, who was standing in an excavation below. "Through the thousand crevices of the wood," says the poet, "the bloody dew runs down into the pit. The neophyte receives the falling drops on his head, clothes and body. He leans backward to have his cheeks, his ears, his lips and his nostrils wetted; he pours the liquid over his eyes, and does not even spare his palate, for he moistens his tongue

³² Cumont, *Mon. myst. Mithra*, I, pp. 333 f.

with blood and drinks it eagerly." ³³ After submitting to this repulsive sprinkling he offered himself to the veneration of the crowd. They believed that he was purified of his faults, and had become the equal of the deity through this red baptism.

Although the origin of this sacrifice that took place in the mysteries of Cybele at Rome is as yet shrouded in obscurity, recent discoveries enable us to trace back very closely the various phases of its development. In accordance with a custom prevalent in the entire Orient at the beginning of history, the Anatolian lords were fond of pursuing and lassoing wild buffalos, which they afterwards sacrificed to the gods. Beasts caught during a hunt were immolated, and frequently also prisoners of war. Gradually the savagery of this primitive rite was modified until finally nothing but a circus play was left. During the Alexandrian period people were satisfied with organizing a *corrida* in the arena, in the course of which the victim intended for immolation was seized. This is the proper meaning of the terms *taurobolium* and *criobolium*, §§ which had long been enigmas, ³⁴ and which denoted the act of catching a steer or a ram by means of a hurled weapon, probably the thong of a lasso. Without doubt even this act was finally reduced to a mere sham under the Roman empire, but the weapon with which the animal was slain always remained a hunting weapon, a sacred boar spear. ³⁵

The ideas on which the immolation was based were originally just as barbarous as the sacrifice itself. It is a matter of general belief among savage peoples that one acquires the qualities of an enemy slain in battle or of a beast killed in the chase by drinking or washing in the blood, or by eating some of the viscera of the body. The blood especially has often been considered as the seat of vital energy. By moistening his body with the blood of the slaughtered steer, the neophyte believed that he was transfusing the strength of the formidable beast into his own limbs.

This naive and purely material conception was soon modified and refined. The Thracians brought into Phrygia, and the Persian magi into Cappadocia, the fast spreading belief in the immortality of mankind. Under their influence, especially under that of Mazdaism, which made the mythical steer the author of creation and of resurrection, the old savage practice assumed a more spiritual and more elevated meaning. By complying with it, people no longer thought they were acquiring the buffalo's strength: the blood, as

³³ Prudentius, *Peristeph.*, X, 1011 f.

³⁴ Cf. Schröder, *Athen. Mitt.*, 1904, pp. 152 f.

³⁵ Prudentius, *Peristeph.*, 1027.

§§ *ταυροβόλιον, κριοβόλιον.*

the principle of life, was no longer supposed to renew physical energy, but to cause a temporary or even an eternal rebirth of the soul. The descent into the pit was regarded as burial, a melancholy dirge accompanied the burial of the old man who had died. When he emerged purified of all his crimes by the sprinkling of blood and raised to a new life, he was regarded as the equal of a god, and the crowd worshiped him from a respectful distance.³⁶

The vogue obtained in the Roman empire by the practice of this repugnant rite can only be explained by the extraordinary power ascribed to it. He who submitted to it was *in aceternum renatus*,³⁷ according to the inscriptions.

We could also outline the transformation of other Phrygian ceremonies, of which the spirit and sometimes the letter slowly changed under the influence of more advanced moral ideas. This is true of the sacred feasts attended by the initiates. One of the few liturgic formulas antiquity has left us refers to these Phrygian banquets. One hymn says: "I have eaten from the tambourine, I have drunk from the cymbal, I have become a mystic of Attis." The banquet, which is found in several Oriental religions, was sometimes simply the external sign indicating that the votaries of the same divinity formed one large family. Admitted to the sacred table, the neophyte was received as the guest of the community and became a brother among brothers. The religious bond of the thiasus or *sodalitium* took the place of the natural relationship of the family, the *gens* or the clan, just as the foreign religion replaced the worship of the domestic hearth.

Sometimes other effects were expected of the food eaten in common. When the flesh of some animal supposed to be of a divine nature was eaten, the votary believed that he became identified with the god and that he shared in his substance and qualities. In the beginning the Phrygian priests probably attributed the first of these two meanings to their barbarous communions.³⁸ Towards the end of the empire, moral ideas were particularly connected with the assimilation of sacred liquor and meats taken from the tambourine and cymbal of Attis. They became the staff of the spiritual life and were to sustain the votary in his trials; at that period he considered the gods as especially "the guardians of his soul and thoughts."³⁹

As we see, every modification of the conception of the world and of man in the society of the empire had its reflection in the doc-

³⁶ Hepding, *Attis*, pp. 196 f.

³⁸ Hepding, *Attis*, pp. 186 f.

³⁷ Dessau, *Inscrip. sel.*, 4152.

³⁹ CII, VI, 499.

trine of the mysteries. Even the conception of the old deities of Pessinus was constantly changing. When astrology and the Semitic religions caused the establishment of a solar henotheism as the leading religion at Rome, Attis was considered as the sun, "the shepherd of the twinkling stars." He was identified with Adonis, Bacchus, Pan, Osiris and Mithra; he was made a "polymorphous"⁴⁰ being in which all celestial powers manifested themselves in turn; a *pantheos* who wore the crown of rays and the lunar crescent at the same time, and whose various emblems expressed an infinite multiplicity of functions.

When neoplatonism was triumphing, the Phrygian fable became the traditional mould into which subtle exegetists boldly poured their philosophic speculations on the creative and stimulating forces that were the principles of all material forms, and on the deliverance of the divine soul that was submerged in the corruption of this earthly world. In his hazy oration on the Mother of the Gods, Julian lost all notion of reality on account of his excessive use of allegory and was swept away by an extravagant symbolism.⁴¹

Any religion as susceptible to outside influences as this one was bound to yield to the ascendancy of Christianity. From the explicit testimony of ecclesiastical writers we know that attempts were made to oppose the Phrygian mysteries to those of the church. It was maintained that the sanguinary purification imparted by the taurobolium was more efficacious than baptism. The food that was taken during the mystic feasts was likened to the bread and wine of the communion; the Mother of the gods was undoubtedly placed above the Mother of God, whose son also had risen again. A Christian author, writing at Rome about the year 375, furnishes some remarkable information on this subject. As we have seen, a mournful ceremony was celebrated on March 24th, the *dies sanguinis*, in the course of which the Galli shed their blood and sometimes mutilated themselves in commemoration of the wound that had caused Attis's death, ascribing an expiatory and atoning power to the blood thus shed. The pagans claimed that the church had copied their most sacred rites by placing her Holy Week at the vernal equinox in commemoration of the sacrifice of the cross on which the divine Lamb, according to the church, had redeemed the human race. Indignant at these blasphemous pretensions, St. Augustine tells of having known a priest of Cybele who kept saying: *Et ipse Pilcatus chris-*

⁴⁰ Hippolytus, *Refut. haeres.*, V, 9.

⁴¹ Julianus, *Or.*, V.

tianus est—"and even the god with the Phrygian cap [i. e., Attis] is a Christian."⁴²

But all efforts to maintain a barbarian religion stricken with moral decadence were in vain. On the very spot on which the last taurobolia took place at the end of the fourth century, in the *Phrygium*, stands today the basilica of the Vatican.

* * *

There is no Oriental religion whose progressive evolution we could follow at Rome so closely as the cult of Cybele and Attis, none that shows so plainly one of the reasons that caused their common decay and disappearance. They all dated back to a remote period of barbarism, and from that savage past they inherited a number of myths the odium of which could be masked but not eradicated by philosophical symbolism, and practices whose fundamental coarseness had survived from a period of rude nature worship, and could never be completely disguised by means of mystic interpretations. Never was the lack of harmony greater between the moralizing tendencies of theologians and the cruel shamelessness of tradition. A god held up as the august lord of the universe was the pitiful and abject hero of an obscene love affair; the taurobolium, performed to satisfy man's most exalted aspirations for spiritual purification and immortality, looked like a shower bath of blood and recalled cannibalistic orgies. The men of letters and senators attending those mysteries saw them performed by painted eunuchs, ill reputed for their infamous morals, who went through dizzy dances similar to those of the dancing dervishes and the Aissaouas. We can imagine the repugnance these ceremonies caused in everybody whose judgment had not been destroyed by a fanatical devotion. Of no other pagan superstition do the Christian polemicists speak with such profound contempt, and there is undoubtedly a reason for their attitude. But they were in a more fortunate position than their pagan antagonists; their doctrine was not burdened with barbarous traditions dating back to times of savagery; and all the ignominies that stained the old Phrygian religion must not prejudice us against it nor cause us to slight the long continued efforts that were made to refine it gradually and to mould it into a form that would fulfil the new demands of morality and enable it to follow the laborious march of Roman society on the road of religious progress.

⁴² Cf. Frazer, *Osiris, Attis, Adonis*, 1907, pp. 256 f.

THE SHAKESPEARE MONUMENT.

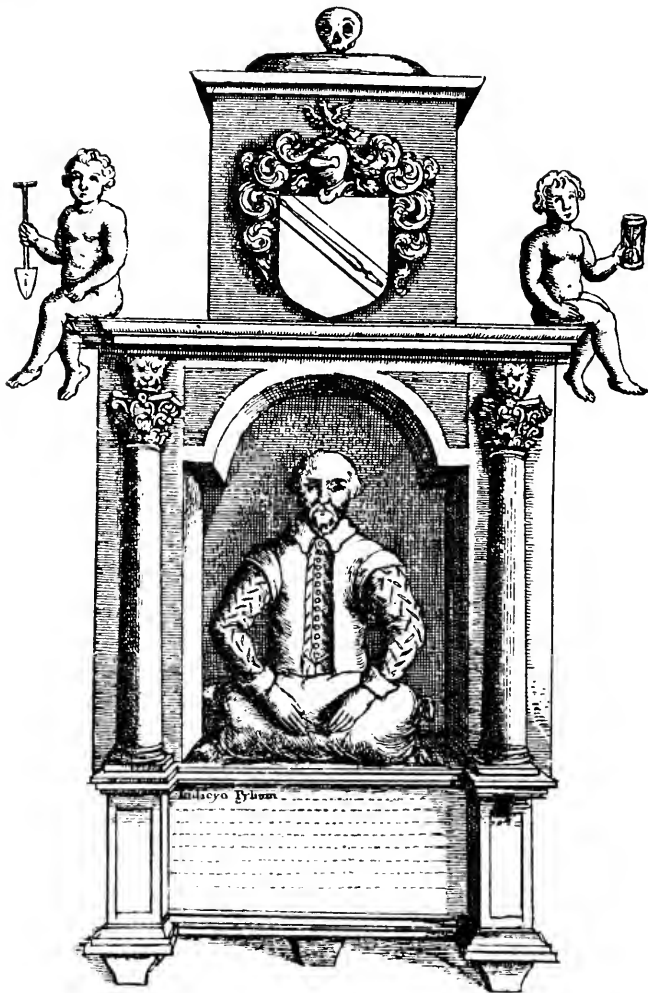
BY THE EDITOR.

SOME time ago the Shakespeare problem was treated in an editorial (*Open Court* XVIII, 65), which collected all the best known contemporary documents positively or possibly referring to Shakespeare, the poet. In summing up the evidence the editor of the *Open Court* came to the conclusion that there was no proof for the identity of William Shaksper, the owner of New Place at Stratford, and the playwright who always spelled his name "Shakespeare," or even hyphenated it as if with the purpose of showing the new spelling of the name "Shake-spere." The proposition was made that the connecting link between the two has been established by the Shakespeare monument, erected in Stratford soon after the death of the poet. There are reasons to doubt the identity of the two persons, although there is no evidence to show that the famous dramas were written by either Bacon or any other person except one called William Shakespere, for the poet William Shakespeare was known to Ben Jonson, Robert Greene, Chettle, and others.

We are now in receipt of a book entitled *The Life of William Shakespeare Expurgated* (Boston: W. A. Butterfield) by William Leavitt Stoddard, a graduate of Harvard. He informs us that for some time he doubted whether he should call his book "Expurgated" or "Unexpurgated," and as a matter of fact neither title wholly expresses the author's intention. He means to state the facts, nothing more, nothing less, and his book consists of an enumeration of data referring to William Shakespeare, whoever that may be, and he comes to the conclusion that there is no evidence as to the identity of the poet with any Shakespeare mentioned in the documents or in allusions by contemporaries. He finds the connecting link in the first folio, which refers to the Stratford monument, and then he adds that "the first folio did not supply absolutely the first link," for the first link was actually the monument built into

the wall of the Stratford church in memory of William Shakespeare.

Mr. Stoddard is apparently unacquainted with the *Open Court* article on the subject, otherwise he might have utilized it and added some of the materials to his collection of documents, which are pretty well arranged but not quite complete.



THE ORIGINAL MONUMENT AT STRATFORD.

From Sir Wm. Dugdale's *History of the Antiquities of Warwickshire*.

There is one point of great interest in this book which is new to us and has not yet been noticed by Shakespeare scholars. It is the fact that the Stratford monument now standing is not the

original one, for there exists an engraving of the original Shakespeare monument which was made for a certain Sir William Dugdale, presumably in the year 1636. This engraving "represents quite a different looking Shakespeare from the familiar portrait, picturing as it does a man with a thin face, full beard, melancholy down drooping mustache. The design of the monument also is unlike the present one". With the author's permission we here reproduce the Dugdale engraving of the Shakespeare monument in evidence of the difference between the two. The inscription is not legible on the reproduction, except the first two words, "*Judicio Pylum,*" but these are sufficient for Mr. Stoddard to accept the conclusion that the present inscription is the same as that on the original monument.

Mr. Stoddard also adds a reproduction of a fly-leaf from a book in handwriting, called the "Northumberland Manuscript". According to the table of contents this must have contained some essays by Francis Bacon, speeches written by him and spoken in a "Device" played before Queen Elizabeth, and also two dramas entitled "Richard II" and "Richard III". That the latter are Shakespeare's plays appears from the fly-leaf reproduced by Mr. Stoddard, which contains much senseless scribbling and shows that the author's imagination was engaged with both Bacon and Shakespeare. William Shakespeare's name appears repeatedly, as does also that of Francis Bacon. In addition there are misquotations from Shakespeare's "Rape of Lucrece", a few scraps of Latin poetry and the mysterious word combination "honorificabiletudine".

Mr. Stoddard's book is interesting in so far as it is a collection of facts. It proposes a problem but does not solve it. Unfortunately the author deemed the spelling of names irrelevant, and so he proposed to spell the names of Shakespeare always in the same way as the poet spelled his name. We would also add that instead of simply referring to such documents as church entries, it would have been better to reproduce literally the entry itself. A few omitted references, especially some by Ben Jonson, might easily be added and would not have greatly swelled the contents of the book. Owing to the scarcity of positive material it is not so voluminous as many lives of Shakespeare in which our deficient information is supplied by the fertile imagination of their authors.

THE WORK OF LUTHER BURBANK.

BY CHARLES J. WOODBURY.

I KNOW nothing in nature more depressing than a Sequoia grove. The absence of water causes an undisturbed lifelessness. No living thing is perceptible. Not even an insect's hum can be heard; the earth is covered with a pale vegetation which the sun never finds; the sky is unseen; the silence oppresses; and the immense unnatural trees here and there open their huge, diseased interiors and breathe out their decaying breath.

It was from these monuments of a dead and historic past that I first saw Luther Burbank's home, and the very approach to it was like a resurrection from a tomb. The avenue is lined with a magnificent row of strange majestic trees, probably the greatest achievement in sylviculture known. They are Mr. Burbank's hybrid of the California walnut (*Juslans Californica*) with the black walnut (*J. nigra*). A survival of the latter parent is seen across the highway, a diminutive shrub-like tree; but old when these were planted sixteen years ago. One will rarely see shade trees that will compare with them; trunk over 3 feet through, height 75 feet, limb-spread 80 feet. The bark is smooth, grayish with white marblings not unlike the eastern sugar-maple, the foliage is luxuriant. A faint odor exhales from the leaves resembling that of June apples. It is rude to speak of commercial value in the presence of such things of beauty, but the wood has all the valuable qualities of the eastern walnut so rapidly disappearing—compact, hard, with a lustrous, satiny grain, easy of polish. The trees are children yet. They are increasing $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter and from 3 to 8 feet in height every year. What will be their size and timber-value when they have attained their growth? Like all of Mr. Burbank's products, they are not provincial. They are growing well over the Pacific coast states and territories, and throughout the Southwest. The Gulf and Southern Atlantic states know them; and only the



LUTHER BURBANK.

former habitat of the black walnut determines their geographical limit on the north. Altogether, they present an inviting greeting to the visitor, intimating the other things that count behind the gate.

The home grounds at Santa Rosa are limited—only about nine acres—the main experimental farms are at Sebastopol, eight miles distant on one of the old channels of Russian River. All of these have been called “wonder gardens”. But they are not homes of beauty; they are rather places where beautiful things are *made*. They are scenes of activity; on an average, 26 laborers are constantly at work among long rows of fruit trees and strange flaring blooms from Japan, South Africa, New Zealand, Australia, Europe and our own land and their unrecognizable cross-bred progenies. Tons of hybrid plants, some of them ideals for ordinary nurserymen, are heaped one side to be burned. Here and there are reserves bearing the little white-rag streamers of approval. The scentless snow of the great daisies meets the dark green masses of forage-plants; and, scattered about with no eye to conventional arrangement, are fields of flowers, an indeterminate profusion; every combination of hues, every color revealed by the spectroscope, hardly two without distinctive promise of difference.

These several rooms of his labor represent the results of 36 years. Mr. Burbank is now 61 years old (born March 7, 1849). When 25, he completed his habit of taking the premiums at the county fairs held in the vicinity of Lunenburg (Mass.), where he was born, by answering the demand for a good potato which would yield 200 bushels to the acre with his famous seedling from the “Early Rose”, which at once gave a yield of 435 bushels and has since attained a yield of 525 bushels. It is now known all over the agricultural world; one of the few potatoes that have successfully resisted the blight in Ireland. As the “Salinas Burbank” it to-day commands the highest price in the western market, and an approximate estimate of its value to the commonwealth made by high authority is \$20,000,000. This was the beginning of his career, but its conception was long before. Even as a babe, his aged mother has told me his cries could at anytime be stilled with a flower. He would rearrange the flower-pots in the window before he could hardly reach them. His first pet (like his last success) was a cactus. He sold his potato for eastern introduction to Mr. J. H. Gregory of Marblehead for \$150, and October 1, 1875, he arrived in Santa Rosa, California, with \$125 and ten visiting cards (his precious potatoes) in his satchel. They were not received. No one would believe in him. His resources gradually were ex-

hausted. For three years he suffered poverty's shame and, in his exposures, cutting shingles, trimming hedges, sleeping in chicken-coops, he contracted disease which well-nigh proved fatal. But the story of those years need not be told, nor of his success; his establishment of the best nursery west of the Mississippi, his dis-



NEW SILENUS BURBANKS.

posing of it (in 1889) when it was yielding a profit of \$10,000 per annum, to address himself to the one thing on which he had all along been focused, plant-amelioration.

In June, 1893, appeared, not for public distribution, a remarkable pamphlet of some 50 pages, "New Creations in Fruits and Flowers." The epithet was criticised. It is justified in Professor Bailey's noble sentence: "Intelligent selection having in mind ideal form is man's nearest approach to the Creator in his dealings with the organic world." Combination should have been conjoined with selection; for, in practical field-work, it is necessary to combine before selections can be of any value. The catalogue and its after-issued supplements (1901 and 1903) have long been out of print. Like the strange, new fruits and flowers they describe, they are themselves a hybrid of history and sales catalogue; and, in their

way, classics. They were appreciated by the husbandmen throughout the country, sought for as text-books by Cornell University and half a dozen agricultural colleges. Prince Anatole Gagazine, of the Russian Imperial Pomological Society, sent a request for 20 of them to be used in the Siberian College of Agriculture at St. Petersburg. In 1902, the plants they described and named had more than justified the claim of the producer that they would become "standards of excellence"; for they were household words. Turning the pages today, one seems yet Orientalized with the pictures and descriptions. But how familiar have they become with the later horticultural triumphs! The evolution of the plum and prune; various forms and fruits, one for one variety and utility, one with contrasting qualities for another; the plum-apricot or plumcot (as it has come to be called); the plum-cherry; the peach; other deciduous fruits such as the persimmon, medlar, pomegranate, etc.; apples, quinces, pears and similar orchard and garden fruits; nuts, the "Paradox" and "Royal" for shade and nuts, timber and forestry, the early-bearing chestnut, etc.; berries; the civilizing of the cactus; and grasses; fodder plants; grains; clovers; the garden vegetable evolutions; the flowers, the bulbous and tuberous plants brought to perfection; roses and allied plants; the poppy family; miscellaneous productions; ornamental trees and plants; the kindergarten of wild flowers and weeds made beautiful; climbing vines; the Shasta Daisy with its congeners, the "Alaska", "California", "Westralia" and other *Chrysanthemum* Daisies, etc., etc.;—and, among them all, no oddities that are not utilities; no achievements that cannot be reproduced in all zones clement to vegetable life. Enumeration is not possible here. Their evolution is notable. These distinct new races have come, many of them, from such sources as the little, hard, acid, indigestible coast-plum; the diminutive and noxious wild peach; and worthless, tasteless dingy yellow berries from Japan. Here are lily-fields, masses of scarlet and gold from native plants hidden in the ravines and foot-hills of our coast land from British America to Southern California.

Indeed, like the taming of the cactus, much of Mr. Burbank's work has been among the wild things, the vagrants and vagabonds. "They are weeds," he says, "only because of struggle." He frees them from the limitations of their environment. He gives one species the advantage of another from which it is geographically too far separated to benefit without human help. And so his collectors from all over the world are instructed to send in not garden plants but wild ones. And these shy plants are exposed to new and

friendly latitudes. They come in, obscure bulbs, the Wake Robin, Lady-Slippers, Trythenus from the swamps; and lower forms, the Stickle-Pod and Rag-Weed, Dog-Fennel and thistles and Devil's Claws; and he unites and crosses them; frees them from offensive odors; joins the hardness of one to the brilliance of another; with cultivation and selection gives them strength so they will not wilt; and refined perfume. So these large, coarse, rank-smelling, sometimes poisonous plants, are redeemed. One of these prostrate weeds was a progenitor of the great Shasta Daisy. Ten years ago when it first appeared in the window of a San Francisco florist, it was stared at by crowds as a floral mystery. Since then it has become



FRUIT OF THE SPINELESS CACTUS—BURBANK.

famous wherever flowers are scientifically recognized. Of its great white and gold blooms one British collector writes: "It has four times as much blossom as any other variety"; and another says: "It takes the Premier honors." Think of this immense chrysanthemum, more than a foot in circumference, fluted, frilled, crested, lacinated and with varying tints of color, grown in Cape Town and Sydney, in the United States and Canada, wherever an oak tree will grow, alike in the tropical South and where the snows of heaven mingle with its own, having for one of its parents the rowdy, way-side weeds, with their big yellow centers and inch of petal with

which as boys we weighted the tails of our kites! The wonder-garden burns with color; hyacinths, dahlias, carnations, gladioli, and dozens of others double and treble the ordinary size. The lily-field is lustrous with its new types of Amaryllis, among them the Jacobean Martinique; and hundreds of callas, "Giant," "Fragrance," "Lemon". It is impossible to suggest the commingled bloods. The town of Santa Rosa itself is full and fragrant of the new rose with the bloods of the Hermosa and the Bon Silene in its veins. But these are patrician. More characteristic of the master are the marshalled rows of honest little poppies in the rear grounds, carrying the new and unusual shades of color he has given them. In the same manner of work is his ennobling of the beach plum. All along the bleak coast-lands from South Carolina to Maine are scattered dwarf, scrubby, bush-like trees that produce stems of a small, dull-colored, bitter berry-like fruit, named the beach plum (*Prunus maritima*). Using this savage but hardy pioneer for a base, he has produced a fruit eighty times the size of the *maritima* with delicious flesh. One likes these calls from the wild. So he takes a tree, impoverished on account of a defective and inadequate root system, or with foliage so scanty that the sun blackens its blooms the day they ripen; or, again, sensitive to blight and drought, and, rescuing it from these infirmities, giving it the advantages of agencies it has long asked for in vain, makes it valuable. All his vacations are little excursions among the ravines and chaparral of our low mountain sides, whence he returns home loaded with wild seeds and material. From their native fields, ravaged by wind and storm and preyed upon by insect life, the plants go to the Burbank college for a liberal education. He makes fruit trees hardier and more prolific with better fruit. He has prolonged the California fruit season a month or more by producing early and late-bearing varieties. His achievements with such refractory problems as the rhubarbs, the grasses and the prunes are stories by themselves, but of his specific productions and creations volumes could be written. He has placed California foremost of any state horticulturally; transforming arid districts; making half-barren lands more valuable. The extent of his work has not been understood. *He has pioneered horticulture into the dignity of a science.* He has destroyed the frontiers of species, creating by hand species apparently as fixed as those which date back to the beginnings of vegetable life. He has broken down the arbitrary definitions of genera and species. His discoveries have been adopted as the laws of new botanies. This change of view is amusing. Before him the botanists believed and taught in

their text-books that species were complete and absolute. Then they lapsed into considering species as merely convenient classifications for differentiated types. Now they are taught as interchangeable, even as non-existent. It is not a revolution perhaps; but, cer-

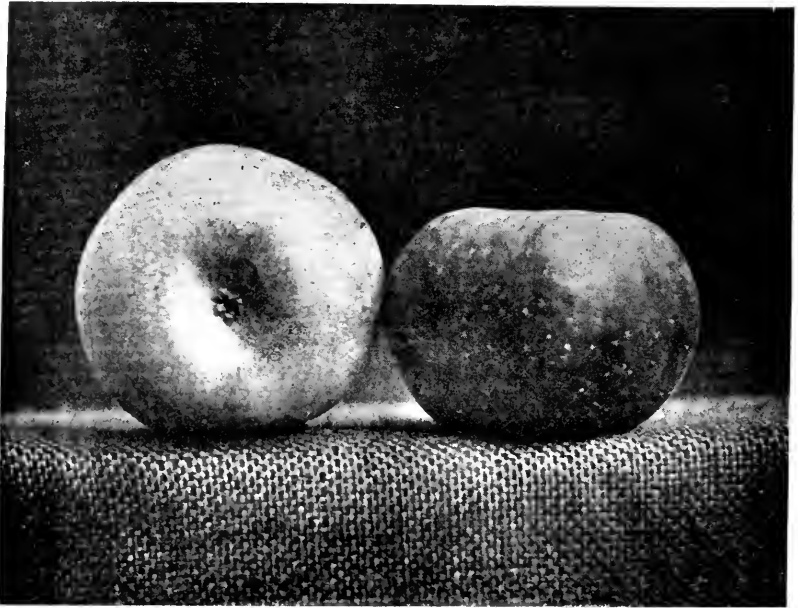


THE WONDER BERRY—BURBANK.

tainly, a revelation. We now know that the characters of plants must be distinguished in a different way. By his exposure of intermediate links, he has demonstrated a wider interval between varieties than was heretofore taught to exist between species. The *muraille* between varieties and species had to be abandoned; also the theory of a special creative act for different species. He is the original entryman of a new class-book. Observing the canon that varieties are the production of law, never of chance, his endeavor has been to search out the laws and employ the forces which create *increments of change* that create and transmit variations.. In their natural habitat, the energy of plants is expended merely to live as they are. New species are only produced when variations have been forced under pressure of contiguous dangerous competition, causing natural crosses and hybrids. When the same plants are domesticated and cultivated, the struggle for life is removed, and unforeseen variations become immediately possible. Thus the external resemblances and the declared tendencies which had been taken to

determine the classifications into species instead of being permanent, he has shown to be fragile.

As to the processes, the methods of combination, crossing and selection which Mr. Burbank employs, but little has been given to the world; this not from any intention of concealment on his part, but simply because he is a doer rather than sayer or writer. He has published few papers, given few addresses. His lecture before



THE NEWTON PIPPIN—BURBANK.

the American Pomological Society, some years ago, was instructive. His most valuable published work (if it may be so termed) is his "Fundamental Principles of Plant Breeding," now out of print. He is a thorough disciple of Darwin, substituting in his method for Darwin's natural selection his own theory of special selection. By modifying the inner nutritive and evolutive mediums, his practice is to change the organic expression. To use his own words, "There is no barrier to obtaining fruits of any size, form or flavor desired, and none to producing plants and flowers of any form, color or fragrance: all that is needed is a knowledge to guide our efforts in the right direction, undeviating patience and cultivated eyes to detect variations of value."

Practically, however, artificial plant evolution is a long ordeal.

The experimenter is continually escorted by difficulties, uncertainties, even tragedies, from the first ingathering of material and pollenizing to the last seed-selection. There is a constant confronting of ancestral dynamics in the bringing of other forces to bear against the enormous force that has caused the present form;—to disturb its cohesion and unite foreign matter. The inspection of the multitude sent in from remote explorations for the few growths that offer promise; the delicate pollenizing; the constant watchfulness to detect the controlling force in the confusion and collision of influences; the arousal of divergent impulses in the plant; the recognition of any proneness to new forms and guiding from wayward or outlaw tendencies; persuading into the right direction; removing obstacles, thwarting or encouraging congenialities, freeing from the tyrannies of habit induced by old competition; often, the opening out of the plant into disappointing avenues—these experiences are taxing. Then, when once the persistent type is ruptured, unforeseen latent tendencies are liberated; reverberating echoes of varieties long since passed away, the blood of atavism still in the plant. These echoes or revivals, "sports" as they are technically termed, may be themselves sources of combinations offering unexpected values or disappointments. Of the mass which give no definite or hopeful perturbations, there is a massacre. Perhaps half a score are chosen for farther attention. The field is cleared of all the rest, and, at seed time, pollenizing again; and the seeds are culled until the result sought for is obtained. All this goes on and on through generations of plant life. As for the results? There is no adequate law protecting the producer. For instance, the Shasta Daisy cost 8 years of cultivation on a large scale, \$200 spent for advertising. The entire amount realized did not pay for publication and postage. And now in England the new flower is sent out as if organized and owned there! One of the great plums that have revolutionized home and foreign markets cost in cash without reckoning time \$4,500. The receipts were \$5,000. The nurseryman should be relied on for propagation and distribution; the savants, to study these fruits and flowers, some of which will be historic, as an entity, determine their relation to others, their characteristics, and scientific position; and their author left to continue to secure as he has secured in the past for himself, maintenance of way. "All I have, all I am," he said to me once after refusing another of the many public financial endowments offered him, "I will give and give freely, but can receive nothing that will impair my power to give." He instinctively avoids what he calls "the incubus of institutional-

ism." He declined the Carnegie fund five years ago, and, finally, after being relieved of some of the conditions with which the grant was accompanied, he accepted it with misgivings. Now the connection is dissolved. The Carnegie Foundation retires in the possession of a great store of valuable facts, well tabulated, constituting a systematizing in exact record of data that have been heretofore indi-



THE AUSTRALIAN STAR FLOWER—BURBANK.

vidual and incommunicable. The ventilation of these should be more beneficial to the public than the ulcerated reports of traveling correspondents. But sometime a nature-book will be printed, presenting all the creations and introductions with pictures in color, the author telling the story in his own way. It will be interesting to learn from his own speech how this solitary genius in a new land contrasts the achievements of all the horticulturists in the older, highly-specialized civilizations.

For this is what he is, a genius of horticulture. I hesitate to use the word because it has been conferred so indiscriminately. So many wear its favor who never received the accolade. It has to do with the way of working, rather than with results. Audacity, adventure, a new trail blazed, abandonment of landmarks, short cuts, the diameter across the circle—these are some of its characteristics. Add to them an extraordinary impulsion, an obsession which compels, from the first, movement in only one way; initiative, the power to reach results by unprecedented paths; emancipation from dogma and tradition—these are among the singularities that individualize the great Californian. His life is a series of renunciations, of fortunes attained and dissipated in the furtherance of a self-chosen mission, to which wife, home, friends, everything is subordinate or subsidiary. For it, the making of money, even the getting of a

living, have been repeatedly sacrificed without hesitation. His career illustrates all the traits of genius except its vices. And then there has always been something bewildering about his exploits, which have often been written about as if there were sorcery in the gardens. As one beholder said to me: "There is something uncanny here. The flowers are unreal, ethereal." And for how many years has he been called "wizard," "mystic," "necromancer"; and the mystery of his work been compared to that of the genii in Oriental tales! But his only resemblance to the slave of the lamp is his reserve and his work without respite.

In his basic distinctions between Religion and Science, the editor of *The Open Court* says (Feb., 1910): "Evolution not long ago was considered an impious heresy, and is now becoming an integral part of our world-conception." The sentence recalls the earlier days in the wisteria-hidden cottage at Santa Rosa. Darwin had exhibited creation by evolution, natural selections. The religious organizations found the formula hard to accept. They yielded reluctantly. Then here came one who dared to interfere in processes peculiar provinces of the Creator; to override the barriers created by the Almighty, and who even called his irreverent works "new creations." It was the unpardonable sin. Outraged religion assailed the audacious Californian in its periodicals. Letters by the hundred and even visitors sometimes voiced their disapproval. Who now does not love fruit and flower better because of the new wealth he has given them?

A NEW DELUGE FRAGMENT.

EDITORIAL COMMENT.

AMONG other results of interest Professor H. V. Hilprecht has brought to light from Tablet Hill in Nippur a small fragment of the earliest version of the deluge story, and this discovery is the more important as it agrees much closer with the Biblical report than the other versions of a later date. It proves that the Jews did not become acquainted with the deluge in Babylon during the exile, but that their acquaintance with this tradition must date back to the times of Abraham, constituting part of their earliest literature. The fragment discovered at Nippur reads in Professor Hilprecht's translation as follows:

1. "thee,
2. . . . "[the confines of heaven and earth] I will loosen,
3. . . . "[a deluge I will make, and] it shall sweep away all men together;
4. . . . "[but thou seek]ife before the deluge cometh forth:
5. . . . "[For over all living beings], as many as there are, I will bring overthrow, destruction, annihilation.
6. . . . "Build a great ship and
7. . . . "total height shall be its structure.
8. "it shall be a house-boat carrying what has been saved of life.
9. . . . "with a strong deck cover it.
10. . . . "[The ship] which thou shalt make,
11. . . . "[into it br]ing the beasts of the field, the birds of heaven,
12. . . . "[and the creeping things, two of everything] instead of a number,
13. . . . "and the family . . .
14. . . . "and" . . .

The fragment can be pretty accurately dated. It was written under the first dynasty of Isin about 2000 B. C., and is about 1500 years earlier than the two Nineveh versions. It is perhaps the oldest version of the deluge story in a Semitic translation, and there is no doubt that the original was much older, for the translation was made from a Sumerian original.

For every line of this new deluge fragment, with the exception of the first and last lines, Professor Hilprecht adds a passage of the Biblical version in Gen. vii. 11 and vi. 13-20, as follows:¹

2. "all the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened."
3. . . . "behold, I will destroy them with the earth."
4. . . . "but with thee I will establish my covenant."
5. "and behold I do bring the deluge upon the earth, to destroy all flesh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; everything that is on earth shall perish."
6. "make thee an ark . . ."
7. "and thus thou shalt make it . . . and thirty cubits its height."
8. "A roof shalt thou make to the ark, in its entire length thou shalt cover it; and the door of the ark shalt thou set in the side thereof; (with) lower, second and third stories shalt thou make it."
10. "And from every living thing, from all flesh, two from every-thing shalt thou bring into the ark, to keep them alive with thee; they shall be male and female,
11. "(two) from the birds instead of a number thereof; (two) from the beasts instead of a number thereof; (two) from everything creeping on the ground instead of a number thereof;
13. "and thou shalt come into the ark, thou and thy sons, and thy wife, and thy sons' wives with thee."

This new fragment throws light also upon the deluge report current in Hierapolis, the center of Istar worship in Syria described by Lucian in his interesting article "On the Syrian Goddess." There he speaks of Deucalion, the pious man who on account of his goodness had been saved from the deluge in a great ark. "He had packed therein the women and children of his family, and when he was ready to board, the animals came two by two, pigs and horses and all kinds of wild creatures and creeping things, in a word all the animals which live upon earth. He took them in, and Jupiter

¹The figures in front of the Biblical quotation refer to the lines of the Nippur version.

endowed them with such peaceful sentiments that they did no harm one to another, but lived in the greatest harmony."

We will further mention that there is a coin of a non-Jewish



city, Kibotos, where the story goes that Deucalion's ark had landed for the name of the city means "ark" in Greek, and here the man who is saved from the Deluge is called by the Biblical name "Noe."

A CREDO MOSAIC.

BY CHARLES SUMNER LOBINGIER.

I BELIEVE in God, the First Cause,¹ "the Eternal not ourselves that makes for righteousness,"² whose body is the universe,³ whose habits are the laws of nature⁴ and whose rule is the reign of law.⁵ I believe that "through the ages one increasing purpose runs,"⁶ that Evolution is God in action,⁷ that the REVELATION of God is found in the world's Bibles⁸ or literatures, and "in Nature's infinite book of secrecy"⁹ where I may find "tongues in trees, books in the running brooks, sermons in stones and good in everything."¹⁰ I believe in SALVATION through enlightenment and effort, in moral amelioration within reach of the lowest, in "the steady gain of man"¹¹ and the ultimate triumph of right over wrong. And I believe in human brotherhood, in the supremacy of the law of love and in the IMMORTALITY of worthy deeds¹² and noble lives.

EDITORIAL COMMENT.

Judge Charles Sumner Lobingier, of Manila, sends us his confession of faith, which we publish because it is the expression of a large number of people. As he himself says, it is a "credo mosaic," for it contains all the ideas which have impressed themselves upon the present generation. In its form it imitates the traditional Christian

1. Spencer.
2. Matthew Arnold.
3. F. W. Robertson.
4. Harriet Martineau.
5. "I trust in Nature for the stable laws
Of beauty and utility. Spring shall plant
And Autumn garner till the end of time."

—*Browning.*

6. Tennyson.
7. "A fire-mist and a planet,
A crystal and a cell;

Credo, even beginning with the very same words as the Apostles' Creed, but it also incorporates philosophical terms and verses of poets, including such notions as have become typical of the average Anglo Saxon mind.

We do not intend to criticize, but publish it as representing the average sentiment of today. We would object to such a term as "First Cause," the contradictoriness of which we have repeatedly discussed.¹ Further, though we grant that God makes for righteousness, we would not limit God to that which is not ourselves. We ourselves are the main medium through which God makes for righteousness, and so we should not be ignored in the definition, much less positively excluded. I would further object to the idea that the universe is the body of God and that the laws of nature are his habits. The laws of the universe are more than his habits, they are the eternal thoughts of God, they are God Himself. While I believe that right is always right, and that being such it is always triumphant, even if it succumbs, I would hesitate to say that I believe throughout in the ultimate triumph of right in any external sense. Upon the whole, however, I find that Judge Lobingier has certainly expressed the opinion of the present generation.

A jelly-fish and a saurian,
 And caves where the cave-men dwell;
 Then a sense of law and beauty,
 And a face turned from the clod—
 Some call it Evolution
 And others call it God."

—Carruth.

8. "Slowly the Bible of the race is writ,
 And not on paper leaves, nor slabs of stone;
 Each age, each kindred, adds a verse to it,
 Texts of despair or hope, of joy or moan.
 While swings the sea, while mists the mountain shroud,
 While thunderous surges beat on cliffs of cloud,
 Still at the prophets' feet the nations sit."
9. Shakespere.
10. Id.
11. Whittier.
12. "I count this thing to be grandly true
 That a noble deed is a step toward God,
 Lifting the soul from the common sod,
 To purer air and a broader view."

—Holland.

¹ See *Fundamental Problems*, pp. 88ff.

MISCELLANEOUS.

EDITORIAL COMMENT.

SOME SIKH HYMNS.

The Sikhs of India, although best known in the west for their fierce invasion of British territory in the middle of the nineteenth century, are members of a religious community founded on the principles of monotheism and human brotherhood. Their regulations enjoin upon every Sikh to arise at four in the morning and bathe; they are to sing hymns both morning and evening and the following is an exact translation of some of their hymns for daily worship:

“Oh Almighty!

Thou art my Father, Thou art my Mother,
Thou art my dearest relation and Thou art my brother;
Why should I be afraid or feel anxious, when
Thou art my Protector wherever I go.”

“Through Thy kindness alone Thou canst be realized,
Thou art my relief and upon Thee alone I pride myself;
Nothing exists without Thee and all this world is but a tournament-ground
of Thine.”

“Animate and inanimate have all been created by Thee,
Thou art Thyself urging them in whichever direction it pleaseth Thee
the most;
Everything is Thy doing and nothing is from us.”

“The greatest bliss is attained by repeating Thy Name,
My mind has been refreshed by singing Thy praises,
The Perfect Guru congratulates you, Oh Nanak!
So you have won the tournament.”

“Why, *yogi*, do you wander in woods after Him,
Who is Omnipresent, ever Guileless and always by your side?
Just as odour exists in flowers and shadow in a mirror,
So does All-light and the Dispenser of all sins exist in you.
Seek Him out from within you, therefore, Oh brother!
Within and without He permeates everywhere, the Guru has granted me
this Knowledge.

Oh Nanak! Doubts and dangers are never dispelled without the conquest of mind."

"Oh Almighty,

We are unclean but Thou art Purity,

We are without any virtue but Thou art the Bestower (of all things),

We are fools but Thou art perfectly wise; Thou art the Knower of all the powers that be

Oh Master such are we and such art Thou,

We are sinners whilst Thou art the Dispenser of Sins; the Master's abode is very blessed.

Thou hast created all and honored all by giving them soul, body and breath I have no virtue, I am without goodness, grant me this charity, Oh Thou who art kind and benevolent!

Thou dost good for us at all times, though we know it not

Thou art always, always Kind.

Thou art the finger of all the comforts, Oh Father

Save Thy children.

Thou art the source of all the goodness and the Perpetual Ruler

All Thy creation longs intensely for Thee, saith Nanak,

Oh Timeless Being! Save us in the name of Thy saints. As this is our only pleasure to earn Thy blessing (*i. e.*, otherwise, we are without virtues and not worthy of Thy acceptance)."

THE VENERABLE SRI SUMANGALA.

In January was celebrated the eighty-fourth birthday of the Venerable Sri Sumangala of Hikkaduwa, M. C. B. R. A. S., M. R. A. S., the chief High Priest of Ceylon and the principal of the Vivodyaya Oriental College. He is not only largely esteemed by his own people but also recognized as a scholar of note by European men of culture, and is in correspondence with prominent professors of Oriental languages in the West. He has been elected "Fellow" of three great Societies in Europe. In 1887 he was elected Fellow of the Asiatic Society of Italy, and the honorary degree "Diploma Dicosio Onorario" was conferred upon him. Five years later he was elected Fellow of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

In extending the invitation to membership in the latter, Professor Rhys Davids wrote, "I hope your lordship will accept the title conferred on you by the above named Society. Its memberships are conferred very rarely. Of the greatest men elected from the whole world only one from all India is taken, and your lordship is the only member from Ceylon."

More recently the Societa Internazionale of Austria-Hungary elected him as an honorary Fellow. In the letter acknowledging his acceptance of the great honor thus conferred on him Professor Ladles Torte writes: "The European scientists have the greatest pleasure in your lordship's accepting the honor they confer on you. The members of this Society are the greatest men of science of Europe."

The venerable High Priest whom the greatest of Europe thus honor is an expert of Pali, Sanskrit, Elu and Buddhistic doctrines of ethics and metaphysics; moreover he has a wide command over the English, Tamil, and German languages. The life of ascetic severity which is followed by the High Priest is thus described in the *Maha-Bodhi* of February, 1910:

“The rules of the Bhikkhu Order do not allow a monk to touch gold and silver, and he has to be satisfied with the food that the pious laymen give him, which he takes once in twenty-four hours. With this diet he has to sustain life, and with one robe he has to cover his body. The room that he occupies does not belong to him, and there is nothing valuable that he can call his. It is a life of complete selflessness, the life of the Bhikkhu, and living such a self-sacrificing life he gives all his time for the welfare of the Bhikkhus and laics. * * * It is such a life of complete self-sacrifice that the illustrious elder, the most worshipful Pradhāna Nāyaka Sumangala, has lived since he received the Upasampadā ordination in his twenty-first year. The whole Buddhist world pays him homage and we believe there is no other man in the world who has all the higher qualities with which he is endowed. In his eighty-fourth year he is as active as a young man of twenty-five, and younger scholars who go to receive instruction at his hands testify that the High Priest is the enemy of indolence.”

THE SHORT BALLOT.

It is a well-known truth recognized by all who have considered the difficulties of republican institutions, that the origin of many abuses is due to the custom of holding too many elections. The American citizen has to fill innumerable positions directly by his vote, and it is a matter of experience that in most cases a better choice is made by appointment. What can we know about candidates for state treasurer, for supreme court judges, for a clerk of the court, etc., etc., and the result is that even the most intelligent voter votes blindly, following the party ticket or the advice of some friend in whom he has confidence. It is absolutely impossible to be well posted on all the personalities in question, and the mass of voters are quite helpless. What the voter can not do the politician does for him, and so the political boss originates as the man who does the thinking for the voter. In smaller districts the shortcomings of our political system are not so much felt as in large cities where elections are decided by the great majority of irresponsible voters. In order to make a reform possible a movement has been set on foot with the outspoken purpose of simplifying politics by a short ballot. This timely enterprise has its headquarters at 127 Duane Street, New York City, under the title “Short Ballot Organization” and people interested in their plans are solicited to write for propaganda literature on the subject.

OUR NATIONAL HYMN.

Our national hymn contains a weak line in the first stanza which ought to be modified. The words “Land where my fathers died” is not only trivial but it is a pointless imitation of European patriotism. The hymn to the Prussian flag declares:

“Dass für die Freiheit meine Väter starben
Das deuten, merkt es, meine Farben an.”

Literally translated this means:

“That for freedom my fathers died,
That is the meaning, mark ye, of my colors.”

Note the difference: In the Prussian hymn we are informed that the liberty and greatness of the country have been bought dearly by former genera-

tions, who shed their blood on the battle field, fighting gloriously for the freedom of their land.

The same is true of the foundation of this country. Its liberty has been gained with sword in hand and many of its heroes lost their lives for it. While this idea must have been in the poet's mind, he missed the essential point which he replaced with the prosaic line that the fathers of the present American citizens, at least some of them, died and lie buried in American cemeteries. Most of them died a peaceful death in their comfortable beds. That some of them died the death of heroes is not even hinted at. Yet it is to these that we owe the freedom of this country. They were instrumental in securing the independence of the nation, and they are the founders of the nation, the predecessors of the American later-born patriots, and they are the spiritual ancestors of all good citizens of today, even of those who have come here to adopt this country as their own. We propose therefore another reading, which is easily introduced by a transposition of two lines and a slight change. The first stanza would then read as follows:

"Our country, 'tis of thee
 Sweet land of liberty,
 Of thee we sing,
 Land of the Pilgrims' pride,
 For thee our fathers* died,
 From every mountain side
 Let freedom ring."

* Or "For thee our heroes died."

Patriotic citizens will do well to consider this suggestion for a revised version of our national hymn.

SIMPLIFIED SPELLING IN CHINA.

Chinese civilization is very old and even the common people have a great respect for learnedness. Nevertheless, we are very much mistaken if we think that the average education in China is of the same standing as that in Europe or the United States. Though there are few absolutely illiterate people among the Chinese, the knowledge of reading and writing is limited among the large masses to practical business affairs. We must remember that Chinese characters are very complicated, and communications referring to modern innovations, among them to political questions, are not easily intelligible to the common people.

We learn from the *Daily Press*, Hong Kong, that it has, therefore, been proposed by some native reformers to introduce phonetic script which will replace the cumbersome method of ideographic Chinese characters and the proposition has been favorably received by the government. The next step will be the publication of newspapers written in both the old and the new script, which will facilitate the communication of thought and act as a powerful leaven toward the education of the people all over China.

AN AMERICAN LEAGUE FOR THE CONVERSION OF NON-CATHOLICS.

Every church, be it Protestant or Catholic, Greek or Roman, Anglican or Independent, has a right to missionarize; yea, we naturally expect it of all religions and say that a religion which does not make a propaganda for spreading the truth as its devotees see it, lacks vitality, and so we ought not

to forbid others, not even non-Christians, to make converts wherever by proper and lawful means they can do so. A propaganda must be opposed only when coercion, threats or other foul methods are employed.

We notice that the Roman Catholic Church has of late made renewed efforts to carry on an active missionary propaganda through "the League of the Good Shepherd." The *Ecclesiastical Review*, of April, 1910, p. 485, comments upon the subject as follows:

"The League has for its motto, 'I know mine and mine know me, and other sheep I have that are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd.' These words of the Good Shepherd indicate the chief object of the League, which is the conversion of our country, first by making Catholics better acquainted with their religion and more faithful in the observance of its laws and practices; secondly, by urging Catholics to labor for the conversion of their relatives and friends; thirdly, by diffusing everywhere the spirit which will bring our countrymen to the right knowledge and appreciation of Christ's teaching."

The Pontifical Brief reads thus in the authorized English translation quoted from the same source, p. 486:

"Be it forever remembered:

"Our beloved son, the pastor of St. Patrick's Church in Washington, Archdiocese of Baltimore, has made known to Us that in accordance with the expressed desire of the Fathers of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, he has established in his parish church the pious *sodalit*y of the League of the Good Shepherd which seeks as its special object, to obtain from God by prayer and good works the preservation of the faith among the parishioners and the conversion of their friends and relatives to the true religion. Since this League, canonically organized by the Ordinary of the Diocese and enriched with indulgences by the Holy See, has already borne abundant fruit and is rapidly spreading with the support of the Bishops into other dioceses, our beloved son as aforesaid, has earnestly besought Us to the effect that the heavenly treasures of the Church, which we have opened to this League, should likewise be made available for other associations which take the League as their pattern.

"We therefore gladly favor this pious petition, and, relying on the mercy of Almighty God and the authority of the Blessed Apostles Peter and Paul, We grant to every association established or hereafter to be established in the United States of America with the consent of the respective Bishop and with the same name and scope as the said League, each and all of the indulgences, plenary and partial, which were granted to the League by the Holy See on the twenty-seventh day of May in the current year: To wit, a plenary indulgence to all the faithful of either sex who shall join one of the aforesaid associations, to be gained on the day of their admission; likewise, to the present and future members a plenary indulgence on the festivals of Easter, Christmas and Corpus Christi, including the first vespers of each festival; also the same indulgence, available from sunrise to sunset, on one day in each month to be selected by the director of each League; with the condition in all cases that the members truly repent of and confess their sins, receive Holy Communion, make a visit to any church or public oratory and there pray for peace among Christian Rulers, for the extirpation of heresy, the conversion of sinners, and the exaltation of holy mother Church. And We further grant,

in the usual form, an indulgence of three hundred days to the members who, at least with contrite heart, shall attend the weekly devotions of the League; and one hundred days to be gained by each devout recitation, in any language, of the prayer: "O Jesus, Good Shepherd, I offer Thee all my actions of this day for the conversion of my country, and in particular for the conversion of N——." Finally, We permit all these indulgences, remissions of sins, and relaxations of penance to be applied by way of suffrage to the souls in Purgatory. Anything whatsoever to the contrary notwithstanding, the present concessions are to hold good in perpetuity.

"Given at St. Peter's, Rome, under the Fisherman's Ring, the thirtieth day of December, nineteen hundred and nine, the seventh year of Our Pontificate.

"R. Card. MERRY DEL VAL,

"*Secretary of State.*"

PROTEUS: A Rhapsody on Man. By *Edwin Miller Wheelock*. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. Pp. viii, 58. Price, cloth, blue and gold, 50c (2s).

"Man as the microcosm" is the keynote of this small book. The author sees in the continuous effort of creation "to put forth the human form," a cosmic unity in evolution which he calls the God in Man. All things are possible by, through, and for man. It would seem as though he supplements Paul's declaration, by changing "God in whom we live, and move, and have our being," into, "Man, in whom God lives, and moves, and has His being." The two sayings are not contradictory but mere variations of one and the same truth.

Mr. Wheelock's mysticism is no doubt one source of his poetic vision, but in some points it is carried to excess when his opinions become fantastic; yet they are stated in serious naiveté that can hardly be deemed commendable before the tribunal of sober reason.

However, we gladly recognize the power of his poetry and recommend the book as an opportunity to become acquainted with this singular personality. His very eccentricities are noteworthy, in that they characterize certain aspirations and hopes of man whose very fulfilment runs contrary to the well assured verdicts of rational argument.

The brief fantastic passages have been removed from the text of the book, but for completeness' sake as well as in justice to the author are added in an appendix. As it now stands, this "Rhapsody on Man" is a truly poetic psalm of the glory of humanity, and passages of it may be compared to the best that has been produced in English literature.

HILPRECHT ANNIVERSARY VOLUME; *Studies in Assyriology and Archæology*, Dedicated to Hermann V. Hilprecht by his Colleagues, Friends and Admirers. Open Court Pub. Co. Pp. 450. Cloth, \$5.00.

Prof. H. V. Hilprecht, at present the incumbent of the Clark Research Professorship in Assyriology, Professor of Semitic Philology and Archæology, Curator of the Babylonian Section of the Museum of Archæology, University of Pennsylvania, is acknowledged the world over to be a leading authority in Sumeriology, Assyriology, and Archæology. He is the editor of the *Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania*, a scientific publication

containing the results of the several expeditions that were sent to Babylonia by the University of Pennsylvania. This publication is *the* standard work in Assyriology and Sumeriology and is issued by the Archæological Department of the University.

Prof. Hilprecht is the publisher of Assyriological, Sumeriological and Archæological works, the excellency of which is unassailed and unassailable.

He is the reorganizer of the Imperial Ottoman Museums in Constantinople, and in appreciation of his distinguished services in connection with those Museums, which extended during the last twenty years, the Sultan Abdul Hamid presented Prof. Hilprecht with the finest and oldest collection of Babylonian tablets ever excavated. These tablets were excavated by Prof. Hilprecht during the fourth expedition of the University of Pennsylvania and constitute the now famous temple library of Nippur, of which Hilprecht is the discoverer. On account of Hilprecht's great labors, far-reaching investigations and epoch-making discoveries, thirty-one of the foremost scholars united in honoring him by dedicating to him a book on his fiftieth birthday and the twenty-fifth anniversary of his doctorate.

Only recently Hilprecht discovered the oldest *Deluge Tablet*, the account of which resembles that of the Bible to such a degree as to make the late date of the Priestly narrative quite old (instead of "late" as the higher critics want it).

The contributions in the book embrace subjects on Chronology, Archæology, Assyriology, Sumeriology, Mythology, Religion, and Old Testament subjects. The book should therefore be in the hands of every theologian. The contributors are Roman Catholic priests, monks, Episcopal, Lutheran and other Protestant clergymen, the first and foremost Professors of all leading Universities in Europe, and the Curators of the most famous Museums have contributed, so the British Museum, the Louvre (Paris), the Imperial Ottoman Museums at Constantinople.

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CLAVIS UNIVERSALIS. *Arthur Collier*. Edited with Introduction and Notes by
Ethel Bowman. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co. Pages xxv, 140.
 Cloth \$1.50. Paper \$.50.

All students of the history of philosophy have reason to be grateful to the editor of this volume, to Professor Mary Calkins, who appears to have inspired the preparation of it, and the *Open Court Publishing Company*, which has brought out the book in a dignified but inexpensive form. *Collier's Clavis*, a document of all but the highest interest and consequence in the history of English philosophy, has hitherto been virtually unprocureable. The original edition was already a rarity before the end of the eighteenth century and Dr. Parr's collection of metaphysical tracts, 1837, which includes a reprint of the book, is long since out of print and is accessible, in America, in very few libraries. The present volume gives the text complete, following the edition of Parr, together with a short biographical and historical introduction, and a few pages of notes. The editorial work has been carefully and competently done.

It is not likely that teachers of philosophy will make use of parts of *The Clavis* as a means of first introducing undergraduates to idealism in one of its typical historic forms. *Collier's English* has none of the charm of Berkeley's style, but if his book is inferior as literature, it is in some respects superior as argumentation, and especially as pedagogy. Compared with the *Principles of Human Knowledge*, *The Clavis* has more of the virtues of a good text-book. It begins with explicit definitions, and explicit warnings against possible misunderstandings. Its arguments are classified, catalogued and correlated. For these reasons, the best historical introduction to idealism would seem to me to consist in selections from *The Clavis* followed by parallel and supplementary passages from Berkeley's *Dialogues*.

It is to be hoped that the present welcome volume is the harbinger of a series of new editions of the more important writings of the English Platonists. Until the literature is made available, one of the most distinctive, most influential and most interesting movements in English reflection remains not only virtually unstudied, but also scarcely accessible to study.

A. O. LOVEJOY,
 Univ. of Missouri, Columbia, Mo.

CLAVIS UNIVERSALIS

By *ARTHUR COLLIER*

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY ETHEL BOWMAN, M. A., WELLESLEY COLLEGE. OPEN COURT CO., CHICAGO, 1909. CLOTH \$1.50; PAPER \$0.50.

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PRESS COMMENTS

The Sphinx. January, 1910.

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THE result of his studies was first made known in 1894 in a treatise, "The Relation Between Soul and Body from a Cytologic Point of View." In the year 1900, he published the volume herewith presented to the American public, in which he has partly rewritten the former book, and further added his latest conceptions of the nature and evolution of life.

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