The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

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VOL. XIV. (NO. 11) NOVEMBER, 1900. NO. 534

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CHICAGO

The Open Court Publishing Company

LONDON: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd.

Per copy, 10 cents (sixpence). Yearly, $1.00 (in the U. P. U., 5s. 6d.).

 Entered at the Chicago Post Office as Second-Class Matter.

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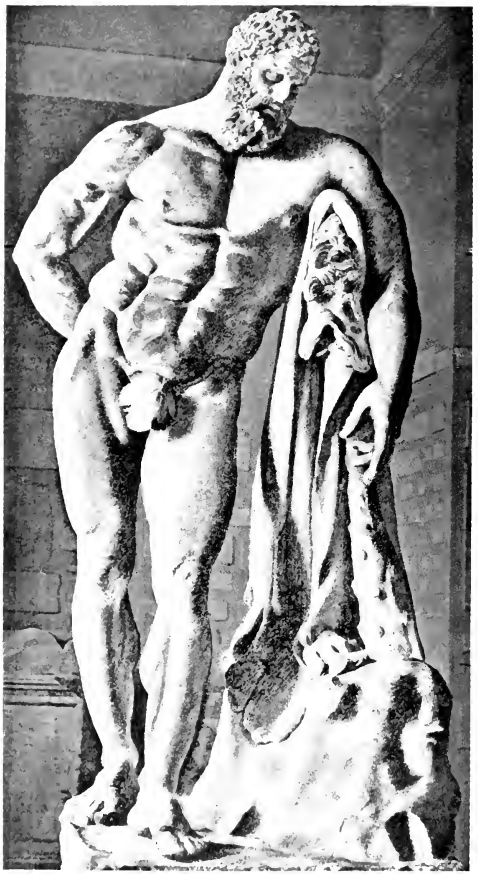

THE FARNESE HERAKLES.

(Naples.)

Frontispiece to *The Open Court*.

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ON GREEK RELIGION AND MYTHOLOGY.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE DEMETER MYTH.

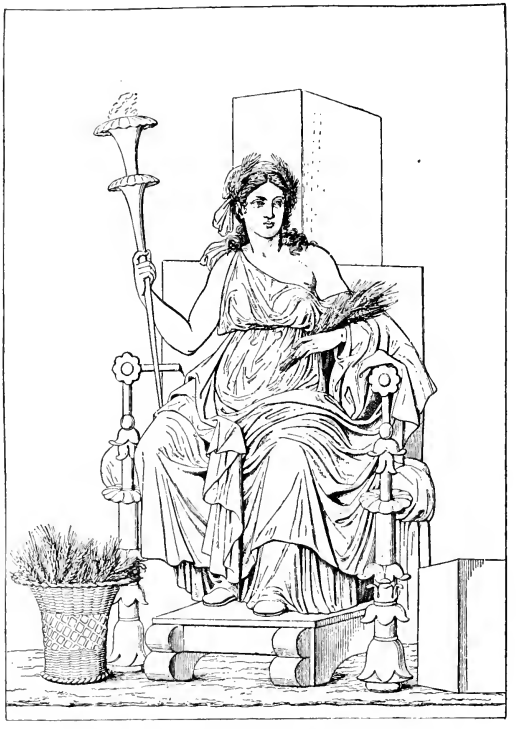
DEMETER (i. e., Mother Earth) is an indigenous Greek deity. There is nothing Asiatic about her, as is the case with the Ephesian Artemis. She is a more truly religious and less abstract personification of earth than Gæa and thus must be counted among the most significant figures of Greek mythology.

DEMETER.
Terra cotta relief. (After Overbeck, *Kunstmythologischer Atlas*, pl. 16, 8.)

As the sunshine in combination with the fertile soil produces vegetation, so Zeus begets with Demeter the goddess of flowers and fruits, Persephone, also called Kora, that is, the maiden.

The Demeter myth is of great significance. The story goes that Hades, the ruler of the dead, espied Persephone, the goddess of vegetation, and abducted her to his dreary abode in the Under World. The bereaved mother, Demeter, was disconsolate; she

wandered all over the earth in search of her daughter, bestowing the blessings of agriculture and civilisation wherever she went, and was determined not to return to Olympus until Zeus should send Hermes down to Hades with the command to allow Persephone to return to her mother. The god of the dead obeyed, but gave her the seeds of the pomegranate to eat, which made her a denizen



DEMETER, THE QUEEN OF THE HARVEST FESTIVALS.
Fresco of Pompeii. (*Mus. Borb.*, VI., 54.)

of the infernal regions forever. Thus the agreement arose that for two thirds of the year the maiden should return to the surface of the earth and for one third of the year, in winter, stay with her grim husband, Hades. Demeter rejoiced at the restoration of her daughter and had the Eleusinian Mysteries instituted to commem-

orate the loss and return of Persephone and to celebrate these events as a symbol of the constant reappearance of the life of nature and as a promise of the immortality of the human soul.

The Demeter myth is the subject of a most beautiful classical hymn, commonly ascribed to Homer, which, like many other pieces of Greek poetry, is untranslatable in its full grandeur and beauty. The lamentations of the goddess for her lost daughter are most pathetic. Demeter says:

"O Sun, compassionate me on behalf of my divine daughter, if ever either by word or deed I have gratified thy heart and mind. My daughter whom I bore, a sweet blossom, beauteous in form, whose frequent cries I have heard through the sterile air, as though she were being forced away, but I have not beheld it with mine eyes,—but do thou (for thou from the divine æther dost look down with thy rays

ALTAR OF DEMETER.[1]

(Frontispiece to Taylor's *Eleusinian and Bacchic Mysteries.*)

upon all the earth and sea) tell me truly, dear son, if thou hast anywhere seen him, of the gods or mortal men, who, without my consent, has seized her perforce and carried her off."

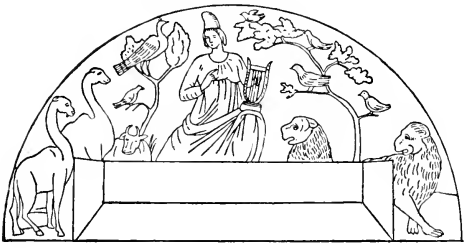
Then Demeter wanders about spreading bliss wherever she goes, and at last her daughter is restored to her for two thirds of the year, which time the goddess spends in "increasing the life-giving fruit for men." At last Triptolemos, a local hero of Attica, is sent out into the world as Demeter's messenger for the instruction of all the nations in the art of agriculture.

Schiller has cast similar ideas into German words and has succeeded in producing a most thoughtful poem under the title of *Die Klage der Ceres*, in which he describes the search of the discon-

[1] The sacrifice to Demeter consists in a burning sheaf. She is worshipped by the people whom she changes from barbarians into civilised men. Zeus approves of her mission and her serpent guards the altar, decorated by her symbols, flowers, wheat, and fruit.

solate mother, the institution of agriculture together with the establishment of cities and states, the restoration of her lost child, and the celebration of the Eleusinian harvest festival.

Grote, in his *History of Greece* Vol. I., p. 55, after an admirable analysis of Homer's *Hymn to Demeter*, recommends it no less as a



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CHRIST AS ORPHEUS.[1]

1 and 3, from paintings in the cemetery of St. Calixtus in the Catacombs of Rome. 2, from a coin of Antoninus Pius (third century).

picture of the Mater Dolorosa than as an illustration of the nature and growth of Grecian legend generally, saying:

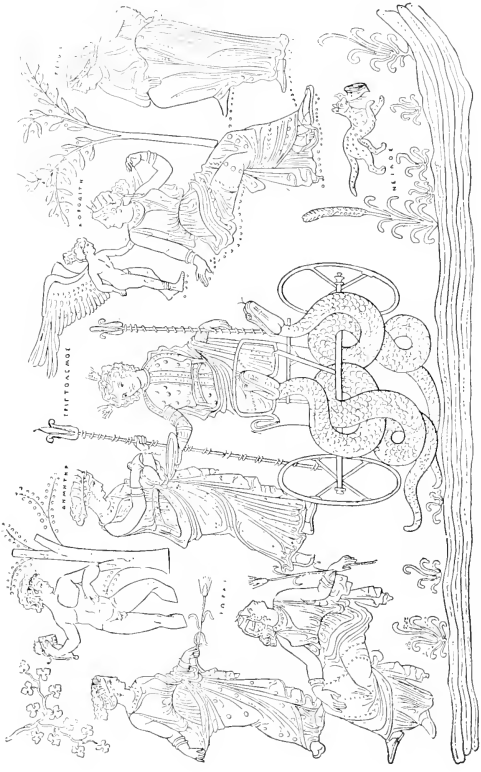
"In the mouth of an Athenian, Dêmêtêr and Persephonê were always the Mother and Daughter, by excellence. She is first an agonised sufferer, and then

[1] *Symbols and Emblems of Early and Mediaeval Christian Art.* By Louisa Twining. Pl. 16. London, 1885.

finally glorified,—the weal and woe of men being dependent upon her kindly feeling."

Grote adds:

"Though we now read this hymn as pleasing poetry, to the Eleusinians, for whom it was composed, it was genuine and sacred history. They believed in the visit of Dêmêtêr to Eleusis, and in the mysteries as a revelation from her, as implicitly as they believed in her existence and power as a goddess."



TRIPTOLEMOS, SENT OUT BY DEMETER ON HER CHARIOT DRAWN BY DRAGONS. Vase-picture of Kertch. (After *Comte-Rendu*, 1862, pl. IV.—*B. D.*, 1858.)

ORPHEUS.

The Orphic Mysteries were similar to the Eleusinian, in ritual as well as in significance, and though we possess but meagre information concerning the legend and cult, which were kept secret, we know that it inculcated in some way a belief in immortality.

Orpheus, the singer who tamed the wild beasts of the woods by his music, lost his wife, Eurydice, by death; but going down to the Under World he moved Hades by his music to suffer her to follow him back again to the Upper World on condition that he should not look round upon her. He violated this condition, however, and she vanished from his sight.

The legend runs that Orpheus was slain, or, like Dionysos Zagreus, torn to pieces by the frenzied women of Thrace. Our information is too scanty and also contradictory to allow us to form any clear conception of the meaning of the Orphic rituals and myths; but one thing is certain: there were many among the early

HERMES PSYCHOPOMPOS AND THE ANGEL OF DEATH.[1]
(Relief on a hollow marble column of Ephesus.)

GORGO AS AMULET.[2]

Christians who revered Christ as a redeemer from death in the same sense as the Orphic priests believed in the efficacy of the Orphic Mysteries; for pictures of Christ as Orpheus are quite common in the catacombs.

HERMES.

From Maia (that is, the nourishing one, the mother goddess) Zeus begot Hermes, the herald of the gods, the protector of commerce and trade, and the deity that conducted souls to Hades.

1 Between Hermes and Death stands the figure of a woman, perhaps Persephone. See Wood, *Discov. at Ephesus*, London, 1877, and for illustrations of the "columna caelata," *Arch. Ztg.*, 1865, pl. 65. *B. D.*, p. 281, and Springer, *Hdb.*, I., p. 181.

2 Gem from Kertch. After *Comte-Rendu*, 1860, pl. 4, fig. 6. (Roscher, *Lex.*, p. 1711.) See the illustrations on page 658 of the present *Open Court*.

Hermes is a god who gained in significance the more the belief in the Beyond grew in importance, for Hermes (even as early as Homeric times) was the leader of souls to the Under World (ὁ ψυχοπόμπος), and he, too, as we learned in the Demeter legend, assists the subjects of Hades to return to the world of light and life. He was worshipped as the resurrector, and artistic representations of this office became the prototypes of pictures of Christ raising the dead.

The reverence for Hermes grew when he became identified with the Egyptian Thoth, the scribe of the gods and the god of wisdom, of learning, of science; the deity of the word, of the written revelation, of science, who was called Poimander, the shepherd of men.

The Egyptian influence which, as we have seen, was very strong in the early days of Greece, made itself felt also in the period

PROMETHEUS CHAINED TO THE ROCK AND LIBERATED BY HERAKLES.
Ancient sarcophagus now in the museum of the Capitol, Rome.

of decline, and many ideas, such as of Abraxas, the Adorable One, of Thoth, the incarnate Word, of Serapis (presumably a corruption of Osiris Apis), the slain and resurrected God, of Isis the Holy One, the Mother of God, of Harpokrates, God the Child, as well as the institution of monkhood practised by the followers of Serapis, penetrated the Greek world at the beginning of the Christian era and left their impression on the beliefs of the people, partly preparing for the advent of the new religion and partly entering into it in a modified form.

PROMETHEUS.

One Titanic figure deserves especial mention, from possessing a peculiar significance as the shaper of mankind and as the sufferer. It is Prometheus, the bold, struggling genius of progress, the *esprit fort*, the man who dares and does. He bestows on mankind the

heavenly gift of fire in spite of the prohibition of Zeus, and is willing to suffer for it on the cross (as Æschylus expresses it), being fastened at the command of Zeus to Mount Caucasus by Hephæstos. There daily an eagle appears to lacerate the liver of this martyr for the cause of human welfare; and the liver grows again over night so as to perpetuate the torture, when finally Herakles comes to his rescue. This hero shoots the eagle and reconciles Zeus and Prometheus, the proud sovereign and the noble-

PELEUS STRUGGLING WITH THETIS.[1]
Vase-picture in Munich. (After Gerhard, *Auserl. Vasenb.*, III., 227.—*B.D.*, 1799.)

THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS.[2]
Bas-relief in the Villa Ludovisi (*Mon. Inst.*, III., 29).

minded rebel. Prometheus then communicates to Zeus the secret that Thetis, the goddess of the deep sea, whom Zeus intended to

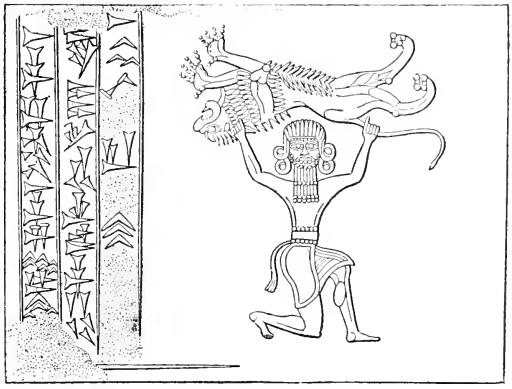
1 When Zeus decided to have Thetis married to a mortal man, Peleus was chosen; but the latter had to conquer his bride, and in this task he succeeded (according to the painter of the vase) with the assistance of the wise centaur Cheiron, the educator of Achilles. A nymph Pontomedusa gives the cause of her mistress up as lost and flees.

2 Hermes conducts Hera, Athene, and Aphrodite into the presence of Paris, who is tending his flocks in company with his wife Oinone. Hera and Athene are at the right of Paris; Aphrodite is at his left. Eros leans on his left shoulder. Herakles, Artemis, Helios, a river god, and a nymph witness the scene.

marry, was (like Themis) destined to bear a child that would be greater than his father.

In Hesiod's *Theogony* Prometheus appears as a mere mischief-maker, but in the later development of religious thought he becomes the ideal of human progressiveness and courage of thought, being a Greek anticipation of, and a parallel to, the Faust character in the legends of the times of the Renaissance.

Prometheus, the Forethinker, is contrasted with his brother Epimetheus, the man of after-thought. Prometheus had warned Epimetheus not to accept any gift from Zeus, but the latter found a woman whom he called Pandora, the "all-gift," so beautiful that Epimetheus could not resist the temptation and received her with



ISDUBAR, THE BABYLONIAN HERAKLES, CONQUERING THE LION.
(Lenormant. *Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, Vol. V., p. 178.)

a box of gifts into his house. When the box was opened all the ills that flesh is heir to flew out, filling the world with woe.

The Promethean spirit is powerfully described by Goethe in his poem *Prometheus*, where the bold Forethinker is characterised as taking his stand against Zeus and building up an independent liberty-loving humanity in spite of the tyrant in heaven.

Zeus was slow in granting man his liberty, but apparently he did not mean to become an enemy to human progress. Thus Zeus and Prometheus were reconciled and now the God is warned by the prophetic Titan of the danger that threatened him. Zeus thereupon has Thetis married to Peleus, a mortal, whose son Achilles

becomes the famous hero of Homer's *Iliad.* The wedding of Peleus is the beginning of the Trojan war, for Eris, the goddess of quarrel, the only deity that was not invited, rolls into the assembly a golden apple with the inscription, "To the fairest." Hera, Athene, and Aphrodite contend for the prize, and Paris, the shepherd of Mount Ida and son of King Priam, is appointed by Zeus as judge. Hera offers him fame, Athene wisdom, and Aphrodite the most beautiful woman on earth. Paris decides in favor of Aphrodite who helps him to abduct Helen, Queen of King Menelaus of Lacedæmon, which becomes the cause of the Trojan war.

HERAKLES.

The hero-myths of Greece are specialised forms of the worship of Zeus in his sons as saviours of mankind. All heroes are children

HERAKLES STRANGLES THE TWO SNAKES SENT BY HERA TO KILL HIM.[1]
(Fresco of Herculaneum.)

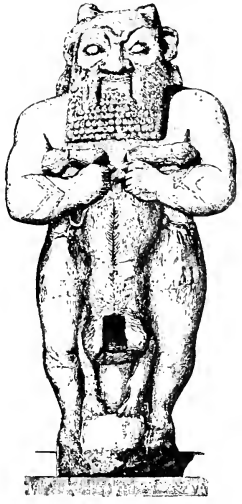
HERAKLES DESCENDING INTO THE BELLY OF THE LEVIATHAN.[2]
Vase-picture. (*B. D.*, I., p. 663.)

of the common father of all gods and men, and foremost among them is Herakles, the liberator of Prometheus, a son of Zeus and Alkmene, Queen of Argos.

1 Behind Herakles stands his mother, Alkmene; Amphitryon, his step father, King of Argos, draws his sword to help the child; the tutor of the children holds the frightened Iphides, the stepbrother of Herakles, in his arms.

2 This vase-picture (which should be compared with the vase-picture of "Jason rescued by Athena from the jaws of the dragon" *v, infra*) was formerly believed to represent Jason's struggle with the dragon, but is now interpreted as depicting a parallel to the Perseus legend preserved by Hellanikos (*Ap. Schol. Iliad.*, Y. 146), who relates that Herakles in delivering Hesione, the daughter of King Laomedon of Troy, descended into a dragon and slew him by severing his intestines, a task that cost him three days' labor, during which time the hero's hair was burned by the internal heat of the dragon.

Historians have proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that Herakles is none other than the Phœnician Melkarth, the Baal of Sor (i. e., Tyre), and the Phœnician Melkarth again is none other than Bel Merodach, the Christ of the Assyrians and Babylonians. The Israelites knew him under the name of Samson and told legends of him that betray his solar origin. As the nations of Western Asia have inherited much of their civilisation as well as of their religion from the ancient Sumero-Accadians, the assumption



MELKARTH.[1]

Colossal statue found at Amathus. (*Gazette archéologique*, 1879, pl. XXXI.)

THE FARNESIAN ATLAS.[2]

(After a photograph. *B. D.*, I., 225.)

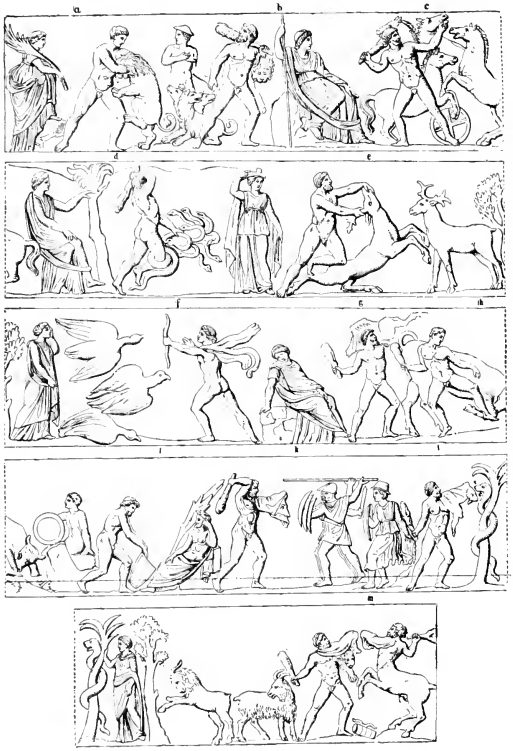
is justified that the legend of Herakles, the Greek Melkarth, is the Hellenised form of a very old myth,—a venerable heirloom handed down from prehistoric ages.

Herakles is the god-man, the sun-god incarnate, who in his

[1] The god holds a lion in his hands as if on the point of tearing it in twain. His beard is trimmed in Assyrian fashion, indicating the home of the artist's prototype. Cf. Lenormant, *Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, Vol. VI., p. 566.

[2] Atlas (i. e., the bearer), according to Homer, carries the dome of heaven, which seems to rest on the ocean. Artists represent him bearing the segment of a star-covered globe (see, for instance, the illustration of the garden of the Hesperides, *v. infra*). Later statues show him with a zodiacal globe on his shoulders.

wanderings bestows blessings upon the children of the earth and by bold deeds rescues mankind from evil. The twelve labors of



THE TWELVE LABORS OF HERAKLES.
Relief in the Villa Albani at Rome.

a, Herakles kills the Nemean lion; *b*, he rescues Theseus from the Underworld; *c*, he tames the horses of Diomedes, a nymph witnesses the scene; *d*, he conquers the Lernæan hydra in the presence of the nymph Lerna; *e*, he catches the Kerenitic hind; *f*, he shoots the Stymphalian birds, a deed which moves the pity of the local nymph; *g*, he carries home the Erymanthian boar; *h*, he tames the Kretan steer; *i*, he cleanses the stable of Augeas, the river god Alpheios seated before him, furnishes the water; *k*, he conquers the three-bodied Geryones, behind them stands the nymph of Spain; *l*, he kills the dragon who guards the apples of the Hesperides, one of them being present in the scene, the goats being the animals of Libya; *m*, he conquers the centaurs (according to the common version, the Amazons).

Herakles are the accomplishments of the sun during the twelve months. How much Herakles, as the rescuer from evil, was like

Christ to the Greek mind, appears from the reverence with which philosophers speak of him as the beloved son of Zeus.

The last deed of Herakles is his death and resurrection (ἔγερσις). He dies in the flames of the funeral pyre, but rises to renewed life on the height of Olympus, where he is given in marriage to Hebe, the blooming daughter of Hera.

Epictetus says of Herakles:

"He knew that no man is an orphan, but that there is a father always and constantly for all of us. He had not only heard the words that Zeus was the father of men, for he regarded him as *his* father and called him such; and looking up to him, he did what Zeus did. Therefore he could live happily everywhere."

The philosopher Seneca echoes the same sentiment when he contrasts the unselfishness of Herakles with the ambition of other

HERAKLES TAKEN UP TO HEAVEN BY ATHENA IN A CHARIOT.[1]
Picture on a Lucanian vase in Munich. (After *Mon. Inst.*, IV., 41.)

heroes, who may be brave and courageous, like Alexander the Great, for instance, but are not saviours. He says:

"Herakles never gained victories for himself. He wandered through the circle of the earth, not as a conqueror, but as a protector. What, indeed, should the enemy of the wicked, the defensor of the good, the peace-bringer, conquer for himself either on land or sea!"

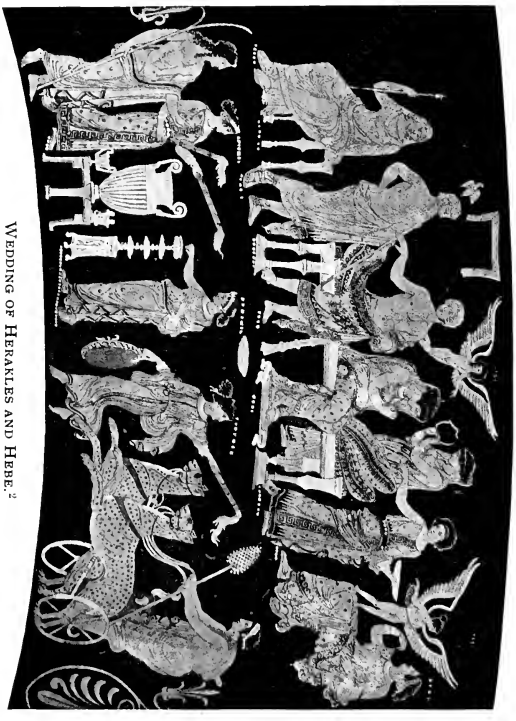
HEROES.

Odysseus, like Herakles, is originally the sun-god and his wanderings through the earth are the course of the sun over the world. Like the sun, Odysseus descends in the far West into Tartaros and comes up again.

[1] Satyrs gaze with astonishment at the pyre, the flames of which are extinguished by two nymphs, called Arethusa and Premnusia.

The *Odyssey* is the Greek version of the *Râmâyana*, a Brahman story of similar significance, while the *Iliad* finds its counterpart in the *Mahâbhârata*, the legend of the great war.[1]

Other heroes, such as Theseus (i. e., he who brings about settled conditions, the organiser, or legislator), Bellerophon, Perseus,



WEDDING OF HERAKLES AND HEBE.[2]
(Gerhard, *Apul. Vasenb.*, pl. XV.)

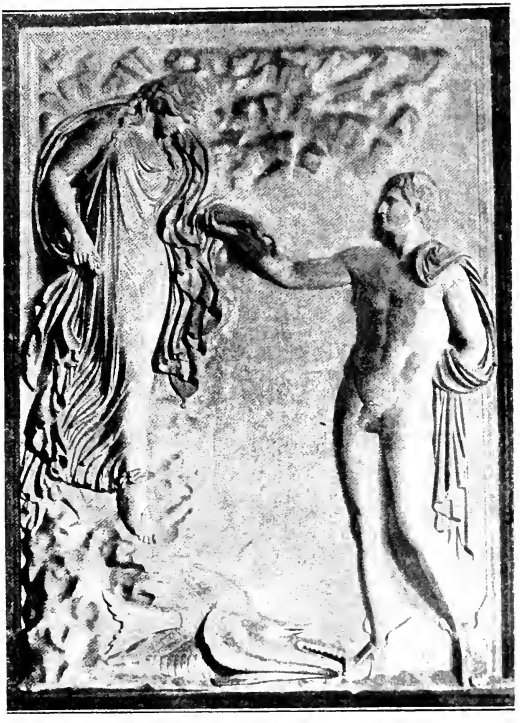
the Dioskuri, etc., are all slayers of monsters and are, if we make allowance for local coloring, variations of the same fundamental

[1] These two Indian epics are unquestionably of great antiquity, but it is interesting to note that (as Weber endeavors to prove) Valmiki, a late redactor of the *Râmâyana*, must have been familiar with Homer. He lived somewhat after the beginning of the Christian era when Greek influence began to make itself felt in India.

[2] Between Hebe, the girlish bride, and Herakles who is here youthful and beardless, hovers Eros. Zeus and Hera are on the left, Aphrodite with Himeros and two of her maids, Charis and Peitho, on the right. Underneath Dionysos arrives in his chariot, drawn by panthers. From the opposite side Apollo and Artemis arrive, while Eunomia and Euthymia receive the guests.

idea that permeates the whole of Greek mythology, of the same theme of saviourship, which is most apparent in the Herakles myth.

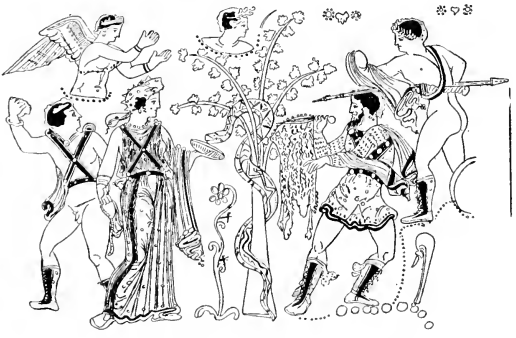
The story of Demeter's daughter and her sad fate finds many parallels in the legends of dying gods and heroes, among which the most typical is the tale of the death of Adonis. Like the Herakles myth, it is of Phœnician origin, the name Adonis being nothing



PERSEUS LIBERATING ANDROMEDA.
Ancient relief. Capitol. (From Springer, *Handb.*, p. 256.)

else than the Greek form of the Semitic title of God, Adon, i. e., Lord, a word which is used in the same significance in the Bible. Adon, the sun-god and husband of Astarte, the Phœnician Venus, dies and is resurrected. He is the same as Tammuz for whom, as the prophet Ezekiel, Jewish women wept in the temple.

THESEUS, THE SLAYER OF THE MINOTAUR,
Receiving the thanks of the rescued victims.[1] (Fresco in the Campagna, from *Mus. Borb.*, X., 50.)



JASON SECURING THE GOLDEN FLEECE.[2]
Vase of Naples. (Reproduced from Heydemann, *Hall. Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1886, pl. 3.)

[1] This picture, frequently copied in frescoes, has become famous through Goethe's admirable description which appears in Vol. XXX., 425 f. of his collected works (edition Cotta).

[2] The hero is accompanied by Medea and two warriors. A satyr's head is visible in the tree and the bust of Nike appears in the sky.

The festival of mourning with subsequent rejoicing that was celebrated in Cyprus for Adon-Tammuz, was changed in Christian times into a kind of Christian mystery-play of the death and resurrection of Lazarus. Thus the underlying ideas remain the same with the change of time.

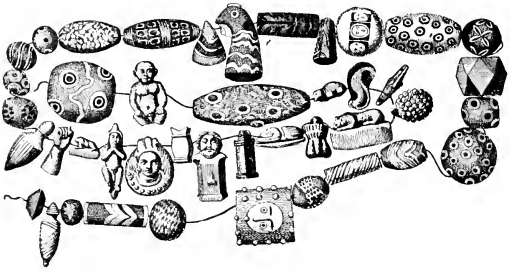
JASON RESCUED BY ATHENA FROM THE JAWS OF THE DRAGON.[1]
Attic vase from Cære. Roscher, *Lex.*, II., p. 85.

SAMPLES OF MONSTERS ON ÆGÆAN STONES.[2]
(*Arch. Ztg.*, 1883, pl. 16, Nos. 7, 3, 16.)

[1] Happily the interpretation of this picture is definitely determined by both the name IAΣΩN and the golden fleece hanging on the tree. The picture does not represent the common version of the legend, but is interesting as showing that Greek mythology also possessed its Jonas who had been in the belly of a monster. A similar legend is told of Herakles, an illustration of which is given on page 650.

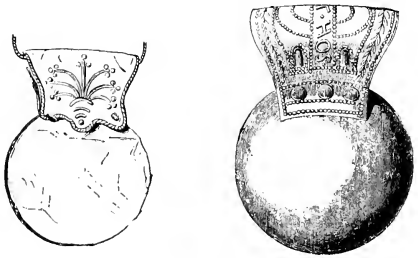
[2] The Ægæan stones, the *Inselsteine* of German archæologists, so called because found on the islands of the Ægæan sea, exhibit the beginning of glyptic art, imported into Greece from the Orient.

A favorite legend which is frequently chiseled on sarcophagi, on account of its promise of the soul's return from Tartaros, is the story of Admetos and Alkestis. The hero Admetos (i. e., the invincible, one of the many representatives of the god of death) woos Alkestis (i. e., the Strong One, a form of Persephone) the daughter of Pelias. He shows his prowess by appearing in a chariot drawn by a wild boar and a lion. The bridal chamber, however, is filled with snakes (a symbol of the goddess of the earth) and Admetos



AMULETS.[1]

Necklace of various votive symbols, found in the Crimea. (Jahn, pl. V., 2.—*B. D.*, I., 76.)



GOLD CAPSULES, OR BULLAE.

Worn round the neck as receptacles for amulets. (After *Arch. Journ.*, VI., 113, and VIII., 166.)

is doomed to die. Apollo then pleads with the Fates to spare his life, and the three goddesses allow him to send a substitute to the Under World, whereupon Alkestis declares her readiness to sacrifice herself for her husband, and becomes thus the ideal wife, faithful unto death. Persephone in recognition of her heroism, however, allows Alkestis to return to life.

[TO BE CONTINUED.]

[1] Votive figures appear to have been used in ancient Greece and Italy as much as they ar now by the devotees of the Greek and Roman Catholic Churches.

THE UNSHACKLING OF THE SPIRIT OF INQUIRY.[1]

BY DR. ERNST KRAUSE (CARUS STERNE).

IMPORTANT above all in the development we have been considering was the growing opposition which arose against the prevailing methods of philosophy. Concerning the relation of thought to being, and of the concepts which we form of things to the real nature of these things, the idealism introduced by Plato had hitherto prevailed; that is, the view that the general concepts (*universalia*) were actualities existing before and outside of the objects themselves, and were originally present in the Divine Mind as archetypes before their incorporation; and that from the Divine Mind they had emanated to the human mind, which is derived from it; whence it is possible through pure reason to find out the essence of things, that is, truth. These notions of the Idealists (who gave themselves the significant name of Realists), as we have seen, although they were somewhat limited by Aristotle, had been opposed from olden times by the Stoics, for they had quite correctly recognised the notions of genus and species as mere abstractions (*nomina*), and in contrast to the so-called Realists were called Nominalists. This had been merely an academic dispute until the Church took the part of the Realists, and in 1092 at the Synod of Soissons condemned the canon, John Roscellinus of Compiègne and his teaching, because he had ventured to apply the nominalistic views to the conception of God.

The dispute became especially warm, when the Franciscan, William of Occam, a pupil of Duns Scotus (*doctor subtilis*), who was the opponent of Thomas Aquinas, refused to concede to the operations of the mind anything but their subjective existence and truth. The Church felt how greatly its dogmas were endangered by

[1] Conclusion of the article by the same author in the preceding *Open Court*.

this intellectual revolution, and from 1339 on, repeatedly forbade the use of the books of William of Occam, especially in France, whence his followers took refuge in the German universities, until in 1481 when the teachings of the Nominalists were allowed even in Paris. At bottom the issue in this controversy was the overthrow of the scholastic methods of teaching, and when Hugo Spitzer in recent times praised the Nominalists as "Darwinians before Darwin,"[1] his expression was appropriate in this respect only, that by eliminating the concepts of genus and species from the realm of reality they dealt the methods of scholasticism just such a blow as Darwin with his new explanation of the concepts of genus and species dealt to scholasticism in natural history. Their real influence was essentially critical and clarifying; of positively constructive contributions to knowledge, such as Darwin's, they made few.

Much more far-reaching was the doctrine emphasised by Roger Bacon (died 1292), called by his followers *doctor mirabilis*, that we cannot learn nature from the Bible and old books, nor interpret it from our inner consciousness, but that we must see with our own eyes and study the Creator in His works, and must even learn their significance by investigation and experiment. However, for these and other heresies he was kept in the dungeon of his monastery for years and punished with such severe fasts that he nearly died of hunger. Bacon's thought, that beside the old Scriptures there was a second source of knowledge of the greatness of God, was embraced with the greatest enthusiasm, especially by Raymond of Sabunde, who taught in Toulouse about 1436. Though a thoroughly devout Christian, he did not hesitate to say in his *Theologia naturalis seu liber creaturarum*, that of the two revelations ascribed to the same author the one found in nature was decidedly preferable to that of the Scriptures, for all men could read the former while the Bible was understood only by the clergy. Nature, therefore, must constitute the alphabet of all teachers, and must be studied first of all as the foundation and source of all the sciences. For it could be misunderstood by no one, not even by a heretic, which might easily occur in the case of the Scriptures, where moreover corruption of the text was not beyond the possibilities. Though the heathen had sometimes misunderstood nature, this could not be so with Christians, and they would find it everywhere in harmony with the Bible.

The Church did not at first pay to the nature-theology of this

[1] H. Spitzer, *Nominalismus und Realismus*, Leipsic, 1875.

unquestionably pious teacher the attention which it certainly deserved; for he professed many ideas wholly out of harmony with the teachings of the Church, notably the theory of the central position of the sun. Only when the German Cardinal and Bishop,

ROGER BACON.
(1214–1292.)
English monk, philosopher, and heretic. Forerunner of the renaissance of science

Nikolaus of Cusa (from Kues on the Mosel, died 1464), the most evident forerunner of Copernicus, openly challenged scholasticism in his work upon *Learned Ignorance*, and taught the motion of the earth and the plurality of inhabited worlds, did the Church gradu-

ally begin to recognise the threatening danger which was involved in the study of nature, so warmly recommended by Roger Bacon and Raymond of Sabunde. Therefore together with the more and more numerous religious heretics, those men were also summoned before the tribunal of the Inquisition whose non-conforming views and teachings were not directly concerned with religion but with the new astronomy and natural history. Pietro d'Abano, Cecco d'Ascoli, Giordano Bruno, Campanella, Galileo, Vanini and others suffered not so much for their actual religious heresies as for their scientific convictions, and several of those who refused to renounce their views were burned at the stake. For even in the case of heretics whose errors lay in the direction of natural history, the Church in her mildness and mercy shrank from the shedding of blood and preferred the purifying flame as a means of extermination.

Meanwhile, the art of printing, so destructive to belief on authority, had been invented. Thus heresies could spread with multiplied rapidity over distant lands, and Pope Paul IV. felt it necessary to establish in 1559 a special council, the congregation of the Index Expurgatorius, whose incumbents were occupied with the examination of recently composed as well as already published works, in order to condemn to strangulation before birth or to a subsequent death by fire those which contained truths hostile to Church dogma. The reopened Council of Trent (1562–1563) settled in detail what must be believed and what regarded as heresy; and the Pope, following the recommendation of Tertullian, forbade, under penalty of excommunication, every unauthorised discussion or interpretation of the decretals, as being the exclusive prerogative of the Papal See. In order to set a good example, he had one of his own writings placed in the Index. The progress of the Reformation had made these measures seem necessary; a definite boundary had to be set between what was to be truth, and that which must not be truth, and the list of forbidden books soon increased like an avalanche. The *Theologia Naturalis* of Raymond of Sabunde, translated into French in 1569 by Michel Montaigne, one hundred and fifty years after its publication, underwent a painful operation in the amputation of the introduction, which treated of the advantage of the study of nature over that of the Scriptures.

Indeed, the universe of Aristotle and the Church appeared to have suddenly become disjointed. The discovery of America had made untenable the formerly current views of the Church concerning the form of the earth and the impossibility of the antipodes. A canon of Frauenburg had dealt the death blow to the be-

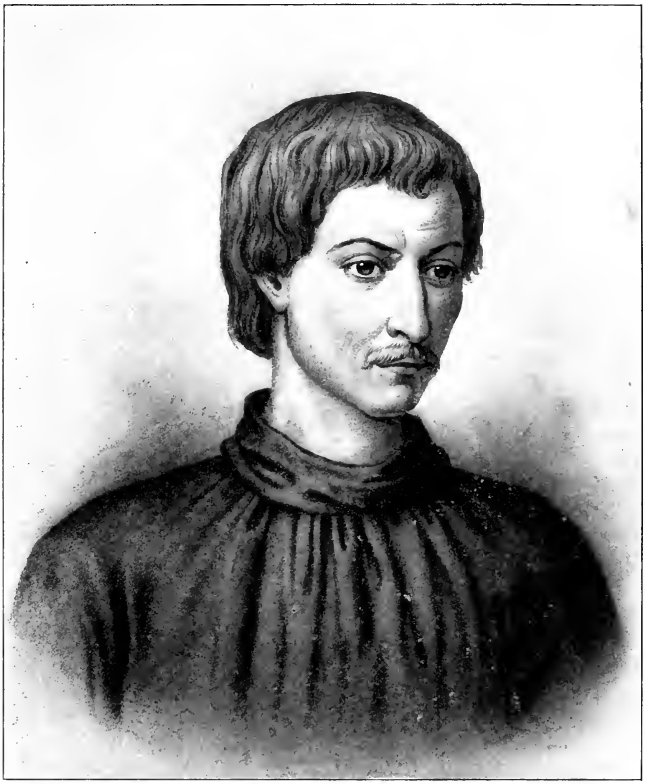
lief in the central position of the earth. Then, as always when the current views of the universe are disturbed by great discoveries, and the opinions hitherto regarded as certain truths are shown to be groundless assumptions, reflexions on the danger of investigation and on the errors of human reason became prominent. The study of those processes is so much the more important, because we are to-day experiencing a similar intellectual revolution, beginning with the work of Darwin which shattered beyond repair the theory of creation advanced by Linnæus and Cuvier, a theory which was still affected by the philosophy of Aristotle, and which had barely held its own up to that time as a thing of shreds and patches.

In that time, when men's minds were awaking and, to use the expression of Hutton, "it was a joy to live," every one thought he might believe what he considered reasonable without being obliged to heed the doctrines of the Church. The French jurist and political economist, Jean Bodin, in his *Course in Historical Science* (1566) made bold to attack the story of Paradise, and to retouch the Bible picture of the beginning of the human race, in the light of information from America. Ridicule and satire, such as the freethinkers, Rabelais above all others, poured out upon all things formerly believed and held sacred, grew at an alarming pace, and we can easily understand how even men of calm and sober minds were shaken in their inmost convictions by these attacks.

Of the greatest interest in this connexion is the attitude of the French nobleman, Michel Montaigne, a man of independent judgment and well read in the works of antiquity. He constantly vacillated between the faith of his fathers, the philosophers, the new views, and his own reason, and very fittingly selected for his device a pair of scales with the motto: "What do I know?" His attempts to justify the old views and at the same time take into account the new knowledge, seem indeed, as Jacob Fries recently attempted to show,[1] to have been incorporated in the gloomy brooder, Hamlet, and to have had the greatest influence upon the conception of that character. In his longest essay, the *Justification of Raymond of Sabunde*, he professed (p. 2) to favor the view of the academician, Balbus, emphasising the idea, that animals fare better on the whole than men, in that nature has given them no more reason than they need for their existence, while man has received more than he can use to his profit, and yet not enough to overcome the errors arising from the excess.

[1] *Shakespeare and Montaigne. An Endeavour to Explain the Tendency of Hamlet.* London, 1886.

With the free use of our reason and the ability to govern our actions according to our discretion and judgment, he says, there fell also to our lot "inconstancy, indecision, uncertainty, anxiety,



GIORDANO BRUNO.
(1548–1600.)
Italian monk and philosopher. Burnt at the stake as a heretic.
Specially drawn for *The Open Court* from an engraving in the *Cabinet des Estampes* of Paris.

superstition, worry about what the future may bring, even though it be not until after our death, arrogance, jealousy, avarice, envy, evil and untamable passions, quarrelsomeness, falsehood, faithless-

ness, abusiveness, and curiosity." The simple-minded man, he says, lives without thought of the morrow, happy and content with his lot, without hoping or fearing much from the future; and he would therefore already possess that peace of mind which philosophers praise as the most desirable good without ever being able to attain it.

MICHEL EYQUEM DE MONTAIGNE.
(1533–1592.)
French essayist and philosopher. (From an engraving by Th. de Leu.)

He says in another passage: "In my day I have seen hundreds of artisans and laborers, who lived more wisely and more happily than the rectors of the university, and whom therefore I should rather resemble than the latter." Much thinking, he said, is in its very nature not conducive to the health of the body.

"Animals, by their health, teach us plainly enough how often mental agitation causes illness. What we are told of the inhabitants of Brazil, to wit, that they die only of old age, and which is ascribed to the purity and calmness of their climate, I ascribe rather to the peace and serenity of their minds, free from all emotions and reflexions, from all intense or disagreeable activity, as being people who pass their lives in admirable simplicity and ignorance, without science, without law, without a king, and without any religion whatever. How much suffering is caused by our intensely morbid imagination alone! In order to realise the difference, one need only compare the life of a hypochondriac, constantly tortured by the belief that he is ill or may become ill, with that of a laborer who follows his natural impulses and judges things only according to the momentary impression, without knowledge and forethought, feeling disease only when it exists, while the former often carries the stone about in his mind before he has it in his kidneys; as if it were not enough to endure the evil when it comes, he anticipates it in fancy and even runs to meet it."

The unfortunate singer of *Jerusalem Delivered* whom Montaigne visited in a madhouse at Ferrara, likewise serves him as an example of the pernicious influence of the mind on the body. "Were not his sufferings to be ascribed to this quickly consuming fire, this brightness which blinded him, this acute and intense application of the mind which deprived him of his reason, and this anxious and diligent pursuit of the sciences which has reduced him to a level with the brutes?"

Then Montaigne proceeds to declaim especially against the ever-increasing arrogance and pride of the human reason. Since we have received from nature the faculties of discrimination and free-will, we must use them; but, in doing so, we must never forget the proper caution and reserve. "Our innate defect is self-conceit. Of all creatures man is the weakest and frailest, and yet the most conceited. Although he finds himself lodged in the filth and foulness of this world, in the meanest, most sluggish and most rotten part of the universe, in the lowest story and farthest from the vault of heaven, and although he feels himself bound to the ground in the company of crawling beasts, yet by the power of his imagination he sweeps out beyond the path of the moon and leaves the heavens at his feet." Finally, man thinks that the earth was created only for him, the sun and moon to give him light, nay, even that God himself exists only to create and care for him. From

this same conceit arises the mania for finding out the connexion of all things, and that worst of all misuses of reason, philosophy.

"The first temptation," he says, "which was devised for the human race by the devil, his first poison, appealed to us through the promise which he made with reference to knowledge and understanding, 'Ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil.' "According to Homer, the Sirens in this same fashion attempted to entice Ulysses into their fatal toils by offering him the gift of their knowledge. His hope of mastering all knowledge is the curse of man. This is the reason why, in our religion, ignorance is declared absolutely necessary for faith and obedience." Montaigne closes these exhortations with a summary of what philosophy has revealed up to his time. He finds that all its efforts have accomplished nothing except to make plainer what Socrates already knew, that we know nothing and can know nothing, but that there is no folly so great as not to be called truth by some philosopher.[1]

Moreover, it is not to be supposed that these tirades against the use of knowledge were heard only from the Catholic camp, whence also Agrippa of Nettesheim wrote his book *De vanitate scientiarum*, and Erasmus of Rotterdam, a half-heretic, to be sure, his *Praise of Folly*. Luther himself, who on January 17, 1546, ascended the pulpit to preach against "the accursed harlot, Reason," regarded philosophy in the same light, although, of course, the favorite philosopher of Rome fared the worst. He exclaims: "This doubly accursed Aristotle is a very devil, a dreadful slanderer, an infamous sycophant, a prince of darkness, a real Apollyon, a beast, a vile deceiver of mankind, almost wholly destitute of philosophy, an open and confessed liar, a salacious ram, a confirmed Epicurean." The scholastics Luther characterised with somewhat more deserved abhorrence by the epithets, "grasshoppers, caterpillars, frogs, lice," and so forth. Other reformers, Melanchthon and Calvin, for instance, sympathised with this hatred on the whole, even though they did not give it such vigorous expression.[2]

In the course of time this aversion for science gradually relaxed in the Protestant Church, and since this Church lacked from the beginning such violent means of repression as the Index and Inquisition, it was able occasionally to offer philosophers a refuge, and the whole development of philosophy from Descartes to Spinoza,

[1] Cf. Montaigne's *London Essays*. 1754. Vol. IV., pp. 229, 333, 337, 340, 351; Vol. V., p. 126 etc.

[2] Cf. Draper, *History of the Conflict Between Science and Religion*.

from Leibnitz to Kant, Fichte, and Hegel took place exclusively in Protestant states. To be sure, Descartes was a Catholic, and at times decorated his hat with effigies of the saints in order to remain unmolested; but in order to cultivate philosophy unhampered he had, like Giordano Bruno, to seek refuge in Protestant states. Thus even the philosophy of Descartes, in spite of its concessions touching the nature of the soul, and in spite of the efforts of Malebranche, entirely failed to influence Catholic doctrines. The philosophy of this Church still rests upon the principles of Aristotle, and independent thinkers, such as J. C. Baltzer and Frohschammer, who show the least inclination to depart in their psychology from the views of Thomas Aquinas, are immediately called before the pope, and their writings placed on the Index.

The consequence of this proceeding has been that free investigation and science could not prosper under the scepter of Church authority; and that by far the greatest part of the scientific work of recent centuries had to be done by open or disguised heretics. True, the Church has often boasted that it could show famous scientists in the ranks of its priests, such as the Jesuit fathers Scheiner, Kircher, and Secchi; but on closer inspection the works of these heroes of the faith are of little value. As in the case of Secchi, they had to profess the duty of the sacrifice of the intellect and stoop to dissimulation, and can in no way compete with such Catholic investigators as Copernicus and Galileo, whose works the Church had condemned. And yet this Church has at last been obliged to admit, although with every possible reservation, that it was wrong; and what formerly caused their representatives to curse science has been for the most part taken up and digested by the present generation without harm to body or soul. The heresies of Copernicus and Galileo no longer rob anybody of his peace of mind. When in the year 1820 in connexion with the examination of an astronomical work of Settele, after a long deliberation in Rome, the author was permitted to teach the theory of the motion of the earth as no longer opposed to Catholic doctrine, the condition was nevertheless imposed upon him that he should add in a note that the statements of Galileo had been condemned because opposed to the general views of that time, and in their sensational form harmful to the masses, who were not yet ready for them.[1]

This is the ever repeated song of those who believe with Joseph de Maistre that people can and must be kept stupid, in order that they may be easily ruled and kept from rebellion. It is with man-

[1] Karl Hase, *Handbuch der protestantischen Polemik*. Leipsic, 1862. Page 610.

kind as with children, whose curiosity especially regarding their origin is gratified for a long time with fairy tales, until the truth can no longer harm them. But as for the great questions of life and humanity, the wise say that most men will remain forever children, and will never be mature enough to understand them. Then they cite the verses of Schiller about the man forever blind to whom one must not give the celestial torch of light, and think that they have thus forever disposed of this question. When in the preceding century, the "Age of Enlightenment," people gradually began to see that the Bible account of the six days of creation and of the flood, despite all the efforts of Burnet, Whiston, Woodward, Scheuchzer, and others, could no longer be reconciled with the investigation of the earth's crust and its contents, they felt anew with full force the difficulty of harmonising the Bible with nature. The Berlin Academy of Science in the year 1779 chose as the theme for a prize essay the question, *S'il est utile au peuple d'être trompé?* (*Whether it be beneficial for the masses to be deceived?*) Not less than thirty-three different treatments of this question were submitted, of which, according to Bartholomess, in his *History of the Prussian Academy*, twenty took the negative side and thirteen the affirmative. The judges were evidently greatly embarrassed, for they themselves did not know which side to favor, and gave a decision which earned much derision for their "impartiality," awarding two prizes, one to the best argument for the affirmative, the other to the strongest presentation of the negative.[1]

Formerly the prevalent opinion of philosophers affirmed this question with Plato, and even Rousseau, 1762, replied to the Economical Society in Bern that he would take the affirmative of the question whether there be sacred prejudices which should be respected. Even to-day there are still many anxious souls who decide, though unwillingly, in favor of deception. Almost as questionable a proposition is that of the physiologist, Rudolph Wagner, to suffer religion and science to grow independently side by side and for the sake of peace of mind to adopt what he calls "double-entry bookkeeping," or, in plain words, duplicity. Others have recommended concealing one's inmost convictions, which are based on their investigations, as soon as they prove to be opposed to the statutes of State and Church; still others would carry out the proposition of Renan, who would teach an esoteric doctrine, a more spiritualised religion for the educated (as the Greeks are said to have done in the Eleusinian Mysteries), and an exoteric and more

[1] Cf. John Morley's *Fidelity to One's Convictions*.

earthly religion for the masses. There can be no doubt what the answer to these propositions should be; for they advocate in place of truth a system of scientific hypocrisy, and forget moreover that in our age of printer's ink it would be wholly impossible for the temple guardians to preserve such a secret doctrine.

One may concede without hesitation that the positiveness of the promises of religion are more satisfying to the soul of the uneducated man, than the results of science, which never represent a totum, and have no answer to final questions. The light of knowledge may be painful to those unaccustomed to it, as unmodified sunlight is to the eyes, and many may prefer to spend their days in boudoirs with latticed windows and colored lights, but science, to which we owe such far-reaching material and intellectual advancement, the glory of our generation, cannot stop on their account, and no demand of this sort has any prospect of winning general approval. What is it, then, that makes the results of modern investigation appear dangerous in the eyes of so many men? Can the truth, as such, be harmful, and therefore objectionable, supposing that we had the truth, and that it opposed all traditions?

The answer will be, no; but the remark will be added that the truth is no staff for halting souls, and that dazzled eyes cannot endure it. Consequently, the harm lies not in scientific knowledge, but in the weakness of souls and eyes. Here, then, is where the mistake lies, and where relief must be administered. It is not the new truth which threatens danger, but the old error, in which the human mind has been kept so long, and which some would like to retain longer. The danger is that all our institutions, home, school, church, public life, social order, and systems of government, being based on and adapted to these old errors, should fail to perceive that it is their business gradually to adapt themselves to the better knowledge. Only on condition that they do this can the widening of the chasm and the violent collapse of what has become antiquated be avoided. Attempts to bridge the chasm, which are the order of the day in France and England, where they are still trying to harmonise the Bible with scientific investigation and to make the days of creation correspond to the geological ages, only win for those who make them the suspicion of hypocrisy and a purpose to deceive the people, while they render the inevitable collapse more dangerous.

In this connexion the excellent proposals of Condorcet should not be forgotten: "The transition from error to truth," he wrote over a century ago, "may bring with it certain evils. Every great

change has several such evils in its train, and even if they are collectively less than the evil against which the change is directed, yet the utmost should be done to diminish them. One must not only do good, but must do it in a good way. Certainly we are to remove old errors, but since they cannot all be removed in an instant we should do as a good builder does in pulling down a house: he knows how the separate parts are joined together, and directs the tearing down so that a dangerous collapse is avoided."

It would be too much to affirm that no progress can be noted in this direction. Truths which were considered so dangerous several hundred years ago as to be combated with the Inquisition and the stake, may be fearlessly expressed to-day, and are even taught in the schools. To be sure, those investigators who add to the general conception of the universe new points of view, and fearlessly express their convictions, will have to submit as formerly to excommunication by the temple guards. The French *Church Journal* wrote of Alexander von Humboldt, as he himself good-humouredly reports:[1] "They say the assassin of souls has literary merit. This will be no excuse. Satan has more wit than M. de Humboldt."

But upon the whole no one longer doubts that every one has his incontestable right to assert and announce as truth all that he has recognised as correct, and that it should be the duty of the Church willingly to surrender those doctrines which are opposed to the general world-views of the time,—especially if they in no way affect the essence of religion,—and to acknowledge that they are a part of an ancient metaphorical language of human origin. On the other hand investigators, to meet this concession, must frankly and honestly recognise their limitations, and in the matter of final causes, which elude the reach and grasp of human reason, give religious feeling its rights, lest they render the mission of the Church more difficult by an unscientific negation. Only a science, which recognises its own limitations, while vindicating its real right in the matter of definite knowledge, can boast of having done its duty in both directions, and can look calmly into the future. The ideals of mankind will of course change somewhat, for the better condition of humanity must no longer be sought in the mists and errors of the past, but, according to the principles of the doctrine of evolution, in a more enlightened future.

[1] In an interesting letter of Feb. 10, 1857, to A. von Klöden in the *Magazin für die Litteratur des Auslands*, 38. Jahrg. (1869) p. 573.

THE ELEUSINIAN MYSTERIES.

BY THE REV. CHARLES JAMES WOOD.

II. PRIMITIVE RITES OF ILLUMINATION.

ON the psychologic or pathological side, now, we find the same parallel between the primitive sacred dramatic dance and the Eleusinian rites as implied in the Attic theatre. For if we examine closely into the methods and means of a sacred secret organisation, say that of the Sioux and of the Nagualists of the Pueblo Indians, we find all the factors of character transformation, purifications by water and by fire, fasts and sweats, ordeals of pain and terror, auricular confession, narcotic and intoxicant food and drinks, prescribed dances protracted to point of frenzy or hysteria, all followed by trance, vision, and dread vows to secrecy. Less and more obscurely we see allusions to these characteristics of the Eleusinian Mysteries in the Greek plays. The playwright had to be excessively guarded, but said in effect to the mystæ or to the epoptæ, "He that hath ears to hear, let him hear."

Lobeck, in his *Aglaophamus*, quotes from Formicus, *De Err. Pr. Relig.*, p. 45, an account of the consummation of certain mystic rites, in which the priest "whispers in a gentle murmur" certain words of a like tenor—the god, however, and not the neophyte, strangely enough, being represented as the sufferer of severe trials

"Be of good cheer, ye initiates, in that the god is delivered; for the deliverance from his evil is of you."

Take an instance. It is evident that Euripides wrote the *Bacchae* as an apology for the Dionysiac cult. The chorus sings

"Oh blessed and fortunate is he, who having come to know the mysteries of the gods, keeps safe from polluting sin, joining Bacchic rites upon the mountains with holy purifications."

Here is an allusion to the preliminary purifications of the can-

[1] θαρρεῖτε μύσται τοῦ Θεοῦ σεσωσμένου, ἔσται γαρ ὑμῖν ἐκ πόνων σωτηρία·

didates at Eleusis, by lustration or baptism. Again in the same play, lines 902–905, the chorus sings meaningly:

"Happy is he who hath known storm at sea and found the shore. Happy also is he who hath surmounted severe ordeals." (Cf. Lobeck, *Aglaophamus*, 648; Sandy, *Bacchae*, 199.)

In connexion with other things that follow I take this as an allusion to some Eleusinian form of initiation.

It is not insignificant that in a fragment of the *Tympanistæ* of Sophocles, the identical thought occurs in nearly the same words, viz.:

"Ah me, what greater joy couldst thou have than attaining the beach, and that hardly, and afterward beneath the roof with mind tranquilised, to listen to the mighty tempest."

Add also this unmistakably dogmatic and pointed statement of the chorus of the *Iphigeneia at Tauris*, 1193:

Θάλασσα κλύζει πάντα τ' ἀνθρώπων κακά.

"The sea cleanses away all the sins of men."

At another place we are told that from a distance, the torches of those who were celebrating the Mysteries of Eleusis appeared at night like the host of stars about the shores of the bay.

The reasonable inference from this is that in the Eleusinian mysteries there was a rite of baptism, or lustration, or ordeal by water and possibly all in one, as in all the sacred dances and primitive cults of the world, these baptisms or lustrations occur. Often they are for the purpose of causing rain, at other times they are simply ceremonial purifications.

Euripides seems to have supposed that the worship of bread began prior to the adoration of wine, for Tiresias in the *Bacchae*, 274, delivers himself of this statement:

"Two, young man, are the first elements of human life; Demeter the goddess; she is earth, call it whatever name you choose, she nourishes men with dry viands; but the son of Semele, who comes as her mate, has discovered the moist drink of the grape, and introduced it among mortals."

To any student of folklore it is apparent that at this place Euripides touches upon the primitive worship of bread and wine. It is true that the already developed theology of this cultus is found in the ancient religions of India and Persia. But it is not necessary to suppose with Euripides that the mystagogues of Eleusis derived their ceremonies from thence. The Inca of Peru was also a pontifex maximus of the sacred chalice. The cup of the holy grail is the central point of most solemn Walpi, Moki, and Zuñi ceremonials.

The Spaniards, when first in Mexico, were horrified at what they took for a mocking travesty of the Mass. The Nagualists were found to have a Eucharist where they administered a narcotic mushroom, and fiery pulque. In reality this was not invented to caricature the Mass, as De la Serna supposed. To the Indians it was a pious immemorial rite, but the Spaniards regarded it as the orthodox of to-day would regard a black Mass of Canon Docre or of Abbé Constant, or of any other declared Satanist at Rome, Paris, or Chicago.

Aristophanes (*Birds*, line 436) ventures upon the irreverence of a humorous allusion to this grail worship in the Mysteries, for he recommends Peisthetairos to arm himself with pots and bowls. The worship of bread and wine was not imported into Greece. Folklore demonstrates that it is primitive and autochthonous. The bowls of the Zuñi Spider Woman, and the so-called magic bowls of the Jews brought from Niffer, belong to the original and universal worship of the divine Potter, whether at Eleusis, or at Thebes, or at Jerusalem.

Being primitive its antiquity is past all calculation. Is it anterior to the stone age? Probably. The hoary antiquity of this rite invests it with a sacredness and solemnity that enshrines it upon the high altars of all the occult mysteries and secret brotherhoods of the world.

When you read in the *Avesta* and the Vedic hymns how holy and sanctifying is the drink of the Haoma or Soma, when you trace in the more solemn and hidden worship of the Hindus, Navajos, Moki, Sioux, and Peruvians, the adoration of the holy grail, containing the elixir of life, the blood of the gods; when you perceive how by development of doctrine the divine drink of Persia and India became the divine Being, even God himself, you can without difficulty understand Euripides when he declares:

"This god is poured out in libations to the gods in order that men may thereby acquire blessings." *Bacchae*, 284.

The divine drink is the cup of wisdom as well as life. Folklore of Magyars and Bretons, of Russians and Arabs amply illustrate this. How often have we witnessed the final remnant of that notion in divination by the teacups! Primitive culture universally, I think, reverences the cup of wisdom. That it occured as a factor in the Mysteries of Eleusis we need not doubt. The peculiar drink of Demeter at Eleusis was called κυκεών. Though we do not know exactly the character or ingredients of this draught, we may conjecture from the fact that the word κυκεών is elsewhere used to de-

note a magic philter. It is the bowl of a Circe and of a Kriemhilda. Aristophanes (*Peace*, 712) implies that it was drunk by the mystae to counteract the effects of the severe nervous strain to which they had been subjected during their initiation at Eleusis. Teresias in his address to Pentheus speaks of the divine drink under veiled language, and the chorus of the *Bacchae* 298 goes on to chant:

"This divinity [wine] is a prophet, for Bacchic raving and mania have much soothsay in them."

In the world's folklore the idea of divine life or wisdom in a mystic drink is often associated with the worship of fire. The cults of fire and of the drink of the gods belong together. In the Veda the heavenly bird descends upon the tree and the liquor of that tree became a divine and inspiring draught. The divine bird was the fire from heaven, lightning. (Hillebrant, *Vedische Mythologie.*)

Æschylus undertook to explicate exoterically the esoteric fire doctrines of Eleusis. The theme of the Promethean trilogy was the theft of the fire of the gods. The first play of this trilogy was entitled Προμηθεὺς Πύρφορος. No wonder that Æschylus was charged with divulging the secret of the Mysteries. He was too plain in his allusions. Prometheus is from the Sanscrit root of *pramantha*, a fire-mill. He was at the same time the special patron of potters, who made wine jars. His analogy to the serpent of Genesis is suggestive. He gives wisdom as well as life, and teaches divination by fire.

Rightly then is Iacchos, another name for Dionysos, the wine god, addressed in that fine chorus of Sophocles's *Antigone* as (line 1146)[1] "leader of the fire-breathing stars, president of the nightly music of the spheres, begotten child of Zeus," and "leader also of the torch-bearing revellers of the sacred Mysteries, who roam all night the mountain sides." From this we may infer that fire as well as the holy grail was an element of the Mysteries of Eleusis.

According to the myth, which is at any time a summation of folklore, the Eleusinian Dionysos, in his birth and infancy, had been nourished at the fountains,—"the fountains of Dirke and the springs of Ismenos."

This tradition is quite consistent. That which renders the water or wine life-giving and wisdom-giving is the spirit from lower unseen regions, the ghost-land, the region of spirits who rising up

[1] ἰὼ πῦρ πνεόντων
χορᾶγ' ἄστρων, νυχίων
φθεγμάτων ἐπίσκοπε,
παῖ Ζηνὸς γενέθλον.
—*Antigone*, 1146.

thence in the waters, and then into the vine as sap, at length may become wine, the medium through which the god or the spirit enters into man, or the manes of the departed takes possession of him, so that he becomes *gott-trunken*, a maniac, a god's fool, or an inspired prophet. Personal responsibility is lost at such a time.

In the *Bacchæ* you see how the raging women, celebrating their Mysteries, even Agave, are not reckoned the murderers of Pentheus, but it is said to be the god in them, even Dionysos from Hades with the ghosts' chalice and with murky fires.

Christian art has inherited something from this folkfaith, for Saint John, the Evangelist of the Word, the Logos or Wisdom principle, is represented often with a chalice, the holy grail, out of which a serpent erects himself. Gnosticism carried this symbol from folkfaith or from Eleusis into Christian art.

Since all wisdom-drinks come from the Under World, because the springs well up from the earth, and the blood of the trees and vines comes up from the ground, we need not feel surprise to find that Dionysos merges at times into an infernal deity. I think that it was a Christian father who points out that Dionysos is the Greek Osiris, at once the king and judge of the ghosts, and also the divine wine, the life-blood of the universe, who is celebrated in the quatrains of Omar Khayyam.

According to Egyptian lore the soul of the dead became united with Osiris, so that in the *Per-em-hru*, commonly called the Book of the Dead, which is the compend of Egyptian theology, the dead person in question is termed always Osiris N. This same belief concerning the dead is expressed by Sophocles in the *Electra* II., 837–840. There Amphiaraos, though defunct, still inspires the oracles, for he has become identical with the Soul of the world (840 παμψύχος ἀνάσσει).

Shelley utters the same belief in his *Adonais*, and Tennyson verges upon it in *In Memoriam*. I believe this to have been one of the higher doctrines of Eleusis. In some instances the rites of Dionysos are plainly a propitiation of the souls of the dead and of the god of dead souls.

The *Philoctetes* of Sophocles, lines 448–450, makes a covert allusion to this,

"How the gods rejoice to send back from hell the wicked and the crafty!"

Also in the same play, line 797, there is an evocation of death.

"O Death, Death! Day by day, forever I call upon thee,—canst thou never come? O child, O thou of noble birth, come, whelm me in the Lemman, the

wished-for fire, O high-born. I, even I, thought meet to do this office for the son of Zeus, for the sake of those weapons which now thou keepest safe."[1]

The same occurs in *Ajax*, line 854. Perhaps then necromancy survived in the Mysteries of Eleusis. I mean a necromancy similar to our modern spiritism. For hypnotic suggestion was not then unknown, even if it was not understood.

Now in undertaking to twist together these strands of folkfaith and folklore of the Mysteries of Eleusis, to which covert references occur in the Greek drama, some casual repetitions of detail may be pardoned me. The substance of my inferences from the Greek plays is that the occult ceremonies at Eleusis were a highly-developed and dramatic sacred dance,—using the term *sacred dance* as it is used of the liturgy and ritual of a corn festival or a wine festival, or rain or fire festivals of primitive culture.

The sacred dance is the most important institution of primitive peoples, for it conserves and expresses their chief civil and religious beliefs. It is the foundation of the primitive State and Church. In regions as far apart as the Niger and the Yukon valley, the Nez Perces Indians and the Arabs, the sacred dances with their liturgies enshine all the folklore and theology, all the politics and religion of the several peoples. Still amongst us the sacred dance survives, in the revival meetings, in the ecclesiastical processions, in beating the parish bounds, in civic, political, and military processions, in the lodges of secret brotherhoods, in the cake-walk, and in the triumphal pomps of kings and emperors.

Out of the sacred dance came the drama. As the stage of Athens developed, conservatism bore away the primitive sacred folklore of the Greeks to Eleusis, and there hid it with exaggerated secrecy. In primitive culture it is everywhere necessary that one should be initiated into the correct steps of the ceremonial circuit or sacred dance before he becomes an acknowledged citizen or member of tribe, or of his brotherhood, be it craft-guild, soldiery, or priesthood.

Chinese freemasonry, I am told, and Mormonism, and the tribal constitution of Congo negroes, make the learning of the secret and traditional steps and figures of the sacred dance a condition of fellowship. In the Abyssinian Christian Church the sacred dance

[1] ὦ Θάνατε, Θάνατε· πῶς ἄει καλούμενος
οὕτω κατ' ἦμαρ οὐ δύνᾳ μολεῖν ποτε;
ὦ τέκνον ὦ γενναῖον, ἀλλὰ συλλαβὼν
τῷ Λημίῳ τῷ δ' ἀγκαλουμένῳ πυρὶ
ἔμπρησον, ὦ γενναῖε· κἀγώ τοι ποτὲ
τὸν τοῦ Διὸς παιδ' ἀντὶ τῶνδε τῶν ὅπλων,
ἃ νὺν σὺ σώζεις, τοῦτ' ἐπηξίωσα δρᾶν·

is a *peculium* of the clergy. Something like this is the concern of the Sacred Congregation of Rites at Rome and of the *Rituale Romanum*. The Mysteries of Eleusis were probably a glorified sacred dance, which dramatised the most ancient of the religious ideas common to all men, and legends peculiar to the Greek tribes. Some loans also may have been made, but it is unnecessary to assume them. The psychic unity of mankind is enough to account for similarities.

Into this secret brotherhood, which like the freemasonry of our own time preserved in sacred secrecy the ideas, symbols, customs, and ceremonies of folk of remote antiquity, the best men of Greece were elected and initiated. They were taught the sacred dance of Eleusis and all that dance comprehended. The step was learned, which fixed their social and religious rank. This we are justified in concluding from the opening words of the *Bacchæ* of Euripides, —where the god Dionysos relates how

"Throughout Persia, Arabia, and all Asia (Minor) he had established his mysteries by dancing them (i. e., teaching the mystic steps of the holy dance), in order that he might be an epiphany of god unto men."

Further passages from the plays it is superfluous to adduce. This is sufficient to show the general character of the Dionysiac rite at Eleusis.

Later development of Eleusinian doctrine ascribed to the Mysteries power to save beyond the grave. Like the Egyptian Book of the Dead, they assumed to teach the soul how to reach heaven after death.

In the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, Hercules describes to Bacchus the Under-World, associating the Mysteries very clearly with the doctrine of the life after death.[1]

"Hercules: Afterwards thou shalt see snakes and all manner of frightful monsters.

Bacchus: O, don't try to frighten me; you shan't turn me back.

Hercules: Then a vast swamp and eternal cesspool. And within are those who have done evil. . . . Farther on, there will be heard on all sides a sweet concert of flutes, a brilliant light, as here, bowers of myrtle, happy groups of men and women, and the loud clapping of hands.

Bacchus: Who are the happy ones?

Hercules: The initiated."

Foucart gives a mortuary inscription from Petilia which lies parallel with the above.[2]

[1] Mr. Cecil Smith, "Orphic Myths on Attic Vases," in *Journ. Hellenic Studies*, XI., 346, gives testimony to the faith that initiates had in their immunity from *post mortem* penalties.

[2] Εὑρήσεις δ' Ἀιδαο δόμαν ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ κρήνηκ. κ. τ. λ.

"In the house Hades you will come upon a well at the left and a white cypress; take care not to approach this well. You will discover on the other side a spring of cool water flowing from the Lake of Memory. Before it are sentinels. Say to them, I am the child of the earth and the starry sky, but my origin is celestial. This you know. I perish of thirst, give me quickly of the water which flows from the Lake of Memory. They will give you to drink from this divine source, and you will reign forever with the other heroes."

Here we find several elements of the Mysteries, a descent into hell, the drink of everlasting life, and the twofold path. Curiously this twofold path stands at the beginning of the *Didache*, or Teaching of the Twelve.

M. Foucart recognises another fragment of the Eleusinian ritual in an epitaph from Thurii, which runs:

"When thy soul has left the light of the sun, take the right-hand path as every guarded person will. . . . Take the right-hand path to the fields and sacred groves of Persephone."

The *Antigone* of Sophocles takes as its theme this cultus of the dead. So sacrosanct does Antigone regard the right of sepulture that she declares that it belongs to the "unwritten laws of the gods," *νόμιμα ἄγραπτα Θεῶν*,—"which are not of to-day or yesterday, but abide eternally."

It is found upon examination that usually the sacred dances of primitive peoples are accompanied with fastings, sweat baths, and narcotic or inebriating drinks. These customs have the object of putting the candidate into a condition to submit to hypnotism and to such visions as may be suggested to him in such a state.

It is curious, even if quite reasonable according to the theory which I have broached, that in the Dionysiac rites we should come across a survival of the primitive serpent-dance. The serpent and water-spring upon the Acropolis of Athens would naturally be near Athene, the goddess of wisdom. But Dionysos himself is supposed to have assumed at times the form of a dragon (lines 101, 1019 of *Bacchae*). Also the Bacchantes are crowned with snakes, etc.

For a like reason the frogs whom Aristophanes introduced in covert derision, belong to the lower regions where are the wise dead, the Under World, into which descends Bacchus to hear the controversy between Æschylos and Euripides.

Now in primitive culture these snake-dances and frog-dances were performed not only to dramatise a tradition, a myth, or a legend, but also for a material purpose, namely, to cause rain—rain enough for copious harvests.[1] The notion of sympathetic

[1] Cf. Tusayan Snake Ceremonies, J. W. Fewkes.

magic accompanied the performance. From more passages in Greek plays than I need quote, we may see that this notion of sympathetic magic had not become completely extinct in Greece, but preserved in the esoteric functions of the Eleusinian Mysteries.

The mention of magic suggests another point hinted at in the drama. The *Knights*, 409, and the *Birds*, 510, hint that the scepter of the Eleusinian mystagogue was crowned with the head of a bird. But that is not my point. What in origin were the rods of the mystae of Eleusis, the wands of the Buddhist bonze, the rods of the chiefs of the Walpi in the flute-dance, the thyrsæ of the bacchantes,—what were these originally but the arrow,—the arrow which stood for its owner, hence the chief instrument of magic and divination, the conjuring stick which belongs to the cosmic quarters? The folklore of the divining rod and the wizard's wand is familiar. It probably had some place in the Mysteries of Eleusis, and was symbolised by the thyrsos.

Another reason for the conjecture that the primitive sacred dance was the origin of Greek drama, and the essential character of the Greater Mysteries at Eleusis, has been already hinted. It is the use of masks. These masks in both cases are strictly traditional and conventional. The katçina of the Moki and the prosopon of the Athenians are essentially identical.[1]

Examine the collection of masks in the National Museum and you will be struck with their identity, mask for mask, of many and widely separated races. One idea underlies all: it is the primitive conviction, that he who dons a mask, *persona*, becomes thereby the personage, human, diabolical, or divine, that the mask represents.

If it be true that the Greek theatre was separated from the Greater Mysteries only by the process of differentiation in the course of evolution, then we may infer that the sacred dance with masks formed the basis of the secret ceremonies at Eleusis. Consequently on the Greek stage all the players were masked.

It is possible that at Eleusis this liturgic dance—though expanded into a dramatic ritual lasting throughout days—still retained something of its primal purpose as a ceremonial circuit, a circuit made to unify the gods of the world-quarters. I have given some reasons for suspecting that the central object of this ceremonial circuit was at one time bread, at another wine. In some cases primitive people unite the two in the cosmic cup. The wine-cup

[1] Tusayan Katçinas, J. W. Fewkes.

of Dionysos and the corn of Demeter were brought forth as by Melchizedek of the Semetic tradition.

Not seldom is the sacred chalice a magic cup. After primitive man has propitiated the spirits of the world-quarters, drawing upon the sand, or painting upon a skin of beast, a cross, or a swastika, he sets in the centre the mystic cup, the world chalice, the prototype of the Sangreal, and then begins the solemn circuit. Perhaps he intends to learn the temper of the gods of the world-quarters, four, six, ten, or sixty-four, according to his notion. Hence arises magic, sortilege, divination and divinatory games. I suppose these practices naturally had their place at Eleusis. All gambling, games of chance, were originally for the purpose of divination.[1]

As a sample of contemporary folklore derived from these early rites, let me instance the custom of a card-player who to change his luck rises and walks around the table or around his chair. It is a survival of the ceremonial circuit and of propitiating the gods of the world-quarters.

Associated with crude customs and the most barbaric ceremonies are always anywhere in the world profound and subtle religious ideas, fine feelings, and exalting aspirations. No doubt the intellectual progress of Greece sublimated the cruder doctrines at Eleusis, and theosophy developed there alongside folklore. Nevertheless, the student of language becomes amazed at the spirituality implied in the most ancient word-forms of the Indo-Germanic languages, because these forms reveal that our Aryan ancestors, whether on the shores of the Baltic sea, or on the slopes of the Himalaya mountains, or on the southern coast of the Mediterranean were capable of ideals and speculations as transcendental or spiritual as those of Meister Eckhart and Robert Browning. The anthropologist gladly testifies to the spirituality of the religious thought of the Pueblos and the Bushmen.

We need not fear to recognise a lofty spirituality in the sacraments and symbols, in the liturgic dances and prehistoric mystery plays, which constituted the esoteric Mysteries of Eleusis. Is not God the All-Father? And were not the ancient Greek and Hindus and Finns and Mayas his children as well as we? And when they adored God, should He scorn them because their forms of worship were grotesque and mingled with crudities?

St. Hippolytus, in connexion with the passage relating to the exhibition of an ear of wheat in the Eleusinian celebration, goes on

[1] Cf. *Korean Games, Chess, and Playing Cards*, by Stewart Culin.

to speak of the esoteric doctrines, taught by the hierophant; which Hippolytus at once contrasts with the "Lesser Mysteries," and associates with Christian doctrine.

"But the Inferior Mysteries, he (the hierophant) says, are those of Proserpine below; in regard of which Mysteries, and the path which leads thither, which is wide and spacious, and conducts those that are perishing to Proserpine, the poet likewise says:

> "'But under her a fearful path extends,
> Hollow, miry, yet best guide to
> Highly-honored Aphrodite's lovely grove.'

"These, he says, are the Inferior Mysteries, those pertaining to carnal generation. Now those men who are initiated into these Inferior Mysteries ought to pause, and then be admitted into the great or heavenly ones. . . . For this, he says, is the gate of heaven; and this is a house of God, where the Good Deity dwells alone. And into this gate, he says, no unclean person shall enter, nor one that is natural and carnal; but it is reserved for the spiritual only. And those who come hither ought to cast off their garments, and become, all of them, bridegrooms, emasculated through the virginal spirit. For this is the virgin who carries in her womb and conceives and brings forth a son, not animal, not corporeal, but blessed forevermore."

Pindar says:

"Happy is he who has seen them (the rules of Eleusis) before going to the infernal regions; he knows the end of life, indeed; but he knows the God-given beginning."

So also Sophocles (*Fragm.*, 348):

"O thrice happy are those mortals who having beheld these mysteries depart to Hades; for to them alone there is life given; but to all the rest all things there are evil."

The point now reached seems to be so evident that the wonder is why have subsequent ages not guessed the general topic of the mystic and occult doctrines of Eleusis. Those doctrines are ecumenical and Catholic. They belong to the psychic substratum of human nature. Consequently they are common to all sacred and significant ceremonials. They belong to all secret rites both ancient and modern.

In a future paper I may present some cases of survival and revival, at our own day, and of influence of occult methods of the Association of Eleusis.

THE INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION ALLIANCE.[1]

AN ADDRESS READ BEFORE THE PEACE CONGRESS AT PARIS, 1900.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

THE armaments of nations, built up by many centuries, have attained their fullest development in an age when the popular conscience is in revolt against bloodshed, and when the supreme material interest of the great majority of mankind is peace.

Although such armaments are kept up theoretically on the pretext of necessary provision for self-defence—this being the only admissible justification of war—the fact that in some nations least liable to invasion they exceed in strength what would be necessary for defence, and in others are supported to the utmost though necessarily inadequate against the only invaders conceivable, proves that the increase of military and naval establishments is largely due to interests other than those of defence. They are the refuge and only resource of millions of unskilled men; they are the support of many industries; they supply realms in which personal ambition may most easily find promotion, title, rank, privilege, at a time when the old aristocratic régime has lost authority and is losing prestige.

[1] In an address before the Free Religious Association in Boston, May, 1898, Dr. Conway proposed a new plan for international arbitration, and printed it in more detail in the *South Place Magazine*, London, November, 1898. A recently published letter of Mr. Herbert Spencer alluding to it having revived interest in the plan, Dr. Conway was requested to prepare a full statement of the project for the Peace Congress which assembled in Paris, September 30, 1900. Having been recalled to America before that date, his address was read. The present article is printed from an advance copy of the address, and is published together with the scheme, the adoption of which was moved in the Congress by Mr. Hodgson Pratt, President of the International Peace Association. The editorial position of *The Open Court* with regard to the questions here touched upon, is pretty well indicated in the articles published in Vol. XII., pp. 436 and 691, and in Vol XIII., p. 218, where considerations are adduced that diverge in certain respects from Mr. Conway's remarks and from Mr. Pratt's propositions, though without invalidating the general high and laudable tenor of their position.—*Ed.*

Above all, the armaments alone maintain national rank. Were all the Powers unarmed, there would be an equality between nations small and large, rich and poor, which the foremost nations will not admit. Governments, whatever the sentiments of individuals administering them, are creatures of an established system by which for each its might is the measure of right, and its will if successfully enforced is the divine will. The pride disguised as patriotism, and the egoism disguised as religion, which lead populations to worship their flag apart from any association with justice and moral greatness, render every flag to some extent a center and source of international hostility,—the comb of a cock flaming its defiance to all surrounding dunghills. And even though powerful governments show an increasing disinclination for literal war with nations of anything like equal strength, they generally endeavor to secure their will over others by menacing displays of military and naval superiority. We live under a sort of international reign of terror.

Thus while the supreme material interest of the peoples in our increasingly industrial and commercial age is the continuance of literal peace, this is consistent with wide-spread interests in war-like establishments and almost universal acceptance of a standard of national greatness and honor based on physical force. So universal, indeed, that in most wars the masses of the people have been induced against their sentiments and interests to consent to the bloodshed by a fostered fiction that their national honor was at stake.

It is self-evident that a point of honor between nations cannot be settled by proof that one is superior to the other in the means of slaughter. It is equally obvious that a nation is not the rightful judge of its own honor. It is an elementary principle that no judge shall sit in his own case. Yet in the absence of any method by which a human standard of honor may be upheld above national self-assertion the standard of brute force remains; and in the absence of any impartial tribunal to check national egoism, each government is left to sit in its own case, without appeal.

These anomalies have been recognised by the wisest and best of mankind for generations, but all plans of remedy have failed.

The most important effort ever made to substitute arbitration for war was that of the recent Peace Congress at the Hague. While it was a salient evidence of the increasing sentiment of humanity, and was much that Peace should receive even a complimentary decoration from nations armed to the teeth, the evil system proved

itself compulsory; even the monarch who proposed disarmament cannot himself disarm; and War, having united in the homage to Peace, steps forth to drive his chariot through all her Hague defences and fill the world anew with slaughter.

The members of that Congress, as official representatives of Powers jealously armed against each other, entered with hands tied. For each his own nation's power was necessarily the supreme interest, the interests of Peace subordinate. Peace was compelled to pay for her decoration by conceding the legitimacy of War as a civilised method. Arbitration not being obligatory, we are practically left where we were before: arbitration will continue where self-interest dictates it, war where self-interest dictates that.

Hopes were built on the agreement that the effort of any nation to induce another to accept arbitration or to bring about peace should not be deemed by either party a hostile interference. This provision is shown to be delusive. Each government has its own complications to deal with, its own schemes awaiting opportunity, and there is a governmental instinct against setting any precedent of intermeddling which may some day return on itself with interest. And, alas, few of the foremost nations are in a moral attitude entitling them to much influence over others. As any unwelcome offer of "good offices" can be met with a *tu quoque*, and would be so met by a nation confident of victory, no such influence can be counted on. We are more likely to see a development of the old fashion of courteously exploiting a neighbor's difficulties to get some advantage, to be paid for in moral support.

It is abundantly proved that the vicious system cannot reform itself. Also, that whatever the benevolence of individuals deriving power from the system, that power will inevitably support the system, and the more virtuous the official the more potent will be his compulsory service to the evil. His virtues will gild his chain and ours. A corollary of this is, that for the promoters of peace to try and carry their cause by aid of existing governments is not a mere waste of force but an importation of weakness. For every government proposing peace is liable to suspicion of seeking prey in sheep's clothing. Whatever may be their several values for internal purposes, the governments, as far as the cause of international peace is concerned, necessarily enforce on each other just that kind of solidarity—the solidarity of mutually respected selfishness—which it is the task of civilisation to break up, in order that the elements of impartiality represented in the separateness of nations may be free to coöperate for a solidarity of justice.

Assuming then that the armaments and the option of slaughter can be changed only by evolutionary forces, these forces must not be left to natural selection, the strong devouring the weak. It is human selection that must be introduced to check this international cannibalism; and as all appeals to the moral sentiments, to religion, to humanity, have only resulted in making War careful to be always unctuously moral, pious, and humanitarian, gaining thereby new leases, it seems absolutely necessary that a new method should be tried.

The only method that has not been tried is that of bringing the moral sense and the justice of all mankind, represented by competent men in all nations but unconnected with their governments, to deal with every particular dispute that threatens peace, —deal with it as it arises,—and by a reasoned judgment pronounce the adjustment required by the honor of each nation concerned.

The proposal thus made is to concentrate all the higher human forces, and them alone, to overpower the brute and inorganic forces. Although it may appear Utopian to confront the pride and passion of empires with judgments that cannot be enforced, precisely there lies the only resource that has not been drawn upon. Could we enforce a decree of peace, it would be at once sanctioning force and enabling her opponents to continue their easy victories over reason and right. But how can any nation combat the unarmed, the purely spiritual force, which says: "Yes, you have the power, you can do as you will; our power is limited to proving that you are in the wrong: justice is against you, law is against you, reason is against you; here are the facts, proven and weighed by the wisest men, the greatest jurists, not of unfriendly nations but of all nations: it is the consensus of the competent: you have the power to defy it, you can enter on a career of murder, but not without branding your nation with guilt and dishonor."

This appeal to simple truth and justice might not restrain ambitious rulers and militarists, but it could hardly fail to reinforce the party of peace in any country where the people are being excited to war by declarations that national honor is at stake,—usually the most effectual pretext. The peacemakers would be given a powerful argument if enabled to place before the misled masses a judgment representing the wisdom and justice of all nations pointing out the real victory of honor, and proving that it cannot be won by manslaughter.

The plan may not, of course, succeed in all cases. There may be found obstructions that cannot be surmounted or tunnelled by

our engine of peace, especially in its primitive condition. We can but do our best. We can but set our ablest engineers to the work of preparing a highway for peace throughout all the world. If our plan should be the means of preventing even one war—only one—it would more than compensate all the labors given to its inauguration. But if it could prevent one war it may prevent another, and another; and we can hope that ultimately the people in all countries, having found the more excellent way, may come to regard their vast and costly armaments as exhausted and fruitless trees, and ask why they should longer cumber the ground.

CONSTITUTION.

It is proposed to form an International Alliance based on the following principles:

1. In no case whatever can a point of honor between nations be honorably settled, nor a question of justice be justly settled, by a trial of physical strength.

2. It is inadmissible for a nation to be the sole judge of its own honor, or of the justice of its own case, in any dispute with another nation.

3. The interests of all nations, both material and moral, being affected by every disturbance of peace between two of their number, Humanity itself is necessarily a party to every dispute that endangers peace, and should be represented in each such case by a tribunal competent to investigate the same, to discover the right and the wrong, and to affirm the adjustment required by justice and honor.

I. It shall be the duty of this Alliance to watch vigilantly all sources of difference or of irritation between nations, to study all facts and collect information, such as might be useful to a tribunal of arbitration should the issue become serious.

II. Members of Associations now existing for the promotion of peace, and of such as may be formed, shall be admitted as members of the Alliance and shall unitedly elect in their own country a Council of five.

III. Members of a Council need not belong to any other organisation. They shall be persons holding no office—administrative, political, military, diplomatic—under their own or any other government, such as might render them liable to act under governmental pressure.

IV. Members of Council shall receive no payment. When summoned together and while sitting in Council their personal expenses and pecuniary losses shall be reimbursed by their electors.

V. There shall be no president in any Council. Should a chairman be found desirable during any consultation, he shall be chosen by lot at the opening of each séance.

VI. The consultations of the Council shall be in secret, and its opinion unsigned, but every opinion shall set forth fully the facts, authentications, and arguments on which it is based.

VII. Members unable to attend their Council may send written opinions and arguments, but there shall be no voting by proxy.

VIII. Any Society of the Alliance that may believe peace imperilled should

at once communicate with the Societies in other countries, and if two Societies agree that the occasion requires action all the Councils shall assemble.

The Councils shall assemble on the demand of a Council in any nation immediately involved by the dispute requiring adjustment.

Any Council may assemble *proprio motu* to consider the necessity of action in a particular case, and may correspond with Councillors elsewhere, and an agreement of two Councils shall cause all to be summoned.

IX. The Council of any country that is a party to the menacing dispute, shall assemble at an early stage of the quarrel and collect all the facts relating to it, and state its views, and copies of such facts and statement shall be forwarded to each of the other Councils, to be used as documents in reaching their conclusions. But the action of Councils belonging to the disputing nations shall be limited to this.

X. If the tribunal constituted by the Hague conventions fails in any instance to bring about arbitration, or shall so delay it as to endanger peace, a General Council shall assemble to adjudicate the dispute. The General Council shall not decline this obligation even though one or both of the disputants should not be signatories to the Hague conventions.

XI. The Councils in their several countries shall in such case confide their respective conclusions and statements, each to two of its members: these shall meet with similar representatives from the other Councils (from nations not parties to the dispute) in some impartial place, and shall together constitute the General Council, or Tribunal of Arbitration.

XII. The General Council shall not meet as mere delegates, fettered by the letter of the conclusions of their Councils. They are to compare these several statements, to consider freely any modifications that may be suggested, and to weigh any new fact that may have come to light since the statements were prepared. Their digest of all the statements and opinions shall be embodied in a full and final statement and judgment which shall at once be published.

XIII. Whenever two Councils belonging respectively to the disputing countries, or three Councils of other countries, or three societies of the Alliance, shall agree that action is too urgent for the normal procedure, as many members of the various Councils as can gather in one place shall constitute the General Council and pass final judgment as such.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND EUROPEAN POLITICS IN CHINA.

BY PROF. G. M. FIAMINGO.

THE reference which Lord Salisbury, in the speech which he pronounced at Exeter Hall, made to the involuntary responsibilities incurred by missionaries as indirect causes of the Chinese revolt against Western civilisation, still continues to afford ample food for comment and discussion in the European press.

It would be impossible even for the most zealous supporter of mission work to maintain that Lord Salisbury's accusation is wholly unfounded. For missionaries in the Far East a certain amount of *push* and of self-assertion is a necessary condition to success, and one which Catholic missionaries, above all, take good care not to neglect. Even at the Paris Exhibition may be seen the gorgeous and really interesting pavillion of the Catholic missions, on the Trocadero, for these up-to-date apostles ignore none of the secrets of a modern *mise-en-scène.*

But far more interesting and important than the showy pavillion at the Exhibition is the magnificent Palace of the Propaganda at Rome, rising majestic over the Piazza di Spagna, for it is in this sombre and imposing building that all the complicated machinery of Catholic missions throughout the world is worked by able and ever-watchful prelates.

It was Sixtus V., that giant among Popes, who first conceived the idea of a separate and independent organisation for the purpose of spreading the Catholic religion to the uttermost ends of the world. Indeed the *Propaganda Fide* may be compared to a sort of ecclesiastical Foreign Office, whose duty it is to maintain friendly relations not between the Holy See and foreign governments, but between the Church of Rome and the faithful scattered all over the *orbis terrarum*, the number of which faithful it endeavors to in-

crease by every means in its power, regardless of sacrifices both of lives and treasure.

Long before this powerful institution for the spreading of Catholicism was founded, however, Catholic missionaries had pitched their tents in the vast empire destined to become the scene of endless labor, suffering, and glory to themselves and their followers for many centuries.

And it is to Italy that the honor of having first violated the mystery of the Middle Kingdom is due. As early as 1288 Father John of Montecorvino, of the Minor Franciscans, founded a mission in North Chi-li, not far from Peking. But even in those times the missionaries fared no better than they do now, and persecutions were both frequent and violent. Under the dynasty of the Yüens, Christianity was practically stamped out, and it was not until 1582, when the Yüens were driven from the throne, that the celebrated Jesuit Father Picci succeeded in re-establishing a mission at Peking.

The famous emperor, K'ang-hi, allowed a wider scope of action to the Italian missions, which were thus enabled as early as 1688 to extend their jurisdiction into Mongolia, Manchuria, Schan-tung, and Corea. An era of rapid progress then began in all the provinces of the Celestial Empire. It was not before 1783 that the French commenced to work by means of the priests of the missions, more commonly known under the name of Lazarists, who soon began to compete successfully against the Italians, converting to their own advantage the pioneer work so successfully begun by the latter. Up to 1860, however, the Italians could still be considered as sole masters of the missions, as they far outnumbered any other nationality.

But when the present deplorable conflict between Church and State arose, the Vatican began to seek the support of foreign powers, with the result that the Italian missions in China underwent a veritable disaster. At a moment when funds became more urgent than ever, in view of the ever-increasing activity of the missionaries of other nationalities, the Vatican suddenly withdrew its support from the Italian missions, whose place was gradually taken by newcomers. Although the Holy See has often protested that the question of nationality has nothing whatever to do with mission work, still it is a well-known fact that the Vatican has done everything in its power to support French influence in the Far East. For it is France, the *fille ainée de l'Église*, that the Vatican has always recognised as holding a protectorate over all Catholic mis-

sions, of whatever nationality, in China, in the same manner as Austria-Hungary, by an equally ancient privilege, claims the right of protection over the missions in Egypt.

But while Austria-Hungary has never taken advantage of her rights, France, on the contrary, has systematically made use of her protectorate over Catholic missions for political purposes. Indeed it cannot be denied that France owes her present strong position on the shores of the Mediterranean and in Tunisia to her missionaries, and more especially to Cardinal Lavigerie.

As recently as the 22nd of May, 1888, the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda Fide formally reasserted this privilege of France in the circular letter *Aspera rerum conditio*. "It is a well-known fact," says this document, "that for many centuries past the French Protectorate has been established over the East, and that it has been confirmed in the various treaties with other nations. No change whatever must be introduced in this matter, and wherever the protectorate of this nation is established it must be religiously respected by the missionaries, who, when in need of help, must turn to the French consuls or other agents of the same nation."

It cannot be denied that France has enjoyed the privilege of protectorate over missions in the East for a long time, when the conditions of Europe were very different from what they are at present, but this privilege conferred by the Holy See on the "eldest daughter of the Church" has never amounted to a positive right, for the simple reason that, contrary to the affirmation of the Propaganda Fide, it has never been recognised by international treaties or in any way sanctioned by diplomacy.

The French government and the Holy See interpret the Treaty of Paris of 1856 in their own way when they assert that this privilege, first granted as a reward to St. Louis and to his brave knights, was reconfirmed and sanctioned in homage to so ancient a tradition. Besides, the Treaty of Berlin of 1878 contains an article (art. 62), which stipulates that "the rights acquired by France are expressly reserved, and it is understood that no change be introduced in the *status quo* of the Holy Land." But here too while mention is made of the Holy Land there is no allusion to Syria or to China which might warrant the extension of French privileges to those regions. As a matter of fact, therefore, no European nation has ever consented to recognise the privilege conferred by the Vatican on France, and the Emperor William II. not long ago openly rebelled against the strange pretension that Ger-

man missionaries should divest themselves of their nationality to embrace the French. It will be remembered that the occupation of Kiao-chou was justified by the Emperor as an act of reprisals for the murder of two German Catholic missionaries in Shan-tung. William II. appreciates at its full value the enormous political influence wielded by the humble missionaries who start from the Propaganda Fide, and he has lost no time in declaring both to France and to the Vatican that the German missionary, of whatever denomination he may be, shall always travel under the protecting wing of the German eagle. With his quick diplomatic perception the Kaiser has immediately understood that the missionaries placed by the Vatican under French protectorate accomplish the same rôle which is fulfilled by those politico-religious ministers who have been christened in Europe "the Jesuits of England's colonial expansion," and therefore persists in turning a deaf ear to the protests of the Vatican, which would have France alone as the protecting genius of the missions in the East.

That the missionaries, to whatever nationality they belong, carry on a beneficial and highly important propaganda for their country, is now an undeniable and well-known fact, and this being the case, it is not surprising to find them under the accusation of being more or less directly concerned in political events.

It is interesting to learn what a Catholic prelate, Mgr. Luigi Piazzoli, Bishop of Hong-Kong, who was recently interviewed by the *Osservatore Catholico* during a short stay in Milan, had to say on the subject: "I cannot deny," began his Lordship, "that there is some truth in the accusation brought against the missionaries of having indirectly caused the present troubles in China. But theirs is an indirect, a very indirect, responsibility. There was a time in which the missionaries were held in the greatest consideration and esteem and were almost beloved by the Celestials. For instance, in one of the squares of Pekin there stood a statue to Father Matthew Ricci with the inscription *Li-ma-to*, meaning Grandee of China. But in those times the missionaries were not hampered with the protection of European powers. For the important point of the question lies here: the missionaries ought not to be *protectea* by anybody! They are and should always remain voluntary victims, men ready to sacrifice everything. By being protected they lose their prestige and gain nothing. Formerly they died the death of martyrs, now they are killed merely because they are Europeans. The protection of the powers merely serves the latter as a pretext to acquire a firm footing in the Celestial Empire every time that

some missionary is killed or ill-used. The consequence is that the Chinese have come to hate the missionaries; they no longer consider them in the light of ministers of a religion, but as spies charged with preparing the ground for the invasion of the *foreign devils*. Now you will understand why I said that the missionaries are *indirectly* the cause of the present revolt against Europe.

"But the real direct cause of the trouble is that the Chinese will never forgive the Europeans for having established themselves in their ports and for gradually acquiring an undeniable influence almost amounting to dominion over their country. And they can never forget or forgive the profound difference which separates the manners and customs of the two races. It was madness to hope that we could win them over to our civilisation by means of railways and cannons. Besides, it must be owned that the specimens of European civilisation down there are not always as edifying from a moral point of view as might be desired. I repeat that the only chance of gradually winning China for Western ideas lies in the patient, slow, peaceful work of the missionaries, of the missionaries left wholly to themselves. Everything has been spoiled by this political interference. You see that the Chinese are now murdering their own countrymen whom they suspect of having been hopelessly corrupted by the missionaries, of being Chinese no longer. The Catholic edifice raised up stone upon stone with such infinite patience by thousands of martyrs during a long vista of centuries is now threatened with utter destruction. When will it be possible to set foot again in China? And will it not be necessary to begin the whole work over again from the very beginning? Oh! it is sad, believe me, it is a very sad prospect."

Mgr. Piazzoli did not deny, however, that many of the so-called converts to Christianity, especially in Canton, a city famous for its thieves and robbers, are not *bona fide* converts at all, but feign conversion merely in order to obtain better employment from Europeans and to carry on their thieving under more auspicious circumstances. Those scoundrels naturally throw discredit on the missionaries and contribute to increase the suspicion in which they are already held by the great majority of the Chinese.

All things considered, therefore, it cannot be doubted that those missionaries, the protectorate over whom is disputed by France and the other powers, all anxious to exploit them for their own political ends, have no small share in the tremendous load of responsibility which has brought about the present revolt of China against Western civilisation.

CHINESE EDUCATION.[1]

Communicated.

THE philosophers of China form a succession of thinkers reaching from the invention of writing to our own day. Through five thousand years these men have been the guides of the nation, and their systems are in a measure of national attainment made from time to time in the explanation of the universe. A philosopher is a man who gathers disciples, instructs them in the secrets of nature and makes original investigations in the realm of thought. His results he forms into a system and commits to the care of his followers, who shape their mode of thinking in accordance with the ideas of their master.

The first philosophers of China occupied themselves with agriculture, the art of writing, the management of lakes and rivers, astronomy, and moral and political philosophy. We have the results in the earlier classics. In the Chow dynasty there was a remarkable stirring of the native mind, first in the eleventh century before Christ and then in the sixth century. Chowkung and Confucius led the van. Such was their influence that their position has been ever since undisputed.

No one probably but Professor Legge ever said Confucius was not a great man, and Professor Legge in his second edition of the Four Books recanted.

In the first edition of the Four Books we read at page 113 of the Prolegomena:

"After long study of his character and opinions I am unable to regard him as a great man."

In the Oxford edition of 1893, thirty-two years later, the words are:

"I hope I have not done him injustice; the more I have studied his character and opinions the more highly I have come to regard him. He was a very great man."

[1] From *The Shanghai Mercury* of Wednesday, January 17, 1900.

His rationality, his firm adherence to a moral standard in politics and philosophy, his sympathetic maintenance of the teaching

CHOW-KUNG.

(Died B. C. 1105.) The great statesman of the Chow dynasty. Idealised by Confucius. (After Ôkyo, Japanese artist of the eighteenth century.)

of the great men of the past, his success in giving to his countrymen a set of text-books which they have studied ever since and

are still studying, show that he was a great man. Philosophy is incomplete without history, and the proper study of mankind is man. This Confucius knew, and he made it a principle. The study of physical nature he left to others.

CHWANG-TZE.

(*Circ.* B. C. 350.) Most prominent of Taoist philosophers. (After Ôkyo, Japanese artist of the eighteenth century.)

It was the same with Lau-tsz, Chwang-tsz, and Mencius. But there is a great contrast between the teaching of the Tauists and that of the Confucianists. Quiet contemplation is a very different thing from the teaching which makes it the duty of a man to serve

his country. The Tauists resemble the Quakers, who cannot serve the State in any public office because their principles forbid them to take an oath. The Confucianists resemble the Puritans, who

MENCIUS.

(B. C. 372–289.) Greatest leader of Confucianism. (After Totsugen, Japanese artist of the eighteenth century.)

will fight for their doctrines if need be. Age after age there have been Confucianist critics of public affairs who would risk death

rather than not speak their mind on the faults of sovereigns. As in the case of Charles the First, death is in China the punishment awarded to unfaithful princes. This punishment is inflicted, not by law, but by rebellions which have often ended either in the beheading of sovereigns as a sacrifice to popular indignation, or in suicide as a preferable mode of resigning life when death was inevitable.

The fact is patent to every one that the Chow dynasty philosophers were the founders of national education. This is true of the orthodox school. They made government the occupation of their life. Their ideas of the scholar's duty were practical, and the good of the people was their aim. They undertook to govern the State and to educate the people.

The services of Confucius deserved recognition, and we may regard Chinese education as being chiefly his work. For five hundred years, down to the year 1900, Chinese education has been conservative. The Four Books have been the text-books, and these books rest upon the Five Classics. The idea of the distribution of office to scholars as the result of examination is of native origin. It takes the place of university education in Europe. Every Chinese prefect and magistrate is also an examiner. He promotes education in his own district by holding examinations at certain times. The literary chancellor on his annual rounds in each province confers the degree of *Siu-ts'ai* on successful candidates after an examination conducted by himself.

In addition to the literary chancellor there are two Masters of Arts, Examiners sent down fron Peking every third year. These confer the rank of Master. The examination is held in the capital of each province.

All *Siu-ts'ai* are eligible and may by the success of their essays become *Kü-jen*. Afterwards they may attain the rank of Doctor of Literature or *Tsin-shih* at the final examination in Peking. The crown is the fountain of honor. The sovereign confers degrees, and examiners are in every case deputed by the sovereign to discharge his duties for him.

This system must inevitably change, and admit science, history, and geography to the curriculum of ordinary schools. The influence of foreign thought is tending to force Chinese ideas on education to become modified. The world changes and the Four Books begin to be antiquated. But they will not be abandoned because the *Ta hio* makes sincerity the basis of virtue, and teaches that kindness and justice promote happiness.

"The sincerity of the ruler diffuses contented feelings among the people he governs. Instruction proceeds step by step and every point is to be made plain to the learner. The communication of knowledge is preceded by investigation. Nature must be investigated."

In saying this the *Ta hio* rises in fact to the sphere of philosophy, and opens the way for all the sciences. This one sentence in this ancient book justifies the foreign education list in a claim to be allowed to point out to the Chinese the improvements they need to make in the programme of studies.

The Chinese have taught Europe the use of the mariner's compass, the art of printing, the cultivation of tea, and the manufacture of silk. Now Europe may impart to China an improved curriculum in education and give them knowledge which will prove of inestimable value. Their education may be amalgamated with that of the West. They need not clash with each other, because ethical precepts are of universal validity. Moral principles are never out of harmony with science and philosophy. The form that this new education should take is that of advanced science, history, politics, and religion. China is an old nation with great historical experience, and the education given should be high in proportion, when the learners are advanced in the special studies of their own country. But for the untaught multitude the education they receive should be like that given to children, line upon line and precept upon precept, here a little and there a little.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE CONGRESS OF THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS AND THE CONGRESS OF BOURGES.

An International Congress of the History of Religions was held in Paris from the 3rd to the 8th of September of this year, under the presidency of the Hon. M. Albert Réville, of the Collège de France. This congress in no wise resembled the Congresses and the Parliament of Religions held in Chicago in 1893. It had even, owing to the political and religious situation in France, imposed upon itself the express limitation that the history of religions alone should be considered, and that no discussion of matters of faith or confessional interests should be permitted. This condition was faithfully observed; but we had nevertheless an echo from the great Parliament at Chicago in the shape of an animated and enthusiastic address from its president, the Hon. Charles Carroll Bonney, and of a sympathetic communication from Dr. Paul Carus, as well as a few words of reminiscence by M. Bonet-Maury. Would it have been possible, indeed, as M. Albert Réville himself observed, to have omitted from a congress of the history of religions all mention of so historical an event as the great ecumenical council of Chicago?

Numerous communications were made, both in the general assemblies and in the various sections. In the general sessions, for example, M. Goldziher spoke of the relations between Islamism and Parseeism; M. le Comte Goblet d'Alviella spoke of the historical relations obtaining between religion and ethics; M. Sénart, of Buddhism and the Yoga philosophy; MM. Jean Réville and Marillier, of the present state of instruction in the history of religions in Europe and in America; M. Marillier again,—in this instance taking the place of M. Nutt,—of the science of religions and folk-lore; and M. de Gubernatis, of the future of the science of religions.

This Congress was, so to speak, a congress of erudition exclusively. But it accomplished all that could be hoped of it, and furnished convincing proof that the original enterprise had not been entirely abandoned.

* * *

Almost simultaneously with the Congress of the History of Religions, was held in Bourges a Congress of Catholic Clergymen, under the authorisation of the archbishop of that city, and with the benediction of the Pope. The opinions expressed regarding this Congress diverge greatly, and I have nothing to say of the proceedings of the convention. It is the fact of the reunion alone that is interesting to us. A portion of the French episcopacy, perhaps the majority of that body, seemed to have been hostilely disposed toward the undertaking, which was inaugurated by

the Abbé Lemire, deputy from the department of Nord. The idea of convening in free and open assembly the rank and file of the Catholic clergy seemed a dangerous one, and likely to lead to the emancipation of the priests from the necessary and natural tutelage of their bishops. The clergymen who attended the congress, seven or eight hundred in number, disclaimed any such design, however, and discussed in their meetings only affairs which touched their particular mission, and did not wish to be understood as desirous of ventilating questions of theological instruction or ecclesiastical discipline.

To outsiders the cardinal point of interest involved is whether this first Congress is to have a successor, or, in other words, whether a periodical congress of the Catholic clergy will be permitted in the future, and become an established institution. If it is, then a new force and a new organ in church matters will have been created. But every organisation of this kind expresses itself in definite functions and is bound to grow and expand; and while it is impossible to foresee exactly what its ultimate shape will be, it may be safely predicted that there will in such an event be many significant changes in the church affairs of France.

PARIS, September. LUCIEN ARRÉAT.

FRENCH BOOKS ON PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE.

The French publishing house of Félix Alcan announces a series of expository works on the systems of the *Great Philosophers*. It will constitute in its totality a voluminous history of philosophy, with emphasis placed upon dominating ideas and theories conceived as centers of intellectual and spiritual radiation. The editor of the series is Dr. Clodius Piat, Professor in the École des Carmes. M. Piat is an abbé, and this fact will doubtless lend color both to the character of the series and to the selections made for treatment. As for his own choice, there is nothing of this apparent, he being the author of the initial volume, on *Socrates*, a philosopher whose doctrines he has expounded in a simple and intelligent manner. (Pages, 270. Price, 5 francs.) The second volume of the series has also appeared and is by Théodore Ruyssen, sometime Fellow in the École Normale and Professor of Philosophy in the Lyceum of Limoges. M. Ruyssen's book is the work of a scholar; and we have been unable on hasty examination to discern anything approaching to a theological bias in his treatment of the great German philosopher *Kant*. (Pages, 391. Price, 5 francs.) Two other volumes are announced for immediate publication, one on *Avicenna* by Baron Carra de Vaux, Professor of Arabic in the Catholic Institute of Paris, and another on *Malebranche* by M. Henri Joly, editor of the series of *Biographies of Saints* which has been noticed in *The Open Court*. The remaining thinkers to whom volumes are to be devoted in this series are Saint Anselm, Saint Augustine, Descartes, Saint Thomas Aquinas, Saint Bonaventura, Maine de Biran, Pascal, Spinoza, and Duns Scotus. It is interesting to note the increased interest which is being taken in educated Catholic circles in the study of the history of philosophy, and it is to be hoped that the above-mentioned books will find numerous readers among their followers.

* * *

The same publishing house issues another *Historical Collection of the Great Philosophers* which is of a different stamp. It contains the excellent translations of Aristotle and Plato, by the late M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire and Victor Cousin; critical studies of Socrates and Plato, by M. Alfred Fouillée and M. Paul Janet; and studies in Greek science, by M. Paul Tannery. The latest volume to appear

in this series is one by M. G. Milhaud, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Montpellier, entitled *Les philosophes-géomètres de la Grèce*. M. Milhaud, whose studies in logic and the history of science have gained for him a favorable reputation, considers here the relations between Greek philosophy and mathematics, from Thales to Plato, and defines the general bent which mathematical studies impress upon philosophical thought. The work is divided into two parts, the first of which is devoted to the predecessors of Plato, and the second, which takes up the bulk of the work, to Plato himself. For students of the philosophy of science the work will be attractive reading.

* * *

In his *Formes littéraires de la pensée Grecque*, M. H. Ouvré, Professor of Literature in the University of Bordeaux, has attempted the herculean task of explaining the character and import of one of the most significant periods of literary history by an analysis of its psychological, æsthetical, and social causes. He has written, not a history of Greek literature, but a philosophic treatise showing both the real and the logical concatenation of the various forms in which the literary thought of the Greeks has expressed itself. He discusses the subject under ten headings beginning with an investigation of the origins of Greek thought, and pursuing his researches through narrative and lyric poetry, prose, philosophy, the drama, history, written discourse, etc. He finds in literature the crowning work of man and believes that the achievement *par excellence*, even of our own epoch, is not science and science alone, but by the side of science and perhaps above science, poetry. His book is an erudite work, and persons who enjoy this species of investigation will find it of interest. (Paris: F. Alcan. Pages, vxi, 573. Price, 10 francs.)

* * *

Something similar in aim is the work of M. Georges Renard, entitled *La méthode scientifique de l'histoire littéraire*, the fruit of twenty-five years of study and instruction in the University of Lausanne. The author seeks here to determine precisely what the history of literature means, and also what portion of it can be subjected to scientific method. He believes it possible to rise from particular to general truths in this domain by a consideration of the myriad relations which connect literature with its environment, as well as to formulate the law which governs variations of taste. His illustrations are drawn mainly from the evolution of French literature, but afford suggestive material for the study of literary history generally. (Paris: F. Alcan. Pages, 500. Price, 10 francs.) *u.*

THE INGERSOLL LECTURESHIP ON IMMORTALITY.

The Ingersoll Lectureship on the Immortality of Man was established at Harvard University in 1893 by a bequest of the late Caroline Haskell Ingersoll. Every year, some person, clergyman or layman, irrespective of denomination or profession, is appointed to give the expression of his personal views regarding this deepest spiritual craving of humanity. Prof. William James, the brilliant Harvard psychologist, was made lecturer for 1898, and his lecture now lies before us as a book bearing the title *Human Immortality: Two Supposed Objections to the Doctrine*. (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. Pages, 70. Price, cloth, $1.00.)

Professor James has treated the problem in his usual apt and delightful man-

ner; he is always graphic and trenchant; and the delicate tinge of emotional mysticism which colors his philosophy lends to his expositions a charm which few can resist. The two objections Professor James considers are: (1) The inference from physiology that since thought is a function of the brain, when the brain perishes so also must the thought perish; and (2) The inference from biology and history that since countless numbers of indifferent individuals have perished in times gone by, Heaven must be not only disagreeably overcrowded but insufferably tiresome. Professor James disposes of the first objection by analysing the concept of function and showing that the physiological doctrine may be interpreted as referring to *transmissive* function, and not necessarily to *productive* function. Thought is not a function of the brain as steam is of the tea-kettle, but as the color-fan of the spectrum is of the refracting prism. Our brains are the prisms, as it were, through which the thought of eternity is transmitted; each has different degrees of transmissibility, each different degrees of effectiveness; when one stops "that special stream of consciousness which it subserved vanishes entirely from this natural world. But the sphere of being that supplied the consciousness will still be intact; and in that more real world with which, even whilst here, it was continuous, the consciousness may, in ways unknown to us, continue still."

It is difficult to see how this prismatic and transcendental eschatology can be reconciled in any way with the doctrine of individual immortality. The only logical conclusion from it would seem to be this, that immortality is an attribute of the great universal ocean of consciousness only, and not of the transient and perishable individual streams that flow from it; in a word, that the individual is immortal only in so far as he is not an individual,—a conclusion which, if not accepted itself as an ultimate solution, simply leaves the question where it was originally taken up. The transmission-theory of Professor James, furthermore, "puts itself in touch" with the phenomena now being investigated by the Psychical Research Society, and this in itself is no mean recommendation to the author.

As to the second objection, the crowdedness of Heaven, Professor James advances the theory of the infinite compassion and love of the Supreme Spirit, or God, and affirms the gospel of the paramount significance of the individual life "God," he says, "has so inexhaustible a capacity for love that his call and need is for a literally endless accumulation of created lives. He can never faint or grow weary, as we should, under the increasing supply. His scale is infinite in all things. His sympathy can never know satiety or glut." And again: "The tiresomeness of an over-peopled Heaven is a purely subjective and illusory notion, a sign of human incapacity, a remnant of the old narrow-hearted aristocratic creed." The individuals of the past, the present, and the future who appear so obnoxious to us in their mediocrity and sameness and as unfit for perpetuation, throb with a life and significance quite equal to our own and beyond our sphere to judge. "Was your taste consulted in the peopling of this globe? How, then, should it be consulted as to the peopling of the vast City of God? Let us put our hand over our mouth, like Job, and be thankful that in our personal littleness we ourselves are here at all. The Deity that suffers us, we may be sure, can suffer many another queer and wondrous and only half-delightful thing."

Such is the character of Professor James's refutations of the current objections to the doctrine of immortality. They are broad and elastic, and admit of varied interpretation; and these features—not their definiteness—will recommend them to all persons who seek support for the immortality that they individually have most at heart. *μ.*

BOOK NOTICES.

Mr. John M. Colaw, associate editor of the *American Mathematical Monthly*, and Mr. J. K. Ellwood, principal of the Colfax Public School, of Pittsburg, Pa., have also been essaying something recently in the way of elementary arithmetics on the inductive plan, and we are just now in receipt of two volumes from their pen, (1) *A Primary Book of School Arithmetic* and (2) *An Advanced Book of School Arithmetic*, published by the B. F. Johnson Publishing Co., of Richmond, Va. The appearance of the books, both as to illustrations and as to didactic mechanism, resembles Mr. Speer's *Arithmetics*, Mr. Campbell's *Observational Geometry*, and Professor Hanus's *Geometry in the Grammar School*, all of which were reviewed in *The Open Court* for October. But they are in some respects more conservative than Mr. Speer, for example, and cling rather to the old style and principles of exposition. As to the *Advanced Book*, there is little to be said concerning it, save that the equation is introduced, the chapters on commercial arithmetic are modernised, the principles of elementary mensuration experimentally deduced, and a brief introduction to algebra added as an appendix. The *Primary Book* makes considerable use of experimental methods, beginning with considerations of form, counting by natural number-pictures, fagots, money, etc., measuring by rulers, tape-lines, liquid measures, etc. In fact, all the most important of the devices of modern inductive pedagogy have been exploited for this little volume, which, if anything, is, we think, superior in its conception to the so-called *Advanced Book*.

More animated appreciations of the great personages of English Literature and their environment than Mr. Elbert Hubbard's *Little Journeys to the Homes of English Authors* could scarcely be imagined. They are instinct with wit and with trenchant, even unbridled, criticism of life, and never fail to hold the attention, if not to engage the assent, of the reader. Take for instance these opening paragraphs from *John Milton*: "The father of John Milton might have known Shakespeare—might have dined with him at the 'Mermaid,' played skittles with him on Hampstead Heath, fished with him from the same boat in the river at Richmond; and John Milton, the lawyer, might have discreetly schemed for passes to the 'Globe' and gone with his boy John, Junior, to see 'As You Like It' played, with the Master himself in the rôle of old Adam. Bread Street was just off Cheapside, where the Mermaid Tavern stood, and where Beaumont, Fletcher, Ben Jonson and other roysterers often lingered and made the midnight echo with their mirth. In all probability, John Milton, Senior, father of John Milton, Junior, knew Shakespeare well. But the Miltons owned their home, were rich, influential, eminently respectable, attended Saint Giles Church, and really didn't care to cultivate the society of play-actors who kept bad hours, slept in the theatre, and had meal-tickets at half a dozen taverns." In the same strain are the remaining twenty-one pages—veritable miniatures of literary portraiture, and far more lasting in impression than the pictures given us in the great biographical tomes. In addition is to be noted the decidedly artistic effect of the typographical setting of the book, its antique black-face type, its title-page and initials, especially designed for it. A fine heliogravure portrait of Milton, on Japan vellum, accompanies the booklet, which is one of a monthly series, now issued by the Roycrofters, of East Aurora, N. Y., an esoteric, bean-eschewing, Pythagorean association of book-makers, celebrated for their skill and deserving of the world's encouragement. (Single numbers, 25 cents.) μ.

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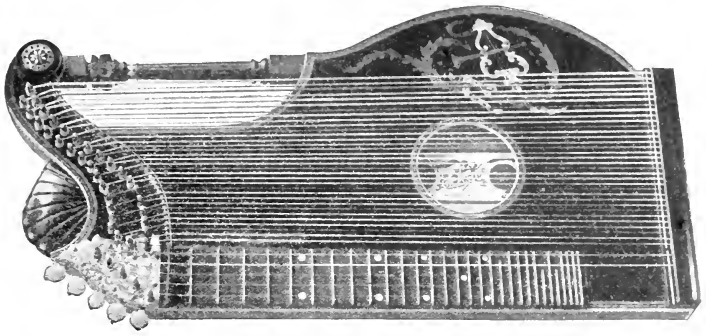

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