

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Editor: DR. PAUL CARUS,
Assistant Editor: T. J. McCORMACK.

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

VOL. XIII. (NO. 9)

SEPTEMBER, 1899.

NO. 520

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CHICAGO

The Open Court Publishing Company

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

Single copies, 10 cents (6d.). Annually, \$1.00. In the U. P. U., 5s. 6d.

The Open Court Publishing Company

324 DEARBORN ST., CHICAGO, ILL.

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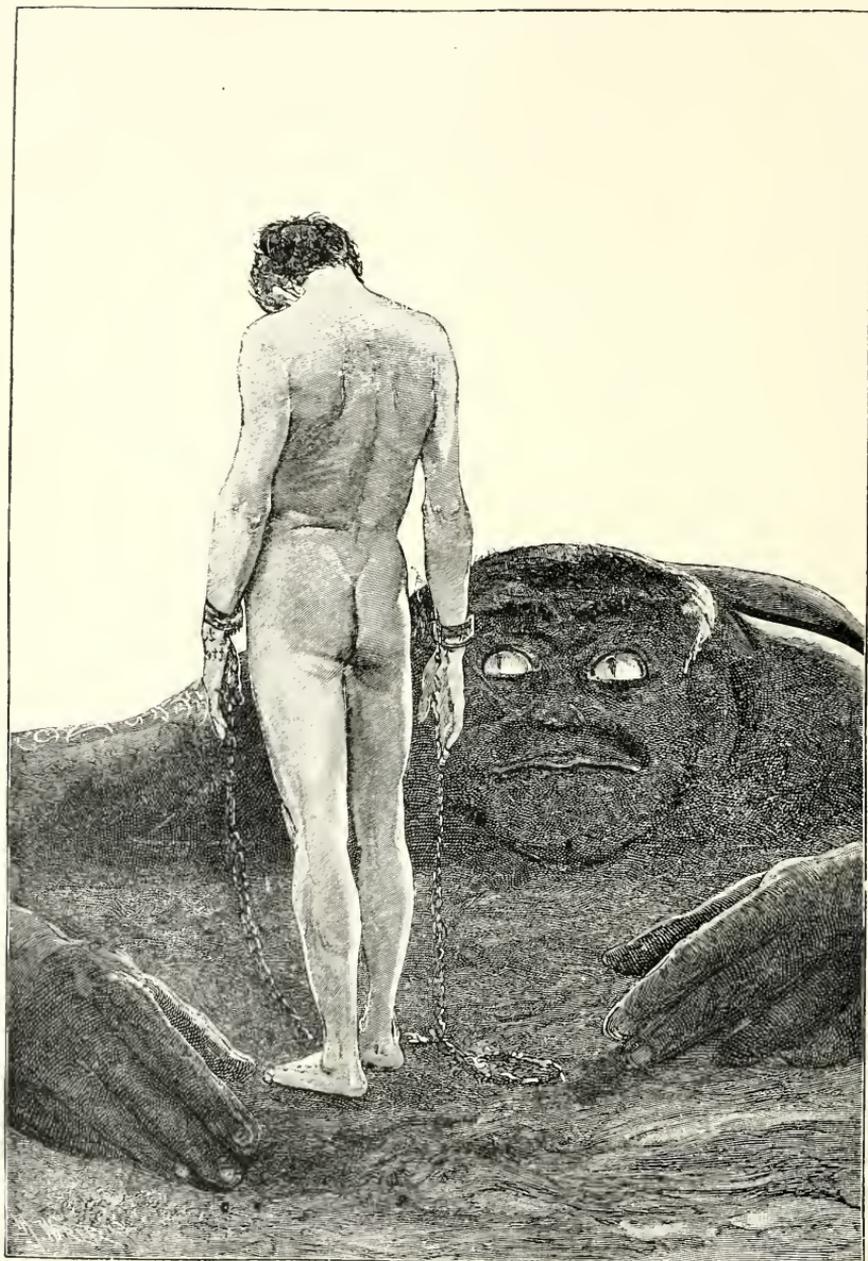
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THE FEELING OF DEPENDENCE.

By SASHA SCHNEIDER.

[See the article "Is Religion a Feeling of Dependence?"]

Frontispiece to The Open Court for September, 1899.

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A BASIS FOR REFORM.

BY THE HON. C. C. BONNEY.

ONE of the great shortcomings of our nation is due to a lack of system both in the administration of the government and the construction of the laws. What we need for our high offices and in our legislature is not only a greater number of honest men, but also men trained in the philosophy of law and familiar at least with the principles of statecraft.

In a free country, government must be the supreme business of the people. It is amazing to see that in American public life the public service goes limping on a beggar's dole, while the great private institutions command the highest order of talent by paying what it is worth. The error of a false notion of public economy ought to be rooted out of the public mind.

When the governments of the United States and the several States of this Union shall begin to regard government as the great business of a free people, and to consider how transcendently greater are the interests of even a small city—not to say a large city, or a State—than the largest and most gigantic of private enterprises can be; when we shall secure for public service the best talent of the country and when it will be deemed an honor and a distinction to hold positions of public trust the same that are now doled out as spoils to the bosses of the victorious party; then, and not till then, we shall have reason to be proud of our national life and may expect that all the several reforms that are needed in the various branches of government and the dispensation of the laws will make speedy headway.

But we demand that government employees should have a better financial outlook, be it in higher salaries, or in having life-

positions, or in the assurance of pensions, for the sole purpose of raising the standard of civil service. We have never had in this country any *standard* of the civil service, legislative, executive, or diplomatic. We have standards of judicial and legal procedure. We have standards of army and naval service. We have the naval academy and a military school, in which are trained, continually, young men drawn from the congressional districts of this great nation. I desire to call attention to this great omission.

To make the system of government complete there should stand also, side by side with the naval and military academies, a Civil Service Academy, in which the arts of statesmanship and diplomacy should be taught, to fix a certain standard of excellence for the American people, and to hold up this standard before those who seek preferment in public life, to show the nature and extent of the qualifications which they should try to acquire.

It is not that none but those who graduate in the military or naval academies succeed in obtaining honor in those professions, nor would it be so in civil life, in case the school which I advocate should be established; but the influence of such an example could not, in my judgment, be over-rated.

In connexion with the proposition of creating a school for civil, legislative, executive, and diplomatic service, let me touch upon another problem of great importance.

In the founding of our government we obliterated the hereditary governing class, but substituted nothing in its stead. Whatever be the faults of hereditary aristocracies they serve in the Old World the purpose of giving steadiness to the government, of preserving the historical connexion, of heeding the experiences of the past, and acting in times of need as high-priests of patriotism.

Amid the trials of that early day there was a spontaneous response to the demands of the country which resulted in the admirable early legislation which is still the delight of every student of the law; but as the country advanced in its growth, and its interests were developed, we forgot that we had made no substitute for the hereditary governing class of other countries, and that, from its nature, the patriotic charity of voluntary and self-denying service must be temporary. Although we recognise in all private callings the necessity for study and experience and practice—nay, in one of the great departments of our government we recognise the necessity of long study and experience to fill the judicial bench,—still, when we come to the no less difficult and important matter of legis-

lation, we take it for granted that all men are endowed by nature with the high genius required for the framing of statute law.

Not only is this the case, that the governments, state and national, have never, up to this hour, made any provision for professional and skilled labor in the matter of statute making, but we have committed another folly to which public attention should be called. Because in the mother country there is a House of Lords, and because in the Congress of the United States there is a Senate to represent the equal rights of the states, therefore it seems to have been assumed that there must necessarily be a Senate and House of Representatives in the State Legislatures, and yet both of those bodies are characterised by the same principles of organisation and office. This should not be so. Evidently there has always been a feeling latent in the public mind, as well as in professional judgment, that there should be two legislative houses for some purpose, but that purpose has not been clearly discerned, or, if discerned, it has not been clearly defined.

What, then, can be suggested in this behalf? It is this: in contributing the results of experience, in acting on a matter of public policy, the judgment and suggestion of the blacksmith, the farmer, the merchant, the banker, are just as much entitled to respect as those of the highest scholar or professional man. As to the mere matter of discussing public policy, and deciding whether a measure of a particular kind is required, an assembly of men drawn fresh from the people, and representing every class in the community, and every interest in the state, is the proper body to determine such questions, and they ought, in my judgment, to be determined, as has sometimes happened in this country, and not infrequently in the mother country, not on the details of a statute, but upon a simple resolution of inquiry whether or not the proposed legislation ought to be enacted in the State.

Then, above this body of popular representatives should sit the Senate, to take the measures which the popular judgment has approved, and embody them in the clear and exact provisions of a well-known statute. Statute-making is not only strictly professional work, it is the very highest order of such work.

The drawing of a well-constructed bill requires great accomplishments, and the endowments which belong only to highly-gifted minds, and yet that is a summer-day pastime compared with the difficult task of framing a wise and well constructed bill for enactment into a law by the legislature. The statute-maker must look into the future, and endeavor to perceive the various contin-

gencies and difficulties which may arise. Hence I suggest that we will find the best skilled body for the delicate work of statute-making, and an effective prevention of defective and slipshod legislation, in a slight reconstruction of the Senate, in our various state legislatures, by making them consist only of experienced professional men, assimilated in tenure and compensation to the judiciary.

THE CHRIST OF PAUL.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

THE Queen of Sheba certainly deserved her exaltation as the Hebrew Athena, and the homage paid to her by Jesus, for journeying so far simply to hear the wisdom of Solomon. In Jewish and Christian folklore are many miraculous tales about the Queen's visit, but in the Biblical records, in the books of "Kings" and "Chronicles," the only miracle is the entire absence of anything marvellous, magical, or even occult. The Queen was impressed by Solomon's science, wisdom, the edifices he had built, the civilisation he had brought about; they exchanged gifts, and she departed. It is a strangely rational history to find in any ancient annals.

The saying of Jesus cited by Clement of Alexandria, "He that hath marvelled shall reign," uttered perhaps with a sigh, tells too faithfully how small has been the interest of grand people in the wisdom that is "clear, undefiled, plain." They are represented rather by the beautiful and wealthy Marchioness in "Gil Blas," whose favor was sought by the nobleman, the ecclesiastic, the philosopher, the dramatist, by all the brilliant people, but who set them all aside for an ape-like hunchback, with whom she passed many hours, to the wonder of all, until it was discovered that the repulsive creature was instructing her ladyship in cabalistic lore and magic.

There is much human pathos in this longing of mortals to attain to some kind of real and intimate perception beyond the phenomenal universe, and to some personal assurance of a future existence; but it has cost much to the true wisdom of this world. Some realisation of this may have caused the sorrow of Jesus at Dalmanutha, as related in Mark. "The Pharisees came forth and began to question with him, seeking of him a sign from heaven,

testing him. And he sighed deeply in his spirit, and saith, Why does this people seek a sign? I say plainly unto you no sign will be given them. And he left them, and reëntering the boat departed to the other side.”

They who now long to know the real mind of Jesus are often constrained to repeat his deep sigh when they find the most probable utterances ascribed to him perverted by the marvel-mongers, insomuch that to the protest just quoted Matthew adds a self-contradictory sentence about Jonah. That this unqualified repudiation by Jesus of miracles should have been preserved at all in Mark, a gospel full of miracles, is a guarantee of the genuineness of the incident, and of the comparative earliness of some parts of that Gospel. The period of sophistication was not far advanced. Miracles require time to grow. But the deep sigh and the words of Jesus, taken in connexion with the entire absence from the Epistles—the earliest New Testament documents—of any hint of a miracle wrought by him, is sufficient to bring us into the presence of a man totally different from the “Christ” of the four Gospels.¹

Those who seek the real Jesus will find it the least part of their task to clear away the particular miracles ascribed to him; that is easy enough; the critical and difficult thing is to detach from the anecdotes and language connected with him every admixture derived from the belief in his resurrection. To do this completely is indeed impossible.

Paul, probably a contemporary of Jesus, knew well enough the vast difference between the man “Jesus” and the risen “Christ”; he insisted that the man should be ignored, and supplanted by the risen Christ, as revealed by private revelations received by himself after the resurrection. The student now reverses that: for he must ignore those post-resurrectional revelations if he would know Jesus “after the flesh”—that is, the real Jesus.

In an age when immortality is a familiar religious belief we can hardly realise the agitation, among a people to whom life after death was a vague, imported philosophy, excited by the belief that a man had been raised bodily from the grave. Immortality was no longer hypothesis. If to this belief be added the further conviction that this resurrection was preliminary to his speedy reappearance, and the world’s sudden transformation, a mental condition could not fail to arise in which any ethical or philosophical ideas he might have uttered while “in the flesh” must be thrown into

¹ The name Jesus is used here for the man, Christ being used for the supernatural or risen being.

the background, as of merely casual or temporary importance. Such is the state of mind reflected in the Pauline Epistles. In them is found no reference whatever to any moral instructions by Jesus. And when after some two generations had passed, and they who had expected while yet living to meet their returning Lord, had died, those who had heard oral reports and legends concerning him and his teachings began to write the memoranda on which our Synoptical Gospels are based, it was too late to give these without reflexions from the apostolic ecstasy. His casual or playful remarks were by this time discolored and distorted, and enormously swollen, as if under a solar microscope, by the overwhelming conceptions of a resurrection, an approaching advent, a subversion of all nationalities and institutions.

The most serious complication arises from the extent to which the pretended revelations of Paul have been built into the Gospels. The so-called "conversion of Paul" was really the conversion of Jesus. The facts can only be gathered from Paul's letters, the book of "Acts" being hardly more historical than *Robinson Crusoe*. The account in "Acts" of Paul's "conversion" is, however, of interest as indicating a purpose in its writers to raise Paul into a supernatural authority equivalent to that ascribed to Christ, in order that he might set aside the man Jesus. The story is a travesty of that related in the *Gospel According to the Hebrews*, concerning the baptism of Jesus: "And a voice out of the heaven saying, 'Thou art my beloved Son, in thee I am well pleased': and again, 'I have this day begotten thee.' And straightway a great light shone around the place. And when John saw it he saith to him, 'Who art thou, Lord?'" John fell down before Jesus as did Paul before Christ. "At midday, O King, I saw on the way a light from heaven, above the brightness of the sun, shining round about me, and them that journeyed with me. And when we were all fallen to the earth, I heard a voice saying to me in the Hebrew language, 'Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the goad.' And I said, 'Who art thou, Lord?'" (Precisely what John said to Jesus at the baptism.)

This story (Acts xxvi. 13-15), quite inconsistent with Paul's letters, is throughout very ingenious. Besides associating Paul with the supernatural consecration of Jesus, it replies, by calling him Saul, to the Ebionite declaration that Paul had been a Pagan, who had become a Jewish proselyte with the intention of marrying the High Priest's daughter. There is no reason to suppose that Paul was ever called Saul during his life, and his salutation of two

kinsmen in Rome with Latin names, Andronicus and Junia (Romans xvi. 7), renders it probable that he was not entirely Hebrew. The sentence, "It is hard for thee to kick against the goad," is a subtle answer to any who might think it curious that the story of the resurrection carried no conviction to Paul's mind at the time of its occurrence by suggesting that in continuing his persecutions he was going against his real belief—kicking against the goad.

Paul, however, knows nothing of this theatrical conversion in his letters. But in severe competition with other "preëminent apostles," who were preaching "another Christ" from his, he pronounces them accursed, supporting an authority above theirs by declaring that he had repeated interviews with the risen Christ, and on one occasion had been taken up into the third heaven and even into Paradise! The extremes to which Paul was driven by the opposing apostles are illustrated in his intimidation of dissenting converts by his pretence to an occult power of withering up the flesh of those whom he disapproves (1 Cor. v. 5). He tells Timothy of two men, Hymenæus and Alexander, whom he thus "delivered over to Satan" that "they may be taught not to blaspheme,"—the blasphemy in this case being the belief (now become orthodoxy) that the dead were not sleeping in their graves but passed into heaven or hell at death. In the book of "Acts" (xiii.) this claim of Paul's seems to have been developed into the Evil Eye (which he fastened on Bar Jesus, whose eyes thereon went out), and may perhaps account for the similar sinister power ascribed to some of the Popes.

In this story of Bar Jesus, Christ is associated with Paul in striking the learned man blind (xiii. 11), and the development of such a legend reveals the extent to which Jesus had been converted by Paul. In 1 Cor. ii. he presents a Christ whose body and blood, being not precisely discriminated in the sacramental bread and wine, had made some participants sickly and killed others, in addition to the damnation they had eaten and drank. He does not mention that any who communicated correctly had been physically benefited thereby; only the malignant powers appear to have had any utility for Paul.

That this menacing Christ may have been needed to intimidate converts and build up churches is probable; that such a being was nothing like Jesus in the flesh, but had to come by pretended posthumous revelation, as an awful potentate whose human flesh had been but a disguise, is certain. We need not, therefore, be surprised to find that nearly everything pharisaic, cruel, and

ungentlemanly, ascribed to Jesus in the synoptical Gospels, is fabricated out of Paul's Epistles. Paul compares rival apostles to the serpent that beguiled Eve (2 Cor. xi. 3, 4), and Christ calls his opponents offspring of vipers. The Fourth Gospel, apostolic in spirit, degrades Jesus independently, but it also borrows from Paul. Paul personally delivered some over to Satan, and the intimation in John xiii. 27, "after the sop, then entered Satan into Judas," accords well with what Paul says about the unworthy communicant eating and drinking damnation (1 Cor. xi. 29).

The Eucharist itself was probably Paul's own adaptation of a Mithraic rite to Christian purposes. There is no reason to suppose that there was anything sanctimonious in the wine supper which Jesus took with his friends at the time of the Passover, and Paul's testimony concerning the way it had been observed is against any sacramental tradition.¹ The two verses preserved by Epiphanius from the Gospel according to the Hebrews show that he desired to draw his friends away from the sacrificial feature of the festival: "Where wilt thou that we prepare for the passover to eat?" . . . "Have I desired with desire to eat this flesh, the passover with you?"² Had it been other than a pleasant wine supper it could not in so short a time have become the jovial festival which Paul describes (1 Cor. xi. 20), nor, in order to reform it, would he have needed the pretense that he had received from Christ the special revelation of details of the Supper which he gives, and which the Gospels have followed. Having substituted a human for an animal sacrifice ("our passover also hath been sacrificed, Christ," 1 Cor. v. 7), he restores precisely that sacrificial feature to which Jesus had objected; and in harmony with this goes on to show that human lives have been sacrificed to the majestic real presence (1 Cor. xi. 30). He had learned, perhaps by "Pagan" experiences, what power such a sacrament might put into the priestly hand.³

¹About 1832 the Rev. Ralph Waldo Emerson notified his congregation in Boston Unitarian that he could no longer administer the "Lord's Supper," and near the same time the Rev. W. J. Fox took the same course at South Place Chapel, London. The Boston congregation clung to the sacrament, and gave up their minister to mankind. The London congregation gave up the sacrament, and there was substituted for it the famous South Place Banquet which was attended by such men as Leigh Hunt, Mill, Thomas Campbell, Jerrold, and such women as Harriet Martineau, Eliza Flower, Sarah Flower Adams (who wrote "Nearer, my God, to Thee"). The speeches and talk at this banquet were of the highest character, and the festival was no doubt nearer in spirit to the supper of Jesus and his friends than any sacrament.

²Dr. Nicholson's *The Gospel According to the Hebrews*, p. 60. In all of my references to this Gospel I depend on this learned and very useful work.

³It has always been a condition of missionary propagandism that the new religion must adopt in some form the popular festivals, cherished observances and talismans of the folk. It will be seen by 1 Cor. x. 14-22 that Paul's eucharist was only a competitor with existing eucharists, with their "cup of devils," as he calls it.

It is Paul who first appointed Christ the judge of quick and dead (1 Tim. iv. 1). He describes to the Thessalonians (2 Thes. 1) "the revelation of the Lord Jesus from heaven with the angels of his power in flaming fire, rendering vengeance to them that know not God," and "the eternal destruction" of these. Hence, "I never knew you," becomes a formula of damnation put into the mouth of Christ. "I know you not," is the brutal reply of the bridegroom to the five virgins whose lamps were not ready on the moment of his arrival. The picturesque incidents of this parable have caused its representation in pretty pictures which blind many to its essential heartlessness. It is curious that it should be preserved in a Gospel which contains the words, "Knock, and it shall be opened unto you: for every one that asketh receiveth, and he that seeketh findeth, and to him that knocketh it shall be opened." The parable is fabricated out of 1 Thes. v., where Paul warns the converts that the Lord cometh as a thief in the night, that there will be no escape for those who then slumber, that they must not sleep like the rest, but watch, "for God hath appointed us not unto wrath."

The Christian dogma of the unpardonable sin, substituted for the earlier idea of an unrepentable sin, was developed out of Paul's fatalism. He writes, "For this cause God sendeth them a strong delusion that they should believe a lie" (2 Thes. ii). Although this is not connected in any Gospel with the inexpiable sin, we find its spirit animating the Paul-created Christ in Mark iv. 11: "Unto them that are without all these things are done in parables, that seeing they may see and not perceive, and hearing they may hear and not understand: lest at any time they should be converted, and their sins should be forgiven them." This is imported from Paul (Rom. xi. 7, 8): "That which Israel seeketh for, that he obtained not; but the elect obtained it and the rest were hardened; according as it is written, God gave them a spirit of stupor, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear, unto this very day."

Whence came this Christ who in the very chapter where Jesus warns men against hiding their lamp under a bushel, carefully hides his teaching under a parable for the express purpose of preventing some outsiders from being enlightened and obtaining forgiveness?

Jesus could not have said these things unless he plagiarised from Paul by anticipation. Deduct from the Gospels all that has been fabricated out of Paul (I have given only the more salient ex-

amples) and there will be found little or nothing morally revolting, nothing heartless. Superstitions abound, but so far as Jesus is concerned they are nearly all benevolent in their spirit.

But even after we have removed from the Gospels the immoralities of Paul and the pharisaisms so profound as to suggest the proselyte, after we have turned from his Christ to seek Jesus, we have yet to divest him of the sombre vestments of a supernatural being, who could not open his lips or perform any action but in relation to a resurrection and a heavenly office of which he could never have dreamed. Was he

“The faultless monster whom the world ne'er saw?”

Did he never laugh? Did he eat with sinners only to call them to repentance? Did he get the name of wine-bibber for his “salvationism,” or was it because, like Omar Khayyám, he defied the sanctimonious and the puritanical by gathering with the intellectual, the scholarly, the Solomonic clubs?

To Paul we owe one credible item concerning Jesus, that he was originally wealthy (2 Cor. viii. 9), and as Paul mentioned this to inculcate liberality in contributors, it is not necessary to suppose that he alluded to his heavenly riches. At any rate, the few sayings that may be reasonably ascribed to Jesus are those of an educated gentleman, and strongly suggest his instruction in the college of Hillel, whose spirit remained there after his death, which occurred when Jesus was at least ten years old.

To a Pagan who asked Hillel concerning the law, he answered: “That which you like not for yourself do not to thy neighbor, that is the whole law; the rest is but commentary.” It will be observed that Hillel humanises the law laid down in Lev. xix. 18, where the Israelites are to love each his neighbor among “the children of thy people” as himself. Even Paul (Rom. xiii. 8, Gal. v. 14) quotes it for a rule among the believers, while hurling anathema on others. But Jesus is made (Matt. vii. 12) to inflate the rule into the impracticable form of “All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, even so do ye also unto them.” By which rule a wealthy Christian would give at least half his property to the first beggar, as he would wish the beggar to do to him were their situations reversed. This might be natural enough in a community hourly expecting the end of the world and their own instalment in palaces whose splendor would be proportioned to their poverty in this world. But when this delusion faded the rule reverted to what Hillel said, and no doubt Jesus also, as we find it in

the second verse of "*Didache*," the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*. It is a principle laid down by Confucius, Buddha, and all the human "prophets," and one followed by every gentleman, not to do to his neighbor what he would not like if done to himself. But it is removed out of human ethics and strained *ad absurdum* by the second adventist version put into the mouth of Jesus by Matthew. I have dwelt on this as an illustration of how irrecoverably a man loses his manhood when he is made a God.

Irrecoverably! In the second Clementine Epistle (xii. 2) it is said, "For the Lord himself, having been asked by some one when his kingdom should come, said, When the two shall be one, and the outside as the inside, and the male with the female neither male nor female." Perhaps a humorous way of saying *Never*. Equally remote appears the prospect of recovering the man Jesus from his Christ-sepulchre. Even among rationalists there are probably but few who would not be scandalised by any thorough test such as Jesus is said, in the Nazarene Gospel, to have requested of his disciples after his resurrection, "Take, feel me, and see that I am not a bodiless demon!" Without blood, without passion, he remains without the experiences and faults that mould best men, as Shakespeare tells us; he so remains in the nerves where no longer in the intellect, insomuch that even many an agnostic would shudder if any heretic, taking his life in his hand, should maintain that Jesus had fallen in love, or was a married man, or had children.

CAN SOLDIERS BE CHRISTIANS?¹

BY MARTIN LUTHER.²

OF A GOOD CONSCIENCE.

IN order to give counsel so far as in our power to weak, timid, and doubtful consciences, and to furnish better instruction to the reprobate, I have composed this treatise. For he who fights with a good and well-instructed conscience can indeed fight well; since it cannot fail that where there is a good conscience there is also good courage and a bold heart, and where the heart is bold and the courage assured there is the fist the stronger and both man and mount the more spirited, and all things turn out better, and all chances and affairs lead the more easily to the victory, which accordingly God grants.

On the contrary, where the conscience is timid and hesitating neither can the heart have the right boldness. For it cannot fail that an evil conscience makes cowardly and fearful; and thus it follows that man and steed are slack and unfit, and no plan succeeds, and all finally succumb.

As for those rough and reckless consciences which are found

¹Literally the title of this pamphlet, which appeared in 1526, is "Whether Soldiers Can Be Saved," but the modern shifting of theological emphasis seems to favor the title above used. The direct occasion for the writing of it was a request for an answer to this question, presented to Luther by a nobleman of Brunswick, Assa von Kram. Lucas Cranach, the painter, a personal friend of Luther, presented a copy of the pamphlet without the author's name to Duke George of Saxony, one of the bitterest enemies of Luther and the Reformation. After reading it Duke George said; "You are always boasting of your Wittenberg monk, how he is the only scholar and the only one who can talk good German and write good books, but you are wrong here as in other matters. Here is a book that is indeed good and better than anything Luther could ever make." But when Cranach gave him a copy of the book with Luther's name as author, the Duke was vexed and exclaimed: "It is too bad that such an abominable monk should have made such a good book." The pamphlet is here abridged.

Luther treated the same problems to some extent in the writings: "Of Civil Authority, and How Far We Owe Obedience to it;" "An Admonition to Peace, in Reply to the Twelve Articles of the Peasants in Suabia;" "Against the Murderous and Robbing Bands of Peasants;" and in letters to Chancellor Müller and the Saxon princes.

²Translated from the German by Prof. W. H. Carruth of the University of Kansas.

in every company, whom we call madcaps and daredevils, with them all goes headlong whether they win or lose. For whatever befalls those who have good or bad consciences, the same befalls these rough fellows because they are part of the company. No victory comes through them, for they are the shells and not the kernel of the army. Accordingly I send forth this instruction, according to the light that God has given me, so that those who wish to wage war righteously may not lose God's grace and the life everlasting, but may know how to arm and inform themselves.

OF OFFICE AND PERSON.

In the first place let us consider the distinction, that office and person, deed and doer, are two different things; for an office or work may be good and proper in itself, but evil and wrong if the person or doer is not good and right, or does it in a wrong spirit. The office of judge is a precious and divine office, whether it be that of the trial judge or the executioner. But if any one assumes it without authority, or one who has authority performs it for gold or favor, it ceases to be good and right. Thus also the state of matrimony is precious and divine, nevertheless there is many a rogue and knave in it. So it is with the soldier's estate, office or work, which in itself is right and divine. But we are to look to it that the person who fills it is the same, and upright, as we shall hear.

In the second place I must explain that I am not talking this time of the righteousness that makes people pleasing to God. For that comes from faith in Jesus Christ alone, without any work or merit of ours, given and granted from the pure mercy of God; but I am talking of outward righteousness such as is meant in connexion with offices and works, that is, to speak plainly in the matter, I am treating here the question: Whether the Christian faith, through which we are accounted pleasing to God, can permit that I be a soldier, wage war, slay and stab, rob and burn, as one does to his enemy according to the usages of war; whether this work is sin or wrong and concerns one's conscience toward God; or whether a Christian is bound to do none of these works, but only do good and love, and never slay or harm any one. I call this an office or work, which, though it were divine and right in itself, may yet become wrong and evil if the person is wrong and evil.

In the third place, I do not intend here to write at length of the work and office of warfare and how it is right and divine in itself, since I have written amply of that in my booklet "On Civil

Authority." For I might fairly boast that since the time of the apostles the civil sword and authority have never been so clearly described and so finely eulogised as by me, as indeed my enemies have to admit, for which I have earned the honest reward that my doctrine is abused and condemned as seditious and hostile to authority. For which God be praised ! For since the sword is appointed by God to punish the wicked, protect the good, and maintain peace, it is sufficiently proven that warfare and slaying is appointed by God, and all that warfare and justice bring with them. What else is war but punishing wrong and evil ? Why do we fight but to have peace and submission ?

WAR AS A WORK OF LOVE.

Now although it does not seem indeed that slaying and robbing is a work of love, whence a simple man may think that it is not a Christian work and beseems not a Christian to do, yet in truth it is after all a work of love. For a good physician, when the disease is so deep and virulent that he has to cut off and destroy hand, foot, eye, or ear in order to save the body, seems, when we consider the limb that he cuts off, a terrible, merciless man, yet considering the body that he thus tries to save, he is in truth an excellent, faithful man, and is doing a good Christian work to the best of his ability. Even so when I consider the work of war, punishing the wicked, slaying wrong doers, and causing so much misery, it seems to be a very un Christian work and directly contrary to Christian love : but when I consider how it protects the good, women and children, homes, property and honor, and sustains and preserves the peace withal, then it appears how precious and divine the work is, and I see that it too cuts off an arm or a leg to save the whole body. For if the sword did not keep the peace and prevent, riot would needs ruin everything in the world. Therefore such a war is nothing else than a small and brief breach of the peace to prevent a long and limitless breach of the peace, a small misfortune to prevent a great one.

All that is said and written about the war being a great curse is true ; but at the same time people ought to consider how much greater is the curse that is prevented by war. To be sure, if people were good and willingly kept the peace, wars would be the greatest curse on earth. But what will you do with the fact that the world is wicked, that people will not keep the peace, but rob, steal, kill, abuse women and children, and take honor and property ? This general and universal breach of the peace, which leaves

no man safe, must be checked by the little breach of the peace that is called war, or the sword. Thence doth God honor the sword so highly that he calls it His own ordinance, and will not have it said or thought that men invented or ordained it. For the hand that wields this sword and slays with it is no longer the hand of man, but the hand of God, and it is not man, but God, who hangs, breaks, beheads, slays, and makes war : all is His work and His decree. In short, we must not consider in the work of war how it slays, burns, strikes, and captures, etc., for this is what the half-open child-eyes do, which see in the physician only how he cuts off the hand or saws off the leg, but do not observe that it is to save the whole body. Even so we must view the work of war or the sword with grown-up eyes, considering the reason why it so slays and does such dreadful deeds, whence it will appear of itself that it is an office in itself as divine and as necessary and useful to the world as eating and drinking or any other work.

THE ABUSE OF WAR.

But that some abuse the office, and slay and beat without cause, from mere wantonness, is not the fault of the office, but of the person. For where was ever an office, work or anything whatever, which wanton men do not abuse? They are like mad physicians who might propose to cut off a sound hand without cause and from mere wantonness. They are a part of that general lack of peace which must be prevented by righteous war and sword, and forced to peace, as indeed it always happens and has happened that those are beaten who begin war without cause. For in the end they cannot escape God's judgment, that is, his sword ; it finds and strikes them finally.

And think for thyself, if we conceded that war were wrong itself, we would needs concede everything, and let wrong go. For if the sword were wrong in fighting, it would also be wrong when it punishes evil-doers and keeps the peace. And in brief all its functions would be wrong. For what else is proper warfare than punishing evil-doers and keeping the peace. When we punish a thief, a murderer, or an adulterer, that is punishing a single evil-doer. But in a proper war, we punish all at once a whole great company of evil-doers, who do evil in proportion as the company is great. Now if one function of the sword is good and right, they are all right and good, for it is a sword, indeed, and not a fox-tail, and its name is the wrath of God.

CHRISTIANS FIGHT AS CITIZENS.

To the objection that is made, that Christians have no command to fight, and that examples are not enough, because they have the teaching of Christ that they should not resist evil but endure everything, I have made sufficient reply in the pamphlet "On Civil Authority." For indeed Christians do not fight, nor have civil authority among themselves, for their government is a spiritual government, and according to the spirit they are subject to no one but Christ. But yet as to their bodies and property they are subject to the civil authority, and bound to be obedient. If then they are summoned by the civil authority to combat, they are to fight and must fight from obedience, not as Christians but as members of the whole and as obedient subjects according to the body and temporal goods. Therefore when they fight they do not do it for themselves, nor on their own account, but in the service and under the orders of the authorities under whom they are placed.

To sum it all up: The office of the sword is in itself right and a divine and useful institution, which God does not wish to see despised, but feared, honored and followed, for He beareth not the sword in vain. For He hath ordained two sorts of government among men, one spiritual, by the word and without the sword, whereby men are to become acceptable and righteous, so that through this righteousness they may attain eternal life, and this righteousness he administers through the word, which he has entrusted to the preachers. The other is a civil government by the sword, so that those who are not willing to become acceptable and righteous unto eternal life through the word may nevertheless be constrained by this civil government to be righteous and acceptable before the world, and this sort of righteousness he administers by the sword. And although he does not propose to reward this sort of righteousness with eternal life, yet he desires to have it in order that there may be peace among men, and rewards it with temporal goods. For on this account does he give to authority so much property, honor, and power, which it possesses justly above others, that it may serve him in administering this civil authority. Therefore God himself is the founder, lord, master, promoter and rewarder of both sorts of justice, of both spiritual and civil, and there is no human institution or power about them, but the matter is all divine.

OF THREE SORTS OF PERSONS IN WAR.

Next we will speak of righteousness in war, or the fashion of war as far as persons are concerned. In the first place, war may be waged by three sorts of persons. One, when an equal makes war upon an equal, that is, when neither of the two parties is pledged or subject to the other, without regard to whether the one is as great, lordly or mighty as the other. Again, when a superior makes war upon an inferior; and last, when an inferior makes war upon a superior.

OF SUBJECTS' WARRING AGAINST SOVEREIGNS.

Let us take up the third case first. Here stands the law and says that no one should contend nor fight against his superior, for we owe to the authorities obedience, honor and respect. And he who strikes upward receives the chips in his eyes, or as Solomon says, He who throws stones into the air will find them falling back upon his own head. This is the law in brief, established by God and accepted by men. For there is no combining the ideas of obedience and opposition, of being a good subject and yet refusing to tolerate a master.

The heathen, knowing nothing of God, and not perceiving that civil government is instituted by God (but they regarded it as the work and benefit of men), went boldly at this matter and considered it not merely just but commendable to depose, slay or expel useless and wicked rulers. Hence it came that the Greeks by public decrees offered jewels and presents to tyrannicides, that is, those who should stab or dispose of a tyrant.

But such examples are not satisfactory for us. For we do not ask here what the heathen did, but what it is right and proper to do, not merely spiritually before God, but also in the divine and outward order of the civil government. For even though to day or to-morrow some people should rise and depose or slay their ruler, well, it would be done, and rulers must expect it if God so wills. But it does not follow from that, that it would be just and right. No instance has ever come to my notice when it would be just, neither can I now imagine one.

OF DEPOSING INSANE OR TYRANNICAL SOVEREIGNS.

It is indeed proper, if a king, prince, or ruler should become insane, that he be deposed and taken into custody. For such a one

is no longer to be regarded as a human being since reason is gone. Yea, sayest thou, a brutal tyrant is also insane, or to be regarded as worse than insane, for he does much more harm. It looks here as if the answer would be difficult. For such an argument is very plausible, and seems to have justice on its side. Nevertheless I will speak my mind, that a madman and a tyrant are two different things. For a madman cannot do or permit anything reasonable, and there is no hope, since the light of reason is gone. But a tyrant adds much to this: he knows when he is doing wrong, and he has conscience and understanding, and there is hope that he may reform, receive advice, learn and follow, which is not the case with the madman, who is like a block or a stone. And behind this is the question of the dangerous consequences and example, so that if it were justified to slay or expel tyrants the custom would soon spread and become a general craze, and they would call those tyrants who are not tyrants, and murder them just as the mob might take a mind to. This is shown us in the Roman annals, where they slew many an excellent emperor merely because he did not suit them, or would not do their will, but let them be the masters and regarded himself as their servant or puppet, as was the case with Galba, Pertinax, Gordian, Alexander and others.

You must not pipe to the populace too much for they are too fond of dancing; it is better to cut them down ten yards than to concede them a handbreath, yea even a finger's breadth in such a case, and better that the tyrants do them wrong a hundred times than that they do wrong to the tyrants once. For if any wrong is to be suffered, it is preferable that it be suffered from the authorities rather than by the authorities at the hands of the subjects. For the populace has and knows no moderation, and there are more than five tyrants in every one of them.

OF TOLERATING TYRANTS.

Here thou wilt perchance say: Yea, how is all this to be tolerated from the tyrants; thou yieldest them too much, and their wickedness will only become stronger and stronger by such teachings. Shall we endure it that everybody's wife and child, person and property shall be in such danger and shame? Who will undertake anything decent if we are to live thus? To this I answer: I am not teaching thee, who wilt do what suits thy whim and pleasure; go, follow thy desire and slay all thy rulers, and see how thou thrive. I teach only those who really wish to do right. To these I say that the authorities are not to be restrained by crime or sedi-

tion, as the Romans, Greeks, Swiss, and Danes have done ; but there are other ways.

In the first place this, when they see that the sovereign esteems his own soul's salvation so lightly that he is brutal and does wrong, what carest thou if he destroys thy property, person, wife and child? He cannot harm thy soul, and is doing himself more harm than thee, since he is ruining his own soul, whence must follow the ruin of life and property. Thinkest thou not that this is vengeance enough?

Again, how wouldst thou do if this sovereign were at war, wherein not merely thy property, wife and child, but thou thyself must needs be wrecked, be captured, burned, slain for thy sovereign's sake. Wouldst thou slay thy sovereign for this? How many fine people Emperor Maximilian lost in battle in the course of his life! And yet nothing was ever done to him for it, though nothing more shocking would have been heard of if he had slain them arbitrarily. And yet he is the cause of their death; for on his account they were slain. Now what else is a tyrant and butcher than a dangerous war in which many a fine, honest, innocent man risks his life.

OF CONSTITUTIONAL RULERS.

Yea, sayest thou, but what if a king or other ruler bind himself by oath to his subjects to rule them according to certain articles agreed upon, but does not keep it, and accordingly is bound to resign the government? As for instance, they say that the king of France has to rule in accordance with the parliaments of his realm. Here I answer: It is fine and proper for the sovereign to rule in accordance with laws and to observe them and not follow his own whims. But throw into the consideration that a king vows not only to observe his own local laws and constitution, but that God himself bids him be good and he vows to be so. Now then, if such a king keeps none of these vows, neither the law of God nor of his country, shouldst thou for this attack him, to judge and avenge the same? Who gave thee warrant thereto? Some other authority must needs come in between you, to hear you both and condemn the guilty, otherwise thou wilt not escape the judgment of God where he says, "Judgment is mine," and again, "Judge not."

For to be wrong and to punish wrong are two different things. To be right or wrong is common to all, but to dispense wrong and right, belongs to him who is lord of right and wrong, even God

alone, who commits it to the sovereign in his stead. Therefore let no one presume upon this office unless he is certain that he has a warrant therefor from God or from his servant, the sovereign.

If it were to be permitted that every one who was in the right should himself punish him who was in the wrong, what would be the result in the world? The result would be that the servant would slay his master, the maid her mistress, children their parents, pupils their teacher; that would be forsooth a beautiful condition; what need would there be of judges and civil authority instituted by God?

SUBMISSION OF THE SUBJECT ABSOLVES NOT THE SOVEREIGN.

But at this point I must give heed and hear my critics who cry: Aha, meseems that is deliberately flattering the princes and rulers; wilt thou too creep to the cross and ask mercy? Art thou afear'd? etc. Well, I will let these hornets buzz and fly past. Whoever can, may better my sermon; I am not preaching this time to princes and rulers. I think indeed this hypocrisy of mine shall win me little favor, nor they have much joy of it, seeing that I put their order into such danger as is said. For I have said elsewhere sufficiently, and it is all too true, that the majority of princes and rulers are godless tyrants and enemies of God, that they persecute the Gospel and are withal my ungracious lords and barons, of whose favor, moreover, I make little account. But this is what I am teaching, that every one should learn how to behave in this matter of the office and relation to his sovereign, and to do what God commands, leaving the sovereign to look to himself and act on his own account; God will not forget the tyrants and sovereigns; he is their match, as he has been from the beginning of the world.

Moreover I do not wish this my message to be taken as applying to peasants alone, as though they alone were subjects, and not the nobility. Not so, but what I say of subjects or inferiors is to apply to all, peasants, citizens, noblemen, counts and princes. For all these have also sovereigns and are themselves subjects of some one else. And as quickly as a rebellious peasant should lose his head, just as quickly should a rebellious nobleman, count or prince lose his, all alike, and no one will be wronged.

OF WARFARE BETWEEN EQUALS.

So much for the first branch of the subject, that no contest or warfare against the authorities can be right. And although it often happens and is in daily danger of happening, just as all other mis-

chief and wrong happens where God decrees it and does not prevent, yet the outcome is bad and it goes not unpunished, though for a time they thrive. But now let us take up the second point, whether equals may fight against equals, on which I wish to be understood thus: That it is not right to begin war after the suggestion of every hot-headed ruler. For this I would say first of all, that he who begins a war is wrong, and he deserves to be beaten, or at least punished, who first draws the knife. And indeed it has happened as a rule in all history that those have lost who began a war, and those were seldom beaten who were on the defensive. For civil authority was not instituted by God to break the peace and begin war, but to administer peace and prevent war; as Paul says, that the office of the sword is to defend and to punish, defend the well-disposed in peace and punish the wicked with war. And God, who will not permit wrong, ordains it that war has to be waged upon war-makers; in the language of the proverb, "There was never any so bad but he found a worse," and God has the Psalmist sing "The Lord hath scattered the peoples that delight in war."

ONLY DEFENSIVE WARFARE JUSTIFIED.

So have a care, He is not mocked, and take thou good heed that thou put far apart desire and necessity, will and need, desire to make war and will to fight. Let not thyself be aroused, though thou be the Turkish emperor; wait until need and necessity come, apart from will and desire; thou wilt have enough to do withal and get war enough,—wait that thou mayest say and thy heart boast: Good, how gladly would I have peace if only my neighbors were willing. Then canst thou make defence with a good conscience. For then thou hast God's word, "He scattereth the peoples that delight in war." Consider the veteran soldiers who have seen battle; they are not quick to draw, they do not bully and are not anxious to fight; but when they are forced so that they must, then look to thyself; they are not noisy, their weapon is fast in its sheath, but if they have to draw it, it will not be returned without blood. On the other hand, the heedless fools who fight first in thought and make a fine beginning and devour the world in words and are the first to draw the sword, they are the first to flee and to sheathe the sword.

Let this then be the first point under this head, that war is not right, even though equals be pitted against equals, unless it have a claim and conscience such that it can say: My neighbor

crowds and forces me to war; I would gladly avoid it, so that the war might be not merely war but an obligatory protection and defence. For there is a distinction in wars, some being begun from will and desire without any attack by others, some being forced upon the defender by need and constraint after the attack has begun. The first sort may be called wars of aggression, the latter wars of defence. The first are of the Devil, may God grant them no success; the other are a human misfortune, may God help those who have to wage them.

Therefore, my lords, give ear and avoid war unless you are compelled to repress and defend, and your official duty constrains you to make war. But if it does, let it be vigorously and hew away, be men and prove your mettle; it will not do to fight with fancies. The cause will bring with it enough of seriousness, and the wrathful, proud, defiant iron-eaters will find their teeth so dull that they can scarcely bite fresh butter. The reason is this: Every ruler and prince is bound to protect his subjects and give them peace. This is his office, and for this he has the sword. And this is the point on which his conscience is to depend, so that he may know that this function is right in the sight of God and ordained by him. But I am not now teaching what Christians should do. For we Christians have nothing to do with your government; but we serve you and will say what you should do in your government before God. A Christian is a person by himself; he believes for himself and for no one else. But a ruler and prince is not a person by himself, but for others, to serve them, that is, to protect and defend them, although it were well if he were a Christian besides and believed in God, for then he would be blessed. But it is not prince-like to be Christian, wherefore few princes can be Christians, or as the saying goes, A prince is a rare animal in heaven. But even though they be not Christians, yet should they do right and well according to the outward ordinances of God, for this is what he expects of them.

OF THE FEAR OF GOD.

So much for the first point in this division. And the next is also to be carefully heeded. Even though thou be sure and certain that thou hast not begun it, but art forced to fight, yet must thou fear God and have Him before thine eyes, and not burst forth with, "Yea, I am forced, I have good reason to fight," and depending on this rush madly in; that will not do either. True it is that thou hast good and righteous cause to fight and defend thyself, but for

all that thou hast not yet seal and compact from God that thou shalt win. Yea, this very presumption might well cause thee to lose, although thou hadst just cause to make war, because God cannot endure pride or presumption, but only those who humble themselves before Him and fear Him. He is well pleased that one should fear neither man nor the Devil but should be bold and defiant, stiff and courageous against them, provided they begin and are wrong. But that then the victory should come as though we ourselves did it or had the power, that will not do, but He must be feared, and wants to hear such a song as this come from the heart: "Dear Lord, my God, thou seest that I must fight; I would gladly keep from it, but I am not counting on the justice of my cause, but on Thy grace and mercy. For I know that if I depended upon the justice of the cause and were defiant, thou mightest fitly let me fall as one deserving to fall, because I depended on my right and not upon Thy mercy and kindness." And hearken here what the heathen, the Greeks and Romans, did in this case, knowing nothing of God and the fear of God. For they believed that they themselves warred and won; but through manifold experiences, wherein often a great and armed force was beaten by a few that were unarmed, they had to learn and frankly confess that in war nothing is more dangerous than to be confident and defiant; and they conclude that one should never despise his foe, be he ever so small. Also that one should surrender no advantage, however small it be,—as though every feature of the matter were to be weighed with the jeweler's scales. Fools and defiant, heedless people, do nothing in war but harm. The phrase *non puttassem*, "I wouldn't have thought it," the Romans considered the most discreditable expression that a soldier could use. For it indicates a self-confident, defiant, careless man, who can destroy more in one moment, with one step, with one word, than ten men can make good, and at the end he will say, I wouldn't have thought it. How terribly did Prince Hannibal defeat the Romans as long as they were defiant and confident toward him. And there are innumerable instances in the past and daily before our eyes.

Now the heathen learned and taught this, but could give no reason or cause, but laid it to Fortune, which nevertheless they could not but fear. But the cause and reason is, as I have said, that God wishes to give evidence in and through all such events that He must be feared, and even in such affairs can nor will not tolerate any defiance, contempt, rashness or self-confidence, until we learn to accept from his hands as pure grace and mercy all that

we wish or are to have. Thence comes a strange thing: a soldier who has a just cause should be at once courageous and fearful. Now how can he fight if he is fearful? And yet if he fights fearlessly he incurs great danger.

Now this is the way of it: before God he should be fearful, timid, and humble, and commend the affair to Him, to ordain it not according to our righteousness but according to his grace and goodness, so that with God in front one may win with an humble and contrite heart. Against men one must be bold, free and defiant, assuming that they are wrong, and so assail them with defiant and confident spirit. For why should not we deal with our God as the Romans, the greatest warriors on earth, did to their false god, Fortune, namely fear Him. And if they did not do it, they fought in great danger or were badly defeated.

Let this, then, be our conclusion on this head: that warfare against one's equal must be waged only under compulsion and in the fear of God. But compulsion means when the enemy or neighbor attacks and begins, and then it does no good to offer justice, or examination, or compromise, to endure and forgive all sorts of abuses and wiles, but he simply goes at you headlong. For I always assume that I am preaching to those who would like to do right in the sight of God; but as for those who will neither offer nor accept justice, they do not concern me.

OF SUPERIORS' WARRING ON INFERIORS.

The third question is whether superiors may rightly fight against inferiors. We have already heard how subjects should be obedient and even suffer wrong from their rulers, so that, if matters go rightly, the authorities will have nothing to do towards the subjects but to administer judgment, right and justice; but if they revolt and rebel, it is right and proper to fight against them. Likewise a prince is to proceed against his nobles, the emperor against his princes, if they are rebellious and begin war. But here too it is to be done in the fear of God, and no one may rely too defiantly upon the righteousness of his cause, lest God decree that the rulers be punished by their subjects even with wrong, as has often happened. For being in the right and doing right do not always go together, nay, never do unless God so dispose. Therefore, though it is right that the subjects sit quiet and endure everything, and rebel not, yet is it not within the control of men that they should always do so. For God has placed the inferior person quite alone by himself, taken the sword from him and left him only the

prison. But if in spite of this he forms bands and conspires, seizes the sword and breaks loose, he deserves the judgment and death before God.

The same is to be said of all authorities, that when they turn towards their own superiors they have no more authority but are deprived of it all. When they look downward they are endowed with all authority ; so that finally all authority ends in God, whose alone it is. For He is the emperor, prince, count, noble, judge, and everything, and distributes it as He will among his subjects, and it rises again to Him. Therefore no individual is to oppose the community, nor to win the community to his support. For in so doing he is hewing upwards, and the chips will surely fall back into his eyes. And from this thou seest how those are opposing the ordinance of God who resist the authorities. And at the same time St. Paul says, that God will abolish all rule and all authority and power when He himself shall rule.

OF FIGHTING FOR HIRE.

Inasmuch as no king or prince can make war alone, he must have men and forces for it who will serve him, just as he cannot administer courts and laws without having councillors, judges, attorneys, jailers, and executioners and all that goes with a court. If the question is asked whether it is right to take pay, or as it is called, wages or hire, and therefor agree to obligate oneself to serve the prince whenever the time comes, as is customary nowadays, we must make a distinction among the soldiers.

The first case is that of subjects, who are in duty bound anyway to serve their sovereign, to support him with life and property and follow his call, especially the nobles and such as hold fiefs from the sovereign. For the estates which are held by counts, barons, and nobles were of old bestowed by the Romans and the German emperors upon condition that those who held them should be constantly armed and ready, the one with so and so many horses and men, another with so many, according as the estates could furnish ; and these estates were the hire wherewith they were hired ; for this reason they are called fiefs, and there are still such obligations attached to them. These estates the emperor has got by inheritance, and this is well and good in the Holy Roman Empire. But the Turk, they say, allows no inherited fiefs or principalities, landgravates or estates whatever, but fixes and gives fiefs when and to whom he will ; this is why he has such immense

amounts of gold and land, and is, in brief, master in the land, or rather a tyrant.

Now therefore the nobility need not think that they have their estates for nothing, as though they had found them or won them at play. The obligations upon them and their feudal duty show whence and why they have them, to-wit, loaned by the emperor or prince, and not that they may riot and make a display upon them but shall hold themselves armed and ready to protect the country and secure peace. If then they make much ado of having to keep horses and serve princes and lords while others have repose and peace, I say: My dear sir, get your thanks out of the fact that you have your pay and fief and are appointed to do just this thing; the pay is sufficient. And have not others labor enough with their property? Or are you the only ones who have labor? And whereas your office is seldom needed, others have to labor daily. But if thou wilt not be satisfied, and thy lot seem too hard and unequal, leave thy estate; there will be no lack of those who will be glad to take it and do in return what is expected.

OF WARFARE AND TILLAGE.

Therefore the wise have summed up and divided all the works of men into two divisions: tillage and warfare, which is indeed a natural division. Tillage is to provide, warfare is to protect; and those who are set aside for protection are to receive their pay and food from those who are devoted to providing, in order that they may be able to protect. On the other hand, those who provide are to be protected by those who are devoted to that office, in order that they may be able to provide. And the emperor or prince of the land is to have an eye to both offices, and take care that the protectors are armed and equipped, and that the providers do their best to improve the food. And useless people, who serve neither as protectors or providers, but who can only consume and idle and lie around, should not be tolerated, but be driven out of the country or forced to work, just as bees do, drive away the drones which do not work but steal the honey from the other bees. Therefore Solomon in Ecclesiastes calls kings tillers, who till the land. For that is really their office. But Heaven protect us Germans¹ from such a sudden attack of wisdom, so that we may remain a long while good consumers, and leave providing and protecting to such as like it or cannot help it!

That these thus considered may rightly receive their pay and

¹ It may need to be explained that this is irony.—*Tr.*

their fiefs, and do right in helping their sovereign make war and serving him therein according to their duty, is confirmed by John the Baptist. When the soldiers asked him what they should do, he answered: Be content with your wages. For if their wages had been a wrong thing or their office displeasing to God, it must be he would not have let it alone, permitted and approved it, but as a divine and Christian teacher would have condemned and prohibited them from following it. And this is the answer to those who declare from timidity of conscience (though this is now rare in people of this class), that it is dangerous to accept this office for the sake of temporal reward, inasmuch as it means nothing else than bloodshed, murder and doing one's neighbor all possible harm, as it comes in war. For these may correct their consciences to this effect, that they do not pursue this office from meddlesomeness, pleasure, nor malice, but that it is God's office and that they are under obligation to their prince and their God to follow it. Therefore, since it is a proper office and instituted by God, it deserves its reward and wages, as Christ says: The laborer is worthy of his hire.

OF FIGHTING FOR GAIN.

True, indeed, it is, that if any one goes to war with heart and mind set on nothing but gaining pelf, and temporal gain is his only reason, so that he is unwilling to have peace, and sorry when there is not war, he has left the right road and is the Devil's own, even if he fights under the orders and summons of his sovereign. For he is making of a good work an evil one for himself by failing to observe that he is to serve from obedience and duty, and seeking only his own. Hence he has no good conscience so that he could say: Very well, so far as I am concerned I would gladly remain at home, but because my sovereign summons and needs me I come in God's name, knowing that I am serving God, and I will earn my hire and take what is given me for my service. For a soldier ought by all means to have the consciousness and the confidence within him that he must and ought to do it, in order thus to be sure that he is serving God and that he may say: It is not I that strike, thrust, and slay here, but God and my prince whose servants my hand and powers are. This is what is meant by the watchword and battle-cry in war: Strike for the emperor! For France! For Lüneburg! For Brunswick! Thus the Jews too cried: For the Lord and for the sword of Gideon!

A man who fights from greed counteracts all his other deserts,

just as one who preaches for worldly pelf is lost ; and yet Christ says that a preacher of the Gospel deserves his food. To do anything for worldly pelf is not wrong, for dues, hire, and wages are also worldly pelf, and in this case no one would dare to work or do anything to support himself, because it is all done for the goods of this world. But to be greedy of worldly pelf and make mammon of it is wrong always in all classes, in all offices and employments. Put aside greed and other wrong aims, and warfare is no sin and thou mayest take thy wages and whatever is given thee. This is why I said above that the work in itself is good and godly, but when the person is wrong or abuses it, then it is wrong.

OF FIGHTING IN A WRONG CAUSE.

The second question is: How is it if my sovereign is wrong in making war? The answer is: If thou knowest for sure that he is wrong, then do thou fear God more than man, and go thou not to war nor serve, for in such a case thou canst have no good conscience before God. Yea, sayest thou, my sovereign compels me, takes my life, or will not give me my money, my wage and hire, and besides I should be despised and disgraced in the eyes of the world as a coward and deserter who left his sovereign in need, and so on. I reply: thou must take the risk, and lose for God's sake what may be lost; He can return it to thee a hundred-fold, as He has promised in the gospel: He that hath left house and home, wife and property for my sake, shall receive it a hundred-fold. And one has to be prepared for such dangers in any other affair where the authorities compel us to do wrong. But since God would have us leave father and mother for His sake, one must surely leave a sovereign for His sake.

But if thou dost not know, or canst not find out, whether thy sovereign is wrong, then do thou not relax thy uncertain obedience because of an uncertain matter of right, but believe the best of thy sovereign as love commands. For love believeth all things and thinketh no evil. Thus wilt thou be secure and act well before God. If for this thou be disgraced or called faithless, it is better that God call thee faithful and true than that the world do so. What good will it do thee if the world regarded thee as a Solomon or a Moses if God knew thee to be as wicked as Saul or Ahab?

OF FIGHTING FOR A FOREIGN SOVEREIGN.

The third question is: May a warrior hire himself to more than one lord, and accept wages and hire from everybody? My

answer is: I have already said that greed is bad, whether it be shown in a good office or a bad one. For though husbandry is one of the best of offices, yet is a greedy husbandman bad and condemned before God. Thus here also: it is right and proper to accept hire and to go into service, for it is right; but greed is not right, even if the year's hire were scarcely more than a florin. On the other hand: it is right in itself to take and earn pay, be it from one, two, three, or ever so many masters, provided no duty to one's prince and sovereign be neglected and the service to others is given with his knowledge and consent. For just as a good tradesman may sell his skill to whoever wants it and serve therewith, provided it do not harm his sovereign and his community, so a warrior, having from God his gift of fighting, may serve with it as being his skill and trade any one who wants it and take his pay for it as for his labor. For this too is a calling which springs from the law of love: to wit, when any one wants and needs me, to be ready and willing and to accept my dues or what is given me. For thus saith Saint Paul: What soldier serveth at his own charges?—thus approving this as right. Therefore when a prince needs and desires another prince's subject for warfare, the latter may certainly serve him with his own prince's knowledge and consent and take pay for his services.

But what if one prince or lord were making war upon another, and I were under obligation to serve both, but preferred to serve the one who was wrong because he had done me more good and favor than the one who was right and because I should profit less from the service of the latter? Here the straight brief answer is: Right, that is, pleasing God, must stand above property, life, honor, friends, favor and profit, and no individual is to be considered under such circumstances, but only God. And here again one is to endure for God's sake being despised and regarded as thankless. For there is excuse enough, namely God and right, which will not permit one to serve one's favorite and desert him who is less liked, but which on the contrary absolutely forbids this, as is right and proper. Although the old Adam may not like to hear this, yet thus must it be if indeed it is to be right at all. For we should not fight against God; yet he who fights against the right is fighting against God, who fixes, decrees and disposes all right.

OF FIGHTING FOR GLORY.

The fourth question is: But what shall we say of him who fights not simply for pelf, but for worldly honor, that he may be

esteemed and valued as such a valiant man, and so on? My answer is: Greed of honor and greed of gold are both greed and one as wrong as the other; whoever fights in such a vicious spirit will gain hell. For we are commanded to give and yield all honor to God, and to be satisfied with our hire and our food. Hence it is a heathen, and not a Christian, fashion to address soldiers thus before action: Comrades, soldiers! Be bold and confident; please God we will to-day win honor and grow rich! But thus and this fashion they should be addressed: Comrades! We stand here in the service and obedience of our prince, being bound by God's will and law to support our sovereign with life and property. Though in God's eyes we are wretched sinners, just as much as our enemies are, yet since we know, or know not otherwise but that our prince is right in this cause, and are thus certain that we are serving God by our service and obedience, therefore let every man be bold and fearless, and think only that his hand is God's hand, his pike God's pike, and cry with heart and voice: For God and the emperor! If God gives us the victory, the honor and praise shall be not ours but His, who accomplishes it through us poor sinners. But the spoils and the pay we will accept as given and bestowed by His divine kindness and favor upon us unworthy men, and thank Him from our hearts. Now as God will; upon them with joy!

For without doubt if we seek the honor of God and leave it to Him, as is right and proper and bound to be, more honor will come than any one could expect, for God has promised, "Whoso honors me, him will I honor; and whoso dishonors me, he shall be dishonored." Thus He is bound by this His promise: He must honor them that honor Him. And it is one of the greatest sins to seek one's own honor, since this is an infringement upon the divine prerogative. Therefore let others boast and seek honor, but be thou quiet and obedient; thy honor will take care of itself. Many a battle has been lost which would have been won had it not been for empty honor. For your honor-seeking warriors do not believe that God is present in battle and gives the victory, and hence they do not fear God; therefore they are not joyous, but rash and mad and at last are beaten.

OF GODLESS SOLDIERS.

But to my mind those are the most reckless fellows who before the battle encourage themselves and one another by the delectable memory of their sweethearts, and say one to another, "Hurrah now, let each man think of his sweetheart." If I had not heard

from two credible men, familiar with such practices, that this is actually done, I should never have believed that the heart of man could be so reckless and flippant in such a serious matter, when the fear of death was before his eyes. Indeed no one does it who fights alone with death, but in the ranks one incites the other, no one considering what is threatening, because it is threatening all. But it is shocking to a Christian heart to think and to hear that any one can tickle and solace himself with the thought of sensual love in the hour when the judgment of God and the fear of death are before his eyes. For those who are slain or die in this frame of mind send their souls of a surety straight to hell without any delay.

Yea, say they, if I were to take hell into consideration I should needs keep out of war. This is still more shocking, that men should deliberately put God and His judgment out of mind, and determine not to know or think or hear anything of it. This is why a great part of the soldiers go to the devil, and some of them are so full of devils that they know no better way of showing their joy than by speaking contemptuously of God and his judgment, as though it proved them to be tremendous fire-eaters to curse dreadfully, swear, torture and defy God in Heaven. They are a forlorn flock, yea chaff ; as indeed there is much chaff and little wheat in all classes.

OF FAITH IN LUCK

Finally, soldiers have all sorts of superstitions in battle, one commending himself to St. George, another to St. Christopher; one to this and another to that saint. Some can charm steel and flint ; some can make horse and rider fey ; some carry about them the Gospel of St. John or something else on which they depend. All such are in a dangerous state. For they do not believe in God, but on the contrary are all committing a sin against God with their unbelief and superstition, and if they should die thus they would all be lost. But thus should they do : when the battle approaches and the admonition has been made which I mentioned above, then let them simply commend themselves to the mercy of God and behave in this matter like Christians. For in that admonition is set forth merely the form in which one may go about the outward work of war with a good conscience ; but inasmuch as no good work is sufficient for salvation, every man should say or think to himself after that admonition : Heavenly Father, here am I by Thy divine will in this outward work and service of my sovereign, as is my duty, first of all to Thee and then to my sovereign for Thy sake ;

and I thank Thy grace and mercy that Thou hast placed me in this work, where I am sure that it is not sin, but right and an agreeable obedience to Thy will. But because I know and have learned from Thy gracious word that none of our works can help us, and that no one is saved as a soldier, but only as a Christian, neither will I rely upon this my obedience and work ; but I will do it freely in service to Thy will, while believing heartily that nothing but the innocent blood of Thy dear Son, my Lord Jesus Christ, can redeem and save, which He shed for me in obedience to Thy divine will. I stay by this, I live and die by this, I fight and do everything by it ; Dear Lord God and Father, keep and strengthen this belief in me by Thy spirit, Amen. If after that thou say the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, thou mayest do so, and let that be enough. Then commend body and soul into His hands, and draw and strike in God's name.

OF FAITH IN GOD.

If there were many such soldiers in any army, friend, who, thinkst thou, would harm them? They would devour the world without striking a blow. Yea, if there were nine or ten such in a company, or even three or four who could say that with a good heart, I would rather have them than all your guns, pikes, horses, and armor. But friend, where are those who believe thus and can speak thus? But though the majority do not do it, yet we must know and teach the same for the sake of those, be they ever so few, who will do it. The others, who despise the teaching that is intended for their salvation, have their judge to whom they must answer. We are excused, having done our part.

STAUROLATRY.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE cross as an instrument of execution was an object of horror to the Romans of classical antiquity. It was the symbol of suffering and of death, and this is perhaps one important reason why the cross is not represented in early Christian art. The figure of two intersecting lines was in itself not objectionable, for it was



ARAMÆAN WARRIORS, WEARING THE
CROSS AS AN AMULET FOR PRO-
TECTION IN BATTLE.¹

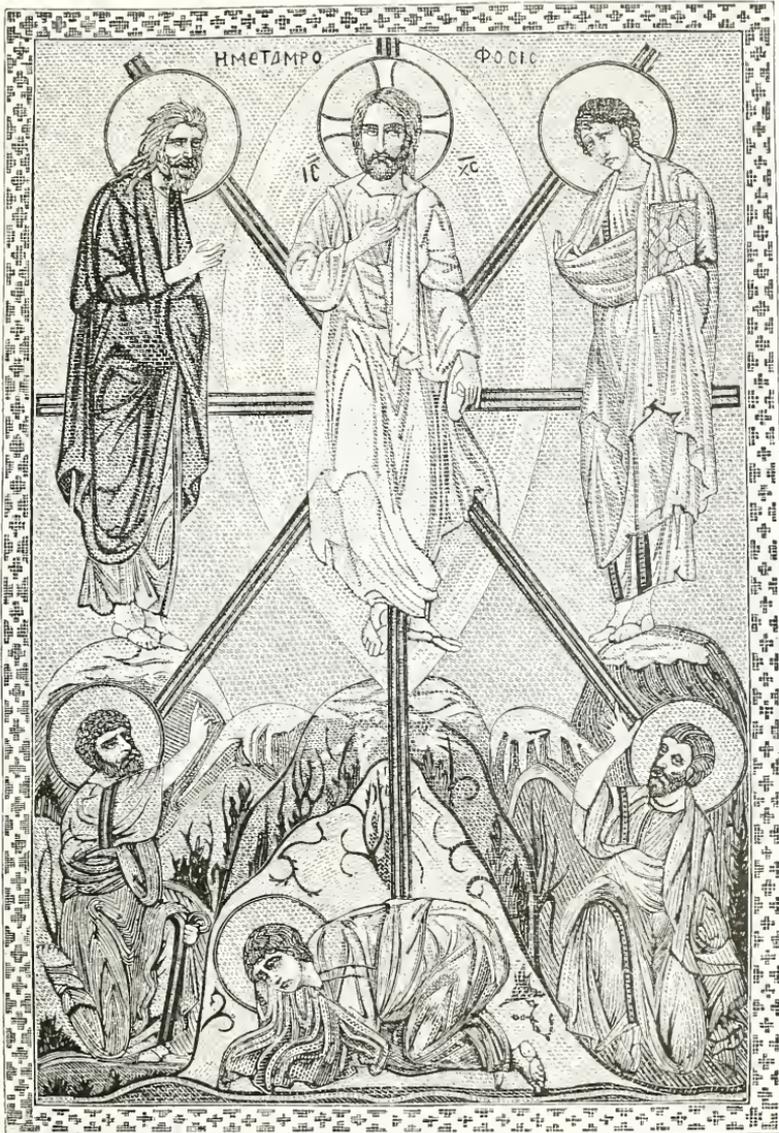
actually used as a salutary symbol under other names in various religions, but it became objectionable as soon as it was commonly designated as a cross. At this juncture Constantine's adoption of the labarum, subsequently followed by the official identification of this sign with the Chrisma, served excellently the purpose of gradually accustoming the cultured and aristocratic classes of the Roman Empire to the basic thought of the religion of the cross.

Constantine, the first Christian emperor abolished crucifixion, not for reasons of humanity

but because it had become too honorable a death for criminals, and its continuation appeared to him as a profanity. Only then when crucifixion became a tale of past ages and the ignominious details of this kind of execution faded from memory, did the cross

¹ From Egyptian monuments of the eighteenth dynasty. (After Wilkinson. Reproduced from Lenormant, *L'Hist. de l'Orient*, I. p. 290. The same use of the cross, as an amulet worn round the neck, was made in Greece, as we know from ancient pictures, published by Gerhard.

become the emblem of the Christian church, its coat of arms, the symbol of invincible power and transcendent glory.



THE TRANSFIGURATION OF CHRIST, SHOWING A COMBINATION OF CROSS AND CHRISMA. (From L. Veuillot.)

The Chrisma, having served its purpose in the time of transition, lost more and more its significance as the coat of arms of

Christianity and yielded its place to the cross, which now assumes a definite shape, the four-cornered upright cross, an erect, elongated figure of two intersecting lines (†).

The Rev. Mr. Sinker sums up his opinion of the adoption of the cross (which is from the standpoint of the orthodox believer) as follows :

“A double, and indeed manifold, meaning attached to the cross from the earliest ages. Derived as a Christian sign from the monogram, and connected with traditions of ancient learning, by its Egyptian form, it may be said to have stood for all things to all men. To the earliest members of the Church it represented their Master, who was all in all to them ; and thus in their view, a somewhat wider and happier one than in later days, it represented all the faith—the person of Christ, His death for man, and the life and death of man in Christ. The Laternan and other crosses point to baptism and all its train of Christian thought, without immediate reference to the Lord's sacrifice.”



THE COAT OF ARMS OF CHRISTIANITY DURING THE CRUSADES.

Wall-painting in the École des Beaux Arts, Paris. (From L. Veuillot.)

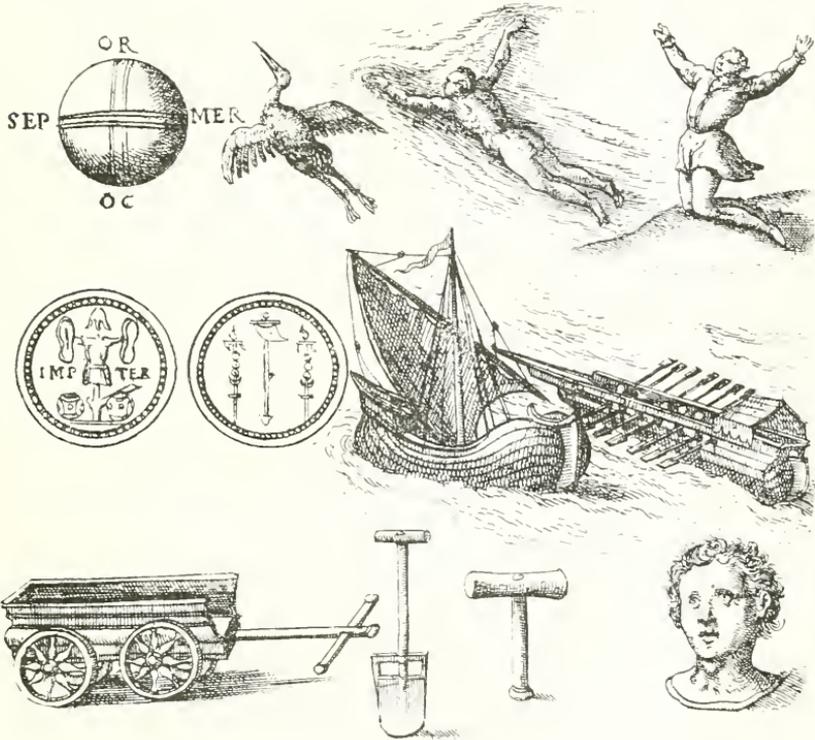
Originally (i. e., in the Epistles of Paul) the cross is a mere idea, the thought of the death of Christ and the mortification of the flesh ; but soon the shape of the cross becomes the main object of interest ; yet this shape remains for a long time quite indefinite.

The Church Fathers compare the cross to almost anything: the tree of life in Paradise, Noah's Ark, the staff of Moses, the rod of Aaron, the pole on which Moses erects the serpent, the wood of the burnt-offering on the altar of Abraham, the arms of Moses upheld in prayer for his people, the horn of the unicorn, the four quarters of the compass, the posture of the swimmer, the attitude of adoration, the nose of the human face, the combination of ideas as a crossing of thoughts, the pole of a wagon, the spit of the paschal

lamb, the letter T, the military standard, the anchor, the sail yard of a ship, and the oars of a boat. Nor is the list exhausted.¹

Here is an instance of the praise of the cross by Justin Martyr :

“And this [the cross], as the prophet foretold, is the greatest symbol of His power and rule ; as is also proved by the things which fall under our observation. For consider all the things in the world, whether without this form they could be administered or have any community. For the sea is not traversed except that



THE CROSS IN PRACTICAL LIFE, ACCORDING TO THE CHURCH-FATHERS.
(Reproduced from Lipsius *De Cruce*.)

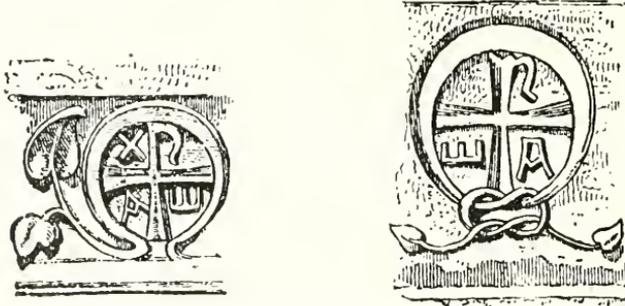
trophy which is called a sail abide safe in the ship ; and the earth is not ploughed without it : diggers and mechanics do not their work, except with tools which have this shape. And the human form differs from that of the irrational animals in nothing else than in its being erect and having the hands extended, and having on the face extending from the forehead what is called the nose, through which there is respiration for the living creature ; and this shows no other form than that of the cross. And so it was said by the prophet, ‘The breath before our face is the Lord Christ.’² And the power of this form is shown by your [the pagans] own symbols

¹ Justin Martyr, *Dial. with Tryph.*, c. 86; Tertullian *adv. Marc.* III, 18; Cyprian *Test. Against the Jews*, 22, and other passages in Origen. Minutius Felix. Nicodemus, etc.

² From *Lamentations*, iv, 20.

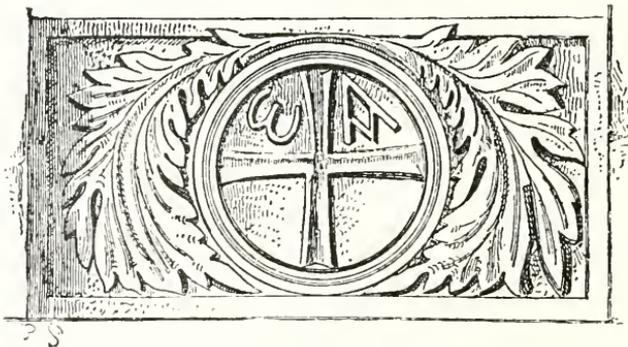
on what are called banners ['vexilla'] and trophies, with which all your state processions are made, using these as the insignia of your power and government, even though you do so unwittingly. And with this form you consecrate the images of your emperors when they die, and you name them gods by inscriptions.¹

"For it was not without design that the prophet Moses, when Hur and Aaron upheld his hand, remained in this form [of the cross] until evening. For indeed the Lord remained upon the tree almost until evening."



CROSS-MONOGRAMS ON THE DOORS OF HOUSES IN RETURZA AND SERDJILLA.
(After De Vogüé.)

In the third century, the glorification of the cross had assumed such dimensions that Christians were called *staurologaters*, or worshippers of the cross. This accusation elicited an answer from Ter-



CROSS BEFORE A SYRIAN HOUSE. (After De Vogüé.)

tullian and from Minutius. Tertullian does not positively deny the charge. He says (*Ad Nationes*, 12):

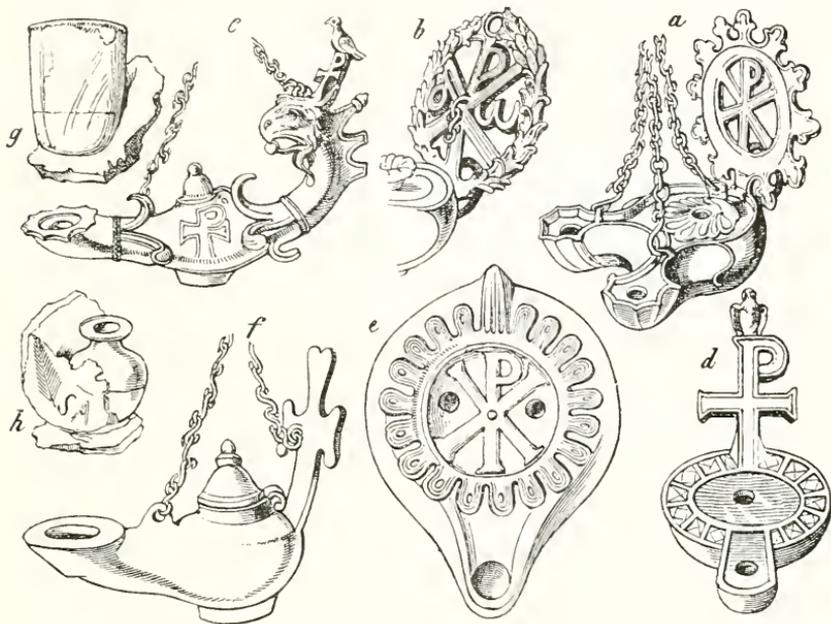
"As for him who affirms that we are 'the priesthood of a cross,' we shall claim him as our co-religionist. A cross is, in its material, a sign of wood; amongst yourselves also the object of worship is a wooden figure. Only, whilst with you the figure is a human one, with us the wood is its own figure. Never mind for the

¹This passage is important, for it implies that not only among the savage tribes of Asia and America but also among the ancestors of the Græco-Romans the custom of making the cross over the dead as a benediction antedates Christianity.

present what is the shape, provided the material is the same: the form, too, is of no importance, if so be it be the actual body of a god."

"The camp religion of the Romans is all through a worship of the standards, setting the standards above all gods. Well, all those images decking out the standards are ornaments of crosses. All those hangings of your standards and banners are robes of crosses. I praise your zeal. You would not consecrate crosses unclothed and unadorned."

Tertullian actually places the cross with its magic power above Christ and speaks of it as the cause of his victory whereby that old "serpent, the devil, was vanquished."¹ Moses showed by the mir-



THE CHRISMA IN THE CATACOMBS.²

acle of the brazen serpent on the pole the power of the Lord's cross.

"Whereby also to every man who was bitten by spiritual serpents, but who yet turned with an eye of faith to it, was proclaimed a cure from the bite of sin, and health for ever more."

¹ Ap. 16. *Ante N. Cl. L.*, xi. p. 85.

² The Catacombs contain no crosses which date back to the Pre-Constantine age. All the crosses whose age can be determined, as for instance such forms as *f*, are later. The Chrisma however, is very prevalent and appears sometimes in the Egyptian form as in *c* and *d* (transformed from the key of life), or in the labarum-form, as in *a*, *b*, *e*. The symbol $\Lambda\omega$ (as in *b*) is frequently added to the Chrisma. Glass vessels (such as *g* and *h*) were formerly thought to contain blood of martyrs. Some of them, for instance *h*, contain the inscription \overline{SA} , *Saturnii*, which is read either *Sanguis Saturnini* or *Sanctus Saturninus*. Similar vessels are found in pagan tombs.

Nicodemus (or rather the author who under that name wrote the Gospel of Nicodemus) tells the story of the soul of the good thief who was crucified with Christ. While Enoch and Elias were speaking to the prophets, a man of a miserable appearance arrived carrying the sign of the cross on his shoulder. We read (ch. xx. 5-12):

"And when all the saints saw him, they said to him, Who art thou? For thy countenance is like a thief's; and why dost thou carry a cross upon thy shoulders

"To which he answering, said, Ye say right, for I was a thief, who committed all sorts of wickedness upon earth.

"And the Jews crucified me with Jesus; and I observed the surprising things which happened in the creation at the crucifixion of the Lord Jesus.

"And I believed him to be the Creator of all things, and the Almighty King and I prayed to him, saying, Lord, remember me, when thou comest into thy kingdom.

"He presently regarded my supplication, and said to me, Verily I say unto thee, this day thou shalt be with me in Paradise.¹

"And he gave me this sign of the cross saying, Carry this, and go to Paradise and if the angel who is the guard of Paradise will not admit thee, shew him the sign of the cross, and say unto him: Jesus Christ who is now crucified, hath sent me hither to thee.

"When I did this, and told the angel who is the guard of Paradise all these things, and he heard them, he presently opened the gates, introduced me, and placed me on the right-hand in Paradise."

Methodius in his *Sermon on the Cross* calls it "an instrument consecrated to God, freed from all discord and want of harmony." The form of the cross is to him Divinity itself. He says:

"Man with his outstretched hands represents the cross. Hence when the Lord had fashioned him in this form in which He had from the beginning framed him, He joined on his body to the Deity."

The cross accordingly is "the confirmation of victory;" "the way by which God descends to man" and "the foundation of man's ascent to God." "Through the cross the demons can be conquered by men who are otherwise weaker than they;" and adds the pious preacher:

"It was for this mainly that the cross was brought in, being erected as a trophy against iniquity, and a deterrent of it, that henceforth man might be no longer subject to wrath," etc.

The cross has as little been represented by the early Christians as Christ, for in fact they repudiated all art as idolatry, but as Christ was worshiped by them as God incarnate, so the idea of the cross became an object of adoration, and nothing is more natural

¹ Although the Gospel of Nicodemus (formerly the acts of Pontius Pilate) was not written by Nicodemus who visited Jesus by night, it is an important book (probably a product of the third century) which was much read and admired among the early Christians.

than that with the gradual adaptation of Christianity to its surroundings Paganism should again assert itself and reappear as unconcealed image-worship which was practically the old Paganism clad in a Monotheistic interpretation.

The Christian sentiment of the cross as "consecrated by the body" of Christ and full of "comeliness and beauty" becomes more and more an important feature of pious literature, finding a classical expression in St. Andrew's address to the cross, which he delivered in the presence of his executioners. St. Andrews is reported as having said :

"Rejoice, O cross, which has been consecrated by the body of Christ, and adorned by His limbs as if with pearls. Assuredly before my Lord went up on thee, thou containedst much earthly awe : but now invested with heavenly longing thou art fitted up according to my prayer. For I know, from those who believe how many graces thou hast in Him, how many gifts prepared beforehand. Free from care, then, and with joy, I come to thee, that thou also exulting mayst receive me, the disciple of Him that was hanged upon thee ; because thou hast been always faithful to me, and I have desired to embrace thee. O good cross, which hast received comeliness and beauty from the limbs of the Lord ; O much longed for, and earnestly desired, and fervently sought after, and already prepared beforehand for my soul longing for thee, take me away from men, and restore me to my Master, in order that through thee He may accept me who through thee has redeemed me."¹

This sentiment formerly limited to the circle of a few sectarians now begins to assert itself, and takes possession as by intoxication of the whole population of the Roman Empire.

The cross in any shape (as a T as a X and standing upright with four corners +) became a sign of magic power which was used for exorcism and for the performance of miracles. Thus the author who assumed to be Barnabas says of the magic power of the cross :

"In like manner He points to the cross of Christ in another prophet who saith, 'And when shall these things be accomplished ? And the Lord saith, When a tree shall be bent down, and again arise, and when blood shall flow out of wood. Here again you have an intimation concerning the cross, and Him who should be crucified.

"Yet again He speaks of this in Moses, when Israel was attacked by strangers. And that He might remind them, when assailed, that it was on account of their sins they were delivered to death, the Spirit speaks to the heart of Moses, that he should make a figure of the cross, and of Him about to suffer thereon ; for unless they put their trust in Him, they shall be overcome for ever. Moses therefore placed one weapon above another in the midst of the hill, and standing upon it, so as to be higher than all the people, he stretched forth his hands, and thus again Israel acquired the mastery. But when again he let down his hands, they were again destroyed. For what reason ? That they might know that they could not be saved unless they put their trust in Him.

¹ Acts and Martyrdom of the Holy Apostle Andrew.

"And in another prophet He declares, 'All day long I have stretched forth my hands to an unbelieving people, and one that gainsays my righteous way.'

"Moses then makes a brazen serpent, and places it upon a beam, and by proclamation assembles the people. When, therefore, they were come together, they besought Moses that he would offer sacrifice in their behalf, and pray for their recovery. And Moses spake unto them, saying, 'When any one of you is bitten let him come to the serpent placed on the pole; and let him hope and believe, that even though dead, it is able to give him life, and immediately he shall be restored. And they did so. Thou hast in this also [an indication of] the glory of Jesus; for in Him and to Him are all things.'

When in the age of Constantine, the reverence of the cross that must latently have prevailed among the lower classes for a considerable time, overcame the prejudices of the cultured classes, the need was felt of having its form definitely settled and this was finally done in favor of the elongated erect form (†) which at once became the coat of arms of Christianity. Unfortunately the victory of this form of the cross was ultimately established by one of the grossest pious frauds that were ever committed in the history of religion, viz., the "invention of the cross," which is still celebrated among Roman Catholics as a festival of great importance.

To narrate the history of this farce would lead us too far; suffice it to state that Cyril, a bishop of Jerusalem, informs us in his *Catecheses* of the discovery of the cross of Christ by the pious Empress Helena, the mother of Constantine.

Contemporary writers know nothing about it and the bishop is not a very reliable authority. His reputation is of doubtful character, for he is a man who was tried and found guilty of robbing the church of precious vessels and other marketable goods. Cyril found willing ears and succeeded in selling large quantities of the wood of the cross of Christ. The business flourished beyond all expectation, and now a new miracle happened: the miraculous wood became self-propagating, and thus God in his mercy enabled the good bishop to satisfy the demands of all pious Christians, who gladly availed themselves of this opportunity of buying pieces of wood for outrageously high prices.

Cyril was an eloquent preacher and he used all his oratorical art to glorify the cross. He says in his *Catechetical Lectures*:

"Let us not be ashamed of the cross of Christ; but though another hide it, do thou seal it on thy brow, that the devil, beholding that princely sign, may flee far away, trembling. But make thou this sign, when thou eatest and drinkest, sittest or liest down: risest up, speakest, walkest; in a word, on every occasion" (p. 40).

"Be the cross our seal, made with boldness by our fingers on our brow, and in everything; over the bread we eat and the cups we drink; in our comings in and goings out; before our sleep, when we lie down and when we awake; when

we are in the way, and when we are still. Great is that preservative. And it is without price, for the poor's sake; without toil for the sick, since all its grace is from God. It is the sign of the faithful, and the dread of devils; for He has triumphed over them in it, having made a show of them openly. For when they see the cross, they are reminded of the Crucified; they are afraid of Him that hath bruised the head of the dragon" (p. 161).

"Every deed of Christ is a boast of the Catholic Church; but her boast of boasts is the cross. . . . The glory of the cross has led into light those who were blind through ignorance, has loosed all who were held fast by sin, and has ransomed the whole world of men. . . . It has ransomed the whole world" (p. 142).

But Cyril had good reasons to extol the miraculous wood of the cross which he offered for sale. He says:

"Though I should deny it (the crucifixion), this Golgotha confutes me, near which we are now assembled; the *wood of the cross* [*stauros*] confutes me, which has from hence been distributed piecemeal to all the world."—*Cyr. Cat. Lect. Lib. Fath.*, p. 144.

Henry Dana Ward who quotes these same passages in his *History of the Cross* (p. 46), adds in comment of the lucrative business which the cunning bishop made with this "self-propagating wood":

"The *wood* receives the glory and Cyril the *price*."

Compare Paul with Cyril, and you will appreciate the change which the triumph of Christianity and its establishment as State religion has wrought in the minds of its leaders. Historians speak of the downfall of Paganism, but practically we have a rehabilitation of Paganism under the new name of Christianity.

The cross triumphed, but it was no longer the cross of Calvary. The old Pagan symbol of intersecting lines was re-adopted with a new interpretation. It was adopted by the Christian church in an age of superstition and ignorance, leading to image-worship and staurolatry which was not much better than the Paganism which it replaced. And yet the new interpretation of the cross contained a deep thought that could not be crushed by the heathen reaction of Constantine's age.

The Crucifixion was abolished, and the cross became the emblem of power and authority. Kings and emperors set it upon their crowns and scepters. They placed it upon a globe (in the same way as did the ancient Egyptians in this shape ) and carried it in their hands on festive occasions.¹

In modern times the cross has become the favorite form of decorations with which princes honor their retainers for faithful services.

¹ The ball with the cross appears first on coins of Theodosius II, who holds it in his left hand while the right hand grasps the labarum.

After Christianity had become victorious, the persecuted at once turned persecutors, and Theodosius issued edicts which forbade all Pagan worship, and there was soon scarcely a temple or a statue of the old gods left in the Roman Empire which had not been destroyed, or mutilated, or desecrated, by the hands of fanaticised Christian mobs. When Theophilus, the Bishop of Alexandria, demolished the Serapeum at Alexandria, the monks were astonished to find the sign of the cross engraven in its sanctuary. Socrates, the church historian (book 5, ch. 17), says :

“In the temple of Serapis, now overthrown and demolished throughout, there were found engraven in the stones certain letters which they call hieroglyphical; the manner of their engraving resembled the form of the cross. The which, when both Christians and Ethnics beheld before them, every one applied them to his proper religion. The Christians affirmed that the Cross was a sign or token of the passion of Christ, and the proper symbol of their profession. The Ethnics avouched that therein was contained something in common, belonging *as well to Serapis* as to Christ; and that the sign of the cross signified one thing unto the Ethnics, and another to the Christians. While they contended thus about the meaning of these hieroglyphical letters, many of the Ethnics became Christians, for they perceived at length the sense and meaning of those letters, and that they prognosticated salvation and life to come.”

Sozomenes reports the same event as follows :

“It is reported that when this temple was destroyed, there appeared some of those characters called hieroglyphics, surrounding *the sign of the cross*, in engraven stones; and that, by the skillful in these matters, these hieroglyphics were held to have signified this inscription—the life to come! And this became a pre-ence for becoming Christians to many of the Grecians, because there were even other letters which signified this sacred end when this character appeared.”

The cross, i. e., the figure of intersecting lines was used as a religious symbol in pre-Christian times; it was preserved in such modernised religions of imperial Rome as the Serapis cult, and we can fairly assume that it was a sacred symbol with almost all Gnostic sects, gaining a rapid recognition among the Christians who at once identified it with the martyr instrument, on which Jesus died. Now when the victorious Christians destroyed the last remnant of Paganism, they were astonished to find that the symbol of their own faith had served similar purposes in the old Pagan religions.

If they had been familiar with the institutions and doctrines of the Serapis cult, they would have discovered that many typically Christian ideas, such as the sonship of God, God the Son as the Saviour, the death of God and his resurrection, God the Son as the Divine Word, the divinity of the Mother of the Saviour, and also

celibacy, monkhood, tonsure, rosaries, sacraments, etc., find their prototypes in Pagan institutions.



COIN OF CONSTANTINE.

The Emperor is represented as holding in his hand the ball of empire, still without the cross.

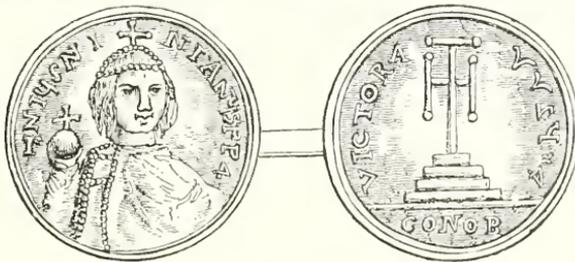
The historian must bear in mind that the Christianity of Jesus was different from the Christianity of the State Church of Constan-



COIN OF CONSTANTINE.

The Emperor holds in his hand the ball of empire with the phœnix perched on it.

tine, surnamed the Great. They are as contrary to one another as two opposite poles. The intermediate link is the early Church of



COIN OF JUSTINIAN.

The Emperor is represented with a Greek cross on his crown and on the ball of empire.

gentile Christians founded by St. Paul. The character of the Christianity of Jesus is reflected in the Gospels, especially, the Gospel

according to Mark, which is the oldest and most reliable account of the life of Jesus of Nazareth. The Christianity of the State Church of Constantine is a medley of Roman, Greek, Egyptian, Assyrian, Syrian, and Indian religions, somewhat tempered by Platonic philosophy and translated into the terminology of the early Christian Church. Its appearance is due to the fermentation of religious belief, which resulted from the general exchange of thought among the nations after the days of Alexander the Great, and it is the product of development and the résumé of a powerful crisis.

Although the State Church represents in many respects a new and a higher phase in the religious life of mankind, there is no break, no sudden rupture, except in the minds of those who had lost the historical connexion with the past.

The Christianity of Jesus became the centre of the new religion that was preparing itself in the minds of the people under the name of Christianity, and when it was officially recognised by the Roman Empire, the imperial State-Christianity reassimilated all those Pagan elements which proved strong enough to survive the crisis.

KING BAULAH.

THE EGYPTIAN VERSION OF THE STORY OF KING JOHN
AND THE ABBOT OF CANTERBURY.

BY PROF. CHARLES C. TORREY.

THIS Egyptian story, which has never before been published, is taken from the Arabic *Futūh Misr*, or "Conquest of Egypt," written by one of the very earliest of the Moslem historians, Ibn 'Abd el-Hakem, who died in Egypt in the year 871 A. D. The king of whom it is told is identified in the Arabic histories with Pharaoh Necho II., who defeated King Josiah of Judah, and put the land of Palestine under tribute (2 Kings xxiii. 29-35). His name is given by the historians in several forms, the difference being generally due to the variation of a single diacritical point. The most common form is Naulah; but in the manuscripts of the "Conquest of Egypt" the spelling Baulah is given. It is said of this king that he reached such a height of power and glory as no one of his predecessors had attained, since the time of Rameses II. But he was exceedingly wicked, as well as tyrannical, and made himself detested by his people. The following account of the way in which his reign came to an end was current in Egypt at the time of the Mohammedan conquest, but seems to have been preserved only in the *Futūh Misr*.

Here is a literal translation :

"One day, he [King Baulah] summoned his vezirs before him and said to them : 'I will ask of you certain questions. If you can answer them for me, I will add to your pay and increase your power; but if you fail to answer them, I will cut off your heads.' They replied: 'Ask of us whatever you will.' So he said: 'Tell me these three things: *first*, what is the number of the stars in the heavens? *Second*, what sum of money does the sun earn daily by

his labor for mankind? *Third*, what does God Almighty do every day?' Not knowing what to answer, the vezirs besought the king to give them a little time; and he granted them a month's respite.

"They used therefore to go every day outside the city of Memphis and stand in the shade of a potter's kiln; where they would consult together in hope of finding a solution of the difficulty they were in. The potter, observing this, came to them one day and asked them what they were doing. They told him their story. He replied: '*I* can answer the king's questions; but I have a kiln here and cannot afford to leave it idle. Let one of you sit down and work in my place; and do you give me one of your beasts to ride on, and furnish me with clothing like your own.' They did as he asked.

"Now there was in the city a certain prince, the son of a former king, whom ill fortune had overtaken. To him the potter betook himself, and proposed to him that he should try to regain his father's throne. But he replied: 'There is no way of getting this fellow (meaning the king) outside of the city.' 'I will get him out for you,' answered the potter. So the prince collected all his resources, and made his preparations.

"Then the potter, in the guise of a vezir, went and stood before King Baulah, and announced himself ready to answer the three questions. 'Tell me, then,' said the king, 'the number of the stars in the sky.' The potter produced a bag of sand which he had brought, and poured it out before him, saying: 'Here is just the number.' 'How do you know?' demanded the king. 'Order some one to count it, and you will see that I have it right.' The king proceeded: 'How much does the sun earn every day by his work for each son of Adam?' He replied: 'One kirat; for the day-laborer who works from sunrise to sunset receives that amount.' The king then asked: 'What does God Almighty do every day?' 'That,' answered the potter, 'I will show you to-morrow.'

"So on the morrow he went forth with him from the city until they came to that one of the king's vezirs whom the potter had made to sit down in his place. Then he said: 'What God Almighty does every day is this; he humbles men, and exalts men, and ends the life of men. To illustrate this: Here is one of your own vezirs sitting down to work in a potter's kiln; while I, a poor potter, am mounted on one of the royal beasts and wear the royal livery. And further: such a one (naming the rival prince) has just barred the gates of Memphis against you.'

"The king turned back in hot haste; but lo! the gates of the

city were already barred. Then the people, led by the young prince, seized King Baulah and deposed him. He became insane, and used to sit by the gate of the city of Memphis, raving and drivelling.

“And that [adds the narrator] is the reason why a Copt, when you say to him anything that displeases him, replies: ‘You are descended from Baulah on both sides of your family!’ meaning the insane king.”

An especially interesting feature of this Egyptian story is the close resemblance which it bears to a certain well-known popular tale, current in almost all parts of Europe from the latter half of the Middle Ages onward, and best known to English readers in the form of the ballad of King John and the Abbot of Canterbury. In the latter, King John is introduced as a powerful, but unjust, ruler who

“ . . . ruled England with maine and with might,
For he did great wrong, and maintain'd little right.”

He decides that his Abbot of Canterbury is much too rich and prosperous, and announces his intention to cut off his head; but finally agrees to spare his life on condition of his answering three questions which the King propounds. The questions are: (1) How much am I, the King, worth? (2) How long would it take me to ride around the earth? (3) What am I thinking? The Abbot regards himself as a dead man, but is finally rescued by a shepherd, who goes to the King disguised as the Abbot, and answers the three questions without difficulty. The King is worth twenty-nine pence; since Jesus Christ was valued at thirty. The ride around the earth can be accomplished in just one day, by keeping directly under the sun for that length of time. The answer to the third question turns on the fact of the shepherd's disguise: what the King “thinks” is this, that the man speaking to him is the Abbot of Canterbury, but he is in reality only a poor shepherd.

Thus the old English tale, with which the various European versions, already mentioned, substantially agree.¹

As for the relation which all these bear to one another, and to the Egyptian legend of King Baulah, it seems almost certain that we have here a striking example of the migration of a popular tale. The evidence for this conclusion is found not only in the fact of substantial identity, extending in one or two cases even to unnecessary details, but also in an interesting fact bearing on the

¹ See the Introduction to the ballad of King John and Abbot, in Child's *English and Scottish Ballads*.

question of the way in which the tale may have travelled from Egypt to Europe. The *Futūh Misr* of Ibn 'Abd el-Hakem contains one of the oldest and most interesting narratives of the Mohammedan conquest of Spain; and this history was therefore one of those best known among the Spanish Arabs, from the ninth century on. We may conclude, therefore, with some confidence, that the Coptic-Arabic tale of the King and the Potter, having been brought to Spain in the *Futūh Misr*, soon became a part of the native folklore; and that it then made its way, by oral and literary transmission, into France, England, Italy, Germany, and Denmark.

Another is thus added to the list of those folk tales which, in more or less altered form, have made their way from the East into Western lands. The extent to which these Oriental treasures were imported in the Middle Ages, especially after the Moslem conquest of Spain and during the Crusades, is well known. See, for example, the interesting article, "Die Märchen der tausend und



einen Nacht," by the late Prof. August Müller, in the *Deutsche Rundschau* for July, 1887. Egypt, it may be noted, has furnished a goodly share of this material. The Egyptians, from the earliest times, were a people gifted with strong imagination, and a keen sense of humor. Some faint idea of what they were capable of producing, in the field of imaginative fiction, may be gained from Maspero's *Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*, 1882; Flinders Petrie's *Egyptian Tales*, 1895; or from Spiegelberg's excellent little pamphlet, *Die Novelle im alten Aegypten*, Strassburg, 1898. Almost every new discovery of papyrus rolls adds to the store of interesting popular anecdotes which have a startlingly modern sound; and on some of the old monuments are found amusing caricatures which would do credit to the *Fliegende Blätter*. It is in every way probable that the story of King Baulah, though we are not now able to trace it farther back than the Copts of the seventh century A. D., was in reality current in the land many centuries before Christ.

IS RELIGION A FEELING OF DEPENDENCE?

BY THE EDITOR.

WHILE the Bible declares that man is made in the image of God, anthropologists claim that Gods are made in the image of man; and we do not hesitate to say that there is a truth in both statements. The fact is that man, a sentient, rational, and aspiring being, has originated somehow: the world appears as a chaos, yet man's mind is such as to enable him to become the framer and shaper of his own destiny. His rationality makes it possible that he can pursue a purpose, make designs, execute plans. Other things are at the mercy of circumstances. So he was before he acquired his mentality and is to some extent still, for his knowledge of facts is inchoative and in many fields purely tentative. But whenever he is familiar with the situation, he is able to marshal affairs and build his fate himself; and recognising the laws of existence he can, instead of being crushed by the forces of nature, use them for his own enhancement. By adapting himself to the world he practically becomes an embodiment of the factors of rationality and thus realises the ideal of what religiously has been called an incarnation of God. His reason reflects the logic of facts, his conscience the moral order of the cosmos his religion the sentiment of the glory of the whole.

We define God as that which makes man and is still leading him on and upward. Yet while man is thus the incarnation of that which is divine in nature, rendering manifest the latent spirituality of the universe, we shall find that every man's conception of God is a measure of his own stature. He pictures God according to his comprehension, and thus it is natural that every man has a different notion of God, every one's God being characteristic of his mental and moral caliber. The god of savages is a bloodthirsty chieftain; the god of sentimentalists is a good old papa; the god of the superstitious is a magician and a trickster; the god of the slave

is a tyrannical master ; the god of the egotist is an ego-world-soul ; and the gods of the wise, of the just, of the free, of the courageous are wisdom, justice, freedom, and courage.

This difference of the God idea according to the character of the man explains the paradox that what is God to one may be Satan to another. Thus Schleiermacher, a learned and thoughtful man but of a weak constitution, physically as well as spiritually, still bows down in submissive awe before a God whom he conceived most probably after the model of the Prussian government and defines religion as the "feeling of absolute dependence."

Poor Schleiermacher ! What an abominable religion didst thou preach in spite of thy philosophical caution which, in the eyes of zealous believers, amounted to heresy !

It is worth while to criticise Schleiermacher's definition of religion, because it found favor with many people, especially in liberal circles ; for it appealed to the free religious people as a definition which omitted the name of God and retained the substance of religion. Would it not be better to retain the name of God and purify its significance, than to discard the word and retain the substance and source of the old superstitions ? But it is an old experience that the Liberals are iconoclasts of external formalities and idolators of reactionary thoughts. They retain the cause of obstruction, and discard some of its indifferent results, in which it happens to find expression. They cure the symptoms of the disease but are very zealous in extolling its cause as the source of all that is good.

Schopenhauer said in comment upon Schleiermacher's definition, that if religion be the feeling of absolute dependence, the most religious animal would not be man, but the cur.

To the lovers of freedom the feeling of dependence is a curse, and Sasha Schneider has well pictured it as a terrible monster whose prey are the weak—those whose religion is absolute submissiveness. (See our Frontispiece.)

Truly if we cannot have a religion which makes us free and independent, let us discard religion ! Religion must be in accord not only with morality but also with philosophy ; not only with justice, but also with science ; not only with order, but also with freedom.

Man is dependent upon innumerable conditions of his life ; yet his aspiration is not to be satisfied with the consciousness of his plight ; his aspiration is to become independent and to become more and more the master of his destiny. If religion is the expres-

sion of that which constitutes the humanity of man, Schleiermacher's definition is wrong and misleading, for religion is the very opposite. Religion is that which makes man more of a man, which develops his faculties and allows him more independence.

We must only learn that independence cannot be gained by a rebellion against the constitution of the universe, or by inverting the laws of life and evolution, but by comprehending them and adapting ourselves to the world in which we live. By a recognition of the truth, which must be acquired by painstaking investigation and by accepting the truth as our maxim of conduct, man rises to the height of self-determination, of dominion over the forces of nature, of freedom. It is the truth that makes us free.

So long as the truth is something foreign to us, we speak of obedience to the truth; but when we have learned to identify ourselves with truth, the moral ought ceases to be a tyrannical power above us, and we feel ourselves as its representatives; it changes into aspirations in us. True religion is love of truth, and being such it will not end in a feeling of dependence, but reap the fruit of truth, which is liberty, freedom, independence.

PLAYFUL INSTRUCTION, AND GENIUS.

BY THE EDITOR.

AN old friend of mine asked me some time ago whether it was advisable to begin teaching children at a tender age, not of course by systematic lessons, but by playful instruction. One of the professors of a school had advised him not to impart any playful instruction, "because," he said, "instruction is a serious thing, and if it were taught playfully it would demoralise the boy's nature. He would never learn to apply himself with seriousness in later life."

The reason of this advice is good, but the advice itself is bad. The spirit of the old schoolmaster's advice can be recommended, for the acquisition of knowledge is indeed a serious thing and should be taken seriously, but the professor's logic is perverse. It is true enough that the time will come when children must learn to apply themselves seriously, but that is no reason why children should not acquire playfully as much knowledge as they possibly can. Would it be right to prevent mental growth? Certainly not! On the contrary, mental growth should be fostered by all means in our power. Our aim, however, must not be to change the acquisition of knowledge into sport, but to utilise the plays of the child for the higher ends of education.

It is a design of nature to let the life of adult creatures be foreshadowed in the games of the young; and educators are bound to take the hint.

The plays of children should not be simply a waste of time, but ought to be utilised for furthering their intellectual life. They should serve higher purposes than merely keeping the little folk out of mischief. The old schoolmaster's maxim, therefore, is wrong, although his intentions may be appreciated; and we must let the child learn playfully as much as possible.

Let the letters of the alphabet appear on the child's toys, let him become familiar with the various pursuits of life in his games, let his little hands become accustomed to the shovel, the pick-ax, the drill, the plane, and, if certain precautions are taken, also the knife, the scissors, and the compasses. Let him hear in great outlines and in the simplest words the stories of invention, the deeds of heroes, and the feats of discoverers. When the time comes for him to apply himself with greater concentration upon school work he will be better prepared for it. The exertion will be easier for him, his labors will be lessened, and he will pass through his studies more joyfully than the boys to whom, for the mere purpose of teaching them the seriousness of learning, the acquisition of useful knowledge is made irksome.

Seriousness in the performance of duties is of great importance in life, but seriousness is nothing if it is not guided by intelligence and accompanied by zeal. Our young folk, in order to learn to apply themselves, must be taught to love work and be anxious to do something. Their enthusiasm must be roused and their endeavors must be guided at an early age.

For this purpose the kindergarten has been invented and is doing splendid work.

No doubt that there are kindergartens which are not conducted in the right spirit. Instead of lifting the children up to a higher level and helping them to understand the significance of life, some of the teachers stoop to them and let childishness have full sway. Instead of teaching the little folk playfully how to work, giving them glimpses of truth and the elements of right conduct, they dissipate them by idle plays and foster the spirit of sport. But in all innovations it is natural that mistakes will be made, and we need not for that reason reject the whole system.

The kindergarten is a great advance in our educational methods; and when public kindergartens shall be instituted all over the country we may expect a decided and noticeable improvement of the race accompanied by an increase of intelligence and a decrease of crime.

In a recent number of one of our best magazines,¹ an educational writer, apparently a grammar-school teacher who took a dislike to the pupils, and perhaps also to the principal, of a special kindergarten, condemns the whole system for its lack of seriousness. She claims that the kindergarten children expect interesting

¹*The Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1899, pp. 358-366.

stories and not instruction, they want amusement, and refuse to pay attention ; they go to school to play, not to work.

Granting that there are kindergartens which are not yet conducted with the necessary seriousness and that mistakes are made, we must also know that seeds sometimes fall by the wayside or on rock. If there are some kindergartens that fail to produce the right results, this is no reason for doing away with the method altogether.

The kindergarten is not for play, but for playfully imparting lessons, and the main thing to be taught must be method ; method in small things, in games, in behavior, and in human activity generally. Far from abolishing the kindergarten, we would advocate its extension and the introduction of certain of its methods into the high schools and universities.

The gist of the educational problem is this : Teach the methods of work and the elements of any science or art, not in a dry and abstract manner, but by infusing enthusiasm into the pupils. Lessons can be made interesting by pointing out the connexion which the object of instruction has with life by showing its value in the economy of human society, and indicating the wants which it serves. Pupils must feel the thrill which the inventors and scholars feel in their attempts at making discoveries and solving the various riddles of life.

The kindergarten method will accomplish miracles in the field of education. It is a new dispensation, a dispensation of love, of voluntary good will, stimulating the springs that work from within, which must replace the old dispensation of the rod, the law that enforces virtue by punishments and makes noble and good aspirations a burden.

A spiritual sunshine should spread over all exercises of the kindergarten, but for that reason there need be no dillydallying with toys. The teacher must never lose sight of the ultimate aim, which is the building up of character. She herself must therefore at once be earnest and cheerful, qualities which it is by no means impossible to combine, and while she keeps her children buoyant and joyful, she must not fail to impress them with the importance of duty, of application, of seriousness.

It might be an improvement in the system of the kindergarten if it were not exclusively in the hands of women, and if at least from time to time the influence of male teachers could be brought to bear upon children.

Old-fashioned teachers who still cling to the method of rendering lessons tedious, must, from sheer prejudice, have become

blind to the results that can be obtained in this way; for it is remarkable how persevering and patient children can be when they are interested in a certain kind of work.

The difference between a genius and a pedant consists exactly in this, that the genius performs his work playfully, while the pedant groans under the drudgery of his task. No doubt the pedant's work would be preferable, if its worth were to be measured by the resistance overcome, but the fact is that the work of the genius always increases in excellence according to the ease with which it is accomplished.

Genius is sometimes looked upon as a mystery, but there is no mystery about it. While it is difficult and often impossible to account for the appearance of genius in special cases, because it crops out where we least expect it, its nature in and of itself is no mystery. The soul of a genius consists of motor ideas which are correct representations of things in the objective world and of the work to be performed. They interact without the laborious effort of conscious concentration. They act with machine-like accuracy, so as to allow all attention to be concentrated upon the main purpose of the work and not upon its details. A genius originates partly by inheriting a disposition for easily acquiring certain functions, or generally by possessing the knack of viewing the world correctly. Whatever may be the cause of genius, it certainly shows itself in the playful ease with which work of great importance is performed. It would be wrong to think that a genius need not work, for a genius as a rule is a great worker, but he enjoys his work and can therefore accomplish more than those who constantly remain conscious of the seriousness of their labors.

Genius is instinct on a higher plane. Certain inherited dispositions are probably indispensable for producing a genius of a certain kind and it may be that an educator can do nothing when they are absolutely absent. Nevertheless much can be done by a careful education. The impressions of children who, in a certain line of activity, see nothing but the right methods from their very babyhood, will be so organized that from their unconscious depths up to the conscious surface of their soul, they will be predetermined to hit naturally the right mode of action. The child of a musician, for instance, who has never heard anything but good music, and has playfully acquired since his very babyhood the various experiences of touch by contact with the keys of a piano, will naturally become a virtuoso. He will naturally find the right harmony, and the great wealth of melody that unconsciously slum-

bers in his early recollections will form a source of living tone-images, which upon the least provocation will well up automatically and engender new combinations of harmonious melodies that, through the influence of other conditions, may possess a character of their own.

What is true of music is true of poetry, oratory, all arts, the sciences, handicrafts, and industrial pursuits. The condition of genius is a ready and automatic interaction of a sufficient number of clear and correct thought-images, or representative pictures, which must be brought under the control of a guiding purpose.¹

The whole method of making education irksome is wrong. It reminds one of the Gothamites who, according to the principle that we should do the disagreeable part of a task first, unloaded the wood from their wagons by pulling out the lowest trunks first, which they did with great difficulty; and they were delighted that by and by the work grew easier. They rejoiced when the last pieces could be simply taken off without trouble.

Why not begin to teach children without causing them trouble from the beginning? All learning is a pleasure, and our teachers will find that it is unnecessary to make instruction irksome to children during their school years. Acquisition of knowledge is a growth of soul, and our children ought to feel the joy of mental growth. There need be no fear that their minds will be dwarfed thereby. On the contrary, they will develop all the better, as much so as plants that are transplanted from a barren land to fertile soil, or from the shade to the sun, and when the time arrives in which some great purpose will demand special concentration, the growing boy will apply himself with all the vigor of his youthful ambition.

A youth will be more confident of success in life if he has been playfully made accustomed to its serious duties and to their difficulties, and he will thereby acquire a buoyancy which under the present conditions of education is rare. We must, however, see to it that the seriousness of work, far from suffering from playful instruction, shall be intensified and strengthened by it.

¹ Mr. Nicola Tesla's lecture before the Commercial Club of Chicago (May 14, 1899) was of special interest to the psychologist. He dwelt at length on the vividness of his visual conceptions which appeared before his eye like real things. Thus he would, when speaking of a cat see a real cat; or when thinking of a machine, see a machine in all its details and in accurate proportions so plainly as to enable him to make measurements. This condition was oppressive to him in childhood and early youth, so long as he could not control it; and he felt relieved as if ridding himself of a nightmare when with increasing strength in his riper youth he succeeded in gaining control over the appearance and disappearance of these images.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF REASONING.

Of modern experimental psychologists there are few who write more pleasantly or better understand the art of lucidly presenting the results of the research of their domain than Dr. Alfred Binet, Director of the Laboratory of Physiological Psychology in the Sorbonne, Paris. The present work by M. Binet, *The Psychology of Reasoning*,¹ which has just appeared, is a translation, from the recent second French edition, of a book, which on its original appearance some years ago attracted wide-spread attention in the thinking world, and was quoted in the controversy on Language and Thought between Max Müller, the Duke of Argyll, Francis Galton, Professor Romanes, and others.

This interesting little book is a development of the thesis that "reasoning is an organisation of images, determined by the properties of the images themselves and that the images have merely to be brought together for them to become organised, and that reasoning follows with the inevitable necessity of a reflex."

Perception is the topic first considered, and is defined as "the process by which the mind completes, with the accompaniment of images, an impression of the senses." Perception is itself unconscious reasoning; it involves the addition of something new to the simple sense-impression, it involves a species of judgment; and Dr. Binet contends that in studying the nature of this addition he is also studying the mechanism of reasoning in general. This is done largely by an investigation of the illusions and hallucinations of the senses, which furnish the very interesting chapter on images, where all the various types of representation, visual, motor, auditory, etc., are studied. The third chapter treats of reasoning in perception, and shows that the mechanism of reasoning in general is that of a natural fusion of images, comparable to that of the cinematograph and of the old scientific toy called the zoötrope, and that the formation of concepts has its physical counterpart in the production of composite photographs. Just as perceptive reasoning, or the recognising of exterior objects as the things which they really are, is a perfectly natural and mechanical process, so also logical reasoning is a natural process. "The organisation of our intelligence," he says, "is so arranged that when the premises of a reasoning are stated, the conclusion results from them with the ne-

¹*The Psychology of Reasoning*, Based on Experimental Researches in Hypnotism. By Alfred Binet, Doctor of Science, Laureate of the Institute, Director of the Laboratory of Physiological Psychology in the Sorbonne. Translated from the Second French Edition, by Adam Gowans Whyte, B. Sc. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. 1899. Pages, 191. Price, 75 cents (3s. 6d.).

cessity of a reflex action. In other words, we reason because we have in our brain a machine for reasoning."

To enforce his doctrine, Dr. Binet makes use of the following pretty comparison; "If it were necessary to make use of a comparison in order to describe the mechanism of reasoning, we would mention those flowers which are formed during frost on the window panes of rooms. Let us thaw them with our breath and then observe the regelation of the liquid layer. While crystallization is taking place round a first crystal, 'you notice one feature which is perfectly unalterable and that is, angular magnitude. The spiculae branch from the trunk, and from these branches others shoot; but the angles enclosed by the spiculae are unalterable.'¹ Just as these crystallisations are produced by the forces inherent in each of the molecules, so reasoning is produced by the properties inherent in each of the images; just as crystallisation, in its oddest eccentricities, always observes a certain angular value, so reasoning, true, false, or insane, always obeys the laws of resemblance and of contiguity."

In conclusion he remarks: "Images are not by any means dead and inert things; they have active properties; they attract each other, become connected and fused together. It is wrong to make the image into a photographic stereo-type, fixed and immutable. It is a living element, something which is born, something which transforms itself, and which grows like one of our nails or our hairs. Mental activity results from the activity of images as the life of the hive results from the life of the bees, or, rather, as the life of an organism results from the life of its cells."

The book cannot, on the score of its suggestiveness, be too cordially recommended. The work of the translator has been very well done.

DE MORGAN'S ELEMENTARY ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE CALCULUS.

The publication of this new reprint of De Morgan's *Elementary Illustrations of the Differential and Integral Calculus*² forms, quite independently of its interest to professional students of mathematics, an integral portion of the general educational plan which the Open Court Publishing Company has been systematically pursuing since its inception,—which is the dissemination among the public at large of sound views of science and of an adequate and correct appreciation of the methods by which truth generally is reached. Of these methods, mathematics by its simplicity, has always formed the type and ideal, and it is nothing less than imperative that its ways of procedure, both in the discovery of new truth and in the demonstration of the necessity and universality of old truth, should be laid at the foundation of every philosophical education. The greatest achievements in the history of thought—Plato, Descartes, Kant—are associated with the recognition of this principle.

But it is precisely mathematics, and the pure sciences generally, from which the general educated public and independent students have been debarred, and into which they have only rarely attained more than a very meagre insight. The reason of this is twofold. In the first place, the ascendant and consecutive character of mathematical knowledge renders its results absolutely unsusceptible of presen-

¹ Tyndall, *Light*, p. 101; American ed., p. 104.

² Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. Ltd. Cloth, \$1.00 (5s.). Pp. 144.

tation to persons who are unacquainted with what has gone before, and so necessitates on the part of its devotees a thorough and patient exploration of the field from the very beginning, as distinguished from those sciences which may, so to speak be begun at the end, and which are consequently cultivated with the greatest zeal. The second reason is that, partly through the exigencies of academic instruction but mainly through the martinet traditions of antiquity and the influence of mediæval logic-mongers, the great bulk of the elementary text-books of mathematics have unconsciously assumed a very repellent form,—something similar to what is termed in the theory of protective mimicry in biology “the terrifying form.” And it is mainly to this formidableness and touch-me-not character of exterior, concealing within a harmless body, that the undue neglect of typical mathematical studies is to be attributed.

To this class of books the present work forms a notable exception. It was originally issued as numbers 135 and 140 of the Library of Useful Knowledge (1832), and is usually bound up with De Morgan's large *Treatise on the Differential and Integral Calculus* (1842). Its style is fluent and familiar; the treatment continuous and undogmatic. The main difficulties which encompass the early study of the Calculus are analysed and discussed in connexion with practical and historical illustrations which in point of simplicity and clearness leave little to be desired. No one who will read the book through, pencil in hand, will rise from its perusal without a clear perception of the aim and the simpler fundamental principles of the Calculus, or without finding that the profounder study of the science in the more advanced and more methodical treatises has been greatly facilitated.

The book has been reprinted substantially as it stood in its original form; but the typography has been greatly improved, and in order to render the subject-matter more synoptic in form and more capable of survey, the text has been reparagraphed and a great number of descriptive sub-headings have been introduced. An index also has been added, and a Bibliography of English, German, and French works on the Calculus.—From the Editor's Preface.

THE PRINCIPLES OF BACTERIOLOGY.

Dr. Hüppe's book on Bacteriology¹ is universally recognised as one of the broadest treatments of the subject that have yet appeared. It is not a book on the technique of bacteriology, but a summary of the important discoveries of the science, which, as treating of knowledge which should be universally disseminated, will be of the greatest value not only to the physician, the scientist, and the student of hygiene, but to practical people in all walks of life. The structure of bacteria is thoroughly investigated, as are also the conditions of their life. The most important of the disease-producing bacteria are described, the causes of infectious disease, immunity, inoculation, and the history of bacteriology, all are duly considered. The diagrams are numerous, and not the least noteworthy exterior feature is the colored plates. While thoroughly rigorous in its treatment, there are chapters of the book, especially that on the “Prevention of Infectious Disease” by hygienic measures, which are within the reach of every reader, and which are of the highest importance.

¹*The Principles of Bacteriology.* By Dr. Ferdinand Hüppe, Professor of Hygiene in the University of Prague. Authorised translation from the German, by Dr. E. O. Jordan, Assistant Professor of Bacteriology in the University of Chicago. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Limited. 1899. Pages, viii, 467. Price, \$1.75

PSYCHOLOGY FOR BEGINNERS.

Mr. Hiram M. Stanley, of Lake Forest University, has attempted no easy task in writing *An Outline Sketch of Psychology for Beginners*:¹ but for the purpose for which he has designed the book—that of furnishing for high schools, summer schools, academies, and secondary schools, and also for independent students of any age, a practical *résumé* of the most important points of view of psychological thought—he has been quite successful. His book is clear and quite untechnical; the author has restricted himself to the indication of the simplest methods of individual introspection and individual experimenting. It has been his main object to have the beginner acquire “psychic insight and familiarity with method.” The student is told a little as possible, and is always allowed to learn and conclude for himself from his own psychological experience. The book is a small one, containing only forty-four pages. The main titles are: Sensation and Perception, Memory, Ideation and Introspection, Feeling and Will, and finally Special Psychology in which brief reference is made to the various forms which psychologic research has recently taken. After each paragraph of the text original exercises are given and blank pages are provided at the end of the book for recording these exercises.

It is hoped that the little volume will place within the means of every reader however limited his scientific knowledge may be, a means of becoming acquainted with the general scope and character of psychological science.

THE MIXE IDOL.

To the Editor of the Open Court :

An error occurs in the statement under the picture of a Mixe idol in *The Open Court* for July. Had I seen proof of this I should have struck out the words—“for nearly four hundred years, as the image of a saint.” The idol represents no saint but a pagan deity. It had *not* been in the church “for nearly four hundred years.” It must have been placed there between two visits of the priest. At many small Indian churches in Mexico the priest is seen but once or twice a year. The idol could not have been on the altar one year. No Christian priest would tolerate such a thing knowingly.

FREDERICK STARR.

CHICAGO, August 8, 1899.

BOOK NOTICES.

Despite his seventy-six years, Prof. F. Max Müller, the great philologist and philosopher of Oxford, is still untiring in his research. The latest volume which has come from his pen is *The Six Systems of Indian Philosophy*, published by Longmans, Green & Co., New York and London. (Pages, xxxi, 618. Price, \$5 00.) Every volume which bears Professor Müller's name is bound to be charmingly written, and his work will undoubtedly find a large circle of readers outside of the purely scientific ranks. His enthusiasm for Indian philosophy knows no bounds. To him it seems that human speculation “has reached its very acme” in the Vedānta philosophy. With the present facilities which we have for becoming ac-

¹ *Psychology for Beginners*. By Hiram M. Stanley, Member of the American Psychological Association, etc. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., Ltd. 1899. Pages, 44. Boards, 40 cents (2s.).

quainted with Hindu thought, he would allow to no one the unqualified title of "philosopher" who was unacquainted with at least the two prominent systems of ancient Indian philosophy,—the Vedânta and the Sâmkhya. One of the signa merits of the Hindu systems of thought in Prof. Max Müller's eyes is that they never leave us in doubt as to their exact meaning. Enormous labor is being spent in order to ascertain the exact views of Plato, Aristotle, and even of Kant and Hegel, on some of the most important questions of their systems of philosophy; but the Hindu systems "never equivocate or try to hide their opinions, even where they may be unpopular." If they are atheistic, they are outspokenly so; if they are dualistic, materialistic, or monistic, they are outspokenly so. For him there was no country so pre-eminently adapted as India for the development of philosophical thought, and no races of mankind more highly gifted than the Indian, or better qualified to solve "the eternal riddles of the world." To those who are familiar with Prof. Max Müller's own philosophical views, his unbounded admiration for the Vedânta system will be readily intelligible; but none can withhold their admiration for the facility and clearness with which he has expounded his matured reflexions upon the Indian philosophy, which at intervals have occupied his mind for more than forty years.

Starting from the approved thesis that the dogmas of the most ancient religions and systems of ethics disappeared merely to assume vitality under new forms, Dr. Félix Thomas, in his little book *Morale et Éducation*, has examined the chief modern systems of ethics and religion, with a view to indicating the transmutations from which these creations in their turn may have sprung. These systems have all grown up about the old religions as species of concretions; they all bear the varied impress of the reigning views of philosophy, science, and art; they are partly new, they are partly mere rejuvenations of old and forgotten doctrines. What is new and durable in them it is M. Thomas's purpose to discern, and he has also specially endeavored to point out what influence they may be made to exercise upon the education of children. (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1899. 12mo. Pages, 171. Price, 2 fr. 50.)

NOTES.

Prof. Karl Budde, who (as our readers may remember) was invited by the American Lecture Bureau to lecture on the Old Testament at the various universities of the United States, publishes in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* (Nos. 144 and 145, June 28th and 29th respectively) an account of his trip to America. His account is interesting, and upon the whole quite fair; but it is amusing to witness his astonishment at what he defines to be "American Individualism," viz., the principle that every one claims the privilege of asserting himself and allowing others to do the same. "Every openly claimed power over the wills of others," he says, "as well as every confessed dependence, is an abomination to Americans." He regards it as very strange that in America events of primary importance that happen in Germany are overlooked, while much importance is attributed to the convictions of the German Courts for *lèse majesté*, which after all are, in the opinion of Continental Europeans, only matters of secondary importance, nay, even, as Professor Budde says, "events of the third and fourth degree." The importance which is attributed to personal rights in the United States is to him a matter of American naiveté.

American individualism asserts itself in the church and in politics. As a rem-

edy for the many contradictions which originate by local legislation, such as prohibition, etc., Professor Budde would recommend as the sole effective means "a vigorous, inexorable and exacting central power; but," he adds, "the American shuns that most of all, and prefers to suffer a number of palpable inconveniences."

Professor Budde claims that the rule of the majority is quietly submitted to in the United States, but here he is mistaken, for the majority decides the *personnel* of the executive as well as of the legislative branches of the government. The last instance is not majority rule, but the rule of the law; for even a law may be invalidated by the decision of the Supreme Court, if it be unconstitutional. It is true, even in the United States the idea prevails that the nature of republicanism consists in replacing monarchs by a rule of the majority; but the idea is nevertheless as wrong as it is to consider the old monarchies as tyrannies pure and simple. While legally a monarch stands above the law, we are perfectly justified in stating that practically the law is, after all, recognised as the ultimate principle of monarchical governments.

As to England, he is astonished to find the sympathy between the two English-speaking nations very deep-seated. But he confesses that the Americans are much closer to the Germans than the English, because, as he says, they do not possess the insular and isolating character of the latter.

"While staying in England, Professor Budde had passed into another country and yet felt as if living on another continent; but in the New World, he simply felt that he had travelled into another country. He recommends Germans to cultivate friendly relations with the United States, and deems frequent visits as an indispensable means of becoming familiar with our characteristic nationality. "The new Germanic nation beyond the ocean," he says, is to me exceedingly charming and attractive."

As to the prospects of theology in the United States, Professor Budde takes a very optimistic view. The apparently chaotic conditions which allow liberty to every church and permit an easy formation of new sects, he finds, after all, and judging from his own experiences, a guarantee of a deepening of the religious conception, and of a sound development of theological science.

Mr. Moncure D. Conway's article on "The Christ of St. Paul" is of deep interest because it treats of the main problem of the history of Christianity, and the topic is one concerning which there has been much discussion and a great difference of opinion. Mr. Conway takes a view which is perhaps too severe on Paul and credits the convert of Tarsus with the invention of all that may give offence in the Gospels. He believes that Jesus was free from the narrowness of the Pharisee convert. We believe that much can be said in favor of Paul which Mr. Conway omits to mention and yet all the points made are worthy of consideration. There is a harshness in the character of Paul which is not always commendable and it is a habit of his to give currency to his pet theories (for instance his doctrine of the second advent of Christ) by calling them a "word" of the Lord. But, after all, he was a powerful personality who succeeded in impressing his view of Christ upon Christianity, and there is no one who doubts that he is the creator of the Gentile church,—the only form of Christianity that survived after the disappearance of the Judaistic congregations, the so-called Ebionites, or Nazarees. A few hints as to the importance of Paul are contained in the editorial on "Paul's Conception of the Cross," page 476 of *The Open Court* for August, 1899.

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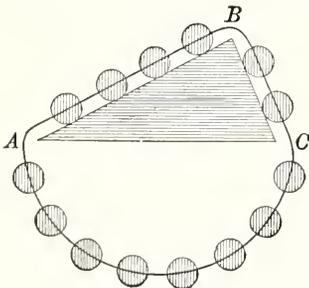
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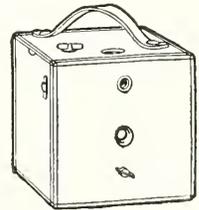
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