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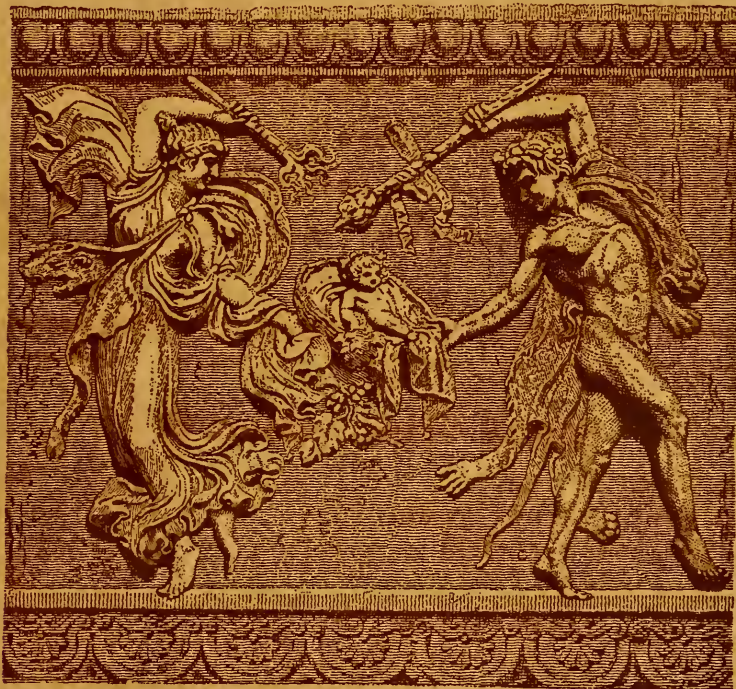
The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Editor: DR. PAUL CARUS.

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



THE SAVIOUR BIRTH IN ANCIENT HELLAS.

(See "Birth Place of Jesus," page 705.)

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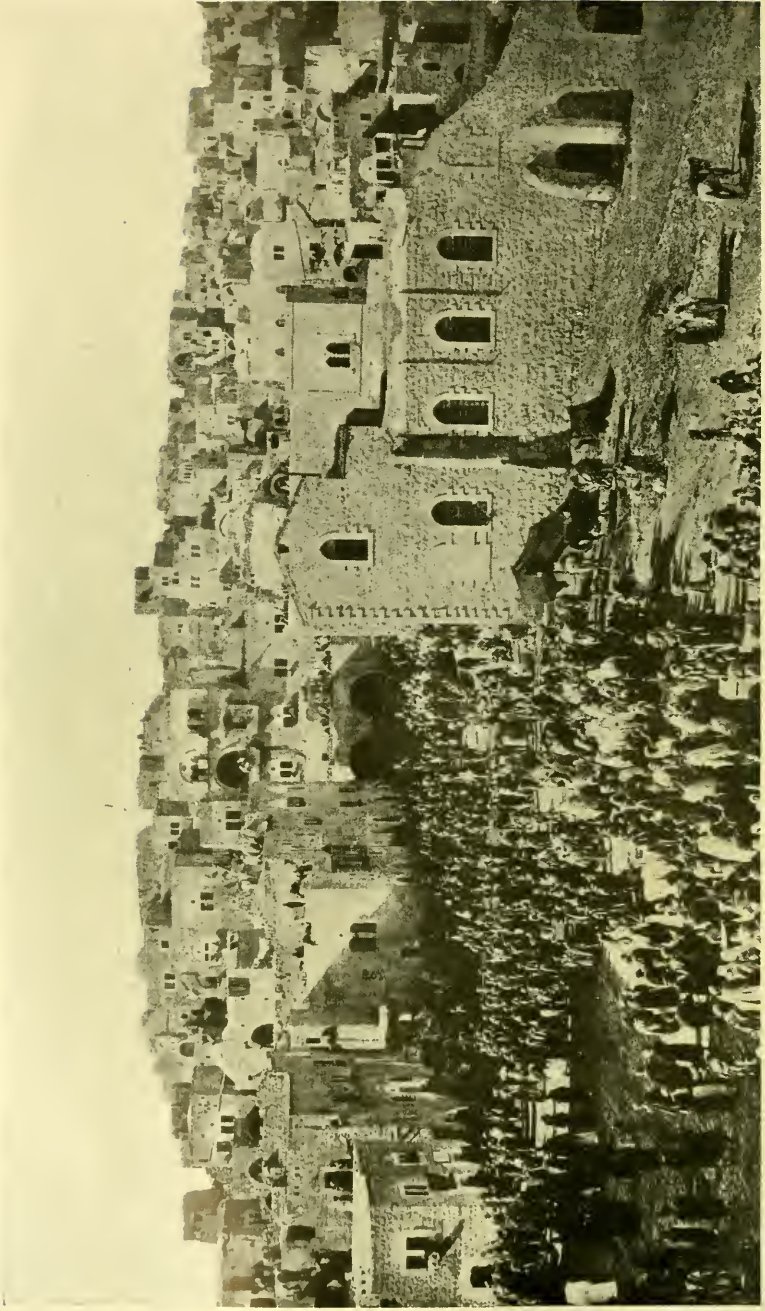
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PILGRIMS ENTERING BETHLEHEM ON CHRISTMAS DAY.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

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VOL. XXIII. (No. 12.) DECEMBER, 1909.

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THE BIRTHPLACE OF JESUS.

BY THE EDITOR.

FOLK notions are powerful factors in the formation of popular conviction, and this appears in all the domains of communal life, in politics, in social affairs, and most of all in religion. Accordingly we need not be surprised that the legends of the pre-Christian saviours affected the story of Christ, and that the traditions of the life of Jesus were retold and interpreted according to the prevalent conception of the ideal of mankind, of the God-man, the Christ. Thus the facts of actual occurrences are frequently embellished and overlaid by myths as vines cover the branches of a tree.

Since tradition at a very early date, even during his lifetime, called Jesus the "son of David," it was assumed that he must have been born in Bethlehem, the native town of David, and this notion crept into the canonical books of the New Testament.¹

The fixation of the day and month in the year is a matter of history, which can be traced in sermons of St. Ambrose, Pseudo-Chrysostom and other Church Fathers. That finally adopted was the same as the birth-festival of Mithras which was celebrated at the winter solstice, and Chrysostom² says about it: "On this day [the birthday of Mithras] the birthday of Christ was also lately fixed at Rome in order that whilst the heathen were busied with their profane ceremonies, the Christians might perform their holy rites undisturbed."

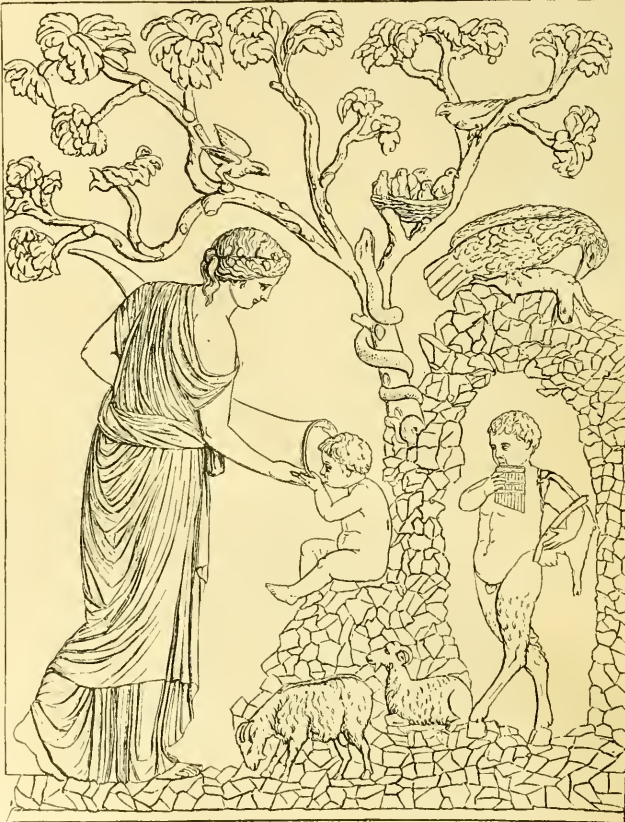
In the same or a similar way, many other occurrences were attributed to Jesus, because he was worshiped as the Christ. If

¹ Cp. Matt. ii. 6 and Micah v. 2. See also Luke ii. 4.

² *Sermo de nativitate S. Joannis Bapt.*, II, 1113, ed. Paris, 1570. For other quotations see *Open Court*, 1899, XIII, 728-730.

pre-Christian saviours had done or suffered one thing or another, it was but natural that the same should apply to Jesus, and these traits are most in evidence in his passion and in his nativity.

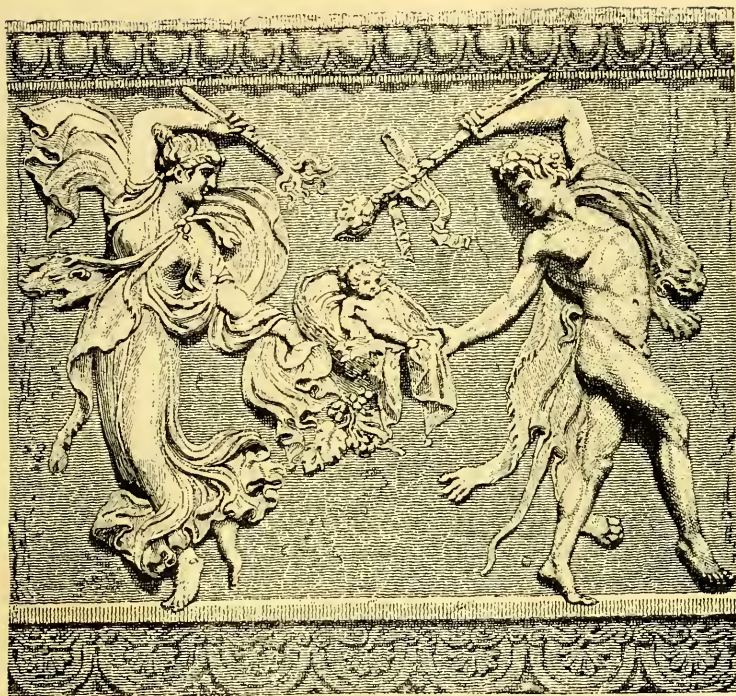
Even before the time of Mithraism the pagans had celebrated festivals of the nativity of their gods, of Zeus, Dionysus, Heracles, and others. Sometimes the mother is on a journey or flies before her ene-



THE NEW-BORN ZEUS SEATED AT THE ENTRANCE OF THE CAVE OF HIS NATIVITY.

The young faun, the tree, the birds and the goats indicate the rustic surroundings.

mics. The birth of a divine babe always takes place in rural surroundings, among herdsmen and in the secret recesses of caves. His needs are so little provided for that he is cradled in a winnowing fan or a trough or any vessel from which the cattle are fed. However, in spite of the lowly conditions under which the saviour-hero enters

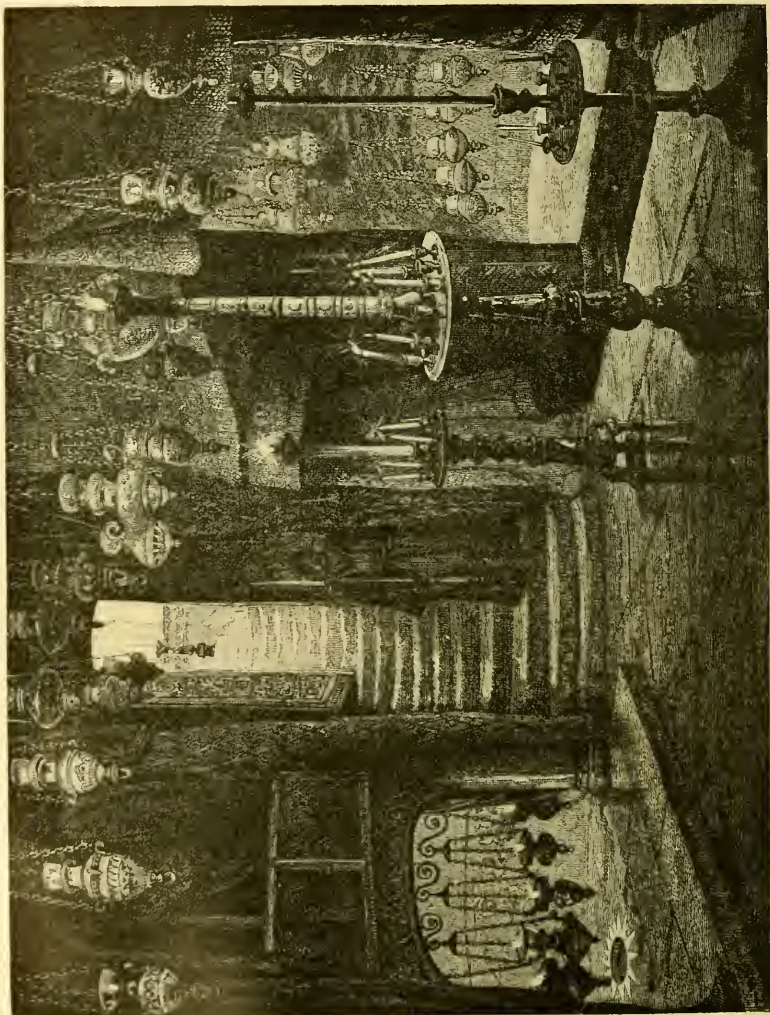


THE CHILD DIONYSUS IN THE WINNOWING BASKET.
From a terra cotta relief in the British Museum.



THE ADORATION OF THE MAGI.
(From an early print.)

into the world of men, he is greeted with great joy, and his birth is celebrated with much merry-making. The illustrations which represent such scenes prove that both in customs and sentiment



THE GROTTA OF THE NATIVITY.

there existed among the pagans something analogous to our Christmas.

Although the Gospels say nothing definite about the place of Christ's birth except that he was laid in a manger because there was

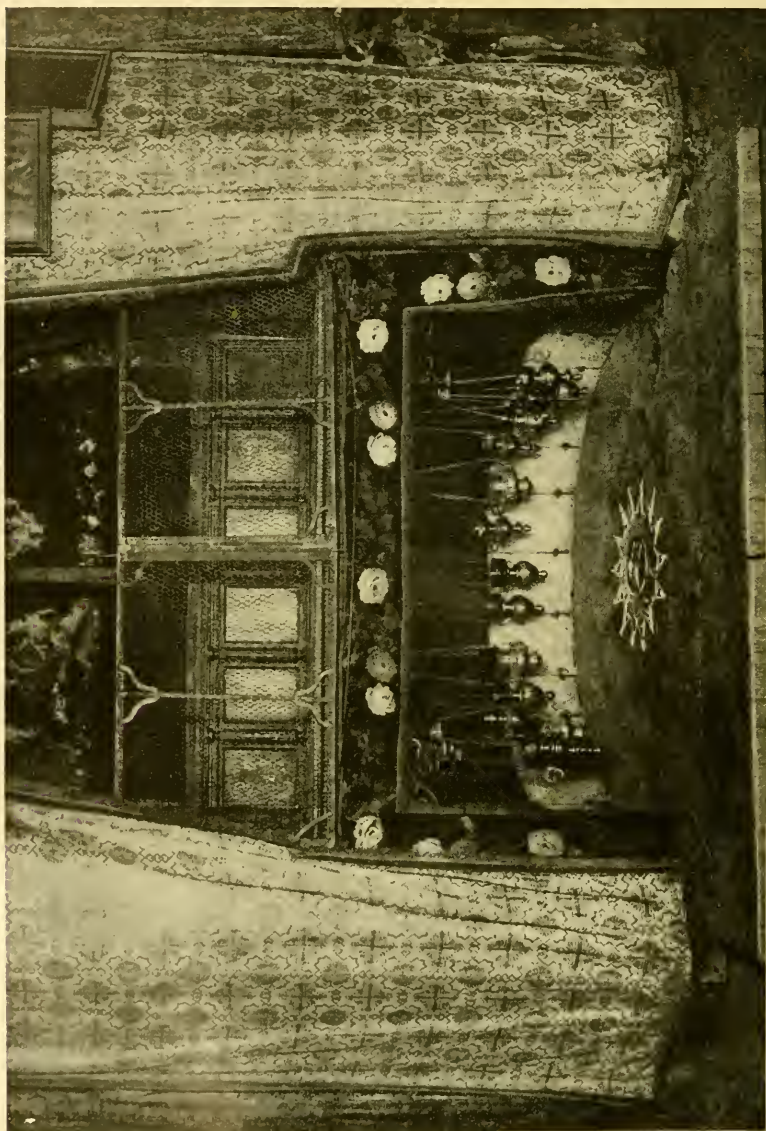
no room in the inn, tradition still clings to the old notion that the nativity of the Saviour must have taken place in a cave.



WHERE THE MANGER STOOD.

The grotto of the Nativity was definitely localized in Bethlehem at a very early date, certainly not later than the second century, for Justin Martyr mentions it as a rock-cut cave. There is

no reason to doubt that he refers to the spot where Constantine erected a basilica dedicated to the Virgin Mary, which is still stand-



THE TRADITIONAL BIRTHPLACE OF JESUS.

ing, though much changed and several times rebuilt in parts. St. Jerome lived here 34 years of his life. His study, a rock-cut room, is still shown to the traveler. Here he translated the Bible into Latin,

and here he died and was buried. A hallway connects the place of his literary labors with the vault which holds his tomb and those of his faithful admirers and disciples, a certain Eusebius (not the Church historian) and two Roman ladies, Paula and Eustochium.

Two staircases lead down to the chapel of the Nativity, one in the south from the Greek chapel, the other in the north from the Armenian chapel. It is a cave 38 feet long and 11 feet wide. A niche at the east end near the southern stairs has been marked in the pavement by a silver star as the very spot of Christ's nativity, and on a marble tablet we read the words, "*Hic de Virgine Maria,*

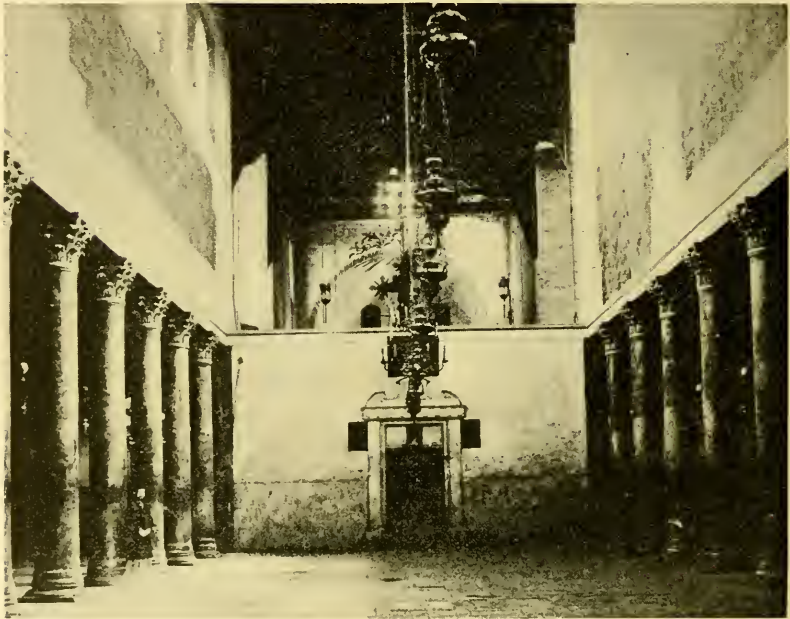


WHERE THE ANGELS SANG THE GLORIA TO THE SHEPHERDS.

Jesus Christus natus est." On the other side of the southern stairs in the western wall of the cave is another niche which has been selected to serve as the spot where the manger stood, but the original manger discovered here has been carried to Rome, where it is preserved in the church of Santa Maria Maggiore. Further north, we are told, is the place where the magi stood when offering their gifts and worshiping the new-born Saviour.

At Christmas the nativity of Christ is celebrated by the population together with thousands of pilgrims who gather here from

long distances. The patriarch leaves Jerusalem in the morning to visit Bethlehem for this purpose. He is received with great pomp and accompanied to the church of St. Catharine. The service lasts fully nine hours, from three in the afternoon until midnight. At twelve o'clock the candles are lit, and while the Gloria is intoned to the accompaniment of shepherds' pipes, the wax figure of an infant appears above the altar. A high mass follows, and after about two hours the patriarch carries the wax figure in a cradle to the church of the Virgin and places it on the silver star in the grotto of the



CHURCH OF ST. HELENA AT BETHLEHEM.

Nativity. Here the figure is wrapped in swaddling clothes, and the chapter on the birth of Christ is read. This done, the procession returns to the church of St. Catharine where another mass is celebrated which lasts until sunrise.

The basilica built over the place of Christ's nativity belongs to the Latins, Greeks and Armenians, while the churches of St. Helena and St. George are the property of the Greek Church.

Bethlehem, like Jerusalem, must have been an old settlement of prehistoric ages. The name probably means the "house of Lakhmu (or Lakhmu)," who was one of the ancient gods of Baby-

lonian mythology. Later on when Lakhmu was forgotten, the word was interpreted to mean "house of bread." The Arabs now call it *Beit-Lahm*, i. e., the "house of meat."



RACHEL'S TOMB NEAR BETHLEHEM.

There is a picturesque ancient tomb near the town of Bethlehem where Rachel, the ancestor of the tribe of Benjamin and a kind of patron saint of the inhabitants, is reported to lie buried. From here

the visitor enjoys a good view of the town as it appears in the adjoined illustration.

This so-called Tomb of Rachel is a typical whitened sepulchre, such as is used for the Moslem saints called *weli*. Formerly a stone pyramid covered the tomb, but the site was purchased in 1841 by Sir Moses Montefiore who had it restored and decorated with a cupola and a vestibule. It is not known who lies buried here. The assumption that it ought to be Rachel is based on the passage Gen. xxxv. 19-20, where her death and burial are mentioned as follows:

“And Rachel died, and was buried in the way to Ephrath, which is Bethlehem.

“And Jacob set a pillar upon her grave: that is the pillar of Rachel’s grave unto this day.”

The passage appears to be contradicted by another statement in 1 Sam. x. 2, according to which Rachel’s tomb was situated at Zelzah on the frontier between Benjamin and Ephraim, which is to be located north of Jerusalem.³

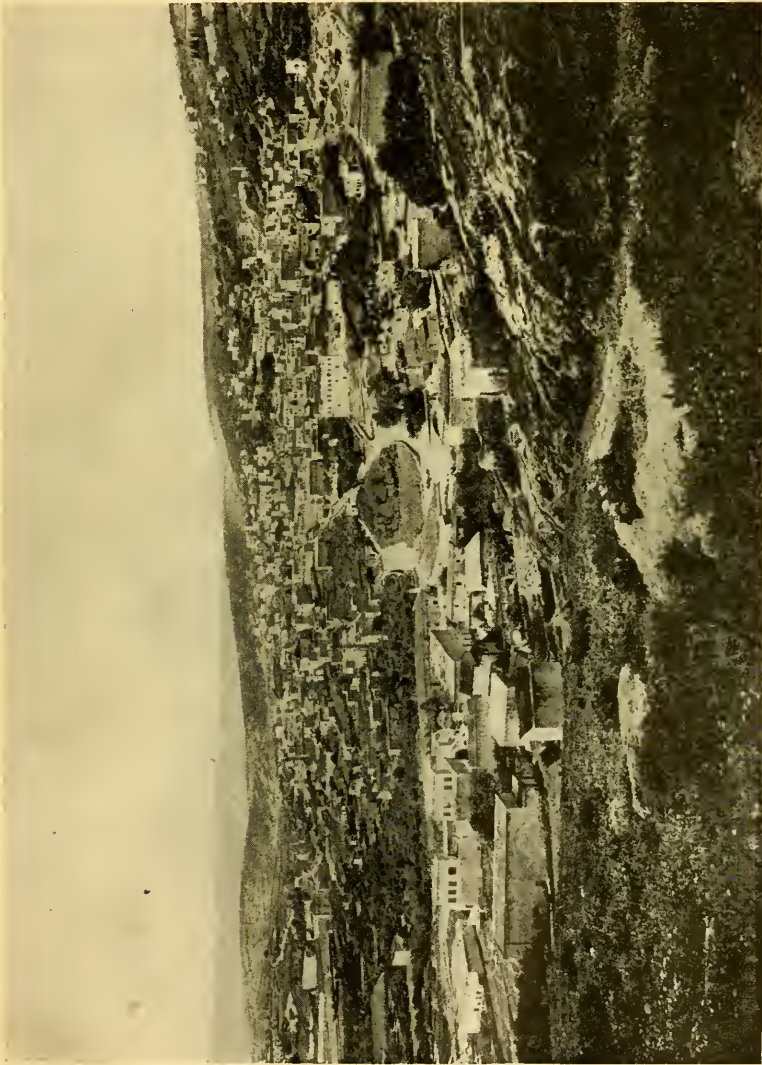
Since we know that the New Testament genealogies are impossible, that the edict of Emperor Augustus, according to which Joseph had to travel from Nazareth to Bethlehem, is unhistorical, and that the story of the magi together with the massacre of the innocents is a legend attributed to Jesus only because it had been told of Buddha and of Krishna, we must conclude that Jesus was not born in Bethlehem and we might be led to believe that he hailed from Nazareth, but here again we become entangled in difficulties.

The village of Nazareth is a beautiful spot in Galilee, and was formerly called en-Natsira, but this identification of Nazareth with en-Natsira rests upon a weak foundation. We search in vain for a town or village of Nazareth in the time of Jesus. He was called the Nazarene because he was a member of the sect of the Nazarenes. His disciples too were called Nazarenes and St. Paul was a “ring-leader of the Nazarenes,” yet none of them was born in Nazareth. This term “Nazarene” is sometimes replaced in the Greek text of the Gospels by the clause “he of Nazareth,” which indicates that whoever translated the original Aramaic documents into Greek mistook the designation “Nazarene” for an inhabitant of a city, and this city Nazareth was later identified in the third century, with en-Natsira in spite of the difference of the two sibilants. The

³ For arguments that the tomb of Rachel must be sought north of Jerusalem, see Ebers, *Palästina*, I, p. 493 note. Cf. Tobler, *Topographie von Jerusalem*, II, p. 785 ff.

Greek ζ of Nazareth is soft as in English *dz*, while the *ts* in *en-Natsira* is a sharp *ts* like the German *z*.

Nazareth, nowhere mentioned in the Old Testament and absolutely unknown to geographers and historians at the time of



THE VILLAGE OF NAZARETH.

Christ, was an insignificant place even in the Christian era. Epiphanius mentions it (*Adv. Her.* I, 136) as having been inhabited only by Jews until the reign of Constantine. The place grew

slowly and Arkulf who wrote in the fifth century, speaks of a church built over the house of Joseph and Mary. In the sixth century a basilica is mentioned, and since then the place has received increasing attention. We are scarcely mistaken when we attribute its present significance exclusively to the tradition that the old en-Natsira is the Nazareth of the Gospels.

In the time of the crusades, the seat of the metropolitan of Palestina Secunda was transferred from Scythopolis to Nazareth, which naturally added considerably to the importance of the town.

If neither Bethlehém nor Nazareth can be regarded as the birthplace of Jesus, where shall we seek the home of his parents and the scenes of his childhood?

Prof. W. B. Smith regards the term "Nazarene" as the title of a guardian spirit or saviour, and he believes that "Jesus" means practically the same. He therefore uses "Jesus" with the article, speaking of "the Jesus," as Christians originally spoke of "the Christ," and there is much truth in his argument. We do not deny that the saviour idea antedated Jesus, and that many incidents of his life and many traits were attributed to him because he was worshiped as the fulfilment of this ideal.

We cannot enter here into a discussion of the problem, but we will say that in spite of the truth in this conception we need not deny that Jesus, the Jesus of the Gospels, was a definite historical personality who was born at the time of Herod the Great and died on the cross as a martyr to his convictions under Pontius Pilate. We grant that the historical evidence is not quite conclusive and leaves a large margin for opinion.

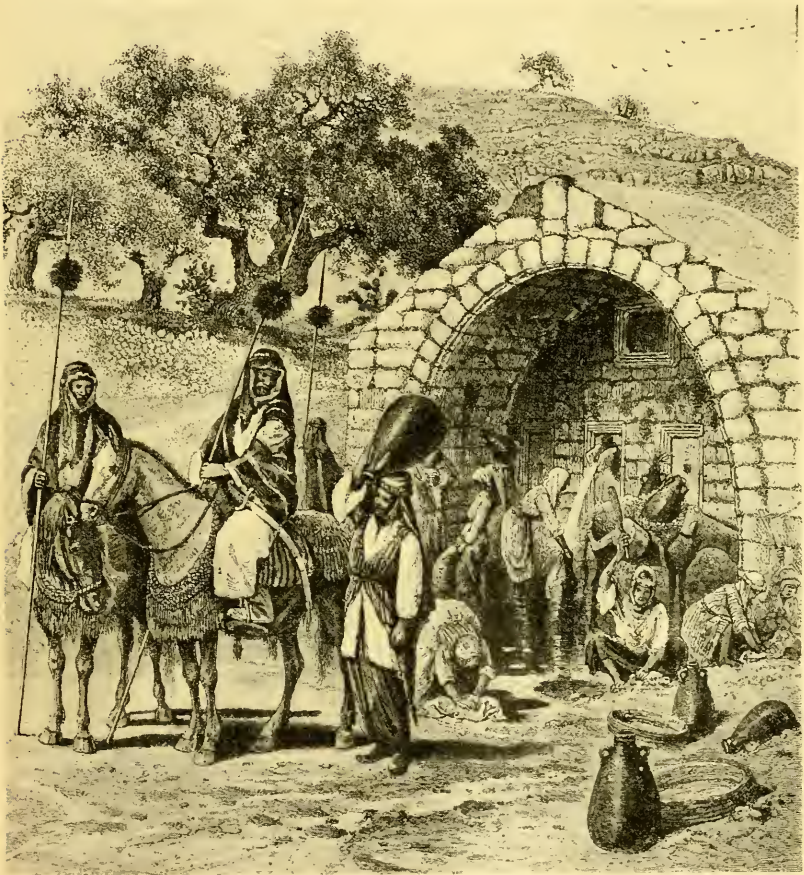
As to myself, I feel there is an historical basis at the bottom of the reports of the Synoptic Gospels, and I accept the view of those theologians who believe that they are based upon a prior source best preserved in Mark and commonly known as Proto-Mark. Taking this stand I would say that a critical investigation of the Gospels can at least arrive at a pretty well established probability as to the character of Jesus and the main events of his life.

Jesus was probably born and raised in Capernaum, for the Gospels contain indications that he lived there, and that there dwelt his parents and his kin.

That Jesus was a Galilean is generally conceded, and in Matt. ix. 1, Capernaum is called "his city." Here he had his home which was known to the people (Mark ii. 1) of whom many came when "it was noised that he was in the house."⁴ We read in Mark vi. 1,

⁴ ἐν οἴκῳ which might be translated "at home."

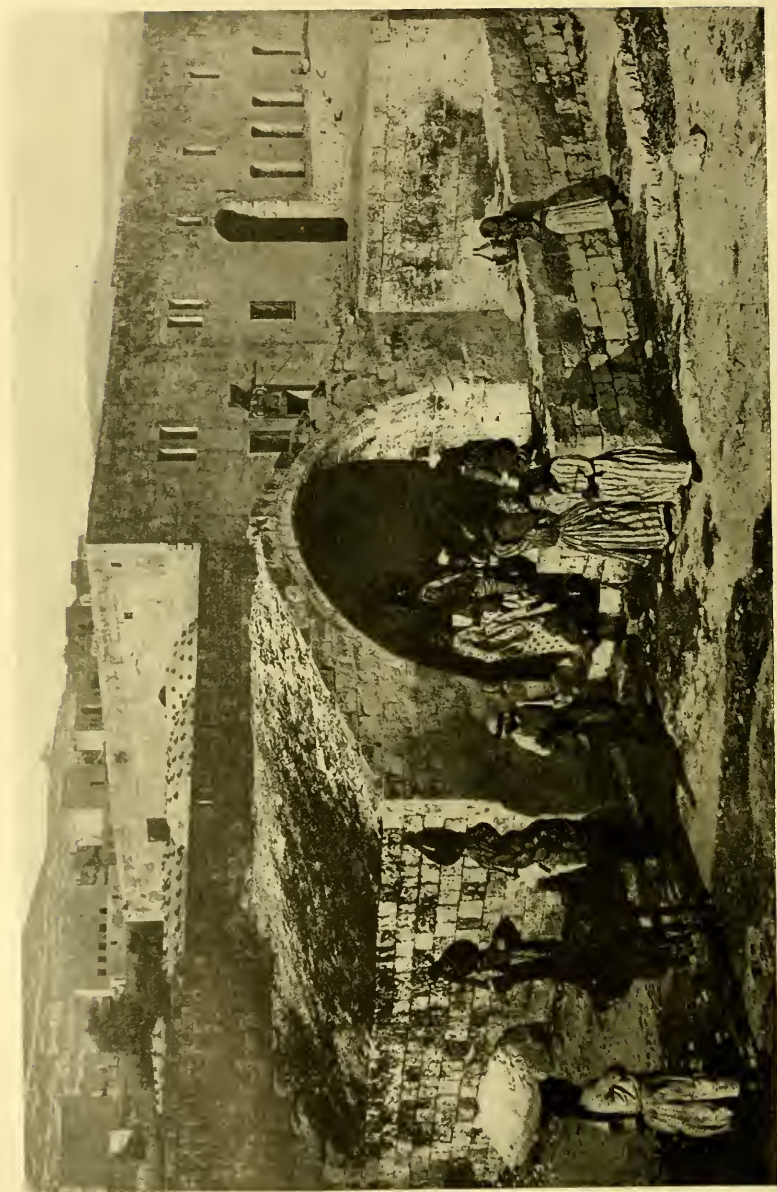
and Matt. xiii. 54, that "when He (Jesus) was come into *his own country*, he taught them in their synagogue," and the expression, "his own country," has been commonly interpreted to mean Nazareth. But if Nazareth must indeed be identified with en-Natsira, it was a small and insignificant village at the time of Christ, yea,



THE SPRING OF THE VIRGIN BEFORE ITS RESTORATION.

(After Ebers and Guthe, *Palaestina*.)

less than a village, so it cannot have possessed a synagogue. It was a small settlement at a spring, then called the Spring of the Guard-house, now the Spring of the Virgin. (Compare also Luke iv. 16-30, where Nazareth is called "a city" in verse 29). Thus we are led to believe that the name Nazareth has been inserted where the original



THE SPRING OF THE VIRGIN AFTER ITS RESTORATION.
(After a recent photograph.)

referred merely to the home of Jesus and that "his own country" means the same as "his city" which was Capernaum. This is the place of which he said "a prophet is not without honor save in his own country [and among his own kin] and in his own house."

The words here quoted in brackets, "and among his own kin," occur in Mark, which is the older report, but have been omitted in Matthew, presumably because tradition gradually obliterated the differences that are recorded as having obtained between Jesus and the members of his family. (See Mark iii. 21, and Luke iv. 16, and also Matt. xii. 46 ff.) The mother of Jesus had become an object



THE RUINS OF CAPERNAUM.

of veneration; she was called the *theotokos*, the mother of God, and in the growing Church took the place of the *magna mater* of paganism, the Queen of Heaven. The existence of the brothers of Jesus was altogether denied as contrary to the doctrine of the Virgin birth.

The visitor to Palestine finds churches built in commemoration of Jesus in Bethlehem and in Nazareth, but not in Capernaum. What a strange irony of fate! While both places of legendary traditions have been beautified and consecrated by Christians who have determined every spot where Jesus is supposed to have been, Capernaum has been neglected and lies in ruins. Strange indeed; but in

the history of religion, myth triumphs over history! And he who is familiar with the law of religious development knows why this is so.

Religion cares little for facts; devout souls are interested in truths only, and the religious truths of great popular movements are mostly expressed in parables, in allegories and in symbols. They are superhistorical; they need not be actual occurrences, if only their import be true. A devotee is filled with sentiment and is apt to be wearied by science. He will respect historical investigations only if they bring grist to his mill. Otherwise he does not hesitate to reject or set aside even well-established truths of science as soon as they come in conflict with what he feels to be the truth. This truth, the religious truth of his faith, is sacred to him, and the scientific truth that would tear down his faith appears to him profane. Hence it is condemned as irreligious and evil.

These considerations must be borne in mind if we wish to understand the nature of the history of religion and the spirit which dominates its development. Piety has a logic of its own; for a devotee is convinced before he investigates, and the most irrelevant suggestion is easily accepted by an unquestioning faith as irrefutable proof.

We do not say that historical investigation should be stopped, nor that facts should be set aside for the sake of religious doctrines. We only wish to point out the psychology of faith and explain its pragmatic tendency. It is not necessary either to praise or to condemn this feature of religious habits, but we must understand its mode of operation so as to appreciate its poetry and also its power over people's minds, without being blind to its weak points, especially to the dangers that lurk in playing fast and loose with the conception of truth.

Whatever conclusion may be reached by a critical investigation as to the historic Jesus, we must bear in mind that Jesus was not a man to the early Christians, he was the Christ, he was God incarnate; and therefore all the notions associated with the Christ idea were transferred upon Jesus. What it behooved a saviour to have been, or to have done, or to have suffered, must have happened to Jesus, and we understand why it was so. The people needed an ideal, and the story of the vicissitudes of a man would have been of no use to them. They needed a god. Jesus the man was of no account; but Jesus the God, the Christ, the Saviour, was of paramount significance, and necessarily so; for in the evolution of mankind, the

superhistorical truth of religious ideals is an irresistible power which does not brook the facts of actual occurrences.

Christmas is celebrated by believers and unbelievers. Similar festivals have been celebrated in pre-Christian times among pagans, as yuletide or the weird sennight, when Wodan and his host pass by; as the nativity of Dionysus, the birth of Horus, etc., and it is probable that Christmas will continue to be celebrated as the festival of the child in the manger, whatever critics may have to say about the place or date of the birth of Christ.

PROGRESS—AN ILLUSION.

BY W. SONNEBERG.

“THE progress of humanity may be compared to the sea during a rising tide,” declared Macaulay. “Each successive wave rushes forward, breaks, and rolls back; but the flood is steadily coming in. A person who looked on the waters only for a moment might fancy they were retiring. A person who looked on them only five minutes might fancy they were rushing capriciously to and fro. But when he keeps his eye on them for a quarter of an hour and sees one sea-mark disappear after another, it is impossible for him to doubt the general direction in which the ocean is moved.” Apt is this comparison in a double sense: apt within the closest meaning of appropriateness; apt in that it demonstrates the common course of deductions as being inconclusive and framed from partial phenomena.

Did our person watch the sea for six hours he would observe that it had lost its former advantages. Did he watch it for twelve hours he would have witnessed an example of the complete cycle in the history of human progress. Neither making a total backward or forward movement nor standing still, humanity is ever beating and tearing at the boundary of the beyond or falling back dismayed, bruised and bleeding.

To demonstrate this cycle movement, in which all forms of animate life participate, we must make manifest the falsity of the basic idea of evolution.

M. Poincaré insists that the most important hypotheses are true only so long as known facts substantiate them, and that all hypotheses are condemned to scientific oblivion as soon as enough new facts arise to combat them. Which is merely another way of saying that man in his eagerness to coordinate the phenomena of the universe into one system explaining the whole, has invariably made his de-

ductions from insufficient data, with the result that time has vindicated the error in each particular instance.

Optimism and credulity are the undoing of the prophet. From the angle of inclination, manifest in certain modern tendencies, he continues upward in an undeviating line towards the clouds. A single section of the historic activity of the race serves him as a base from which to project into the unsuspecting future, a prophecy which ignores such petty laws of nature as gravity and cohesion.

The eye of man commonly sees only the high and illuminated points of the historic horizon. The details of hill and valley, growth and decay are lost to him in the general perspective. Thereupon he is easily convinced when the word of the prophet coincides with his prejudice and his opinion. And strangely enough this narrow view of the phenomena of nature persists in an age ostensibly devoted to liberality as opposed to the broader view obtaining through so many centuries with a people popularly condemned as bigoted.

Through Greek and Roman literature, and Eastern thought, is to be found reference to the cycle in which all animate nature was believed to share impartially, in direct contrast to the modern conception of progress. This idea of the cycle, maintained so many years, has been succeeded by a theory which psychologically spells egotism. The rapid march of scientific investigation, the great stride in material matters, has carried us in imagination away off on a tangent from the old paths apathetically circled by ancient nations.

Man has assumed the burden originally borne by God, and buoys himself with the hope of outwitting nature by the vain assumption.

Optimism associates itself with the belief in progress, and pessimism with non-belief. If to be governed by egotism is optimism, and to be directed by nature is pessimism, the connection is confirmed. That the optimism of the progressive program may defeat its own purpose is patent. An attitude of absolute faith in inevitable improvement tends to reduce the impetus towards perfection by a relaxation of those efforts which would otherwise be engaged to that end.

Whatever consolation is to be derived from the philosophy of history is at best negative. Initiation into the design of nature lies not in the way of evolution. The perplexity of the older philosophers becomes more perplexed by the addition of elements which confuse the issue and isolate the observer sympathetically.

Contrary to the common expectation, scientific reasoning carries us further and further from the fountain head of truth in re-

gard to the understanding of life. The mystery repels the repeated assaults of cold-blooded logic and reveals itself to the psychologically elect. Faith has here an advantage over skepticism. Human standards are pitifully inadequate to the measuring of universal happenings.

As we diverge from the spiritual path into the material, we surrender former estimation of values; we charge the future ill-equipped for the fray, and alienate those influences most favorable to an estimable intuition.

Nature produces large flowers, radiant flowers and fragrant flowers; but combines not the three qualities in one. Every attempt of man to subvert the order of nature in this respect has been unsuccessful. Between size, odor and beauty, he must choose. The *National Food Magazine* gives notice that "Efforts of the poultryman to produce a chicken that will combine the best meat qualities with the best laying qualities have not been entirely successful, as, in chickens, like cattle, it seems that other qualities must be sacrificed for the sake of meat, and *vice versa*."

The question we ask of our social organism is, How far has it sacrificed spiritual qualities for material qualities? How have morality and happiness fared in the direction of what can truly be called progress?

"It used to be said that he who made two ears of corn grow where only one ear had grown before was a benefactor to the race," remarks James Bryce. Then he asks, "Is it necessarily so? The number of men who can live off the soil is larger, but the men need not be better off. If there is more food then there are also more mouths." This proposition forces us to decide whether a growing population is an indication of progress or a mere survival of an old idea from those ages when the gathering of arms was the strength of the city.

Evidences of improvement in general health or physique are exceedingly difficult to obtain, because the balance which nature maintains in each case of betterment is reckoned on a different scale than we ordinarily impose.

Even those who have adopted the hypothesis of evolution with its survival of the fittest, etc., are obliged to relinquish it on the threshold of modern society. Here this grand and noble theory no longer holds good. Here the weak and ill-equipped are pampered and encouraged; the strong are over-burdened. The factory system on one hand and social patronage on the other, insure at least a surcease of these rigid laws which are conceived to have originally

preserved the strong man and eliminated the weak, nor is authority lacking in proof thereof, viz., Robt. Hunter, Jacob Riis, and Jack London. What significance attaches to the abandonment of man by nature just as he is about to enter the final lap in the race to perfection? Or has the evolutionary course imagined for man been merely a tribute to his egotism which must now be discountenanced? Those who make a fetish of the evolutionary hypothesis and pin their faith to the inflexibility and unvariableness of natural laws are convicted of blind egotism out of their own logic. Biblical miracles are condemned because they involve an outrageous suspension of natural laws as man conceives these laws, yet this condemnation carries with it the doom of the hypothesis of evolution in its narrower conception. When man pits his finite conception of miracles against the infinite possibilities of nature, he is guilty of an anachronism which would bring reproach upon a Hottentot. The untaught child is nearer the heart of truth than the knowledge-laden man.

The records of the past are comprehensive and unequivocal. The egotism of the age manufactures for present humanity a soul-invention not guessed at by humanity past. Egotism introduces a principle more elusive than the fourth dimension, more mythical than the Golden Age, more hypothetical than the Martians.

Emanating from the atmosphere which is created by the hypothesis of evolution this principle fades with the ghostly retreat of the hypothesis. How exorcise so plausible an hypothesis? How secure a worthy substitute which will satisfy the scientific as well as the credulous mind? In default thereof we must discover a principle which coordinates all the known phenomena, and accounts for all those imperfections which the story of evolution glided over. Our principle must account for the bulk of the elephant and the swiftness of the rabbit; the radiance of the sun-flower and the fragrance of the violet; the strength of the shark and the agility of the eel; it must likewise account for the magnitude and stupidity of pre-historic animals compared with the lightness and intelligence of the contemporary, and explain the multitude of exceptions which modern research has found a stumbling block to the unquestionable establishment of the theory of evolution.

Emerson gave us the key to this principle in his study of compensation. "For every benefit which you receive a tax is levied.—Human labor, through all its forms, from the sharpening of a stake to the construction of a city or an epic, is one immense illustration

of the perfect compensation of the universe. Everywhere and always this law is sublime."

The tax is inseparable from the gain. Disturb the balance of nature in one direction and it reasserts itself in another. Everywhere and always this law is sublime!

Using this key to unlock the mystery of the universe, we find the mystery a mystery no longer. As we open the door and a flood of light is poured into the dark chamber, we see in the boundless crucible of life a succession of familiar molecules ever shifting, uniting and dividing; a chemical mass whose seething constituents are active in the interchange of the most commonplace substances; a fund of chemical commotion in which each atom gives to each new molecular combination some quality for which the combination must pay the price in flavor, texture, or durability. Always supreme the law of give and take!

For the primary chemical elements, hydrogen, oxygen, nitrogen, substitute the primary physical elements, strength, agility, courage. So. let loose upon the world are certain atoms, or agglomerations of electrons to put a fine point upon it, each with its peculiar properties, which men inherit or appropriate through accident or design. Humanity has bequeathed it a definite fund of these atoms which it frames into molecules or individuals who possess characteristics according to their atomic construction.

Both sugar and wood are composed of carbon, oxygen and hydrogen; their difference is quantitative rather than qualitative. From a determinate weight of sugar can be obtained a determinate weight of carbon, oxygen and hydrogen; similarly with wood. The atom is unvarying, changeless; the molecule is constantly altering its composition.

Mendelief said, "Chemistry recognizes how changes take place in combinations of the unchanging." It is the business of chemistry to trace the changes of properties which are brought about by combining unchanging atoms so as to form different kinds of molecules. It is the business of philosophy to trace the changes of the character of the individuals brought about by the combination of primary elements.

The molecular constitution in the physical organization is for the most part as strongly marked and as limited quantitatively as the chemical. It is governed by practically the same laws of affinity and distribution. And if the physical molecule or individual is not so inexorably restricted in the matter of the interchangeability of its parts, and the establishment of an invariable weight of constit-

ents, there is always maintained a balance,—within liberal limits of course, which if disturbed in one direction reasserts itself in another. There is not space in one individual for a maximum of frivolity, wisdom, artistic impulse, and business sense, any more than there is space in a molecule for a maximum of carbon, hydrogen and oxygen at one and the same time. That is why men specialize. They recognize that one attribute must be developed at the expense of others. The law of compensation holds firm.

Take specialization in the orange. Eliminate the seed of the orange, and the pulp multiplies in answer to the law of compensation. Increase the size of the fruit beyond reasonable limits and the assertion of balance causes the flavor to suffer.

Consider the balance in human history. Suppose we look upon the known history of the race as a physical organization which has undergone certain transformations as a result of differing and various influences during different epochs. The prevailing character of Egyptian supremacy was religious; that of Greece, philosophic and artistic; that of Rome, political; that of the Modern, material. Each nation in its respective flourishing period, manifested an affinity in correspondence with the general receptivity of its population.

Correlated with the Egyptian capacity for religious governance was the coarctation to other forms of mental activity. The same is true of the philosophical control of Greece, the political absorption of Rome, and the material dominance of the modern era. Capacity in one direction premises abridgement in others.

To-day painters paint pictures, poets sing songs, philosophers philosophize, theologians argue, politicians plan; but high above all the principal incentive to action, the pride of peoples, the absorbing ambition, hovers the spirit of materialism. Our up-to-date music is Strauss's reproduction of the sound of factory whistles blended with the whirr of wheels; our art presents the narrow chasms of New York city streets, bordered on either side by lighted cliffs of towering office buildings. While these are mere surface facts, they indicate the general flow of the intellectual stream—if indication be needed for a current so swift that it bears, if properly steered by capitalistic scandal, any craft to a one hundred thousand subscription list over night. Says the Philistine De Casseres: "The soul of the New Yorker is a mere measuring utensil. It is a gauge for material things only. 'What does it cost?' 'What can I sell it for?'—are his first questions. All art is merchandise, all beauty is pressed into the service of advertising pills, porous plaster and beers. The man

of literary skill is told to write advertisements; the great musician is directed to a café; the talented painter is set to work on magazine illustrations."

We have accustomed ourselves to think that our inventions, luxuries and conveniences are the output of a brain power never before attained by the races of men. This is an assumption of intellectual superiority not substantiated by facts. There are probably more units than formerly subject to the mental stimulation of available knowledge, a more level and commonplace equality in the domain of intellect; which is quite apart from the establishment of a unique creation in brain quality.

Greek thought indisputably lies at the foundation of all modern speculation. The claim of Egypt and of China to some of our fundamental inventions is urgent. Explicit evidence of the existence of a high order of intelligence among early peoples is not wanting. A capricious intelligence follows the paths of least resistance. Regulation of the path of least resistance is beyond human ken. When an irresistible intellect meets an immovable object, it detours gracefully.

Intelligence is translated by dominant social forces into the species of activity dictated by environment and temperament. Whether the activity be philosophical, or political, or material, has no significance in terms of brain quality. The age is the slave of circumstance, and the individual is the subject of the age. Had the Church not been tyrannical, the sixteenth century would probably have witnessed some other form of reformation; had Luther not been born, the sixteenth century could not have elapsed without a great schism in the Church.

Through all the interplay of intellectual activity, the balance in compensation has been maintained. Optimism, born of the scientific advance of the century, fosters the belief that the balance can permanently be disturbed in favor of posterity. Much is hoped from environment. And in a sense environment has improved. But the improvement, when summarized, is discovered to be rather illusive and with a private balance of its own. "In millions of copies the vulgar newspaper pictures of crime reach the homes of the suggestible masses," declares Professor Münsterberg, "and every impulse toward the forbidden is dangerously reinforced. Every brutality spreads outward and accentuates the lawless impulses in the surrounding world."

Curiously illustrative of the paradoxical way of progress is the progress in matters sanitary. Increased density of population has

necessitated additional sanitary precautions, and improved sanitary conditions encourage further congregation of the people. Being the spur to sanitary improvement, the crowded condition must always be ahead of the remedy by a tantalizing few thousand souls or so. Since men commonly do not anticipate a remedy, the reciprocal relation between progress and its cause is not totally complimentary to those even in the van of the movement. Especially is this true in the case of philanthropy, where progressive economic conditions contribute a dole to those who have been deprived, by the conditions, of a rightful heritage.

Nor are other signs more promising when weighed in the balance. It is presumed to be a mark of advancement that the penalty for the courage to deliver the truth is now limited to social and commercial ostracism, whereas formerly it meant the gallows. Ostracism as against the gallows does not altogether commend itself for an advance in the humane art.

The vagaries of the moral mode are an admirable gauge of the whole progressive movement. The compensation element working here is obvious to all but the utopian-minded. From Lecky we learn that every age and every nation has certain characteristic vices, which prevail almost universally. Succeeding generations change the pattern of their morals with the fashion of their clothes; patronize small wiles and small waists instead of open brutality and bustles, without adding to either the sum total of the comfort of the soul or of the body. New forms of wickedness are invented to replace the old ones abhorred, and salvation for the race *en bloc* is still in the future.

Every addition to the sum of pleasure, James Bryce assures us, may bring some pain with it, for the enjoyment of each pleasure creates a desire to have more of it. Where new conditions have enabled men to acquire a taste for something, the want of it is felt as a privation which may become a hardship.

Just as a horticulturist must sacrifice numbers to size, and each quality to the detriment of some other quality, so in the crucible of nature is a fixed amount of elementary material which can be worked over into various products never possessing at once all those qualities which are held to be desirable, but passing in turn through successive transformations suggested by the contemporary predominant environmental influence.

Sir William Ramsay, who came to the study of the philosophy of history with the evolutionary theory firmly rooted in his mind, had to admit that he found so many facts which refused to fit the

theory that he was compelled to abandon it, at least in its narrowest interpretation. The ease with which one can arrange religions or philosophies in a series from the lowest to the highest and assume that this series represents a historical development, should at once arouse one's suspicions. But where egotism is concerned, suspicion is somnambulant. Egotism betrays into fresh egotism.

How simple it is to become the dupe of our own ingenuity we learn from the experience of Sir William. Beginning the study of Greek religion as a follower of Robertson Smith and Maclennan and accepting the Totemist theory as the key of truth, he was forced by the evidence to the view that degeneration is the outstanding fact in religious history, and that the modern theory often takes the *last* products of degeneracy as the facts of primitive religion.

The abandoned theories of the past bear witness to the transient value of hypotheses which embrace incomplete observations. Freed from prejudice and preconception, any view which we choose to take of the *complete* phenomena of nature reveals its essentially chemical character.

Applied to animals, to men, or to things, the principle of the cycle and its compensatory adjunct provides a rule of action which the hypothesis of evolution, plausible as it is, scarce dares hope to dispute. Although we cannot anticipate combinations, given the combination, the result can be computed as approximately as our familiarity with the molecular structure permits. The germination of a seed and the development of a nation are chemically associated.

Chemical formula is the compendium of life manifestation everywhere. Atoms generally combine and recombine to form various materials; never losing their identity and passing ceaselessly through a cycle of changes ordained by fate and regulated by a higher law than man is capable of comprehending.

However displeasing the prospect may be to those who must squeeze a moral from every passing molecule, the phenomenon has its compensation. The incongruity is chargeable to imagination rather than to fact; man's place in the universe not having been as yet established. Happiness is an internal-symbol dependent upon the molecular arrangement, so that the environment of the molecule is not of such great importance as its intrinsic constitution.

There is nothing necessarily depressing in the concept that racial evolution is a myth. It is to the belief in inevitable progress, as exemplified in the hypothesis of evolution, that we owe much of the egotism and irreligion of the day. Whereas belief, if it must be bolstered by an underlying thought of personal advantage, finds

a more adequate realization in the cycle principle, which offers to the individual the opportunity to advance, irrespective of the circling mass, whose opposing efforts can never be organized into a collective ascent of the hill approaching the "Celestial City."

That portion of the cycle in the visible history of the individual, which pertains to known activity on this sphere, can best accomplish a desirable destiny for itself unembarrassed by the prescription of physicians who are to be satisfied with nothing less than the simultaneous cure of all their patients.

Character is largely the outcome of a single life. We may bequeath that to the rising generation which will help to make or mar their lives, but the final issue is a matter of individual specific gravity independent of the rise and fall of social systems.

EVOLUTION THE CHARACTERISTIC OF NATURE.

BY THE EDITOR.

MR. Walter Sonneberg calls attention in his article to an important truth which is frequently overlooked. It is this, that evolution is not a continuous progress, but only one phase in the circuit of life. It is true that life moves in circles, or rather in spirals, which are advancing circles. But for that reason we can not say that "progress is an illusion." Progress and evolution are true enough, even though they are only one phase of life, and even though they are followed by dissolution and decay.

Some evolutionists have accepted the idea that progress will lead mankind to a state of complete adaptation and will finally end in a sort of millennium when there will be perfect bliss and happiness. This is an error, for happiness is a relative factor. We may express happiness by a fraction, the denominator of which represents our needs while the numerator enumerates the satisfactions attained. Progress increases both factors simultaneously. As the satisfaction that contributes to our happiness increases so does the denominator of our growing wants. New needs arise with every invention, and we are but too quick in becoming accustomed to them. The fact is that life is a function and our happiness a correlated exponent of its motion. Pain and misfortune are caused by disturbances which clamor for a readjustment. Life may grow more and more complicated, but a life from which trouble, anxiety, obstruction, struggle, misfortunes, accidents, pain and other disturbances were absolutely eliminated, is a mere dream; closely considered it is unthinkable and we may count it as an impossibility.

At the same time we do not doubt that all evolutionists of a scientific turn of mind are, and always have been, convinced of the truth that all things that have originated will finally pass away. Solar systems rise into existence and break to pieces. Nothing

endures, and of late we have found evidence that even the chemical atoms will be dissolved again.

We must assume that in the course of eons our whole solar system, the universe in which we live, will be destroyed. On the other hand we know that new universes originate even before the old ones pass away. The heavens are studded with nebulas which astronomy has found out to be worlds in the making. Life is in constant motion. It blooms and withers, it originates and passes away; but while the several forms of life come and go life itself is ever new, and the eternal laws which sway the whole remain forever world without end.

We know that all that lives must die; but we know also that life is always triumphant.

Though all the worlds must break to pieces, growth, evolution, progress, life ever advancing, or whatever we may call it, will remain the characteristic feature of existence. The world runs in one definite direction. It is in a state of perpetual motion, and this motion exhibits the tendency of building up. Portions of it break down again but every breakdown only prepares a new start.

We conclude with a quotation from *De Rerum Natura* (which is here reproduced with some corrections):

“But as the morning wakes the eyes
 Whose weariness the evening sealed with sleep;
 As new-born spring the doom of winter thwarts
 And genial resurgence foils the tomb
 With life rejuvenized in serial birth;
 As night and day, in alternating layers,
 From time unfold: so too the world respire.
 The cosmic tides in rhythmic surges rise
 Ever to ebb in restless billows back
 Where call the soundless Deeps; then upward heave
 With gathered stress of nobler aspiration.
 Thus ever from the grave is life redeemed,
 And ruins wake to spheres regenerate,
 Gemming the circle of eternity
 With threaded universes evermore.”

AN ETHER "VISION."

BY FREDERICK HALL.

THIS is an account, set down as accurately as possible, of the one strange mental experience in my life of thirty-six years.

It occurred on the fourteenth of last April, while under the influence of an anesthetic preceding a surgical operation, and I find it especially strange in that it happened to *me*, who had always regarded myself as psychologically entirely average and commonplace. I have never been accused or suspected of possessing mediumistic powers, have never been hypnotized, have never had a "premonition," am not "nervous," never saw a ghost and, to quote the author of *The Purple Cove*, "I never hope to see one." My occupation (I am a country store keeper) has, so far as I am aware, never been regarded as predisposing a man to see visions and dream dreams. Moreover my knowledge of either philosophy or psychology is such as has been gathered only from general reading and casual conversations.

The operation in question was performed by a surgeon whom I met for the first time in the operating room, assisted by Dr. K., a relative, and Dr. H., a personal friend. My recollections of *events* have been corroborated by the physicians; my sensations were as I shall describe them except that I am not positive as to their exact order.

I had never before taken ether, but the odor was not to me disagreeable. I began breathing deeply and regularly, as directed; I felt the pressure of the nurse's fingers on my pulse and then Dr. H., with whom I had often discussed the mysteries of life and death, said:

"This change coming over you is like another which you and I will some time experience."

And he laughed softly as I answered:

"We'll talk about it some day."

A few moments later he asked:

"Getting sleepy?"

"A little," I answered and, later, as I felt the drowsiness creeping over me, I added:

"I'm asleep now from the waist down."

I realized that the drug was having its effect, that I must soon pass entirely under its influence, but the sensation was far from unpleasant. It was as if I were drifting with a great resistless tide, out into a rest which in its vastness might be eternal, a sort of Buddhistic Nirvana, in entering which I felt no sorrow, no regret.

Then (and of the nature of the transition I have no memory) I was all at once awake and fully conscious in a different world, perhaps (one of the physicians later suggested) that of the subjective mind—whatever that may be. At any rate, it gave no sensory impressions, neither touch, smell or sight, yet in it I felt myself perfectly at home and immediately recognized it as being far more *real* than the other world out of which I had just come. Entering it was, by comparison, like coming out of the murky shadows of a cave into the clear light of day; like passing at a step from the din and clangor of a crowded city street into the quiet of a country roadside on a summer afternoon.

The physicians believed me entirely unconscious and I had lost all control of my members, as well as all concern for them, when suddenly, as if from a far distance, though I knew that he stood just at my body's head, I heard the voice of Dr. H. saying:

"Keep breathing, Fred. Breathe deep."

Response was instantaneous and seemingly almost automatic. I drew two breaths so deep that my back quite lifted, they tell me, from the operating table and of these breaths I was conscious.

Then I heard Dr. K. laugh softly and say:

"He still knows how to mind well."

At that they say I chuckled. I do not remember it, but I do know that I was at that moment supremely amused, for I realized that these, my friends, believed they saw real things and causes, the cause, for example of my breathing, of their talking, and the like. But they *didn't*; and I did. Not in the sense of being wiser than they or exercising keener insight. Only, I was where the causes *were* and to see them required no more mental effort or ability than to recognize a color as blue or an odor as ammonia.

It is this phase of my experience which I find hardest to describe. It was as real as anything I ever experienced in physical life. It has still for me a very definite and positive value: since my waking there have risen a score of subtle mental problems which I have felt (still feel indeed) would simply vanish could they be looked at in

the light of that world, yet when I seek to picture it, it escapes like water from every form of words I fashion and in telling of it I realize not simply that I fail to enlighten my individual hearer but that the words themselves are such as could not be expected to carry any clear impression to any one who had not undergone a similar experience.

This much however by way of one more trial:

I was, in the phrase of one of Jack London's heroes, "all there." I had no dread of pain; so far as I was concerned the surgeons might have begun their work that moment; yet, although I did not see or feel it in the physical sense, I knew just where my body lay, knew I had been placed under the influence of ether and was to undergo an operation. I was as conscious as at any time I ever was of my personal affection for Drs. K. and H., and in my amusement there was no feeling of contempt or of superiority. I knew they saw all any one in their position could see, and, standing where I did, would see all I saw. But the knowledge of how little they actually did see, coupled with their evident feeling that they saw all there *was*, this was funny to the last degree; as funny as the remark of the Irishman who, shown for the first time a barometer, exclaimed: "An' who'd iver think a little machine loike thot could make it rain an' snow!"

In no wise either was my amusement due to a feeling that Dr. H. supposed that he was making me do something which actually I did of my own volition. In one sense he *did* make me breathe: not, as it seems to me, that he had any real control over *me*, but rather that my own control over my own body was so relaxed that I could not prevent his taking charge of the machine: though, for that matter, I had of course no wish to do so.

As to the causes operating in my world, they seemed not such as to at all supersede individual agency. Physical speech, physical breathing, and all the rest, were true, so far as they went, but my feeling was of their comparative unimportance and superficiality. It was as if the physical phenomena were but the echoes, or better perhaps, the broken and distorted shadows of the real things passing on my side of the veil. There one saw them as through a glass darkly, but here face to face.

'Tis a crude figure but I felt that those of the physical world knew as little of real causes as does the child who, viewing a passing train and noting its revolving wheels, supposes that they, turning of themselves, give to coaches and locomotive their momentum. Or (another figure) imagine a man seated in a boat, surrounded by

dense fog and out of the fog seeing a flat stone leap from the crest of one wave to another. *If he had always sat thus*, his explanations must be very crude as compared with those of a man whose eyes could pierce fog and who saw upon the shore the boy skipping stones.

In some such way the remarks of the two physicians seemed to me like the last two "skips" of a stone thrown from my side and they enlightened me not at all except as to the manner in which the cause, if I may so phrase it, worked itself out. All that was essential in the remark I knew before it was made.

Yet thus to discover, convincingly and for myself, that the things which are unseen are those of real importance, this was sufficiently stimulating and it will show how fully I was myself when I say that at the moment the last remark was made there flashed through my mind a conversation with a friend in which he, speaking of God as the great immanent spirit, in whom we live and move and have our being, suggested that God could perfectly control all phenomena, yet leave us infallibly convinced that what we saw resulted from natural law and natural law only. Not that this explanation quite fitted the case, not that I had any feeling of God, in the theological sense, but the very atmosphere of this world spoke to me of the oneness and rightness of all things.

"And," thought I, "I must remember all this and, when I return, must tell him how shrewd a guess he made." For, alas! the thought that I would not be able to tell clearly all that was then so plainly evident, this was to me inconceivable.

Afterward a drowsiness stole back upon me. I remembered having once read that the ears were the last part of a man to fall asleep, and I made a mental note as to the correctness of the statement. "For," said I, "I can still hear the running water in the other room."

The thought of my wife and children came last, and then I was quite gone, into realms which have left upon the plates of memory no record.

I have a notion, though it is only a guess, that most of the other sensations might also have escaped me had it not been for the two remarks of the physicians, serving as links, as it were, to join for me the two worlds and give me a momentary insight into each.

Oddly enough, I woke with no recollection of this to me unique experience. Not until some twenty hours later did it come to me, and then it came with the force of an obsession, clamorously demanding, as it still demands, to be clothed with adequate words.

One haunting enigma is the question of getting back. I was *there* once and were it Mombassa, Bagdad, Mandalay or "farthest north," any obscure or hidden corner of our planet, I would at least know how to *start* to reach it. But how set forth in quest of this realm which has for men an interest so much greater?

The doctors gave me little hope that ether would take me there again,* though I would willingly undergo all that was disagreeable in the waking could I only come back with communicable impressions. To return simply to *be* there, as an opium eater might long to enter again his paradise, for this I have no desire.

The besetting task was not well suited to the mind of a convalescent and all that day, as I tried to frame the story of what had been to me so real and vivid, there grew upon me, more and more, the feeling that I, like the Lazarus of Browning's "Epistle," had indeed entered "the spiritual life, around the earthly life," yet must also sympathize with him in that I could not give my "neighbor the real ground" of my conviction.

Now was it simply an hallucination, such stuff as dreams are made of?

It may have been. That, of course, I must admit; but that it was, mere argument or logic would never convince me.

All of us feel, sometimes, I imagine, that there *ought* to be a world different from and better than this one; some "home of the soul," where the scales always weigh true, where life's injustices and inequalities are squared, where the oppressor's wrongs, the proud man's contumely and all the rest are quite impossible, where we are quit, once and for all, of this world's "measureless grossness and the slag."

My feeling is that for a moment I stood on the borderland of such a world, was *there*, in a sense as real as that I now am here. I did not tarry, it is true; some spiritual current swept me forth again. But, if that world should prove to be all that my Pisgah glimpse seemed to promise, and if at death I were to return thither, to become a citizen of that country, I would ask for myself or for my loved ones no better realization of the Christians' Heaven.

* * *

On reading the proofs of what I have written, it has occurred to me to mention two further items in connection with my experience.

* Prof. William James writes me however: "You would doubtless get something similar if you tried ether again."

In a recent newspaper account of a communication received through a medium by Professor Hyslop, from the spirit of his father, the "spirit" in explaining certain things which it understood better than he did said: "We see the working mind." In a sense this phrase seems to describe what I saw.

Also, this illustration has suggested to me the difficulty which I have in making clear to others what I underwent. Suppose that from the beginning the race of men had never seen in the physical sense but had somehow gotten on by the aid of the other four senses, increased and multiplied and won a certain measure of dominion over the earth, and then suppose that on some afternoon *one* of them had, for a brief space, seen in the sense in which we see, would it not be almost impossible for him to make clear to his fellow men what he had experienced? Would he have any words in which to tell it?

This is somewhat my feeling of helplessness.

EDITORIAL COMMENT.

This interesting report of the ether vision experienced by Mr. Frederick Hall, of Dundee, Illinois, describes a dream in which the dreamer remains to some extent conscious of his surroundings.

There are other cases which throw light on the experience of Mr. Hall, and are especially interesting because, as a rule, the dreams are taken by the dreamers to be real, and so they are inclined to call it "dreaming true." This seems to be corroborated because some features of the dream are due to actual sense-impressions and correspond to facts. For all that the experience remains a dream and the assumed actuality is an illusion quite natural in a dream.

One instance of this kind, communicated to me by a man of good education, was a case in which the dreamer dreamed that his soul passed out of his body, hovered above it and saw his own body lying on the bed quietly breathing. It saw doctors and nurses passing in and out and actually believed that he, his own soul without corporeal shape, an indefinite being consisting merely of self-consciousness, was perched in a definite place near the ceiling in the room.

Phenomena of this kind are not uncommon, and we may state that Professor Goltz, the famous physiologist of Strassburg, experienced conditions of this kind.

The present statement of Mr. Hall is the more interesting in

that he gives the account in the full belief that his dream was a reality, and he makes his statements from this standpoint in which he interprets his experiences in the dream itself. The physiological phenomena of his cerebration are those of a dream, but the psychical sensation of dreams is the same in kind as sense-perception in a waking state. Under normal conditions, dreams are weaker, but sometimes the dream consciousness, especially if it is caused by narcotics, proves to be as strong as, or even stronger and brighter, than the normal waking consciousness, rising up to a pitch of ecstasy, to a state of psychic intoxication when the soul revels in raptures of jubilant joy.

The subjective states of perception are realities of life, and as sensations are as real as in our waking consciousness. They are not real, however, and we call them hallucinations, in the sense that no outside or objective things correspond to the visions of the dream that are caused subjectively by internal causes, while the perceptions of the waking consciousness are caused by external or objective conditions which are independent of our subjectivity and exhibit a persistence which becomes absurd in dreams.

The interpretation of visions as objective realities is a psychical fact which must not be overlooked or forgotten, for it explains much in the psychical development of mankind and sets forth the reason why visions play such an important part in the history of religion.

JOSEPH DIETZGEN, THE PHILOSOPHER OF SOCIAL DEMOCRACY.

BY THE EDITOR.

AMONG the philosophers of modern times Joseph Dietzgen is little known partly because he was not a professional philosopher but, scientifically considered, a self-taught man, partly because his interest lay in the practical issues of life, for he was with all his soul a devoted adherent of the labor party. Hence he has been called the philosopher of socialists or of social democracy.

Joseph Dietzgen* was born December 9, 1828, at Blankenberg, a little town on the Sieg, a small river flowing into the Rhine a few miles above Cologne. The place is possessed of romantic traditions and a natural beauty. The ruins of an old castle are still standing, and the mountainous landscape is covered by woods and vineyards. His father was the owner of a tannery and in 1835 he moved to Uckerath, a small village in the neighborhood. In Uckerath Joseph attended the public school, and for a short time was sent to a Latin school in Oberpleis. He learned tanning in the tannery of his father, but he always had an open book with him while at work, for he was greatly interested in literature, political economy and philosophy. In 1848 he for the first time became conscious of his radical tendencies, and forthwith considered himself an outspoken socialist. In his philosophical ideas he was strongly under the influence of Feuerbach, and in his socialist convictions he followed closely Marx and Engels. Carl Marx visited him at his home on the Rhine and became his friend. At the socialist Congress at the Hague in 1872, which Dietzgen attended as a delegate, Marx introduced him with the words: "Here is our philosopher."

In 1849 Dietzgen came to the United States and made himself

*The data of Dietzgen's life are taken from a short biography written by his son as an introduction to the German edition of *Das Wesen der menschlichen Kopfarbeit*.

thoroughly familiar with the country. He partly tramped through the States, partly traveled on canal boats, from the East to the Mississippi, and from Wisconsin down to the Gulf of Mexico. He returned to Uckerath in 1851 and married a deeply religious Roman Catholic orphan of Westphalia. Their married life was extremely happy in spite of the difference in their convictions. He educated his children well, but he never succeeded in establishing the financial conditions of his home on a solid foundation. In Winterscheid he opened a grocery, combined with a bakery, which he conducted for some time with success:

In order to improve his condition he returned to the United States in 1859, where he founded a similar business in Montgomery, Alabama, but the war of secession ruined the enterprise, and when some of his friends had been hanged for their sympathy with the North he left Alabama in 1861 and returned to Winterscheid where he resumed his former business.

In 1864 he saw an announcement in a paper which called for an expert tanner to conduct the imperial tannery at St. Petersburg. He applied for the place and was accepted. Though the position was good and the Russian government was greatly pleased with his work, he disliked Russian conditions to such an extent that he left St. Petersburg and returned to Germany. He settled in Siegburg and conducted the tannery of his father which he had inherited, but he was not successful in business. The growing industry concentrated the tanneries into a few hands and made it more and more impossible for the small tanners to compete.

At the same time Dietzgen continued his propaganda for the social democratic party, and in 1878 when Hödel and Nobiling had made their unsuccessful attempt to kill the emperor he was indicted for treason and held for a long time without bail. This ruined his business and in June, 1884, he left again for the United States where his oldest son had preceded him in 1880.

In New York he took part as the coeditor of *Der Sozialist*, a German socialistic paper, and in 1886 he made his home with his son, who in the meantime had settled in Chicago. This was the year of the labor troubles in Chicago which culminated in the Hay-market riot. The arrest of the leading anarchists followed and their organ, the *Chicagoer Arbeiterzeitung*, was left without an editor. Dietzgen stepped in and offered his services without remuneration. He had been attacked by the Chicago anarchists because he did not agree with them on some labor questions, but he was not the man to bear a grudge against others and his helpful assistance was now

fully appreciated. He died suddenly of heart failure at the home of his son, April 15, 1888. A few moments before his death he had taken an active part in a conversation on the socialist problem.

A champion for the labor party, he was convinced that a final settlement would be impossible without a revolution, but in spite of the militant character of his convictions he was personally an amiable and lovable man. This appears for instance in a letter to one of his sons in which he gives him the following advice: "In your judgment against others and your surroundings be never harsh, but always humane. In order to act in an amiable way one must think amiably. Virtues and faults always cling together; even the villain is a good fellow, and the just man sins seven times every day."

Dietzgen had only the common education of a tradesman; nevertheless he had read a good deal and besides his native German was familiar with French and English. He wrote his first book, "The Nature of Human Brain Work," in St. Petersburg, and he expressed his conviction that in order to succeed in its demands the labor party must not only have a definite, particular platform, but must also be based upon a sound philosophy. In Siegburg he developed a great literary activity by contributing a series of articles on economical and political questions to the Organ of the German socialists, *Vorwärts*. He also contributed at various times to the *Volksstaat*, *Sozialdemokrat*, *Neue Gesellschaft*, *Neue Zeit*, and the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*.

In 1880 he wrote "Letters on Logic" and the "Acquisition of Philosophy," meaning by the latter the matured fruits which philosophy has produced for mankind, and which he recommends social democrats to utilize. His books have been published in Stuttgart by J. H. W. Dietz's successor, and an English translation of them has appeared in Chicago from the publishing house of Charles H. Kerr & Company.

In order to characterize Dietzgen we present an extract from a summary of his philosophy by Anton Pannekoek, who has written an introduction to his work, *The Positive Outcome of Philosophy*, the English version of *Das Acquisit der Philosophie*. Pannekoek says:

"In times of primitive communism, the conditions of production were clear and easily understood. Things were produced jointly for use and consumed in common. Man was master of his mode of production and thus master of his own fate as far as the superior forces of nature admitted it. Under such conditions, social ideas could not help being simple and clear. There being no clash between personal

and social interests, men had no conception of a deep chasm between good and bad. Only the uncontrolled forces of nature stood like unintelligible and mysterious powers, that appeared to them either as well meaning or as evil spirits, above these primitive little societies.

"But with the advent of the production of commodities the picture changes. Civilized humanity begins to feel itself somewhat relieved from the hard and ungovernable pressure of fickle natural forces. But now new demons arise out of social conditions. 'No sooner did the producers give their products away in exchange instead of consuming them as heretofore, than they lost control of them. They no longer knew what became of their products, and there was a possibility that these products might some day be used for the exploitation and oppression of the producers—The products rule the producers.' (Engels). In the production of commodities, it is not the purpose of the individual producer which is accomplished, but rather that which the productive forces back of him are aiming at. Man proposes, but a social power, stronger than himself, disposes; he is no longer master of his fate. The inter-relations of production become complicated and difficult to grasp. While it is true that the individual is the producing unit, yet his individual labor is only a subordinate part of the whole process of social production, of which he remains a tool. The fruits of the labor of many are enjoyed by a few individuals. The social cooperation is concealed behind a violent competitive struggle of the producers against one another. The interests of the individuals are at war with those of society....

"Such were the impressions out of which thinking men were obliged to fashion their world-philosophy, while, at the same time, they were members of the possessing classes and had thus an opportunity to employ their leisure for a certain self-study, without, however, being in touch with the source of their impressions, viz., the process of social labor which alone could have enabled them to see through the social origin of their ideas. Men of this class, therefore, were led to the assumption that their ideas emanated from some supernatural and spiritual power....

"These successive changes of their theories are embodied in Grecian philosophy, in the various phases of the Christian religion, and in the modern systems of philosophy.

"But we must not regard these systems and religions for what they generally pass, that is to say, we must not think them to be only repeated unsuccessful attempts to formulate absolute truth. They are merely the incarnations of progressive stages of better

knowledge acquired by the human mind about itself and about the universe. It was the aim of philosophical thought to find satisfaction in understanding. And as long as understanding could not wholly be gotten by natural means, there remained always a field for the supernatural and incomprehensible. But by the painstaking mental work of the deepest thinkers, the material of science was ceaselessly increased, and the field of the supernatural and incomprehensible was ever more narrowed. And this is especially the case since the progress of capitalist production has promoted the persistent study of nature. For through this study the human mind was enabled to test its powers by simple, quiet, persistent and fruitful labor in the search for successive parts of truth, and thus to rid itself from the overirritation of hopeless quest after absolute truth. The desire to ascertain the value of these new truths gave rise to the problems of the theory of understanding. The attempts to solve these problems form a permanent part of modern systems of philosophy, which represent a graduated evolution of the theory of understanding. But the supernatural element in these systems prevented their perfection.

“Under the impulse of the technical requirements of capitalism, the evolution of natural sciences became a triumphal march of the human mind. Nature was subjugated first through the discovery of its laws by the human mind, and then by the material subordination of the known forces of nature to the human will in the service of our main object, the production of the necessities of life with a minimum expenditure of energy. But this bright shining light rendered, by contrast, the gloom which surrounded the phenomena of human society only the darker, and capitalism in its development still accentuates this contrast, as it accentuates and thus renders more easily visible and intelligible all contrasts. . . .

“Capitalism is now approaching its decline. Socialism is near. And the vital importance of this transition in human history cannot be stated more strongly than in the words of Marx and Engels: ‘This concludes the primary history of man. He thereby passes definitely out of the animal kingdom.’ The social regulation of production makes man fully the master of his own fate. No longer does any mysterious social power thwart his plans or jeopardise his success. Nor does any mysterious natural force control him henceforth. He has investigated its effects, understands them, and presses them into his service. For the first time in his history he will then be the ruler of the earth.

“We now see that the many centuries that filled the history of

civilization were a necessary preparation for socialism, a slow struggle to escape from nature's slavery, a gradual increase of the productivity of labor, up to the point where the necessaries of life for all may be obtained almost without exertion. This is the prime merit of capitalism and its justification, that after so many centuries of hardly perceptible progress it taught man to conquer nature by a rapid assault. At the same time it set free the forces of production and finally transformed and bared the springs of the productive process to such a degree that they easily could be perceived and grasped by the human mind; this was the indispensable condition for the control of this process....

"A new system of production sheds its light into the minds of men already before it has fully materialized. The same science which teaches us to understand and thereby to control the social forces, also unfetters the mind from the bewitching effects of those forces. It enables him even now already to emancipate himself from traditional superstitions and ideas which were formerly the expression of things unknown. We may anticipate with our mind the coming time. And thus the ideas which will then dominate are already even now growing within us in a rudimentary form corresponding to the present actual economic development. By this means we are even now enabled to overcome the capitalist philosophy in thought and to soberly and clearly grasp the nature of our spirit as being dependent on matter."

Dietzgen's philosophy is naturally onesided, his sympathies being strongly engaged in favor of his class. He looks upon the world as if its whole purpose was to produce the social democratic party. He suffers from two illusions, both of which are quite common in reformers. First, he looks upon the primitive condition of mankind as a paradise, and further upon the final state to be attained as a millennium. We believe that if he had lived in the times of that primitive communism which he extols as a kind of paradise, he would have found that then life was as hard as, if not harder than, it is in the present age of the much denounced *bourgeoisie*, and even if we could abolish private possession of capital and have all capital confiscated by the community we would always have leaders, presidents, bosses, and those who are led, who have to do the bidding of others, the multitudes of the people, the captains of industry, and the laborers; and so long as the world stands the different interests of society will lead now and again to struggles more or less bitter according to conditions.

It stands to reason that with the advance of civilization and the

progress of social prosperity the contrasts between the classes and the conflicts between clashing interests will be less furious and more considerate. Nevertheless they will remain, and it is not to be expected that we shall ever have a condition in which the masses as such will have the supreme command of social conditions, especially the distribution of wealth.

Since the beginning of history there have been differences of opinion. We have anarchists, who seek the solution of the social problem by the abolition of all law and order, who clamor first of all for freedom; and we have socialists who as a principle of reform proclaim the maxim that the individual ought to submit to the behests of society, who for the sake of order would sacrifice liberty. Between these extremes society has developed in obedience to both, and the history of the world has realized a constant increase of liberty, together with a constantly greater assurance of order. In this sense both parties, socialists and anarchists, have constantly approached more and more nearly to their ideal, but the time will never come when either anarchy or socialism will be completely actualized. Society is always a compromise between the two. Private control of capital has so far been the most successful method of social arrangements. All social enterprises have failed because they have absolutely lacked the greatest possible incentive for economy and prudence, which is the reward earned by the results of one's industry and thrift.

It is probable that in the course of the future development of society poverty will more and more disappear, and even unskilled labor will be able to gain a comfortable living. The result will be that the laborers themselves will take part more and more in the possession of the general wealth of society. They will develop into small capitalists, and thus their own interests will be engaged to preserve the accumulation of wealth. Nevertheless we believe that as struggle is necessarily a feature of life so the conflicting interests of society will continue to adjust themselves by occasional struggles.

We look upon Dietzgen's philosophy as a noteworthy attempt to reconstruct philosophical knowledge from the standpoint of the laborer, and especially the socialist, but nevertheless we believe that this partisan philosophy is not of an enduring nature, and if further developed will only serve to prove that philosophy is a world-conception which must take account of all classes, of all parties, of all races, and of all the different interests of human society.

THE JEWISH ELEMENT IN GALILEE.

IN COMMENT ON PROF. PAUL HAUPT'S ARTICLE "THE ARYAN ANCESTRY OF JESUS."

BY WILLIAM BENJAMIN SMITH.

IN the April number of *The Open Court*, pp. 193-204, Prof. Paul Haupt discusses the question of the Aryan, that is, Indo-Iranian, not Indo-European, ancestry of Jesus, pouring upon the subject a most copious flood of mingled historic and linguistic learning. The Jewish descent of the Jesus he would seem to deny positively or at least to hold it to be "extremely improbable that Jesus was a son of David; it is at least as probable (Footnote—I do not say it is probable) that he was a scion of Deioces or even a descendant of Spitam, the ancestor of Zoroaster"—a conclusion that might placate the manes of Nietzsche and almost persuade him to become a Christian.

Professor Haupt is careful to refer to Emile Burnouf, Rudolf von Jhering, and Houston Stewart Chamberlain (elsewhere also to A. Wirth, in the *Neue Revue*) as forerunners in his present theory. With regard to the first he would seem to be almost over-generous. Elsewhere he tells us he had not read Burnouf's article and knew of it only through a subsequent informant.

The great French philologist's idea differs widely enough from Professor Haupt's. He did not indeed expressly ascribe Aryan ancestry to the Jesus, but maintained that from the first there had been an intellectually and spiritually superior minority of Aryan Jews: "observation shows us the Jewish people composed of two distinct races. . . . mutually hostile since the most remote times. The bulk of the people of Israel was Semite and devoted to the adoration of the Elohim personified in Abel. The rest who always formed the minority were so to speak strangers come from Asia and practiced the cult of Jehovah. These were probably Aryans (*Revue des deux mondes*, LXXVI, p. 886). To these Aryans Burnouf, greatly depreciating the Semite, ascribes everything excellent in Hebrew literature and religion. How they kept their blood pure so many centuries, he does not tell.

Professor Haupt rejects the view of Chamberlain, "that the Aryan element in Galilee was due to Greek immigration in the last century B. C.," and dates it much farther back in the days of the enterprising Tiglath-Pileser IV and Sargon II, who permuted the peoples about 738 B. C., sending Galileans to Assyria and Assyrians (afterwards called Itureans) to Galilee, which appears in the wedge-writing as the Land of Hamath (better Hammath or Hammoth, Assyrian Hammâti). Hither, testifies Sargon II, he sent the Median Chief Dejokes with his kin, Indo-Iranians. The majority of those transferred by Tiglath-Pileser IV to Galilee hailed from Ullub and Kirkh in North Assyria, at the foot of the Armenian Taurus, a region not Semitic. These daring and lucky gamblers in men seem to have thought that in order to get good hands one must shuffle the cards well and then cut deep—a theory and practice which the Asia of to-day may thank for a good share of its misery and impotence. By such deportation, and not by much later Greek immigration, would Professor Haupt account for the presence of the Aryan element in Galilee.

However it came about, it must be conceded that the nations, tribes, tongues, and races poured together like many waters into the mountain basin round the Great Harp Chinnoroth (Gennesareth). But not only were the Aryans present; the Jews, thinks Professor Haupt, and this argumentatively is of far greater importance, were absent. "There were no Jews in Galilee after the year 164 B. C.," when "those that were in Galilee, that is, in Arbatta [corruption for Sabrana = Sepphoris, capital of Galilee] with their wives and their children and all that they had, took he [Simon, brother of Judas Maccabæus] away and brought them into Judea with great joy" (1. Macc. v. 14-23). Professor Haupt does not seem to deny that there were Semites in Galilee along with Aryans, but he will not admit the presence of any true-blooded Jews, though the populace was Judaic in religion, having been converted by the forcible persuasion of Aristobulus, first King of the Jews, for whom the Coronation Psalm (ii) was written. Such in brief is the ethnological situation as it lies in the mind of Professor Haupt.

Now Jesus, we are assured, was born in Nazareth, identical with the ancient Hittalon or Hannathon (for Hinnathon), the arrowhead Hinnatuni of the El-Amarna tablets (1400 B. C.), all these words meaning "protection," while Ezekiel's form Hethlon (xlvi. 15) means "swathing," the hamlet being protected or swathed by engirdling hills. This fact, thinks Professor Haupt apparently, had impressed itself on the minds of the "Angels" who told the

shepherds, "Ye will find a babe wrapped in swaddling-clothes, lying in a manger," "just as Nazareth is *swathed* in a basin with a girdle of hills" (Italics are Professor Haupt's). We are assured that the Jesus and his first disciples were Galileans, that the census of Luke ii did not take place till A. D. 7, eleven years after the Nativity, that the Lucan historical framework (so valiantly championed by Ramsay) hangs together like so much sand, that the tradition of Davidic descent and Beth-Lehem birth is not original, since "others said, This is the Christ, but others said Nay! for comes the Christ from Galilee?" and that "Our Saviour Himself referred to the belief that the Messiah was to be a son of David as an unwarranted opinion of the Scribes" (Mk. xii. 35-37); and even Prof. Percy Gardner is quoted as having "well said" that "according to all historic probability, Jesus of Nazareth was born at Nazareth."

The case then stands thus in Professor Haupt's thought: Jesus himself was called the Galilean, the Nazarean; he was most probably born in Nazareth; in Galilee, *ergo* in Nazareth, "were no Jews" (true-bloods), but only Judaized non-Jews; among these latter had been for nearly eight centuries many Aryans imported by Sargon II and Tiglath-Pileser IV; hence the ancestors of Jesus were probably found among these Aryans.

No one will question the ingenuity and seductive charm of these combinations; it remains to test more closely their logical worth, their argumentative conviction-carrying quality.

In the first place, it is vital to the scheme that "there were no Jews in Galilee after 164 B. C." This Professor Haupt would prove from the Maccabean narrative of the deportation of the Jews thence by Simon (1 Macc. v. 23). Can such proof be made out? In the first place, no mention is made of deportation from Galilee in general, but only from the capital Arbatta; such is the explicative force that Professor Haupt gives to the word "and,"¹ rendering it "that is"; there is no reason to suppose that many did not remain behind outside and even inside the capital.

Accepting the Maccabean account at its face value, we still have no warrant to declare that "the Jews who lived in Galilee at the time of Judas Maccabæus were *all* rescued and transferred to Jerusalem in 164 B. C."

This word *all* is not used in the Maccabean text. Antecedently such a complete transfer seems highly improbable.

- Still more, it is notorious that the First Book of the Maccabees

¹καί.

is a glorification of the Maccabean heroes, particularly of Judas, and must be taken with quite as many grains of salt as such glorifications in general. Had Simon Maccabæus rescued and deported only a few dozen Galilean Jews, these would have multiplied themselves, in the imagination of his glorifier, far faster than the Three Black Crows. Least of all men does Professor Haupt need to be warned of the imperious need of heavily discounting the statement of Jewish and Asiatic historiographers and hero-worshippers. We must then dismiss this notion of the deportation of *all* Jews from Galilee in 164 B. C. as quite insufficiently grounded.

But even supposing that Simon had made a clean sweep, what of it? Nothing that we can see. For is it impossible or improbable that they returned, in equal may be or even in greater numbers? Does not the cat sometimes come back? Galilee was a flourishing and inviting region, almost an earthly paradise, if we may credit Josephus. At the beginning of our era the Jew was well-nigh ubiquitous. The papyri show him everywhere in Egypt. In the isles of the sea, in Delian Rheneia, on monumental marble he carved his prayers for revenge and lifted imploring hands to heaven. Why should he avoid his old home, where dwelt his co-religionists in numbers? Evidently Matthew regarded the transmigration of Jews to Galilee as a simple enough matter, for he transfers a Bethlehemite to Nazareth by a stroke of the pen. Look at it as you will, then, the absence of Jews from Galilee at B. C. 4 is unproved, unprovable, and highly improbable. *Non liquet* must be the mildest verdict.

Now if there were any Jews, even a few, in Galilee, then the whole argument against the Jewish extraction of Jesus collapses. We must take heed in applying the calculus of probabilities. If the Jews in Galilee formed only one-tenth of the total population, then if any one were chosen blindly, utterly at random, the chance would be only one in ten that he would be a Jew. But to apply this principle with confidence, one must be sure in the first place that the choice is utterly at random. Now in the case of any particular man, if there be aught to specialize him, as if there be any witness about him, any history or tradition, the choice is not at all at random, and we cannot apply the doctrine of chance. In a given city of X or on a given planet, as the earth, there are (say) only 1 per cent of Jews. In perfectly random choices only once in a hundred times on the average would one get a Jew. But if a *raconteur* should begin to tell a tale about a Jew born in the city of X, would any one interrupt him, saying, "My dear Sir, why do you try to deceive us? There are 99 Gentiles to every Jew in that city. Don't you see that

the chances are 99 to 1 that you are lying, that your hero was not a Jew at all?" Such an interrupter would be suppressed *instanter*. The *raconteur* was not speaking of any purely chance selection. Neither are the Evangelists speaking of a Galilean picked up at random, but of the most specially chosen imaginable. If the supposed testimony is to be accepted at all, there is no reason for rejecting or impeaching this detail on the ground that there were more non-Jews than Jews in Galilee. Now they (at least Matthew and Luke) represent Jesus as of pure Jewish blood. There may be reasons for rejecting this testimony *in toto*, but these reasons cannot be found in the insufficient presence of Jewish blood in Galilee.

At this point it seems proper to institute a more penetrating inquiry into the nature of the evidence, touching the supposed Simonian deportation of Jews from Galilee to Judea, an inquiry that must start the more general question of the trustworthiness of the First Book of Maccabees. It must be frankly stated in the first place that the repute of the book has hitherto stood very high. Professor Torrey in the *Encyclopedia Biblica* can hardly find words too strong to please him. "We thus have here for the first time a Jewish history with a satisfactory chronology." Both in general and "in its narrative of details, it bears the unmistakable stamp of truth." "On the whole, the book must be pronounced a work of the highest value, comparing favorably in point of trustworthiness, with the best Greek and Roman histories." But when we come to look at the details, it seems hard to repress a smile. "Besides being the only detailed account which we have of the events of the greater part of this most important period, the book has proved itself worthy to hold the highest rank as trustworthy history." Strange how it could thus "prove itself" trustworthy, when we have absolutely no check on its statements, no way to tell whether they be trustworthy or not!

Professor Torrey would indeed seem to be using words in a Pickwickian sense, for he proceeds now to limit his general judgment rather narrowly. He speaks of the "author's own inaccuracy" about the inscription in honor of Simon. The letter of Demetrius, x. 25-45, he admits, "cannot be regarded as genuine," though "put in its present place by the careful and conscientious author of 1 Macc." "His statements cannot always be believed, it is true"; "in relation to foreign affairs" he exhibits "naïve ignorance." His "numerical estimates are often exaggerated." His "incorporated documents are not to be taken too seriously." So too the speeches!

In *Hastings's Bible Dictionary*, Fairweather is less enthusiastic

and more succinct, but maintains the same general position. He is at pains to assign the reasons for his faith: "The writer's habit of dating the chief events according to a fixed era (the Seleucid era, B. C. 312), the general agreement of his chronology with that of the Greek and Roman authors and with the data furnished by extant coins of the period, the frankness and self-restraint shown by him in chronicling victory or defeat (!) on the part of the Jews and in speaking of their adversaries, the absence from his pages of tawdry ornamentation and weak supernaturalism,—all combine to give to his work the stamp of authentic history." "The writer is a plain and honest chronicler."

Kautzsch (*Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments*, 1899) is more discreet. He admits that "from the current almost wholly favorable judgment some deductions must be made." His opinion of the letters is in the main adverse, he inclines to accept for some at least the shrewd suggestion of Willrich that they are the insertions of the translator from an Aramaic original.

But enough of expert testimony. To the book itself.

First, we observe that the admitted discrepancies are great wherever we can compare with some profane author. Thus, Livy, (XXXVII, 39) is exact and reduces our author's 120 elephants (viii. 6) to 54. Secondly, from the fact that the writer assigns dates correctly, where all motive to incorrectness is absent, we can infer nothing as to his statements where such motives are plainly present. Indeed, Torrey seems to exercise excess of generosity in saying, "No one will blame him for passing over in silence the shameful conduct of the high priests Jason and Menelaus, or for making only brief mention of the defeats suffered by the Jews." No one? Some think that to suppress the true suggests the false. It seems then that where no motive for inaccuracy is present, and where it is impossible to test the author's statements, we are unable to say that these statements are incorrect! But where motive is present he at least suppresses very important matters, and where we can test his estimates we find them grossly exaggerated, besides finding his "incorporated documents" untrustworthy and himself repeatedly contradicted by profane history when he comes into contact with this latter. So much, by the admission of his admirers. A queer piece of most "trustworthy history"! Now, however, add the fact that the author is admittedly glorifying the Hasmonean dynasty, that he "was a warm adherent of the Hasmonean house, and probably a personal friend of its leaders" (Torrey), and what

right have we to say that "his history is not written in a partisan spirit" (Torrey)? What right have we to put faith in any statement that magnifies his party, patrons, and friends? To credit the Sadducee who admittedly tells all the good and none of the bad about the priesthood? These indeed are only very general considerations, yet sufficient to show how baseless is the universally favorable judgment of critics.

Let us now come to closer quarters. We have not space for a minute study of these sixteen chapters, but a few specimens will show that we are not dealing with pure history but with such a manifest panegyric, particularly of Judas, as reads much rather like a fairy tale.

Let it be noted then that the career of the Maccabees is one uninterrupted series of the most complete and brilliant triumphs over forces incomparably superior in numbers and equipment, of victories such as were never won by Eumenes, nor Sertorius, nor Hannibal, nor Alexander, nor Cæsar, nor Napoleon. Not once is a Maccabean worsted; only once does Judas prudently withdraw after inflicting heavy loss on the enemy. The account of this latter affair is most peculiar and throws a strange light on this highly "trustworthy history." Antiochus Eupator marches through Idumea with 100,000 foot, 20,000 horse, 32 trained elephants, and lays siege to Bethsura, fights a long time, and erects engines of war. But the besieged "sallied out, burnt the engines with fire and warred manfully." Doubtless—but with what result? In this place nothing more is said. The king marches off towards Bethsacharia with a tremendous array, each elephant accompanied by 1000 foot and 500 horse, and mounted by 32 men besides an Indian driver, though elsewhere in history 3 or 4 men suffice for each elephant! Against this formidable host Judas marches out from the citadel of Jerusalem, "and Judas drew nigh and his camp in counter array, and there fell of the camp of the King 600 men." It is neither said nor hinted that any Jew was slain. Then Eleasar Awaran, brother of Judas, fancying he recognized the royal elephant by its trappings, made an heroic rush upon the beast, fought his way single-handed through the 1500 guards, dealing death right and left, cleft a passage to the beast, ran under it, transpierced it from beneath, so that it fell dead upon him and killed him, who thus offered himself up to save his people and win for himself a name everlasting. Then follows the only verse that hints a defeat of Judas. "And beholding the

strength of the King and the onrush of his troops they turned aside² from them," (vi. 47).

Most likely the forces of Judas were routed and dispersed, but the "plain honest chronicler" holds his peace.

The king marched on into Judea, against Mt. Zion. "With those of Bethsura he made peace." "They came out"—such is the euphemism for surrender—because it was the sabbatic year and provisions were scarce, not because the king could fairly take the place. Similarly in the case of the siege of Jerusalem. The Jews defend themselves successfully against the Syrians, but provisions fail because it was the seventh year, and the Jews rescued from the heathen consumed the supplies, so that the garrison was in a measure dispersed. Still no thought of capitulation! Finally Lysias, the king's lieutenant, tells him and the leaders of the host, "we grow daily weaker, we have little provisions, and the place we besiege is strong, and the care of the kingdom is on us. Let us therefore give these men the right hand and make peace with them, and with all their folk, and let them walk in their customs as heretofore, for because of these customs which we abrogated have they become enraged and done all this. This counsel pleased the king and his leaders and he sent to them to make peace and they received them; and the king and the leaders swore to them; and [trusting] these oaths they went out from the citadel; and the king entered the city of Zion and beheld the citadel of the place and set at naught the oath that he swore and bade level down the wall all round."

We note that here even in the direst distress the Jews are not beaten by their enemy; this latter acknowledges defeat by proposing a compromise, which is accepted by the Jews since it yields them everything in dispute, and it is no fault of theirs if the royal word is broken.

Now let the reader consider this account of the victorious march of Antiochus Eupator, how artfully the disasters of the Jews are transformed into splendid onsets, and prudent withdrawal, and heroic self-immolation, and successful defense, and honorable compromise yielding them all their claims, and then say whether he is reading history "fully as trustworthy" as Thucydides. Kautzsch indeed perceives that Judas must have been defeated, and says that Antiochus "*schlägt ihn*," but "the careful and conscientious" historian says nothing of the kind. So everywhere in this model history. Jonathan and Simon are both captured and murdered, (xii. 46-48; xiii. 23; xvi. 16), but only through treachery, which brought

² ἐξέκλιαν.

only shame and no advantage to the traitors. Judas indeed was too wise to be betrayed. He fought victoriously to the last. In the final struggle with only 800 men against the host of Bacchides (20,000 foot, 2000 horse), there is great slaughter on both sides. Judas falls, the rest flee, but his brothers Jonathan and Simon remain apparently in possession of the field, at least they bear away Judas to burial in the paternal sepulchre in Modein.

Josephus modestly amends the account by saying that his brothers received Judas from the enemy "under truce."

If some one still thinks all this might have taken place just as narrated, let him consider the operations of Judas east of the Jordan (164 B. C.) where with 8000 men he campaigns for weeks and seemingly even months, fighting bloody battle after battle against immense odds, storming half a dozen fenced cities exceeding strong (one for a whole day and night, v. 50), slaughtering the enemy by thousands on thousands (8000 in one single instance, v. 34), filling up the streets with corpses so that his men marched through the city over the bodies of the slain (v. 51)—and all of this terrific hand-to-hand warfare without the loss of one single man: "there fell of them not one until their return in peace" (v. 54)! This is far more miraculous than the miracles "and weak supernaturalism" that so discredit the Second Book of Maccabees in the minds of admirers of this excellent historian.

This is not the worst, however. Nicanor, a most trusted commander, takes Jerusalem; not finding Judas there he marches five hours northwest to Bethhoron; there he is joined by another Syrian host. Judas with 3000 men is encamped 90 minutes to the northeast, at Adasa, and prays that Nicanor's host be annihilated like Sennacherib's. Battle is joined, Nicanor falls, his army is routed, the villagers stream out, and *all* the Syrians are massacred or massacre one another, not one escapes, "there was not left of them not even one."³

Notice that the statement is perfectly sharp and definite and made with all deliberation. If this be not incredible, consider the following: Jonathan sends 3000 valiant men to Antioch as body-guard to Demetrius fallen into disfavor with his army. The Antiochians gather against Demetrius to the number of 120,000 and intend to kill him. He flees to his palace, which they proceed to storm. He calls the 3000 Jews to his help; they come; they charge out into the city and slaughter 100,000 in one day; then they set fire to the city, plunder it, and save the king. Whereupon the

³ οὐ κατελείφθη ἐξ αὐτῶν οὐδὲ εἰς.

Antiochians throw down their arms, sue for peace and salvation from the fury of the Jews, who were magnified before the king and all his subjects and returned to Jerusalem laden with booty (xi. 41-51).

By the side of this achievement the exploits of the Swiss guard sink into insignificance, Thorwaldsen's lion droops its tail and forgets to roar, and even Buck Fanshaw is far outdone. He indeed suppressed a riot before it could break out, by leaping in and sending home 14 men on a shutter, but these 3000 Jews slew 33½ men apiece in the suppression of this more formidable uprising.

This is not all by any means. As legate of the young Antiochus, Jonathan marches in triumph all through the region west of the Euphrates, all the Syrian troops rally to his standard, he captures Askalon and Gaza, proceeds to Damascus, and thence against a great army of Demetrius at Kedesh in Naphthali, while his brother Simon invests Bethsura and forces it to capitulation. Jonathan encamps by Lake Gennesar, and on entering the plain of Chazor early in the morning is surprised to meet a heathen army, which had also laid a trap for him by insidiously planting forces in the surrounding hill country. These now burst upon the Jews who, thus attacked, all betook themselves to flight; not one remained with Jonathan but Mattathias Ben-Absalom and Judas Ben Chalpheis, honored names! What does Jonathan, thus abandoned to the foe encompassing him on all sides with fierce and numerous attack? He rends his garments, strews dust upon his head, and prays. Having accomplished so much he turns upon the enemy, defeats the whole army and puts it to rout! When the Jews that had fled perceived his victory, they turned round and joined with him in pursuit of the enemy as far as the latter's camp in Kedesh, slaying 3000.

Here then we find the feat of Horatius at the Bridge writ large, in fact, in six-foot capitals. It sounds strange, however, that after such a marvelous victory, when Demetrius's army thus routed by one man and decimated might easily have been annihilated, to read in the very next verse, "And Jonathan turned back to Jerusalem" (xi. 60-74). One would like to read the Demetrian version of this sanguinary engagement. Queer, too, that the next chapter should open with Jonathan's overtures to the Romans and to the Spartans, "because he saw the season cooperates with him"; what need had such a hero for allies?

Wellhausen perceives the absurdity here and would relieve it by arbitrarily rejecting verse 74 quoted above, along with the incident of the embassy.

There follows the adventurous campaign of Jonathan, in which he goes 200 miles north of Jerusalem to the land of Hamath (on the Orontes) to war against the mightier host of Demetrius, which flees before him across the Eleutheros river. Thereupon he turns against the Arabs, chastises them, breaks camp and marches upon Damascus, and thence to Jerusalem, Simon meanwhile carrying all before him, even to Askalon, and establishing a garrison in Joppa.

Is it possible to see in these rapid campaigns from one end of the land to the other anything more than marauding incursions of flying squadrons, dignified into military expeditions of disciplined armies? Tryphon however determines to end this guerilla strife by capturing Jonathan. He marches to Bethsan (Skythopolis) just south of Gennesareth. Jonathan goes to meet him and with a large army of 40,000 picked men. Tryphon receives him with the most distinguished honor, enriches him with gifts, bids all treat him as they treat Tryphon himself, persuades Jonathan that he has no need of such an army, that he send them all home but a few trusties. Jonathan sends all away but 3000; of these he sends 2000 to Galilee. (Why? Is this another version of Simon's expedition?) The other thousand he retains as body guard. They depart to Ptolemais. Why? Such a voluntary act on Jonathan's part would be one of incredible folly. The arts of Tryphon were perfectly well known; who can believe that Jonathan would of his own accord disband his formidable army of 40,000 and go with an ambitious rival into the rival's country and fortress? Once in Ptolemais, of course his companions are slain and he himself cast into prison. Thereupon his 2000 in Galilee are attacked but make good their escape to Judea. (Is this a variant of Simon's deportation from Galilee?) All the heathen rejoice that the leader of the Jews is taken and hope now to blot out their memory from among men.

It seems plain that the story as told in 1 Macc. xii. 39-53 is quite beyond belief. Tryphon doubtless captured Jonathan, but in no such manner as there detailed. And what more shall we say? For time would fail to discuss the shield of gold of 1000 minae (950 pounds) in weight, of various unhistorical data, as that Antiochus was taken alive by the Romans at Magnesia (B. C. 190)! that he ceded India to them! and others that indicate the writer is thinking of the overthrow of the Achaian League 15 years after the death of Judas! Nor can we more than mention the 12 or 13 letters (86 verses) all important but none authentic, being plainly fictitious in form or matter or both.

We have already noticed the total suppression of the renegade

priests Menelaus and Jason, most important figures during many years covered by this history, but never once mentioned. We have already seen that no defeat is allowed to befall any Maccabean hero; their careers are victorious till they pay the tribute of mortality. It is commonly stated by the admirers of this book (as Fairweather) that it records Jewish disasters. In fact only one such disaster is recorded, and this example is particularly instructive. We are told that while Judas with Jonathan was pursuing his career of triumph in Gilead, and Simon in Galilee, the two leaders Azaria and Joseph hearing of the great exploits of Judas and Simon, said, "We too will win honor for ourselves and go to war against the surrounding nations." And so they did, in spite of the express injunction of Judas to join no battle in his absence; the result was that Gorgias routed them, inflicting a loss of 2000 slain. "And great disaster befell the people of Israel because they heeded not Judas and his brothers, thinking to play the valiant man. But they were not of the seed of those men to whom was given salvation for Israel through their hand. And the man Judas and his brothers were glorified exceedingly before all Israel and all the nations, etc." (v. 61-63). This is the only defeat scored against the Jews during the 40 years (175-135 B. C.) covered by 1 Maccabees; for v. 67, "in that day fell priests in the war, wishing to play the valiant in going out to war unadvisedly" (i. e., against the orders of Judas), is apparently only an expansion or a doublet (v. 61), and in any case enforces the same lesson, that victory was certain with the Maccabean seed of salvation and impossible without them. Herewith then the spirit of the book is clearly and unmistakably characterized. It is an open panegyric of the Asmoneans, it is written to show their divine prerogative as the temporal saviours of Israel. This fact is indeed stamped plainly on every chapter. As such a work of *Tendenz* it can lay no great claim to general credibility and no claim at all to credibility in detail; and in view of the fact that we have already found it literally swarming with inaccuracies and impossibilities, it becomes evident that the book, though historical and exceedingly valuable as indicating the main trend of events at a time and place otherwise almost unlighted by any independent record, is nevertheless not properly a history,—it is adulatory biography and special pleading.

The question now arises, What good reason have we to believe that the expeditions of Judas to Gilead and of Simon to Galilee ever took place at all? The allusion (vi. 53) to "those redeemed into Judea from the nations" seems hardly sufficient, but there are

two other testimonies more decisive. The Second Book of Maccabees stands as low as the First stands high in the esteem of critics. Nevertheless they concede that its attestation is worth something,—even though it be (as Geiger thinks) a Pharisaic counterblast to the Sadducean First Book,—since it seems at various points to reproduce the testimony of an eye-witness.

Now in 2 Macc. xii. 1-31 we find detailed a series of campaigns undertaken by Judas against Timotheus (already slain x. 37!), Apollonius and others, east of the Jordan, which seem to cover about the same ground as 1 Macc. v. 24-54), though the two accounts are widely discrepant at countless points. In both books Judas finally recrosses the Jordan at Bethsan (Skythopolis) *en route* for Jerusalem.

In 2 Macc. this visitation of Skythopolis is meant to be punitive, but the resident Jews bore witness to the great favor shown them by the citizens and so averted destruction from the city. This incident seems to be historic, at least we perceive no motive for its invention. But it appears inconsistent with the expedition of Simon to Galilee, for he would naturally have taken in Skythopolis on his way thither, or at least on return, so that the march of Judas thither would appear unmotivated. Hereby doubt is thrown upon Simon's exploit, which is unmentioned in 2 Macc., a doubt deepened by the silence of another and far more credible witness.

That most mysterious Psalm, the 68th, according to the concurrent judgments of such masters as Wetzstein, Wellhausen, and Haupt (who in the *American Journal of Semitic languages and literature*, XXIII, 220-240, has surpassed all others in thoroughness of treatment), relates specifically to this victorious trans-Jordanic expedition of Judas. In particular, the famous verse 18, "Thou hast led captivity captive, hast received gifts in men," seems to refer vividly to the deliverance of the Jews at the hands of Maccabæus. So too verse 22, "spake the Lord, from Bashan I will bring back, I will bring back from the whirlpools of the sea." At the same time this witness contradicts the "all" of Macc. v. 45 ("And Judas took with him all Israel those in Galaaditis from small to great, and their wives and their children" etc.), for it is repeated (verses 6, 18) "Only the rebellious dwell in a parched land (not with Jah, God)." This implies that some remained behind, even if coercion were applied, as Professor Haupt contends.

But the most important point is that while the Psalmist speaks clearly of the return from Bashan, while indeed his mind is fixed on the envy of Bashan's high hills toward Zion (verses 15, 16),

he says nothing of any return from Galilee, not even in verse 27, which mentions the princes of Zebulon and Naphtali; the rebellious stay behind not in the fertile region around Gennesareth but only in the "parchèd land."

Now Galilee was far more important every way than Gilead, and its relations with Jerusalem were closer. The poet is eager to weave in as many geographical and historical allusions as possible; had he known of any such glorious and saving expedition as Simon's, he would most probably have mentioned it somewhere in his elaborate lyric. That he omits to name it, seems to show that it had no place in his consciousness. Still further, we note that the messengers of distress from Galilee (v. 14, 15) arrive in Jerusalem precisely during the reading of the letters of distress from Gilead,—a most remarkable coincidence that cannot fail to remind one of the horrors on horror's head accumulate of Job i. 16, 17, 18, of which the writer appears to be thinking. Finally, consider the utter vagueness of the account in contrast with the minuteness of the following narrative concerning Judas, and it would seem hard to give any credence at all to the tale about Simon, which appears to have been intended merely to get him away from Jerusalem, that room might be left for the folly of Joseph and Azarias.

Nay more! We find in 2 Macc. x. 14-23 an account that bears internal marks of authenticity (along with certain obvious numerical exaggerations), in which, during a war with Gorgias, Simon is left behind by Judas *along with Joseph and Zacchæus* (apparently = Azarias), to watch two strongholds of the Idumæans. But the avaricious associates of Simon accepted a bribe of 70,000 drachmas to let some of the besieged escape, for which on return of Judas they suffered death. This incident, so discreditable to the Jews, could hardly have been invented. Since it occurs in the war against Gorgias, in the absence of Judas (who in the immediate connection is in a struggle with Timotheus, apparently the same as that described in 1 Macc. v. 30 f.), under the command of Simon along with Joseph and Zacchæus (=Azarias?), and as this arrangement seems every way more credible than the other,—for it would have been most highly injudicious in Judas to leave his base of operations in charge of such incompetents as Joseph and Azarias, while both he and Simon went far away on long expeditions,—and since there is no other place for this incident anywhere in 1 Maccabees, it seems we have no choice but to accept this parallel account as substantially correct. Accordingly it appears from all the indicia that Simon's expedition to Galilee is only a pious imagination intended

to free him from any possible complicity in a rather shady transaction, wherein his good name had suffered from apparent connection with admitted bribery. It would seem then that there is no occasion to worry any further over Simon's alleged deportation of Jews from Galilee. That story served its purpose well for nearly 2000 years, but would now appear to have outlived its usefulness.

Hereby of course it is not meant that Simon never made an incursion into Galilee, never brought back with him any Jews. Most likely he made many such incursions and brought back Jews as camp followers on several occasions, but the evidence is against the actuality of this particular expedition, and common sense is unalterably opposed to any such wholesale deportation as critics and historians—Grimm, Keil, Graetz, Michaelis, Ewald, Renan, Schuerer, Wellhausen, Holtzmann and the rest—unanimously assume. It would in fact have been very ambiguous beneficence to his blood kinsmen for Simon to deport them from blooming Galilee to barren Judea. Many of them must have had permanent homes, houses and lands, in that garden spot of Palestine. To huddle them together suddenly, deprive them of all their fixed possessions, transport them to a rugged region where for a time at least they would be homeless pensioners on the bounty of strangers, would seem to be an act of wanton cruelty as well as incredible folly. It would be treating them as enemies and not as friends.

Josephus seems to have felt the absurdity of the situation, for in his *Antiquities* (XII, 8, 3), while following 1 Macc. closely, he modifies the verse in question (v. 23), saying only that Simon "having pursued" the enemy "to the gates of Ptolemais," "took the Jews that had been made captive by them" "and turned back home." He says nothing about bringing the Jews from Galilee to Judea, but leaves us to infer that the "captives" were restored to their Galilean homes. Josephus is not an independent witness, but the fact that he takes such liberty with his Maccabean source shows clearly that he saw it was unbelievable and must be recalled to reason.

Finally, it must not be supposed that in discrediting the First Book of Maccabees we would in any wise tarnish the luster of the names of the Maccabean heroes. We grant them all honor and glory according to the measure of men. In fact their fame remains no less but even more splendid when we perceive that the record of their deeds cannot be accepted at its face value, and that the prodigious butcheries that ensanguine its pages were in large measure the visions of a perfervid imagination.

[TO BE FOLLOWED BY ANOTHER ARTICLE.]

MISCELLANEOUS.

LAMENTATIONS OF A TURKISH PROPHET.*

BY TEWFIK FIKRET BEY.

[The reform party of Turkey, known to-day as the "Young Turks," consider this the greatest poem of their greatest modern poet. Tewfik Fikret Bey, this Turkish Jeremiah, wrote it in 1900 in despair at the sad condition of his country. For years he lived in seclusion in constant danger of exile or death. He could not publish the poem, but he lent a copy to one friend, who passed it to another, until all Young Turkey knew by heart this sad and scathing condemnation of the Old Regime. When the revolution came, turning the poet's despair to brightest hope, Fikret Bey was at once called to edit a new Young Turk paper in Constantinople, and in the first number he published this poem together with a retraction in verse. The translator has followed the versification very closely, using the rhymed couplet, and a meter as close as possible to the Turkish meter.]

A cloud holds thy horizon in clinging embrace ;
An obscurity white slowly grows o'er thy face,
Blotting out and absorbing, the mist's heavy net
Veils the scene, as with dust, to a faint silhouette—
A majestic dust veil, what lies 'neath this robe—
By its folds is concealed—our regard cannot probe.
But thee, oh how fitly do sad veils conceal,
Arena of horrors, fit nought should reveal.
Arena of horrors, yea, majesty's stage ;
O glorious setting for tragedy's rage !
Thou of greatness and pomp at once cradle and grave,
Queen eternally luring, the Orient thy slave ;
What bloody amours with no shuddered protest
Have been held to thy generous harlot breast.
Oh within the deep Marmora's azure embrace,
As one dead sleepest thou, whilst her waves thee enlance.
Old Byzance ! still thou keepest, immune to all harm,
After husbands a thousand, thy fresh virgin charm.
Thy beauty the magic of youth still retains,
The trembling of eyes seeing thee yet remains.
To the eye of the stranger how lookest thou tame,
With thy languorous sapphire-blue eyes, oh how tame !
But the tameness is that of the woman of shame,
Without dole for the tears shed o'er thee, o'er thy fame.

* Translated from the Turkish by Hester D. Jenkins.

As though sapping thy very foundations in gloom,
 A traitor hand added the poison of doom.
 O'er each particle spreadeth hypocrisy's stain;
 No one spot of purity there doth remain;
 All stain: of hypocrisy, jealousy, greed,
 Naught else, and no hopes of aught else hence proceed.
 Of the millions of foreheads protected by thee,
 How few shining clearly and pure, may one see?
 Thou Debauched of the Ages, sleep on till mists fail.
 Veil thyself, O thou Tragedy, O city, veil!

O country most fertile, to Nature's heart near,
 Though gifted, thou'rt hungry and barren and sear.
 Each favor, each bounty, each step in advance,
 Fatalistic, thou begg'st with hypocrisy's glance.
 O glories, magnificence, processions and splendor!
 O bloody towers, forts of turreted grandeur!
 Thou sealed tomb of memories, temple so vast;
 Ye proud-rearing columns, the city's great past.
 Thou recountest and readst to the future her part,
 Giant keeper of records each pillar thou art.
 Thou toothlessly grinning procession of walls;
 Ye cupolas; glorious mosques where prayer calls;
 Minarets, that remind of the voices of truth!
 O medressehs,* and tiny courts low like a booth.
 Ye tombstones that cry, "'Tis the Dead that are Blest!"
 Are like beggars, a patient host finding your rest
 'Neath the cypress' deep shade on Eternal Earth's breast.
 O turbelhs,† what memories our senses thrill
 Of our ancestors, now lying silent and still.
 Old streets, struggling stream of dust and mud waves;
 Ye ruins, whose each hole of a dead event raves;
 O place of eternal deep sleep for the bad;
 O roofs, raven black, o'er a tumbling house sad;
 Thou'rt a dumb, standing sorrow, thy comrade in grief
 Is the tall mourning chimney, where storks hold their fief.
 Thou chimney, what bitterness sags in thy jowl;
 Hast forgotten to smoke, for long years dost but scowl.
 O ravening mouths who have swallowed all shames,
 On the clamorous belly's poisonous claims.
 O dog's howl! Thou being high-honored by reason,
 This voice of ingratitude blames thee in season.
 O tyranny brutal! O head, pressing foot!
 O stupid fanatic, who lickest the boot!
 O visions, assaulting the high vault of Heaven!
 O bad omen, star of ill augury given!
 O tears vainly shed, and smiles pregnant with fate,
 Those expressions of impotence—dark looks of hate!
 O Fear, armed Fear, to whose swift downfall go

* Medresseh, mosque school of theology.

† Turbelhs, the tombs of kings or great men in little kiosks.

From the widow and orphan each loud plaint of woe!
 Remembrance of honor, now sunk to a scoff,
 Servility's path points to Fortune far off.
 O laws but tradition! O tyranny, 'neath
 Whose oppression no safety nor right but to breathe!
 O justice, the courts have expelled thee for aye,
 Unredeemed is thy promise, thy lies only stay.
 People losing all power of emotion from fear,
 To you is aye stretched out suspicion's long ear.
 O mouths dumbly locked by the fear of the spy,
 Popularity wide brings but hate in full cry.
 To be Policy's slave, Sword and Pen, is your lot,
 O great Moral Law, e'en thy visage forgot.
 O crouching with fear, lowly hiding thy face,
 Ye nobles, ye people—a once honored race!
 O bent hoary head, thy companion thee shuns;
 Thou maid, and the youth that after thee runs;
 Thou mother abandoned, alas! broken heart;
 Ye children, lone, homeless, most sad is your part.
 Thou debauched of the Ages, sleep on 'till mists fail.
 Veil thyself, O thou Tragedy, O city, veil!

A MELBOURNE MEDIUM EXPOSED.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

In the May number of *The Open Court* appeared a communication from your pen under the heading of "The Ghost of a Living Person." A Melbourne medium, Charles Bailey, claimed to be controlled by the late Rev. W. H. Withrow while that gentleman was actually living in Toronto. During the last two months Charles Bailey has visited New Zealand giving seance meetings and inspirational addresses. Bailey claims to be controlled by four spirits, two of whom are Hindus who make use of him while in a trance to produce "apports" from India, Java and Australia. Live birds of diminutive size and eggs are said to be brought in a few seconds from those countries to New Zealand. Mats and silk shawls are also produced. The conditions under which Bailey produces these wonderful phenomena are a cabinet, darkness and a limited number of spiritualists and investigators,—generally no more than forty persons present, most of whom have paid five or ten shillings for admittance. Bailey's procedure is first to allow himself to be stripped and examined and then to enter a small cabinet where he goes into a trance and is controlled by a spirit who gives a short address and even answers questions through the medium. All this performance takes place in total darkness introduced by the usual singing of hymns. At the end of the address Bailey calls for the light to be turned on when he announces that he has apports to show—objects that evoke cries of wonderment from believers and skeptical remarks from the unconvinced. Since Bailey has been in New Zealand he has met with very severe criticism in the newspapers. Several of his seances did not come up to expectations owing in all probability to his fear of exposure. A very clever conjurer, Mr. Thomas W. Driver of Wellington, New Zealand, challenged Bailey to produce apports under rigid test conditions, Driver depositing £100 which he was prepared to forfeit if Bailey could pro-

duce objects under the conditions specified in the challenge. Needless to say Bailey did not accept the conditions laid down. Mr. Driver offered to modify the conditions, but without inducing Bailey to agree. Since then Mr. Driver has given public exhibitions of producing apports under much more rigid conditions than Bailey was subjected to, one noticeable feature being that he dispensed entirely with putting the lights out.

I sent your account of Mr. Withrow's "ghost" to several papers in the Dominion and I challenged Charles Bailey to answer it, but he did not respond. Bailey has not yet finished his tour through New Zealand and while he still finds people to believe in the genuineness of his apports, the general opinion is that he is not trustworthy.

ARTHUR TALBOT.

WANGANUI, NEW ZEALAND.

TO THE MARTYR OF NEW SPAIN.

BY CHARLES J. WOODBURY.

So speaketh Law: "With rule and plan
I hold you safe. You shall not stray."
Lo, from the ranks an outlaw man!
His feet transgress the beaten way.
His speech is new and strange and far
And where he journeys is no road,—
Yet soon we travel by his star,
His words become our future's code.

COMMENTS ON "NAZARENES AND SRAMANAS."

BY A. KAMPMEIER.

I would call the attention of Dr. Deinand to the following: The rendering of \aleph in the Septuagint wavers between Z and Σ . I can at least refer to two passages, perhaps there are more, where \aleph is rendered by Z . In Gen. xxii. 21, we read $O\tilde{\zeta}$ for \aleph ; Jer. xxxi. 34 in the Septuagint, corresponding to the Hebrew text of Jer. xlviii. 34, reads \aleph for \aleph . \aleph is also given in the New Testament by \aleph . Further the form *Nazarenos* (\aleph) in Mark i. 24; xiv. 67; xvi. 6; Luke iv. 34, is very probably formed from *Nazara* (a reading occurring in some important manuscripts for *Nazareth* in Matt. iv. 13 and Luke iv. 16. i. e, Cod. \aleph , B, \aleph and early Church-fathers) like *Magdalene* (\aleph) from Magdala. Further the dominant form for designating Jesus and his followers in the New Testament is *Nazoraïos* or *Nazaraïos* in some manuscripts. These forms, especially if we consider the confusion between the vowels *a* and *o* in Syriac, might also go back to the form *Nazara*, which some claim to be the original form, for instance Keim, in his *Geschichte Jesu von Nazara*. Further in the Talmud the Jewish-Christian sect is called *Nozrim* (\aleph), thus Sanh. 43a, 1076; Sot. 47a; Taan. 27b; and not *Nasirim* (\aleph). Here again the *o* of the first syllable may only be a dimming of the sound *a*. With all this the enigmatic form *Nazoraïos* may not yet be solved. I have other conjectures for its origin but do not consider them well enough founded to mention here. Still if *Nazara* was another form for *Nazareth* the form *Nazoraïos* or *Nazaraïos*, could, as far as I can see, be derived from it. From all this I do not see any necessity of bringing *Naza-*

renes in connection with *Nasirim* and further with the Essenes, though they surely had points in common. Besides this the ascetic institution of *Nasirites* is an ancient Hebrew one and not necessarily of Buddhist origin. Almost every ancient religion has had such ascetics. Perhaps finally, if Dr. Deinard has read my article on "Mohammedan Parallels to Christian Miracles," he may conclude that Jesus, though we know positively very little of him, may after all be a real personality and not absolutely a myth.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

AN INDIAN STUDY OF LOVE AND DEATH. By *Sister Nivedita*. London: Longmans, 1908. Pp. 75. Price, 75c.

In this book Sister Nivedita (Margaret E. Noble), the author of *Cradle Tales of Hinduism*, sets forth most sympathetically what she regards as the Hindu conception of death, and the subjective reunion of the living with the dead. It opens with an "Office for the Dead" which is mostly beautiful and poetic. The portion in this devoted to "The Salutation of the Dead" includes this exquisite litany:

"For all wounds and loneliness,
For all angry and impatient thought,
For all wherein we failed in love,
Or loving, failed to say to thee, we loved,
Forgive!

"For all thy need in life
For all thy need in death,
For labor that left thee weary,
And for love that failed to comfort thee,
Forgive!"

In the "Prayer" preceding the "Rest in Peace" we are surprised to find an invocation to

"Krishna, Thou loving Shepherd of the people,
Buddha, Lord of infinite compassion,
Jesus, Thou lover and Saviour of the Soul,"

but we must remember that the author comes from Western traditions even while adopting the forms of Oriental devotion.

The rest of the book is devoted to "Meditations" on love, the soul, peace, etc., followed by "The Communion of the Soul with the Beloved," "A Litany of Love," and "Some Hindu Rites for the Honored Dead."

THE MYSTERY OF EXISTENCE IN THE LIGHT OF AN OPTIMISTIC PHILOSOPHY.
By *Charles Wicksteed Armstrong*. London: Longmans, 1909. Pp. 131,
Price, 2s. 6d. net.

This book is a brave attempt of a busy headmaster in a Brazil academy, to cull from the accumulated results of a world's progress in science and philosophy what he considers the comprehensive view of a thinker not limited by engrossing interest in any one branch of research, and to present the result in a popular exposition. The author mentions Plato, Marcus Aurelius,

Hegel, Haeckel, Darwin, Metchnikoff and F. H. Myers as those who have seemed to him to have carried us farthest along the road to the solution of the great world-mysteries, even though the teachings of these men have been immensely divergent and often apparently contradictory. This is certainly an unusual combination of thinkers, and we cannot but regret that the lack of real scientific study, which the author deplures, has led him to give marked emphasis to Frederic H. Myers and his theory of the subliminal self, the discovery of which Mr. Armstrong considers "as even more epoch-making than Darwin's discovery of the laws of natural selection," and from which he derives functions that he considers more far-reaching than Myers himself ever suggested. The book is sincere in tone and the spirit of the author modest and unassuming.

ON THE DOCTRINE OF PERSONAL IDENTITY. By *C. Comyns Tucker*. London: Longmans, 1909. Pp. 70. Price, 1s. 6d.

This little treatise is simply the result of the reflections of a thoughtful and intelligent man, on the occasion of a great bereavement in his life. He has been able to justify his desire for a belief in the continuation of personal identity after death and the mutual recognition of personalities in the great hereafter. He believes that his conclusion is in harmony with known analogies of nature, and in strict conformity with the working of the human mind and its necessary forms of thought. In the first part of the book two contentions are advanced: "One, that the consciousness in man of a sense of personal identity raised a presumption of a continued and individual existence after death; the other, that the form in which that continued existence will manifest itself may reasonably be assumed to be an idealized reproduction of the form in which it manifested itself here." The second part is devoted to a discussion of inferences as to the character of the future life arising from a consideration of the human conscience.

LECTURES ON THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY IN ENGLAND. By the late *Arnold Toynbee*. London: Longmans, Green, 1908. Pp. 282.

This cheap edition of the *Industrial Revolution* has been called for by the increasing use of the book as an authority on the eighteenth century and by the appreciation of the whole of its contents on the part of educated working men. The original edition was an expensive octavo volume and a small cheap edition will be greatly in demand. The one in hand contains a reminiscence of the author by Mr. Toynbee's closest friend, Lord Milner, in place of the memoir by Dr. Jowett in the earlier edition.

In the preliminary remarks to his essay "Our Own Religion in Ancient Persia," Professor Mills speaks of the fact that the article had been translated into Gujarati—"whether by Mr. Palanji Madan or not, the writer is not now certain." Professor Mills's memory misled him with regard to this point, and we have heard from the man who made the translation, so that we can authentically inform our readers that the Parsi scholar who deserves credit for the task is Mr. Dhunjeebhoy Naorosji Coorlawāllā of Bombay, India. Very probably Mr. Madan was interested in some other article of Professor Mills.

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VOLUME XXIII

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"Professor Mills's name stands foremost in the ranks of those who have explored the field of Avestic literature." *The Rust Goftra*, Bombay, April 18, 1909.—"Beyond question our leading authority now living, on the Gāthas." *The Nation*, N. Y., Aug. 30, 1906.—(Mills (Earlier) of the Gāthas). Das Ergebniss einer erstaunlichen Arbeit sehr mannigfaltiger Art—unser Verständniss der Gāthas mächtig gefördert. *Gött. Gelehr. Anz.* May 13, 1893. "Insbesondere von Mills, der diese schwierigen Gedichte in gründlichster Weise behandelt hat." *Preussisches Jahrbuch*, 1897, Prof. Justi (Lexicographer). "Tous ceux qui s'occupent de l'interprétation des Gāthas rendront hommage à l'immense labeur scientifique de M. Mills...son livre reste un instrument indispensable pour l'étude." Prof. James Darmesteter, *Revue Critique*, September 18, 1893.

"Alles was für die Erklärung der Gāthas nothwendig ist." (So also Dr. West in J.R.A.S.)—"Immer wird es die Grundlage bilden, auf der sich jede weitere Forschung aufbauen muss...einen hervorragenden Dienst." *Zeitschrift der deutschen M. G.*, 1896 (the late) R. Pischel (first Sanskritist of Germany).—A new edition has been inquired for, and a renewed Government subvention is expected from an antiquated engagement.

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