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.

VOL. XVIII. (no. 1) January, 1904. NO. 572

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CHICAGO

The Open Court Publishing Company

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HERBERT SPENCER.

1820–1903.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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HERBERT SPENCER.

Born April 27, 1820, died December 8, 1903.

BY THE EDITOR.

MR. Herbert Spencer's life is concluded. He died during the last month at the advanced age of eighty-three years. And how happy was his fate! He was permitted to work out his philosophy in all its details and he witnessed its gradual spread over the whole civilised world. Not the least part of his success is due to the interest that was taken in his labors by American thinkers, for he attained fame in his own country only after having found recognition abroad.

In his private life Mr. Spencer was simple and unostentatious. He did not marry and lived solely for his literary work, the furtherance and completion of which was his highest ambition.

Mr. Spencer was a most ardent advocate of evolution, and some of his disciples even declare that he was the inventor and first champion of this doctrine,—a claim which, however, cannot be maintained.

Mr. Spencer is the classical exponent of agnosticism, the philosophy of nescience which characterises the period of transition from blind faith in authority to a world-conception based upon science. He propounded his theory of the Unknowable as a means to deny the assertions of the established religion, but became scarcely himself aware of the fact that he dug the grave for any kind of affirmation, untrue and true, wrong and legitimate, irrational and scientific, leaving nothing but negations. He cut off not only the pretensions of superstition, but also the life of all genuine knowledge. While his philosophy did not fulfil the expectation which progressive thinkers expected from it, it served the needs of

the time and created a demand for something better and higher than the self-satisfied dogmatism of tradition.

Mr. Spencer's great merit consists in having for the first time worked out for the English speaking world the comprehensive system of a synthetic philosophy. The enthusiasm with which he devoted himself to this task, the personal sacrifices which he brought for it, and the diligence and energy which he showed in its completion, are worthy of our highest admiration.

The ideas which Mr. Spencer set forth were so novel in his English surroundings that they were felt to be revolutionary in almost all the walks of life, and his pen was trenchant whether he wrote on ceremonial institutions, on education, on ethics, on first principles and kindred questions of abstract thought, or on topics suggested by the natural sciences. If the propositions which he suggested did not always find ready acceptance, they certainly set the world to thinking and in this respect his influence was wholesome, because stimulating. In his younger days he was quite iconoclastic, but with the advance of years he grew more conservative. His disciples and admirers, of whom he has many, recruit themselves from the ranks of liberals and radicals, and mainly from the multitudes of unprofessional thinkers.

The time has not yet come for the historian of philosophy to pronounce a final verdict on Mr. Spencer's system and adjudge its place in the evolution of human thought. He belongs too much to the present generation, and it is difficult to form an impartial opinion while the battle is raging. But that much will be granted, that most assuredly, Mr. Spencer has become a factor in the history of philosophy which none, be he his friend or antagonist, can afford to pass by unnoticed.

[1] Our frontispiece, the portrait of Mr. Herbert Spencer, is reproduced from the "Philosophical and Psychological Portrait Series" published by The Open Court Publishing Company.

CHRISTMAS AND THE NATIVITY OF MITHRAS.[1]

BY THE REV. ROBERT SINKER.

[Christmas is a festival that, long before the Christian era, has been celebrated as the birth of the new sun. Christianity adopted it from Mithraism, and in northern countries many customs of the merry Yule-tide were incorporated in its celebration.

Christmas has become the main family-feast among all the Teutonic nations, and to us the idea that it is originally a pagan festival does not detract from its significance but on the contrary adds to it, and its greater age makes it the more venerable.

We here reproduce the statement of a Christian scholar, a theologian, who has collected the most important passages that throw light on the history of Christmas and its adoption as a church festival.—P. C.]

AS Mithraicism gradually blended with Christianity, changing its name but not altogether its substance, many of its ancient notions and rites passed over too, and the Birthday of the Sun, the visible manifestation of Mithras himself, was transferred to the commemoration of the Birth of Christ.

Numerous illustrations of the above remarks may be found in ancient inscriptions, e. g., SOLI INVICTO ET LUNÆ AETERNAE C. VETTI GERMANI LIB. DUO PARATUS ET HERMES DEDERUNT,[2] or ΗΛΙΩ ΜΙΘΓΑ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΩ[3] (Gruter, *Inscriptiones Antiquae*, p. xxxiii). In the legend on the reverse of the copper coins of Constantine, SOLI INVICTO COMITI,[4] retained long after his conversion, there is at once an idea of the ancient Sun-God, and of the new Sun of Righteousness.

The supporters of this theory cite various passages from early Christian writers indicating a recognition of this view. The ser-

1 Reproduced from William Smith's *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* (pp. 357–358).

2 "To the unconquerable sun and the eternal moon this is given by P. and H., the two children of C. V. G.

3 I. e., to Helios (or the sun) Mithras the invincible.

4 "To the invincible Sun, the protector."

mon of Ambrose, quoted by Jablonsky, is certainly spurious, and is so marked in the best editions of his works; it furnishes, however, an interesting illustration of an early date. The passage runs thus: "Well do the common people call this somehow sacred day of the birth of the Lord 'a new sun,' and confirm it with so great an authority of theirs that Jews and Gentiles concur in this mode of speech. And this should willingly be accepted by us, because with the birth of the Saviour there comes not only the salvation of mankind, but the brightness of the sun itself is renewed."[1] (*Serm.* 6, *in Appendice*, p. 397, ed. Bened.)

In the Latin editions of Chrysostom is a homily, wrongly ascribed to him, but probably written not long after his time, in which we read: "But they call it the birthday of the Invincible (i. e., Mithras). Who, however, is invincible if not our Lord, who has conquered death? Further, if they say 'it is the birthday of the sun,' He is the sun of righteousness, about whom the prophet Malachi says, 'Unto you that fear my name shall the sun of righteousness arise with healing in his wings.'"[2] (*Sermo de Nativitate S. Joannis Baptistae*; Vol. II., 1113, ed. Paris, 1570.)

Leo the Great finds fault with the baneful persuation of "some to whom this day of our celebration is worthy of honor not so much on account of the birth of Christ as for the sake of the renewal of the sun." (*Serm.* 22, § 6, Vol. I., p. 72, ed. Ballerini.) Again, the same father observes: "But no other day appears to us more appropriate than to-day for worshipping in heaven and earth the Feast of the Nativity, and while even in the material world (in the elements) a new light shines, He confers on us before our very senses, the brightness of his wonderful sacrament." (*Serm.* 26, §1, p. 87.)

We may further cite one or two instances from ancient Christian poets: Prudentius, in his hymn *Ad Natalem Domini*, thus speaks (*Cathemerinon*, xi. init., p. 364, ed. Arevalus):

> "Why does the sun already leave the circle of the arctic north?
> Is not Christ born upon the earth who will the path of light increase?"

Paulinus of Nola also (*Poema* xiv. 15–19, p. 382, ed. Muratori):

[1] The Rev. Sinker quotes this passage as well as all other references in the original, which is here replaced by English translations.

[2] The preceding lines of this quotation from Chrysostom (Hom. 31) plainly state that Christ's birthday has been fixed upon the day of the birth of Mithras: "On this day (the birthday of Mithras) also the birthday of Christ was lately fixed at Rome in order that whilst the heathen were busied with their profane ceremonies, the Christians might perform their holy rites undisturbed."

"Truly, after the solstice, when Christ is born in the body,
With a new sun he will change the frigid days of the north wind.
While he is offering to mortals the birth that will bring them salvation,
Christ with the progress of days gives command that the nights be declining."

Reference may also be made to an extract in Assemani (*Bibl. Or.*, ii. 163) from Dionysius Bar-Salibi, bishop of Amida, which shows traces of a similar feeling in the East; also to a passage from an anonymous Syrian writer, who distinctly refers the fixing of the day to the above cause; we are not disposed, however, to attach much weight to this last passage. More important for our purpose is the injunction of a council of Rome (743 A. D.): "No one shall celebrate the 1st of January and the Brumalia" (can. 9, Labbé vi. 1548), which shows at any rate that for a long time after the fall of heathenism, many traces of heathen rites still remained.

[The more we study the history of Christianity and its origin, the more are we impressed with the fact that a great part of its growth is due to assimilation. Christianity conquered not only by being the fittest to survive among several rival religions, but also by adopting those institutions and doctrines that, for some reason or another, recommend themselves to great masses of the people. The early Christians considered Mithraism as a pagan religion, but the more we know of the faith of Zarathustra, the more can we appreciate the philosophical significance of its doctrines and the moral earnestness of its ethics.[1]—*Ed.*]

[1] We recommend in this connection a study of *The Zarathustrian Gathas*, translated by Prof. Lawrence H. Mills, as representing Mazdaism in its original purity, and Prof. Franz Cumont's *The Mysteries of Mithra*, a study of Mithraism in its later phase, gathered from the scattered remnants of the Mithraic monuments and other sources. Both books are published by The Open Court Publishing Co.

THE JAPANESE FLORAL CALENDAR.

BY ERNEST W. CLEMENT, M. A.

INTRODUCTION.

THE JAPANESE are a nature-loving people and frequently give practical expression to their feelings by taking a holiday simply for "flower-viewing." At the proper season, the entire nation, so to speak, takes a day off and turns out on a big picnic, to see the plum blossoms, or the cherry blossoms, or the maples, or the crysanthemums. No utilitarian views of the value of time or miserly conceptions of the expense of such outings prevail for a moment; for the Japanese are worshippers of beauty rather than of the "almighty dollar." A few pennies on such occasions bring many pleasures, and business interests are sacrificed at the shrine of beauty. And, as one or more flowers are blooming every month, there is almost a continuous round of such picnics during the year. Having lived in Japan for some time, it is my purpose, therefore, to tell my American countrymen something of the flower or flowers popular each month, with some folk-lore, poems, or other description thereof and have it illustrated by pictures. But first we must call attention to the fact, that the Japanese word *hana* includes, not only a "flower" or "blossom" according to our conceptions, but also twigs, leaves, grasses, etc., so that the pine, the maple, and even the snow may come in this category.

We are confronted at the very outset with a chronological difficulty in presenting this subject to Western readers. For the programme of Japanese floral festivals was originally arranged on the basis of the old lunar calendar, so long in vogue in Japan. By that calendar the New Year came in about the 21st of January to the 18th of February; so that it was from three to seven weeks behind the Occidental solar calendar. For instance, the following is a floral programme according to the "old style":

First month	(about February)	Pine.
Second month	" March)	Plum.
Third month	" April)	Cherry.
Fourth month	" May)	Wistaria.
Fifth month	" June)	Iris.
Sixth month	" July)	Tree peony.
Seventh month	" August)	Lespedeza.
Eighth month	" September)	Eularia.
Ninth month	" October)	Chrysanthemum.
Tenth month	" November)	Maple.
Eleventh month	" December)	Willow.
Twelfth month	" January)	Paullownia.

But, when Japan adopted the Gregorian calendar, many of the floral festival were transferred to the new style without regard to the awful anachronisms that followed. In the case of the pine, which is chosen for the first month on account of the prominent part that it plays in the New Year's decorations, it makes no special difference whether the New Year begins January 1 or February 18. But in many other cases the calendar suffers serious dislocation, because some of the "flowers" cannot conveniently be moved back a month or more. The autumn full moon, too, in whose festival certain blossoms figured, cannot be arbitrarily hurried up. Hence, it is rather difficult for the flowers of Old Japan to run on the new Occidental schedule.

But, taking all these difficulties into consideration, and harmonising them so far as possible, we have been able to construct the following modern Japanese floral calendar:

January . . . . Pine.	July . . . . . Morning-glory.
February . . . Plum.	August . . . . Lotus.
March . . . . . Peach.	September . "Seven Grasses."
April . . . . . Cherry.	October . . . . Maple.
May . . . . . Wistaria.	November . . Chrysanthemum.
June . . . . . Iris.	December . . Camellia.

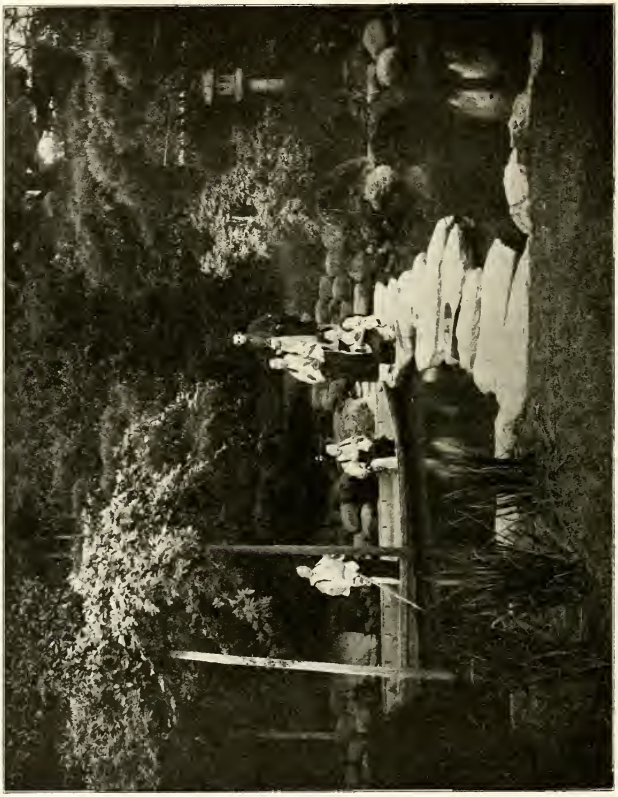
This calendar we shall follow in the articles of this series.[1]

[1] The following is an alternative:

January, February	Pine and Bamboo.
March	Plum.
April	Cherry.
May	Wistaria.
June	Iris.
July	Morning-glory.
August	Lotus.
September	"Seven Grasses."
October, November	Chrysanthemum. Maple.
December	Camellia.

I. THE PINE.

For the first month of the year, the pine is the only choice, whether taken separately or in connection with the bamboo and



A Private Japanese Garden.

the plum. The decorations in front of every house at the New Year's season are known as *Kado-matsu* (Gate-pines), or *Matsu-kazari* (Pine-decorations); and the first seven days of the year are collectively called *Matsu-no-uchi*, which may be freely translated

"Pine-week." The pine, like the bamboo, has no "blossom" in the Occidental meaning of that word, but is regarded as a "flower" by the Japanese; and these two are venerated because they keep green in winter and their color never fades. Therefore, they are

THE NEW YEAR'S GATE-DECORATIONS AND THE "MANZAI" PLAYERS.

emblems of constancy, endurance, health, and longevity. And, as one writer has informed me, the pine, the bamboo, and the plum are the "three friends in winter"; and "they are used as the bearers of good wishes for the New Year: the pine for longevity, the bamboo for uprightness, the plum for sweetness."

The origin of *Kado-matsu* is very ancient, perhaps so far back as eight hundred and fifty years ago. The two following poems are said to be about eight hundred years old:

"Kadomatsu no
Itonami tatsuru
Sono hodo ni
Haru akegata no
Yoya narinuran."

("While busy decorating the pines at the gate, the dawn of the New Year speedily comes.").

"Haru ni aeru
Kono kado-matsu wo
Wakeki tsutsu
Ware mo chiyo hen
Uchi ni iri-nuru."

("Passing through the pine-gate that has met the spring so gay, I too have entered into the life of endless years.")[1]

THE NEW YEAR'S DECORATIONS WITH *Shimenawa*, ETC.
Two girls playing at battledore and shuttlecock, and the little one with ball.

The pines in front of the gate are placed in pairs: the rougher and more prickly one, called the male, on the left, which is the

[1] From *The Far East*.

side of honor in Japan; the softer and more graceful one, called the female, on the right. The custom of adding bamboos is of more recent origin. This custom of gate-decorations originated, by the way, with the common people.

A Bamboo Grove.

The other decorations include a rope, specially named *shime-nawa*, with the strips of white paper, a cray-fish, ferns, a large orange called *daidai*, a leaf or two of an evergreen tree, dried persimmons, dried chestnuts, etc. Each one of these articles has its

own peculiar significance, and is symbolical of good fortune for the year.

As the pine-tree is an evergreen, it is naturally quite popular in floral compositions in which it is considered very felicitous. One favorite combination, especially for the New Year and wedding ceremonies, is that of the pine, bamboo, and plum (*sho-chiku-bai*). If these are used separately, "the pine is displayed on the first, the bamboo on the second, and the plum on the third day of the year." The pine is also commonly associated with the crane and the tortoise, all of which are symbolic of longevity.

The never-fading color of the pine is compared to the chastity of woman, and O Matsu is a very common name for a girl. The needle-shaped leaves of the pine "are credited with the power of driving demons away."

The remarkable dwarf pines are always an important feature of a Japanese garden; and at Karasaki there is a famous giant pine-tree, 90 feet high, with a circumference of trunk over 39 feet, and length of branches (in all 380) from 240 to 288 feet.

Special mention should be made of Matsushima (Pine Islands), near Sendai. These pine-clad isles are considered one of the "three great views" of Japan. They are said to number 896 in all, and are, therefore, called sometimes the "Thousand Isles" of Japan. But in this calculation the smallest rocks are included, even though they may not be visible above water. Many of them have fantastic names to correspond to their fantastic shapes.

Other places famous for pine trees are Sumiyoshi, near Sakai, and Takasago, near Kobe. Indeed, the shore from Kobe westward for some distance is a rare pine-clad coast. "The spirits of two ancient pine-trees at Takasago, personified as man and woman of venerable age, who are occupied in raking up pine-needles, form a favorite subject of Japanese art." These figures are always prominent in the decorations of a wedding ceremony.

As the word *matsu* may mean either "a pine" or "to wait (pine)," there is an excellent opportunity for a pun in both Japanese and English, as in the following lines, translated by Prof. B. H. Chamberlain:

"Matsu ga ne no
Matsu koto tohomi, etc."

"Like the *pine*-trees, I must stand and *pine*."

The following poem is from the translation of *Tosa Nikki* by Mrs. M. C. Harris:

"Since I have viewed the pines that grow
On Suminoye's shore,
I've come my own estate to know,
How I have e'en surpassed in years
These pine-trees old and hoar."

In the "Hundred Poems," which furnish the chief amusement for the New Year season, we find the following, translated by Prof. MacCauley:

"SOLITUDE IN OLD AGE.

"Whom then are there now,
In my age so far advanced,
I can hold as friends?
Even Takasago's pines
Are no friends of former days."

All Japanese boys and girls, early in life, memorise the Hundred Poems by a Hundred Writers, and can glibly repeat them.

Here is a song generally used on the occasion of a wedding, in the decorations of which the pine plays an important part:

"The oceans four that gird our strand
Are calm, and quiet is our land:
No branches bend, no breezes blow,
These new-set pines in bliss will grow."

We close with a very famous poem, which we give in both Japanese and English, as follows:

"Kado-matsu wa
Meido no tabi no
Ichi ri-zuka:
Medetaku mo ari
Medetaku mo nashi."

"At every door
The pine-trees stand;
One mile-post more
To the spirit-land;
And as there's gladness,
So there's sadness."

DID WILLIAM SHAKSPER WRITE SHAKESPEARE?[1]

BY J. WARREN KEIFER.

YOU are not about to be favored with a definite answer to this interrogatory, nor yet punished by a speculative presentation of the claims of those who believe Sir Francis Bacon was the author of the works attributed to William Shaksper of Stratford. After much research I am only able to say: I do not believe that any known contemporary of Shaksper wrote them or was, alone, capable of writing them; and I more than doubt whether Shaksper, unaided, wrote them. Before reaching these opinions I have examined some of the best evidences in support of his authorship in the light of the fact that for about two hundred and fifty years it was not seriously questioned.

I will try to summarise some of the facts (usually disregarding disputed statements) bearing on the question.

First, not desiring to be classed with those whom a Mr. Dana, for doubting William Shaksper's authorship, pronounces, "but one remove from lunatics," saying, "not a sound intelligence is on their side," unless I have some good company, I beg to name among those who, at least, have doubted, and most of whom have believed Lord Bacon was the real author, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Oliver Wendell Holmes, Wendell Phillips, Justices Miller and Field (late of the Unites States Supreme Court), John A. Bingham, Nathaniel Holmes (late lecturer at Harvard), Walt Whitman, Benjamin F. Butler, Edwin Reed, James Ridpath, Mary Livermore, Charlotte Cushman, and Frances A. Willard in the United States; Leconte de Lisle (French Academy), Dr. Kuno Fischer of Heidleberg, the Scotch astronomer James Nasmith, Sir Patrick Colquhon, Lord Palmerston, John Bright, Mrs. Constance M. Potts (reputed the

[1] Paper read before the Literary Club of Springfield, Ohio, February 10, 1902.

most thorough student of Shakespeare in England), Dr. R. M. Theobald, Geo. Stronach, A. M., Alaric A. Watts, Esq., and Percy W. Ames, F. S. A., all more or less learned and thoughtful. I have omitted from the list Ignatius Donnelly, Dr. Appleton Morgan, L. L. B., Judge John H. Stotsenberg, Wm. H. Edwards, Orville W. Owen, M. D., and others who have written with more or less partisanship against the claim that Shaksper was the author; and I have omitted some distinguished doubters like Charles Dickens, who said: "The life of Shakespeare is a fine mystery and I tremble every day lest something should turn up;" and Bishop Charles Wordsworth, who says: "It has been a frequent subject of complaint that so little has come down to us respecting our poet's life," and many others, also distinguished, who have expressed equally strong doubts.

No panegyric is too great for the Shakespeare plays and poems. The author (if one person) was profound in all learning of his time, including knowledge of Greek and Latin, the French and Spanish languages, and of ancient and modern writings. The author was a philosopher, a moralist, an historian, a linguist with a vocabulary larger (15,000 words, while the learned Milton, just after him, had only 8000) than any other writer of his day, and who coined more English words than any other writer, if not all other writers, of all time. He must have read untranslated books and manuscripts (such as Ovid, Homer, etc.), which he unmistakably consulted, quoted, or followed, as occasion required. His knowledge of philosophy and kindred subjects was so great that enthusiastic friends of his at this day not only deny that traces of Baconian philosophy are found in the works, but claim that Bacon sat at his feet, took notes of his wisdom, and "borrowed" much that made him famous. (Edwards 488.) The author excelled all medical men of his day in his knowledge and science of medicine and of the human system, especially in the qualities of the human mind. He is quoted as authority on questions of lunacy, and the moral and psychological characteristics of the intellect.

He wrote, as a naturalist and practical student, of the life and habits of domestic and wild animals, birds and fishes.

His works display, not only the learning of a critical student of the law, but that of an experienced practitioner at the English bar. They show knowledge of the Justinian Code, and a familiarity with Italian, French, and Spanish, as well as English, courts. His descriptions of court procedure are accurate, and, like all other of his displays of learning, go without criticism.

The author's familiarity with the life, habits, social customs and etiquette of those highest in the social scale, including kings and queens, courtiers or royalty in England and other countries (especially Italy) is apparent, throughout the writings, to the least observing.

As a metaphysician, the author was so learned that in this day the most thoughtful wonder at and consult him. His insight into love and the finer sentiments of the human heart excels all other writers.

He, as a moralist, was capable of the clearest and nicest distinctions, involving all the higher duties of man to man, measured by the purest principles of common justice and equity; and he did not hesitate to prescribe the duties of kings to their subjects and subjects to kings.

He had a profound knowledge of ancient and modern political governments, particularly of ancient dynasties, and the reign of the sovereigns of Spain, Italy, England, and other countries. He wrote not alone as one familiar with books of history and biography, but of courts and courtiers, their customs, social habits, and life.

His knowledge of military and naval arts and the science of war as then known and practised is manifest.

His attention to all the details in the life and character of the common, as well as the middle and aristocratic, people of his own and other countries is shown throughout his works.

Who was the author endowed with so much learning and genius? Whence came his opportunities for such proficiency and universality?

Genius may be granted to him; he must have been almost superhumanly endowed, or he would have still failed to write plays wherein so much varied knowledge and wisdom are embodied, and portrayed in character—he wrote for eternity.

Genius may adapt, but cannot dispense with, learning. It does not stand for learning. Genius readily turns to folly, unless grounded in common sense. The ancients said: "Genius cannot *milk a goat.*" It is certain that genius, without scholastic learning, could not translate Latin and Greek, display a knowledge of literature, arts, the occult sciences, procedure in law and chancery, and of history and geography, and of the customs and habits of nations, peoples, animals, and of all living things—"running through the whole gamut of human nature."

It will be hard to convince the geniuses of this age that the plots, plans, and arrangements of the Shakespearian plays, with

their versatile literary composition, embodying wit, humor, pathos, tragedy, comedy, and erudition covering all phases of human life were the product of a natural impulse, or, like Minerva, "sprung from the brain of Jove." Toil, application, thought, study, reflection, observation, adaptation, perseverance, etc., only bear such immortal fruits.

Some who concede that William Shaksper of Stratford was almost illiterate, refer to the Scottish bard, "Bobby Burns"; to John Bunyan who wrote *Pilgrim's Progress*, and to Abraham Lincoln, the great emancipator, as examples of the unlearned who wrote and achieved much. These characters were not without learning, commensurate with what they accomplished, however deficient they may have been in a scholastic way. But "Burns warbled his native wood notes wild" in language smacking of the heaths of Scotland, her people and their habits. Bunyan, taught in childhood to read and write, was a zealous preacher at twenty-seven, thoroughly educated in the Bible, yet only wrote his immortal work while long in Bedford jail, "in current English, the vernacular of his age." Lincoln, starting with some education, studied and struggled throughout his life for want of it, achieving nothing save through patience and perseverance, pretending to nothing in learning which he had not thus acquired. He came from a brainy, Puritan stock. He made good use of the few books in his reach in early life; later in his profession and in the field of politics and by application he attained much true and practical learning. What he wrote or spoke was in plain, unpretentious, though unsurpassed, English.

Neither of these great characters (so of others) wrote in Latin, Greek, or French, read and translated Ovid or Horace, assumed to write of the sciences, of philosophy, or of anything not naturally comprehended within the scope of his opportunities.

Others liken Shaksper of Stratford to Jesus Christ, assuming that, he too, was illiterate, and yet taught the people of his time, and for all time. Not conceding that our Saviour was unlearned in his native tongue, or otherwise, for his day, and putting his divine inspiration aside, he, too, taught in the plainest language, using parables easily understood, and most familiar illustrations, all within the comprehension of common people.

Wm. Shaksper was born at Stratford, April 23d, 1564, and died there, April 23d, 1616, (O. S.) at exactly 52 years of age. His father, John, was of peasant Warwickshire stock, as was his mother

(nee Arden) and his wife (Ann Hathaway). William had three brothers and two sisters who, in obscurity, lived to mature years.

John Shaksper (nor his ancestors) could not read or write, nor his wife, nor William's wife (Ann) nor any child of either family, unless William could. John was a little of a wool merchant, and accountant, using *counters* only, and was a butcher by occupation. John at one time had some estate but he became poor and so remained through life.

S-h-a-k-s-p e-r (thus spelled) seems not to have been spelled "Shakespeare" until the publication of Venus and Adonis (1593). The spelling and derivation of the name are of little importance, save in determining the education of William. The name was originally probably, *Jacques-Pierre* (John-Peter). William never wrote his name, S-h-a-k-e-s-p e-a-r-e, or twice alike. (Some doubt whether he ever wrote his name at all.) The varied spelling in court records and by parish and other clerks proves little. The name was spelled at least fourteen different ways.

At the age of seven (1571) custom required a boy to enter school—a Free Grammar School existed in Stratford where a Horne-Book was chained to a desk; perhaps a few other books. With what success William attended this school, if he attended at all, is only pretended to be known by those who reason conversely—from effect to cause. He quit school (if there at all) in "1577-1578—owing to his father's financial difficulties." (*Annals*, etc., 12 Vol. Larger Temple Ed.)

No friend claims for him (I believe) a longer period of scholastic days, than seven years. Some friends assume that he was taught, at Stratford, Latin and Greek, which (if he were there taught at all) is possibly true, to the exclusion of English, as was then the custom.

He was never a student in any other school, college, or university, and he was never employed by or with or lived or associated in his house, home, or otherwise socially, with people of education, unless, possibly, by chance, with frequenters of London theaters, alehouses, or inns.

He was, when about fourteen years of age, "apprenticed a a butcher," to his father most likely. There are some speculative traditions that William cracked jokes and rhymed over slaughtered calves and sheep, while pursuing, assiduously, his ancestral trade. Certain it seems that his precocity was made manifest when at eighteen years (Nov. 28, 1582) he "married in haste" Ann Hatha-

way, a (grass) widow (Whately) twenty-seven or twenty-eight years old, he giving bond "*against impediments.*"

The children of this marriage were Susanna (born May 26, 1583) who married Dr. John Hall, and Hamnet and Judith, twins (born Feb. 2, 1585). Judith married (Feb. 10, 1616) shortly before her father's death, Thomas Quyney. His only son, Hamnet, died Aug. 11, 1596.

Companies of strolling actors occasionally visited Stratford. Though such actors were in Shaksper's time and long after regarded as vagabonds, outlaws by law, whom judges on the Circuit charged juries to indict, it is reasonable to assume the youthful Shaksper saw, and admired them, and aspired to live their life, and enjoy the applause attending their rude, if not vulgar, public performances. About the year 1586, he was rather severely prosecuted and condemned for poaching—dear-stealing from the park of Sir Thomas Lucy (a friend of Francis Bacon) at Charlecote, about four miles from Stratford. Shaksper is credited by one Rowe (1709) with having lampooned Sir Lucy; and another (Oldys) about the same time, pretended to remember some of the lines, running in part thus:

> "A parliament member, a justice of peace,
> At home a poor scare crow, at London an asse:
> If lousy is Lucy, as some folk miscall it,
> Then Lucy is lousy, whatever befall it."

Others have forged still more doggerel for this lampooning.

It is said, fresh prosecutions were to follow when Shaksper, then twenty-three years old, went to London, leaving his wife and children at Stratford in much poverty. His family, nor any member of it, are not known to have been in London, though he sojourned there about twenty-five years; he rarely visited Stratford in that period. He drifted to the play-house—theatres. "His first expedient was to wait at the door—hold the horses of those who had no servants"—"in a short time every man as he alighted called for Will Shaksper." "Shaksper, finding more horses put into his hand than he could hold, hired boys to wait under his inspection," who became known as "Shaksper's boys."

He then had other occupation as a "serviture" in and about a theatre, and was soon admitted into a company of players, "at first, in a very mean rank (says Rowe), but his admirable wit, and the natural turn of it to the stage soon distinguished him."

His vocabulary must have then been Warwickshire *patois*, spoken exclusively by his family and familiars—hardly intelligible

to Londoners—a dialect peculiar to farmers and the common people with whom he had lived.

The members of Qeen Elizabeth's Parliament from different parts could not always comprehend each other. So soldiers summoned could not then understand words of command unless given by officers of their own shire.

Macauley (*His. Eng.*, I., 298) describing an English country gentlemen of William III.'s time, says:

> "His language and pronunciation were such as we should now expect to have only from the most ignorant clowns. His oaths, coarse jests and scurrilous terms of abuse were uttered with the broadest accent of his province."

This being true then of the English country gentlemen, what must have been the language of the untutored common people of the same period, or of Shaksper's time, one hundred years earlier?

Little is known of Shaksper's employment between 1587 and 1592. As the London theaters were closed in 1586 on account of the plague, it seems certain his first connection with them was somewhat later. He was then poor and doubtless struggling for subsistance—not to acquire an education. On his advent in London there were two theaters—"The Theater" in Shoreditch of Richard Burbage, and "The Curtain" in Moorsfield—both outside of the city civic jurisdiction; neither stage-plays or players being popular with those in authority or the general public, though Lords Leicester and Derby are credited with patronising a company of players (Leicester's Co.) in which Shaksper soon became a member, in some capacity, and, later, as a player in London, and, in summer travelling through the country visiting small towns, when the law was not enforced against them.

The interdicted theatre in London of Shaksper's time, and much later, was a wretched structure. Only the stage part was under cover; the front being an open pit; curtains or stage-scenery were almost unknown, and there was little provision for actors to retire from view. The pit was unseated, and wholly exposed to the weather. A little later a sort of gallery at the top of the pickets or walls enclosing the pit was constructed, alike unprotected. The plays, chiefly for want of means of lighting were conducted in the afternoons, ending when darkness came.

The usual charge for the pit was "two pence"; and a degraded, mixed mass of ignorant people, even for the time, occupied it, who were, during the performances, guilty of dissipations, disorders, sometimes assaulting the players, and by jeers and cries

expressed their displeasure, or by wild shouts their delight. Indecent acts were common in the pit. In the galleries (such as they were) a pretended higher class assembled, including, however, questionable female characters, and their admirers, though they were more orderly. The gentlemen of quality—a few ladies—had seats or stools on the rough stage or in its wings.

Such were the character and order of people for whom the immortal Shakespearean plays are *supposed* to have been written and before whom first performed.

Shaksper appears early to have been provident, and soon came to be a part owner of the Globe and other theaters. He, later, made fortunate real estate investments in London and at and about Stratford, and by a penurious economy, in time, became a man of fortune, with an annual income of £5000.

He did not cease to go about the country as a travelling player in summer, and he was an actor in his own theaters, and, perhaps on a few special occasions, appeared before Queen Elizabeth and royalty, in "*buskin and socks.*"

Players in Shaksper's time when "wandering about without license" were liable to be taken up, punished by whipping, fine, imprisonment, and "burned through the gristle of the ear." (Act of 1572, 14 Eliz., *Enc. Brit.*, 9th Ed.) When protected they were called the "Queen's licensed vagabonds." In 1572 noblemen were authorised to license actors to "*stroll and play*," but this was changed (1604) by statute (James I.) which provided that they "*shall authorise none to go abroad.*" That Shaksper was the companion of a class who were under the ban of the law and public opinion itself, argues that his associates were not persons who would tend to educate him morally, or mentally, for great authorship. Perhaps men of a higher class acted at times on the stage in London theaters, but they were doubtless few in number.

There were many writers of plays and songs in London in Shaksper's time. Greene, Kyd, Burbage, Peele, Nash, Marlowe, Beaumont, Ben Jonson, Lodge, Chapman, Fletcher, Sir Philip Sidney and Webster are among the most prominent. None of them, though university educated men, wrote much that lived. Shaksper is not known to have been an intimate of, or closely associated with, any of these.

Their authorship and attainments are quite easily shown in contemporary history, and by writings left by each. His association socially seems to have been with persons who frequented inns and ale-houses to eat, drink, and make merry.

One story (by Mannington) only is related in some detail connecting him with an amour (March 13th, 1601) in which he impersonated another player. Its importance consists in turning light on his life and character after he is supposed to have written some of the greater plays. His much-exploited "*bouts of wit*" in "Ale Houses" seem, also, to have been, throughout his life, "*bouts of wet.*"

Shaksper lived in a period of eminent men. Raleigh, Sidney, Spencer, the Bacons (Francis and Thomas), Cecil, Walsingham, Coke, Camden, Hooker, Drake, Hobbes, Herbert, Laud, Pym, Hampden, and others were his contemporaries; their history and work are not in doubt; there is no evidence tending to show that he was personally known to one of them, or to any of lesser note among statesmen, scholars, or artists. Nor did they discover *him.*

Emerson says, "not a single fact bearing on his literary character has come down to us," though he had examined with care the entire correspondence covering Shaksper's time, in which almost every person of note of his day are mentioned, and adds:

"Since the constellation of great men who appeared in Greece in the time of Pericles, there never was any such society, yet their genius failed them to find out the *best head in the universe.*"

The testimony seems to show, notwithstanding Shaksper's convivial habits, that he was extremely penurious, and accepted small (£5) gifts from friends. Notwithstanding Shaksper enjoyed, in time, a large fortune, even for royalty in Queen Elizabeth's reign; he was litigious; the records show he mercilessly pursued his poor debtors in the courts even for sums less than a pound. He was involved in a long drawn out chancery case (Shaksper vs. Lambert) in which the family name is (as usual) variously spelled. It involved the forfeiture of an interest in lands once owned by his mother (Mary Arden). This case, commenced in 1597, showed some life until 1599, when an order to take testimony was made by the Chancellor, and thereafter, as to it, there was "*no equity stirring.*" Some who believe William was learned in the law, cite this case as giving him practical knowledge of the chancery side, and as having led him to put in Falstaff's mouth the expression "*There's no equity stirring,*" and to make Hamlet indulge in the grave-yard soliloquy, wherein he, over a *skull,* displays great contempt for a lawyer, and much knowledge of intricate law terms, little used save by those versed in law-Latin (a mixture of bad French and Latin) thus:

"There's another: Why may not that be the skull of a lawyer? Where be his quiddities now, his quillets, his cases, his tenures and his tricks? Why does he suffer this rude knave to knock him about the sconce with a dirty shovel, and will not tell him of his action of battery? Hum! This fellow might be in's time a great buyer of land, with his statues, his recognisances, his fines, his double vouchers, his recoveries: is this the fine of his fines, and the recovery of his recoveries, to have his fine pate full of fine dirt? Will his vouchers vouch no more of purchases, and double one too, than the length and breadth of a pair of indentures?"

But did the peasant boy of Stratford pen the strains of wit, wisdom, and philosophy pervading all of "Hamlet, Prince of Denmark?"

Quoting a little more of the grave-yard scene:

"*Hamlet.*—How absolute the Knave is! we must speak by the card, or equivocation will undo us. By the Lord, Horatio, this three years I have taken note of it; the age is grown so picked that the toe of the peasant comes near the heel of the courtier, he galls his kibe. How long hast thou been a grave-maker?

"*1st Clown.*—Of all the days 'i the year. I came to 't that day our King Hamlet o'ercame Frontinbras.

"*Ham.*—How long is that since?

"*1st Clo.*—Cannot you tell that? every fool can tell that: it was that very day young Hamlet was born; he that is mad, and sent to England.

"*Ham.*—Ah, marry, why was he sent to England?

"*1st Clo.*—Why, because a' was mad: a' shall recover his wits there; or, if a' do not, 'tis no great matter there.

"*Ham.*—Why?

"*1st Clo.*—'Twill not be seen in him there; there the men are as mad as he.

"*Ham.*—How came he mad?

"*1st Clo.*—Very strangely, they say.

"*Ham.*—How strangely?

"*1st Clo.*—Faith, e'en with losing his wits.

"*Ham.*—Upon what ground?

"*1st Clo.*—Why here in Denmark: I have been sexton here, man and boy thirty years.

"*Ham.*—How long will a man lie i' the earth ere he rot?

"*1st Clo.*—I' faith, if he be not rotten before he die— . . . a' will last you some eight year or nine year: a tanner will last you nine year.

"*Ham.*—Why he more than another?

"*1st Clo.*—Why, sir, his hide is so tanned with his trade that a' will keep out water a great while; . . . Here's a skull now: this skull has lain in the earth three and twenty years.

"*Ham.*—Whose was it? . . . .

"*1st Clo.*—. . . . This same skull, sir, was Yorick's skull, the King's jester.

"*Ham.*—Let me see. (Taking up the skull.) Alas, poor Yorick! I knew him, Horatio: a fellow of infinite jest, of most excellent fancy: he hath borne me on his back a thousand times; and now how abhorred in my imagination it is! my gorge rises at it. Here hung those lips I have kissed I know not how oft. Where be your jibes now? your gambols? your songs? your flashes of merriment that

were wont to set the table on roar? No one now, to mock your own grinning? quite chop-fallen? . . . Prithee, Horatio, tell me one thing.

"*Hor.*—What's that my lord?

"*Ham.*—Dost thou think Alexander looked o' this fashion i' the earth.

"*Hor.*—E'en so.

"*Ham.*—And smelt so? Pah!

"*Hor.*—E'en so my lord.

"*Ham.*—To what base uses we may return, Horatio? Why may not imagination trace the noble dust of Alexander, till he find it stopping a bung-hole? . . . . As thus: Alexander died, Alexander was buried, Alexander returned to dust; the dust is earth, of earth we make loam; and why of that loam, whereto he was converted, might they not stop a beer-barrel?

> "Imperious Ceasar, dead and turned to clay,
> Might stop a hole to keep the wind away;
> O, that that earth, which kept the world in awe,
> Should patch a wall to expel the winter's flaw."

But how, when, and where did Shaksper study; and what were his opportunities?

How, when, and where did he acquire knowledge of Spanish, French, Latin, or Greek so perfectly as to read and translate from the original of each, is wholly unknown, putting aside the remote possibility of his having had a little training in Latin in Stratford "*free-school*" before receiving any scholastic knowledge of the English language, and before he was apprenticed a "butcher boy."

How, when, and where did he acquire hnowledge of philosophy, medicine, and medical jurisprudence, of physiology, pathology, and anatomy, of mental and moral science, and of technical and professional terms pertaining to each, so wonderfully woven into the "Shakespeare plays," is even more difficult to ascertain than the erudition displayed in them relating to law and languages. The analysis and the theories as to soundness or unsoundness of the human mind, found in the writings, were in advance of the professional learning of Shaksper's age, and are still fundamentally quoted in text-books, and medical jurisprudence.

How, when, and where did Shaksper attain profundity in literature, history, and biography, practically comprehending all then extant. From such knowledge the writer coined, with proper derivatives, more words (5,000 it is said, Ed. 197) for the English tongue than any, perhaps all, other men of learning of any age. Tested by three centuries of progressive learning the author's use of words, and forms of speech, (if not his rhetoric) stand above just criticism. He may fairly be said to have pioneered present English literature.

How, when, and where did Shaksper become familiar with court customs and manners, and generally with all gentility incident to royalty, not alone in England but in the capitals of other countries to which he was never introduced, or even traveled, and about which, little, comparatively, had then been written, useful to a writer, and without which familiar knowledge the author could not have penned the lifelike characters, and portrayed their attributes.

"There were then no public libraries, no encyclopædias, no dictionaries, no magazines, no newspapers, no English literature." Macaulay in his essay on Bacon says: "All the valuable books then extant in all the vernacular languages of Europe would hardly have filled a single shelf."

Plutarch is said to have been the master at whose feet Shaksper sat and acquired history that he adapted to his purposes in writing. But Plutarch wrote gossipy, and often inaccurate lives of great men, and compared some of them, but otherwise his works would little aid an author requiring universal erudition, especially in the technical and poetic display of recondite learning, and human character. Some of the characters may have been built up from *Plutarch's Lives*; also some historical incidents (not always true to history) may have been gleaned from him, yet, if so, it proves nothing. But it is only a guess that Shaksper perused Plutarch; and another poet could also have read him.

That Shaksper ever owned a book, or consulted one, is only an inference. He left no book, not even a Bible, so far as known, at his death. He bequeathed one, though his will did not "despise small things." (One lone book, *Montaigne's Essays* (1603) in the British Museum, has a "Shaksper signature" on the title page, shown to have been forged about 1778, which some sentimental admirers of Shaksper weep over.)

But it was in the universality of *common* knowledge that the author excelled. That genius here had a wide field for display all must agree, especially in being able to discern in detail the things which nature and her laws contain, and what is seen and found on every hand in physical or animal life, or in the universal beauties of nature so bountifully laid about mankind to be appropriated to their purposes and pleasures, but here, too, time and opportunity for observation were required to enable him to absorb and utilise the requisite information. *Genius*, without opportunity, will not familiarise a man with the woods, fields, and rocks, the nature and habits of plants, birds, and animals, any more than it, alone, will

enable a person to translate Latin and Greek. How, when, and where did the "apprenticed butcher boy" acquire all that is painted in poetic beauty on the pages of *Shakespeare's Works*, necessarily gathered from a familiarity with nature and the common affairs and things of life.

How, when, and where did he acquire a knowledge of military and naval affairs, and the proper technical use of terms pertaining to armies, fleets, and sea-navigation. The author critically describes maneuvers of large and small bodies of men, and of ships on stormy seas—in a *Tempest*.

All the wonderful things necessarily attained and brought into requisition by the author were not born of that thing called *genius*, so often found dangerous to the possessor, and so sparingly meted out to mankind, and so little relied on by those who achieve great things. But genius of the superhuman kind claimed for Shaksper has never yet been found in combination with a low, sordid, penurious, litigious disposition—one who, not only loved money, but assiduously devotes himself to making, and meanly saving it.

Opportunity to come in contact with men of distinction, and with courtiers of learning, may possibly have been open to Shaksper, but there is no direct evidence that it was availed of by him. The presumption is that it was not. A "strolling player," under the ban of the law would not easily find access to such men, especially in the then state of English society. He with his "*travelling company*" did have the protecting patronage of one or two royal personages through whom it had a sort of license to travel, but such personages did not render, and were themselves incapable of rendering, aid to Shaksper as a writer. Whatever of snobbish patronage was shown him as part owner of a theater was to gain conspicuous seats on the theater stage. If in contact with playwriters, it was to arrange their productions in his theaters; and if he were a writer of plays, other writers would only have been his jealous competitors for public applause. From none of his possible intimates can it be fairly concluded that he received instruction tending to qualify him as an author. Of another class (habitues of theaters) we shall yet speak.

He travelled to no foreign countries, he attended no night or other schools as far as known, if such existed in his time. His nights seem to have been spent in ale and porter houses. He had no correspondents, as did Bacon and all known writers of his period. It has never been claimed that he ever wrote a letter, or received more than one,—the Richard Quyney letter (Oct. 25th,

1598)—and that asking a loan of money, which, so far as known, he did not answer. He is not known to have ever written a letter not even to his wife or children though absent from them a quarter of a century.

Some of the most profound of the "Shakespeare Plays" were written soon after his advent into London. Aside from poems or sonnets and minor dramas claimed to have been writted by Shaksper earlier than any we now name, we give here an accepted chronology.

Love's Labor's Lost, 1589; The Two Gentlemen of Verona, 1591; Comedy of Errors, 1592; Romeo and Juliet, 1592–1593; Richard II., 1593; Richard III., 1593; Titus and Andronicus, 1594; The Taming of the Shrew, 1594; Merchant of Venice, 1594; King John, 1594; Midsummer Night's Dream, 1593–1595; All's Well that Ends Well (before) 1595; Henry IV., 1597. (12 Temple Ed. *Shakespeare-Annals.*)

Other of the plays and poems seem to have a date earlier than 1589, others later than 1595, but learned critics fail to discover in the later ones deeper learning or insight into nature and affairs, though some pretend to find in the later plays and sonnets evidence of higher learning—literary improvement. Others have shown, with apparent success, that in "Love's Labor's Lost" (played first in 1589 according to Flea) and other of the earliest alleged Shakespeare dramas, tragedies, comedies, and poems, are to be found the highest and best conceptions of the immortal writer, particularly in linguistic attainments.

Turning back to Shaksper at Stratford—there we find him in 1587, aged twenty-three, just out of his apprenticeship, five years married, a wife and three children which he was too poor to maintain, save in squalor, just then convicted of crime, and being still further prosecuted for some offense, in disgust and doubtless in dismay, compelled to flee to London from family, home, and friends, scarcely one of whom could read or write. None of his blood had succeeded in anything above the ordinary.

He appeared in London speaking a Warwickshire dialect, almost, if not quite, unintelligible to the native Londoner. He accepted employment about low theaters—a horse-holder for gentlemen, and otherwise serving—possibly soon connected himself with a strolling band of players, then going up and down England, in some subordinate capacity. Within two years (1589) thus coming and equipped, and thus employed, "Love's Labor's Lost" is played on the stage in London. This is a "play of high life, with kings,

princes, lords, ladies, embassadors, as almost the only characters; full of Latin and French, quotations from Virgil, Horace, and Ovid, bristling with classical allusions and with learned dissertations of philosophy and orthography." The author of this play must have "lived in the best company," for as the Shakespearean author says: "*Thou wilt not utter what thou dost not know.*" The comedies are genteel, the product of one who had lived in the best society, not of him who had lived in the lowest and most vulgar company—did not smell of the Rose Tavern. Quoting Dr. Lee: "Love's Labor's Lost," "suggests that its author had already enjoyed extended opportunities of surveying London life and manners....embodies keen observation of contemporary life in many ranks of society, both in town and country, while the speeches of Biron clothe much sound philosophy in masterly rhetoric....It (the plot) not known to have been borrowed, and stands quite alone in travesting known traits and incidents of current social and political life." Another (Hazlitt) says of the play: "The style savors more of the pedantic spirit of Shakespeare's time than of his own genius; more of controversial divinity than of the inspiration of the muse. It transports us quite as much to the manners of the court and the quirks of courts of law, as to the scenes of nature....indicates the tone of polite conversation then prevailing among the fair, the witty and the learned....The observations on the use and abuse of study, and on the power of beauty to quicken the understanding as well as the senses, are excellent." The scene of the play—"Love's Labor's Lost," is laid in Southern France with which, and its people, and their character and habits, the author was familiar—Shaksper was not.

"Comedy of Errors" was written as early as 1589 or 1590; so of the "Two Gentlemen of Verona," and "Romeo and Juliet" in 1591 or 1592, modern writers now say. All the plays are marvelously accurate in the description of the countries and cities wherein the scenes are laid, and of the courts and people there.

These must suffice as examples of all other of the great play writings. If Ann Hathaway's husband, so fresh from the butcher-shop, and Warwickshire society, thus early wrote these incomparable things, we may well assume he wrote all that is attributed to him.

Of the great author Goethe said:

"He is not a theatrical poet: he never thought of the stage: it was too narrow."

By the best evidence Shaksper had purchased and improved

New Place, in Stratford, and settled there as early as 1611–1612, thereafter rarely visiting London, and then only on business relating to property investments—not even as a player. His London life proper was between 1587 and 1612, possibly as much as twenty-five years. He appears to have continued, at Stratford to the end, his litigious character. In at least one instance he entertained a distinguished clergyman at New Place (Stratford, 1614), and demanded of the town reimbursement "for one quart of sack and one quart of claret wine given to the preacher, XXd." He, though still young enough for work, is not known, after returning to Stratford, to have attempted anything of a literary character. He was never known to have owned or used paper, pen, or ink. He had no library, writing desk, or table, so far as the most diligent can discover. He left to his family or friends, so far as known, no books or manuscript, or print, certainly not of anything now attributed to him. His penurious habits alone would have led him to preserve and value manuscripts, books, or written folios. The most trifling things of and connected with him have been preserved—even the original "Dick" Quyney letter to him has been preserved, and reproduced in *facsimile*, as evidence that Shaksper could read. He never, so far as known, claimed authorship. If he had been the *great author*, he would have appreciated learning, and the value of his writings. His name was seldom mentioned in public records save in those relating to small lawsuits. He is not known to have sold or derived profit from the publication of any writing. His later, as well as earlier, habits of temperance were not the best. Whether or not he died from a fever contracted after a drunken debauch at a neighboring villa, while returning from which he and companions fell by the way by night in seeking their home, is immaterial here. It does tend, however, to show, if true, that the habit of his life was not that of a student.

(In the diary of Rev. John Ward, Vicar of Stratford-on-Avon —1662—this is found: "Shakespeare, Drayton, and Ben Jonson had a merry meeting, and, it seems, drank too hard, for Shakespeare died of a fever there contracted.")

Francis Collins, solicitor at Warwick, drafted his will, of date of January 31st, 1616—spelling the name "Shackspeare," the signature thereto being spelled "Shakspeare." The will was not executed until March following. He died April 23, 1616.

There is inscribed on a flat stone over his remains in the chancel of Stratford Church, said to have been at his dictation:

"GOOD FRIEND FOR JESUS SAKE FORBEARE,
TO DIG THE DUST ENCLOASED HEARE:
BLEST BE YE MAN YT SPARES THES STONES,
AND CURSED BE HE YT MOVES MY BONES."

It remains to speak of the signatures of Shaksper of Stratford. Though not entirely free from doubt, we assume there are five genuine signatures—the most any respectable authority now claims exist—one on each of the purchase and mortgage deeds (Blackfriar's House, London) 1613, one on each of three sheets of his will, perhaps written there for identification of them. These signatures, you, unaided, could not read—and the spelling is dissimilar, and has given rise to endless disputes. They are hardly near enough alike in spelling and chirography to be identified as from the same hand, though three were written at the same time presumably with one pen. They look like his father's, who did not know the letters of the alphabet. He, if a writer, should have long had a uniform signature and a rule of spelling his own name. These signatures are all of the alleged "Bard of Avon's" writing discoverable. Of them Dr. Samuel Johnson said: "I'd rather have a morning-glory vine than one of Shakespeare's autographs. It is far prettier, and quite as legible."

But his last will and testament testifies to some things we may not overlook. I have read it and re-read it with care. He disposes therein of a large estate to children and named persons, in detail, naming small amounts in pounds, shilling and pence, finger rings, plate and "*bole*," old clothes, "household stuff," etc., omitting in the first draft one natural object of his bounty, then had it interlined thus: "*I give unto my weife my second best bed with the furniture.*" So only did his wife come to be remembered with a necessary "*second best bed.*"

But there is no mention of a property right in manuscripts or of the existence of any—none were found in his possession at his death—or of any royalty, present or prospective, on publications from his writings (the equivalent of copyright then existed), nor is the subject of authorship or papers hinted at in his will. It was not hastily written or executed. He was, when it was written, in good health, and comparatively young. His cumulative habits and nature would have suggested to him a money value, if no other, for such manuscripts or rights, if they had existed. All his contemporaries who were writers left indubitable evidence of their authorship. Milton, eight years old when Shaksper died, left his title to *Paradise Lost*, and other writings, indisputable. So of all

his contemporary play-writers and poets, Burbage, Marlowe, Nash, Peele, Green, Fletcher, Webster, Kyd, Ben Jonson, and the earlier Spencer, Chaucer, and Beaumont. So of other great contemporary authors, Bacon, Sir Walter Raleigh and others we have already named. Oliver Cromwell was almost exactly seventeen years of age when Shaksper died; he and the galaxy of soldiers, sailors, statesmen, Puritan and cavalier, can be identified with their work by their letters and contemporary history; not so William Shaksper, the one now generally reputed most learned and renowned of all men of all the ages.

Shaksper, if the author, would have, above other men, understood the imperishable character of his works, and taken pains to perpetuate his title thereto, for he was not without vanity, as shown by his efforts to get the right to a "*coat-of-arms*" for his father, that he, the son, might be called a "*gentleman*." This coat-of-arms was first applied for (1596) on the ground that John Shaksper's "parents and late ancestors had rendered valiant service to King Henry VII"; then in 1599 the application was amended, alleging John's grandfather had been the valiant one; neither claim was accepted as true. William, neither then or later, laid claim to authorship as entitling him to a "coat-of-arms" or the rank of "gentleman," or to fame, nor did his family.

If Shaksper was so universally learned, why did he not educate at least one daughter, enough to enable her to read the simplest of his poems? What was the matter with the Stratford "*Free School*"? Why could not Susanna Hamnet or Judith learn there to read and write? Judith married two months before her father's death, and made her mark at the marriage altar. He was rich and could have educated his children.

All contemporary biographical writings have been explored to discover something bearing on Shaksper's authorship, but in vain, save inferences and assumptions, with few exceptions.

Some of the plays were published in his lifetime, at first indicating one "William Shakespeare" was the author, then republished, omitting the name. Some thus published are not now claimed to have been written by Shaksper, but proved to have been written by others.

The name Shaksper seems to have been used as a pseudonym for writers earlier than William's day.

In 1593, "Venus and Adonis" was published, after being entered in the "Stationer's Register," in the name of Richard Field, the dedication to the Earl of Southampton being however signed

"William Shakespeare" (as now generally spelled), from which time such spelling first dates. Shaksper of Stratford, in no extant signature, thus spelled his name. Thus spelled there is a strong probability that the name was used as pseudonym of an obscure but genuine poet, most likely of the travelling, tramp-class, then not uncommon—or for a number of such poets.

The First Folio, of Shakespeare's plays, edited by Heminge and Condell, fellow play-wrights of Shaksper, appeared in 1623, seven years after his death, and contained twenty-two hitherto unpublished and, at least, seventeen hitherto unknown plays. This Folio was dedicated to Earls Pembroke and Montgomery, and inscribed—"Printed by Isaac Jaggard and Ed. Blount." None of the plays therein published were ever entered in the "Stationer's Register" in the name of an author named *Shakespeare*, however spelled. Neither William Shaksper's executor (Dr. Hall) nor any member of his family, had any connection with furnishing the manuscripts or their publication, and if his, they must have been, at his death, lying unclaimed around London or Stratford, neglected because wholly unappreciated by him while he lived. The editors in an accompanying "Address" say, all prior Shakespeare "publications were from stolen and surreptitious copies, and deformed by the frauds and stealth of injurious imposters"—from whom stolen? The Stratford Shaksper never complained of the larceny. They say of the author: "*His mind and hand went together; and what he thought, he uttered with that easiness that we have scarce received from him a blot in his papers.*" (Who was the scrivener?) Who was the custodian from 1611–1612 when Shaksper retired from London—from 1616, when he died, to 1623, of these (and other) carefully prepared "papers"? Did the great author forget them, after his painstaking vigils in their preparation, without "*a blot*"? (Forty-two plays are credited to the "Bard of Avon.") There was a dedication purporting to have been written by Ben Jonson, a play-writer and poet, in Shaksphere's time. The authorship of this dedication is questioned, with a like dedication prefixed to the 1640 Folio publication, the lines of which are attributed to one Leonard Digges, though he died five years before (1635). Both dedications refer, in high eulogy, to a "Shakespeare" as the author of the published plays. Digges says: "Poets are born, not made."

And Ben Jonson in his dedication sings:

> "I therefore will begin: Soul of the Age
> The applause, delight and wonder of our stage:

My Shakespeare rise, I will not lodge thee by
Chaucer, or Spencer, or bid Beaumont lie
A little further to make thee room.
Thou art a monument without a tomb,
Thou art alive still while thy books do live
And we have wits to read and praise to give."

With much in the same strain, but differing from the dead, dedicatory poet Digges, Jonson further says:

"Who casts to write a living life must sweat
(Such as thine are) and strike the second heat
Upon the muse's anvil; turn the same
(And himself with it) that he thinks to frame,
Or for the laurel he may gain a scorn,
For a good poet's made, as well as born."

The forms of expressions used by Digges and Ben Jonson were much the same, and had been used to eulogise dead poets earlier than *they* wrote. If Ben Jonson wrote the dedication credited to him, it is plain he wrote for pay, to aid the publishers to sell the Folio; and his testimony, if necessary, might be discredited by his later writings. But did he write of the Shaksper of Stratford? If yes, he misspelled his name for euphony, or knew him not. Jonson, though always impecunious, was a poet of some fame; he later criticised the real author.

It must be, however, admitted that if Ben Jonson is to be understood as referring to the Stratford Shaksper, and he is to be believed, the case is made out that the latter was the most marvellous literary character that ever appeared.

Little else will be found written by men who might have known Shaksper, tending to show him more than a player—what he called himself, and his Stratford neighbors called him. Sam Pepys's Diary was written later in the seventeenth century—he knew not the author "Shakespeare." But he saw played in 1662–1663, etc., "Midsummer Night's Dream," "Romeo and Juliet," "Twelfth Night," and the "Taming of the Shrew," and called one "insipid and ridiculous"; another "worst that I ever heard in my life;" still another, "acted well.... but a silly play," and the last "a silly play and an old one."

You will ask, if Shaksper did not write Shakespeare, who did? My answer is, I do not know. I do not know enough to agree with Donnelly's—*The Great Cryptogram*—Baconian theory of authorship; nor am I satisfied with Dr. Owen's or Mrs. Gallup's "Bacon's Cipher Story," all of whom are ambitious American authors who

have discovered much to support the claim that Francis Bacon is the true author. They prove their claim satisfactorily, if it may be conclusively determined in Bacon's favor by pointing out corresponding words, phrases, sentences, and whole paragraphs which are substantially or literally the same as found in Bacon's works. But may not the *real author* have been somewhat of a plagiarist? Might not Bacon, who assumed to draw all learning to himself, have been something of a plagiarist? He never showed particular moral sensibility, not even in his public complaint of the injustice he was subjected to by falsely charging him with taking from a litigant £2000, when he had only received £500 for a favorable chancery decree, while Lord Chancellor. Bacon, like Shaksper, had he been the author, would have claimed the honor of it. The plays do not read like a cold reasoning philosopher had penned them. But he too (as is probable, whoever was the author) might have had help.

Bacon, Shaksper's contemporary (born January 22, 1561, died April 9, 1626), owing to his fall through official bribery (1621) needed much to save him from being remembered only as infamous. He too failed to claim the authorship, though he wrote much of himself, and, without modesty, summarised all his pursuits through life and all his accomplishments and for which he sought credit—this after Shaksper's death and the printing of the First Folio (1623)—and to gain clemency from the King. (*Works of Bacon*, Vol. II., 549.)

The press informs us that another American—a Mrs. Gallup, has been proclaiming, in London, a Baconian (Dr. Owens) cipher theory, and in consequence, through the *Times* and other newspapers, Shakespearean scholars fought over it there with a fury almost unknown to the past.

Collaboration work, common to literary productions in Shaksper's time, may furnish a fairly satisfactory answer as to the authorship. I am inclined to envy those who have *faith* and *cannot* doubt. I almost regret I investigated the subject far enough to become a doubter. No harm can now come from believing in the "Bard of Avon." I am sorry he could not truthfully have dictated his claim to authorship, and by inscription on his tomb.

Had he been able to *do* this, then with less anxiety for his *mortal* "DUST," and "BONES," the first line of the inscription: "GOOD FRIEND FOR JESUS SAKE FOREBEAR," would still have been appropriate, and his title to *immortal* fame might have been complete.

It may be reasonable to suppose that Shaksper with his acumen for the business of the theaters in London and the travelling companies with which he was connected, may have employed the best educated, but impecunious play-writers and poets, said to have been numerous in his day, some of whom had travelled in other countries, unsuccessfully seeking fame and fortune. Many of such are said to have been educated younger sons of wealthy gentlemen, whose fortunes went, by English law, to their eldest sons, leaving their brothers only an education which was often obtained at college or university. That Shaksper "*Kept a poet*" has long been believed by many. Perhaps, too, some of the known play-writers and poets worked in collaboration with these just referred to; and it is not impossible that even the writings of a Bacon and a Raleigh, or others of the then learned of England, may have been drawn on for parts, where special and professionally technical or scientific knowledge was required; and this may account for portions of Bacon's writings, cypher included, appearing in some of the Shakespeare plays and poems. It may be true that some of the great men were employed to revise particular parts of plays, the plans for and skeletons of which had been outlined by another or others. Some of these men were doubtless often needy, and might well have written for money.

The friends of Shaksper generally agree, too, that many of the plays—even the names of particular characters in them—were based on previous ones.

It is also true that there has been some revision of the plays, even since first printed, but not so much as to alter their primary character.

It is not, however, proposed to here give an opinion as to the authorship of the greatest of literary contributions to the world. But I cannot accord it to him, who, though rich, did not educate his children, and who, though he sought fame through a "*coat of arms*" claimed to have been earned by the valor of his great-grandfather, nowhere, not even in his last will and testament, claimed the fame of authorship—*such authorship*—and whose sole posthumous anxiety centered on his "*dust*" and "*bones*" remaining undistributed in the chancel of Stratford church.

Since Delia Bacon (1856) (no relation of the philosopher, Bacon), a Boston school teacher, in *Putnam's Magazine*—and she precipitated the never ending dispute—announced her problem: "Why did Bacon and others write the plays under the name of William Shakespeare?" the controversy has raged, and it has wid-

ened and deepened—"it will not down." Most likely the question will never be settled.

Mr. Bangs, in his story of *The House Boat on the Styx*, is responsible for the report of the dispute spreading to "*The* Literary Club" of the "Associated Shades," and there being taken up by the immortal Shades of Shaksper and Bacon, especially as to the authorship of Hamlet, which, happily, ended by an amicable agreement to settle the matter, and forever, by the disinterested and impartial award of the Shade, Sir Walter Raleigh, who assumed to be arbitrator only as to the authorship of the one play—"Hamlet." He heard, at length the high claimants, each on his own behalf, then weighing all exhibits and testimony, on mature deliberation, delivered himself thus: "*I am not ashamed of it—I wrote 'Hamlet' myself.*"

[General J. Warren Keifer has broached an interesting subject and we intend to take the discussion of it up in the next number, which shall contain an article on the Shakespeare problem, presenting the facts of the case, including a reprint of Shakespeare's will, of documents and other illustrations, so as to enable our readers to form their own opinion.—*Ed.*]

THE GOSPELS OF JESUS AND PAUL.

BY REV. J. C. ALLEN.

WHEN we set out to examine the doctrines of Paul with a view to comparing them with the teachings of Jesus, it is proper to ask in the first place, what relation did this apostle profess to bear to the man and his word? Did he regard himself as a disciple,—an interpreter of the good message that Jesus brought into the world? Or was it rather a Gospel about Jesus, but not necessarily altogether from Jesus, that he was setting forth? We turn to the introduction of his epistles, and find that he calls himself "a slave (δουλός) of Jesus Christ," one "called through the will of God," one "called through Jesus Christ and God the Father," an apostle "set apart unto the gospel of God.... concerning His Son." In these phrases it is not indicated whether the gospel came from Jesus, but it is clearly stated that the gospel is about Jesus Christ. We miss in Paul's epistles two expressions that are very familiar to us in the synoptic gospels,—viz., μαθητης, disciple, and διδασκαλος, Teacher. Paul is not a disciple, but a "slave" of Christ. Jesus is not Teacher, but κύριος,—Lord. It is interesting to observe how difficult Paul finds it to give to Christians a name. He multiplies phrases to designate them,—"called of Jesus Christ," "beloved of God," "called to be saints,"[1] "in Christ,"[2] "they that are sanctified in Christ Jesus," "the church of God," "all that call upon the name of the Lord."[3] But the name disciple was ready to hand. It seems to have been the word Jesus himself used to designate his followers; and that they continued its use among themselves after his death is evident from the Book of Acts. It seems probable that Paul deliberately avoided the term, because the Jewish Christians held it as their exclusive possession, and he was not disposed to contest their claim. If this is the case, Paul, who would never yield an inch unless he had to, must have realised

[1] Rom. i. 6–7. [2] 2 Cor. v. 17 *et al.* [3] 1 Cor. i. 2.

that he stood on weak ground here. The only other reason we can conjecture for his omission of this term is that it did not occur to him as appropriate.

Next we ask, what acquaintance did Paul have with Jesus? To this the reply must be, little if any. He never quotes Jesus, or refers to him as authority for anything he himself has to say. The only events in the life of Jesus of which he makes mention are those connected with its tragic close. Indeed, to personal knowledge of the life and teachings of the historical Jesus he appears to be indifferent, if not contemptuous. He boasts of his gospel, "It is not after man. For neither did I receive it from man, nor was I taught it; but I received it through revelation of Jesus Christ.... When it was the good pleasure of God, Who set me apart even from my mother's womb and called me through his grace, to reveal His Son in me....I conferred not with flesh and blood, nor went up to Jerusalem to those that were apostles before me; but I went straight away into Arabia."[1] Thus it is throughout his career as an apostle of Christ. He refuses to "confer with flesh and blood." His authority is in "visions and revelations of the Lord,"—the "revelations" being probably what we should call "impressions," or some of us "intuitions." Even in regard to matters of history he depends at times upon "visions and revelations" to confirm, as we must think, what he has heard previously as human report. He declares, for instance, that he has "received of the Lord" an accurate circumstantial account of the Last Supper.[2] Paul's whole gospel was, in fact, "received" in this way "of the Lord,"—that is to say, by "revelations" that he believed to have emanated from the spirit of the risen Christ. Hardly even by implication does Paul profess to be an interpreter of the things Jesus taught in his natural life. If we grant that his revelations were, as he believed, from Jesus, still the thoughts of an emancipated spirit would not necessarily be identical, or even harmonious, with those the same person had held when he lived in the flesh. The gospel Paul "received of the Lord" may have been an enlargement of the message Jesus had taught in the flesh, or it may have been a modification, or again it may have been in part both; but at any rate it did not depend on that message of the historical Jesus.

Let us, in examining Paul's thought, endeavor to trace it, so far as we can, in the order of its logical dependence. First, then, in our consideration must come his doctrine of sin. "All have sinned," he says, and for this reason all men "fall short of the

[1] Gal. i. 11ff. [2] 1 Cor. xi. 23 f.

glory of God."[1] At the outset, then, of Paul's theology we have his sense of the imperfection of human nature when judged by an absolute standard,—a fundamental contrast between God who is holy, and man who is sinful. Paul is so deeply conscious of human imperfection that he holds it to be as native to man as holiness is proper to God. Man is, he holds, vile in the sight of God, or in other words, when judged by the highest standard. And what is the reason for this depravity? It exists because of men's fleshly nature. "The mind of the flesh is enmity against God; for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can it be."[2] Sin, then, is not with man a superficial thing, but something deep-seated in him, and it cannot be removed except through supernatural means. "I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, dwelleth no good thing,"[3] says Paul. However, he admits in the same passage that he "delights in the law of God as respects the inward man." There is, then, an inner core of righteousness in man. He is not totally depraved. Nevertheless, the "inward man," that is, the νοῦς or mind, is not strong enough to withstand this power of sin in the flesh; so that no one can attain to righteousness unless deliverance come from outside.

How does this doctrine of sin compare with the teaching of Jesus on the subject? In the first place it is to be noted that Jesus did not concern himself with sin in the abstract or as a principle. He discussed only sins, not sin. He did not regard man as naturally unrighteous, "sold under sin" and unable to free himself from its power. But he taught instead that men are at heart good and godlike, and that every one of his own volition can attain to such righteousness as will make him worthy to be called a son of God. He and Paul agree in recognising a germ of righteousness, an inclination toward the good, in man. But to Paul, unlike Jesus, this is a barren germ until fructified by supernatural aid.

Paul traces the history of sin back to one disobedient act of the first man. "Through one man sin entered into the world," and so "all sinned."[4] That is to say, all inherited a sinful nature, though some may not have violated an express commandment known to themselves, "after the likeness of Adam's transgression."[5]

Jesus apparently knows nothing of an inherited taint of evil, or of the essential sinfulness of flesh.[6] He is content to represent sins as the direct work of Satan or of evil spirits.

[1] Rom. iii. 23. [2] Rom. viii. 7. [3] Rom. vii. 18. [4] Rom. v. 12. [5] Rom. v. 14.

[6] But in the parable of the sower three hearts out of four are bad.

The sin of man makes him, Paul thinks, abhorrent to God and an object of divine wrath. "For the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men."[1] Paul goes on to tell that God, for their sin, gave men up to the most abominable practices. Furthermore, God, he thinks, for the purpose of showing in the opposite way how dreadful sin is, gave to the world His law,—i. e., the law of Moses. "The law," he says, "came in beside, that the trespass may abound."[2] By this he evidently means that the law shows sin up in all its enormity. It is not, then, a guide whereby a man may attain to righteousness. The rather it discourages man, because no one can live up to its requirements. "For as many as are of the works of the law are under a curse; for it is written, Cursed is every one that continueth not in all things that are written in the book of the law, to do them."[3]

This conception of the law is directly opposed to the view Jesus held of it. When the rich young man asked Jesus how he might have eternal life, the Teacher referred him first of all to the Ten Commandments.[4] Instead of thinking that the law set up an impossible standard of righteousness for the very purpose of discouraging men, he believed it to be in some respects accommodated to their "hardness of heart."[5] But the issue here between Paul and Jesus strikes deeper, beyond the Mosaic law, to the very conception of righteousness itself. To Paul's mind man is a sinner and abhorrent to God if in any respect he falls short of perfect conformity to an ideal standard. Jesus also, it is true, is once reported (by Matthew alone) to have said, "Ye shall be perfect, even as your heavenly Father is perfect."[6] But generally his attitude was more lenient. Characteristic of him, for example, is this saying: "If ye excuse (ἀφῆτη) men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also excuse you."[7] To his mind the soul of goodness consisted, not in obedience, but in love and service. In respect of this issue Paul and Jesus do sometimes approach each other, but in general they are separated by a difference more of temperament than of conviction.

In one respect, however, the views of Paul and of Jesus concerning the law are identical,—namely, in the conception of it as in its essence "spiritual,"[8]—to use Paul's term. This thought both alike enforce repeatedly. Man must refrain not only from murder, but from the murderous passion of anger; not only from

1 Rom. i. 18. 2 Rom. v. 20. 3 Gal. iii. 10. 4 Gal. x. 17 f.
5 Mark x. 2 f. 6 Matt. v. 48. 7 Matt. vi. 14. 8 Rom. vii. 14.

adultery, but from unlawful desires. So Jesus. And Paul,—"Shall not the uncircumcision which is by nature, if it fulfil the law, judge thee, who with the letter and circumcision art a transgressor of the law? For he is not a Jew who is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision which is outward in the flesh. But he is a Jew who is one inwardly; and circumcision is that of the heart, whose praise is not of men, but of God."[1]

Paul thinks that death is due to man's sin, and to his fleshly constitution. First, it is a penalty. "The wages of sin is death."[2] This Paul regards as a clear matter of justice, which even God has not the right to set aside. Secondly, death is not only the penalty of sin, but also the natural effect of man's fleshly constitution. "The mind of the flesh is death."[3] Man is, then, naturally mortal, because he is mainly material. As eternal life is not natural to him, neither has he a right to it. It is merely "the gift of God"[4] to "them that are in Christ," and is to be given to them at the time of the general resurrection, when they, who are now mortal, shall "put on immortality,"[5] as if it were a new garment to be worn in place of the discarded flesh.

The subject of death and immortality is one in which Jesus was not so deeply concerned as Paul was. His mind, too, was practical, Paul's speculative. Jesus apparently said so little on this subject that no comparison can be made.

Since man is, in Paul's thought, fleshly, "sold unto sin" and therefore subject to death, and the law only "entered in beside, that the trespass might abound," how then may any be saved from this destruction that awaits all,—the death without hope of resurrection? That is Paul's great problem; but it was, as we have seen, a matter of only secondary importance to Jesus. Paul believed it was through the dying of Christ on the cross that man might escape the doom of a hopeless death. "One died for all, therefore all died."[6] That is to say, Christ, in dying on the cross, paid the penalty for the sins of men,—"redeemed us from the curse of the law, having become a curse for us."[7] But there is a condition attached to this redemption. "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the word that Jesus is Lord, and shalt believe in thy heart that God raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved,"[8]—that is, delivered at the day of general resurrection from death to the new life. In what sense did "one die for all"? and on what ground is the benefit of his death appropriated by the believer?

[1] Rom. ii. 28–29. [2] Rom. vi. 23. [3] Rom. viii. 6. [4] Rom. vi. 23.
[5] 1 Cor. xv. 53. [6] 2 Cor. v. 14. [7] Gal. iii. 13. [8] Rom. x. 9.

There seem here to be two lines of thought, the one forensic and the other mystical, which are confusedly blended in the apostle's argument. In the first place, it is argued that Christ paid the penalty of sin, as an innocent person might perchance be sentenced for another's crime. In such a sense it is that Paul says, "Christ died for our sins,"[1]—was "made sin" (that is, treated as the sinner) "for us."[2] And again,—"While we were yet sinners, Christ died for us. Much more, then, being now adjudged righteous (δικαιωθέντες) by his blood, shall we be saved from the wrath through him."[3] The believer is "adjudged righteous because of faith,"[4]—that is, his own faith,—as "Abraham believed God and it was reckoned to him for righteousness (ἐλογίσθη αυτῶ εις δικαιωσύνην)."[5] This does not mean that Abraham's faith is regarded as a virtue and as such accepted, nor yet that it works a transformation in the character; but it means that faith may be accepted as a substitute for the righteousness that God exacts but man cannot attain. And it is only by means of faith in the substitutional sacrifice of Christ that a man may be saved from God's wrath and everlasting destruction.

It has been already shown that this idea of a substitutional sacrifice for sin is repugnant to the whole teaching of Jesus. The idea of faith as a substitute for righteousness is no less repugnant. Jesus regarded faith as a virtue, and as a source of power. But the only substitute he knew for shortcomings was not faith, but love. "Her sins, which are many, are forgiven; for she loved much."[6]

Blended with Paul's forensic doctrine of atonement and justification, we find a spiritual mysticism, which indeed pervades all the positive part of his gospel. Christ, in his view, has some mystical relation with the human race. He is "the last Adam";[7] and the first was a type of him.[8] "As through one man's (Adam's) disobedience the many were made sinners, even so through the obedience of the one shall the many be made righteous."[9] Christians by their act of faith have come into so vital a relation that Paul often speaks of them as "in Christ," or of Christ as being in them. "For ye are all sons of God through faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as were baptised into Christ did put on Christ.... Ye all are one man in Christ Jesus."[10] "If any man is in Christ, he is a new creature; the old things have passed away,—lo, they have become new."[11] Clearly, then, faith is not in Paul's conception

[1] 1 Cor. xv. 3. [2] 2 Cor. v. 21. [3] Rom. v. 8-9 [4] Rom. v. 1.
[5] Rom. iv. 3. [6] L. vii. 47. [7] 1 Cor. xv. 45.
[8] Rom. v. 14. [9] Rom. v. 19. [10] Gal. iii. 26 f. [11] 2 Cor. v. 17.

nothing more than a substitute for righteousness, nor is the atonement simply a substitution of Christ for guilty men. But faith effects, or perhaps we had better say completes, a mystic union whereby a man enters into fellowship with the sinlessness of Christ, his sufferings, his death, and his resurrection.

It is in a mystical sense that Paul conceives of the person of Christ. Christ, "the last Adam," is "a life-giving spirit."[1] As such he may dwell within men and transform their sinful natures. As Spirit, too, he is of divine essence, "out of heaven,"[2] a part or emanation of Deity. "The Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God. For who among men knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of the man, which is in him? Even so the things of God none knoweth, save the Spirit of God."[3] And in another place Paul explains, "The Lord (that is, Christ) is the Spirit; and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty."[4] Again,— "Ye are not in the flesh (that is, actuated and controlled by it), but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you. But if any man hath not the Spirit of Christ ("Spirit of God" and "Spirit of Christ" are here identical) he is none of his. And if Christ is in you, the body is dead because of sin, but the Spirit is life because of righteousness. But if the Spirit of Him that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead dwelleth in you, He that raised up Christ Jesus from the dead shall give life to (ζωοποιήσει) your mortal bodies through His spirit that dwelleth in you."[5] The use of the term Spirit is somewhat vague with Paul, but not ambiguous. Our chief difficulty in grasping his thought is our habit of conceiving personality as a metaphysical unity. Dismiss this conception, and we can appreciate Paul's thought of the Spirit. The Spirit is to God as a man's mind is to himself. The Spirit also constitutes substantially the personality of Christ Jesus, and raised him from the dead. And the Spirit may pass through Christ into the receptive soul, making him that receives it victor over sin and death. It is a Grecian thought, developed through Neoplatonism and the school of Philo, and grafted on the root of Jewish Messianism. Jesus, as we have seen, knew nothing of such mysticism.

Connected with this is the doctrine of the "fruit of the Spirit," and of the opposition of the Spirit to the flesh. "The fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace," etc.,—in short, all the virtues.[6] The Spirit does not compel Christians to practise these things; but it gives them an inclination to do so, and also sufficient strength for

1 1 Cor. xv. 45. 2 1 Cor. xv. 47. 3 1 Cor. ii. 11.
4 2 Cor. iii. 17. 5 Rom. viii. 9 f. 6 Gal. v. 22–23.

this end. The nature of the Spirit brings it into opposition to the flesh. "They that are after the flesh do mind the things of the flesh; but they that are after the Spirit the things of the Spirit. For the mind of the flesh is death (that is, conducive to death); but the mind of the Spirit is life and peace.... But ye are not in the flesh (that is, under its power), but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you."[1]

The Spirit also gives "liberty,"[2] that is, freedom from any external or hard-and-fast standard of right. For "he that is spiritual judgeth all men, and he himself is judged of no man."[3] And so the law of Moses, like every other external standard, is abrogated for those that "Christ did set free."[4]

The law, for that matter, merely "entered in besides" in Paul's theology. To him it appeared to be merely a makeshift,—a "curse" that was to be done away with by the vicarious sacrifice of Christ. Here we get at the root, deep in his personal experience, of Paul's doctrines in their legal and forensic aspect. The vicarious atonement, justification by faith, the imputation of Christ's righteonsness upon the believer,—what is the purport of all this but a way to get rid of the accursed law? It was essentially a revolt against pharisaism, in which Paul gave up his Judaism as well. This was not the vital and durable part of his gospel. It served its purpose, and, that purpose accomplished, it has become meaningless. For Paul the purpose was freedom from pharisaism. For the world it is that the principles of the gospel of Jesus, intended at first for Israel, have become the heritage of mankind.

Side by side with these doctrines, by which he reduced legalism to its *reductio ad absurdum*, is his positive spiritual gospel of the indwelling Spirit, whereby a man comes into a vital relation with God, so that he can say, "Abba, Father,"[5] in a sense of which even Jesus apparently did think. Jesus taught the nobility of man and showed how men might attain to such godlikeness in harmony with the purposes of the Eternal, as to be fitly called sons of the Most High. Paul saw how the divine nature might reside in man so that he, inheriting God, united with him as child with parent, in this deeper, spiritual sense, may say, my Father. They are two gospels. It is unjust to Jesus to make Paul his interpreter. It is equally unjust to Paul, the loving "slave" of Christ, to confuse his speculative and mystical theology with the simple ethical teaching of the man of Nazareth. These two gospels were separately derived, separately worked out; but they were brought into relations with each other through historical conditions, and finally have become merged together, because they are essentially harmonious and each has need of the other.

[1] Rom. viii. 5 f. [2] 2 Cor. iii. 17. [3] 1 Cor. ii. 15.
[4] Gal. v. 1. [5] Gal. iv. 6.

STONE-WORSHIP.

BY THE EDITOR.

STONES are the oldest monuments of religious worship. We cannot say that primitive man worshipped stones, but we know that he regarded some stones with awe as marking the place of theophanies or revelations. Pillars were erected to serve as bethels, or houses of God, and stones were piled up in heaps or put up in the form of trilithons, sometimes circles of trilithons, to serve as monuments or memorials.

Stone-worship is common still among some tribes of the American Indians, and we know that in spite of the crudity of their views their sentiments are marked by a deep-seated religious awe. Those who try to trace the psychology of it, discover at the bottom of this primitive form of worship the groping after a purer and more spiritual faith, for which the untrained mind of the savage is not yet capable of finding a proper expression.

Pillars, stone piles and cromlechs serve idolatrous purposes among the tribes of the islands of the South Sea and also on the Dark Continent; and if we consider that the most ancient prehistoric monuments in European countries are an unequivocal evidence that the Teutons, the Celts, the Slavs, the Mongolians, and also the Semites must, at some time or another, have practiced stone-worship, we come to the conclusion that at a certain phase of man's religious development it must have been all but universal all over the world. We find traces of it preserved in that greatest store-house of religious documents, the Bible. We read in the Old Testament how the Patriarchs set up stones to commemorate a remarkable dream, or a treaty, or some other great event, and Yahveh is even in later times called "the Rock of the Covenant."

Considering the importance of this primitive mode of faith, we shall try to sketch its most characteristic features in order to understand the significance of this peculiar religious attitude.

We shall devote special attention to the stone-worship of the Semites because a comprehension of their religious views will throw

CROMLECH.
Five miles west of Castle Wellan, County of Downe.

much light upon some passages of the Bible which incorporate most ancient traditions of the patriarchal age.

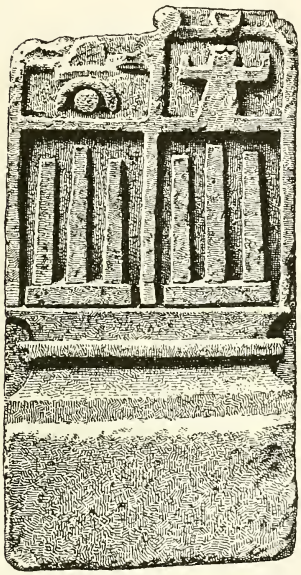
THE RELIGION OF THE PHŒNICIANS.

On the site of Phœnician cities, we find great heaps of stones with crude inscriptions and representations of Baal or Astarte or mere stone idols, representing the deity.

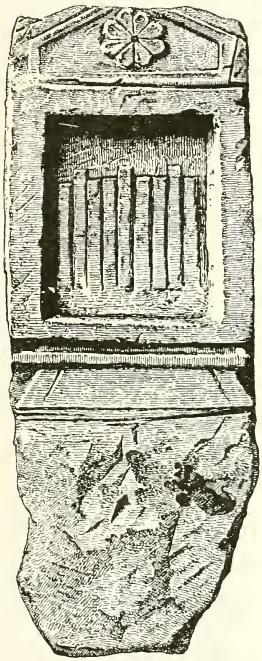
Not having any documents, books, or detailed descriptions of Phœnician life, we are limited in our judgment of Phœnician religion entirely to the remnants of statuary and other monuments

discovered on the site of Phœnician towns, which we have to interpret partly from the stray comments of Greek and Roman authors, and partly from our knowledge of Egyptian, Assyrian, Libyan, and Jewish institutions.

From some of these relics, commonly called "votive tablets," we learn that the people of Phœnician blood, whenever venturing



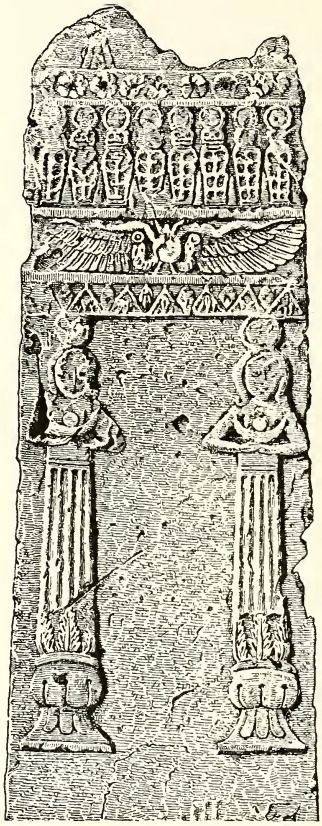
VOTIVE TABLET OF CARTHAGE.
Dedicated to Baal and Astarte, both represented as triads.



VOTIVE STONE OF HADRUMETUM.
Representing the ennead or the sacred "three times three."

on a long journey or some dangerous enterprise, were in the habit of praying to Baal or to Astarte for success, and if their prayer was granted, the divine favor was duly acknowledged in a tablet as a remembrance for all time to come. We reproduce here the pictures of a few of these monuments which are found in great quantities in Carthage, Hadrumentum and other Phœnician colonies. They are

instructive, for they allow us an insight into the religious spirit of the Phœnicians, which we must interpret by passages of the Old Testament as so many Beth-Els, set up in gratitude and pious devotion.



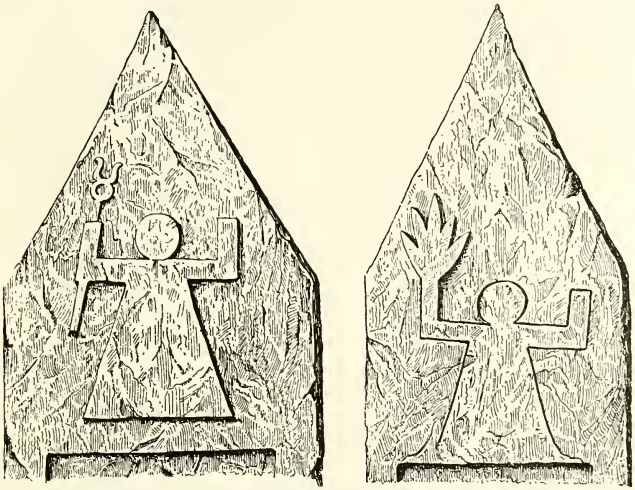
VOTIVE SLAB OF HADRUMENTUM.
The two pillars are here changed into columns, both bearing the effigy of Astarte.

Judging from the stones, we come to the conclusion that the Phœnicians just as much as other nations of Asia and Egypt believed in the trinitarian god-conception, for the stone pillars which here are no longer unhewn but cut in the shape of obelisks appear frequently as triads, which now and then are trebled into an Ennead, or ninehood of pillars. The idea that each triad in its turn constitutes another triad was systematically worked out in Egypt in the theological system of Hierapolis, which was recognised as orthodox, and is preserved still in freemasonry where on the ground of an ancient tradition, "three times three" is regarded as the sacred number.

The word Baal[1] means "ruler" or "lord" and is frequently used in Hebrew in the sense of "proprietor of a house," "husband of a wife," "citizen of a town," "officer of the arrows," "patron" of wisdom or of vice, etc. In the ancient Hebrew of prehistoric times the word must have been used frequently with reference to God as is apparent from such names of towns as Baal Gad, "God

[1] The proper transcription of בעל would be *Ba'al*.

of good luck;" Baal-Hammon (Song of Songs viii. 11), a town where King Solomon owned a vineyard; Baal Hatsor (2 Sam. xii. 23) in the boundaries of Ephraim; Baal-Hermon (Judges iii. 3, and 2 Chron. v. 23), a town on Mount Hermon; Baal-Me'on (Jer. xlviii. 23, Ez. xxv. 9, Jos. xiii. 17), a town of the tribe of Reuben; Baal-Peratsim (2 Sam. v. 20), where David slew the Philistines; Baal-Shaleshah (1 Sam. ix. 4), in Ephraim; Baal-Thamar near Gibea (Judges xx. 33); Baale-Jehudah, i. e., the lords (i. e., the gods) of Judah (1 Chron. xiii. 6); etc.



BAAL HAMMON ON VOTIVE STONES.

Found at Cirta, the present Constantine, Algiers. On one of the stones the god holds in his hand a branch, the symbol of vegetation and the rejuvenescence of life, on the other the wand of Hermes, representing the solar disc surmounted by the crescent, an emblem that later on, when no longer understood, was misinterpreted as two intertwined serpents.

In Phœnician the word Baal means "Lord" in the same sense in which our Bible version still uses the word *adonai* (אֲדֹנָי), either for God the Father, or God the Son. Thus Baal may mean Baal-Hammon, identified by the Greeks with Zeus, or Melkarth the Baal of Tyre (מלקרת בעל צי) identified with the Greek Heracles.

Originally there was no difference between *adon* and *ba'al*; but when the word Ba'al came to denote the god of the Phœnicians,

the Hebrew used exclusively the word *adonai* (my Lord). Yet *adon* remained a synonym of Tammuz, and the Greek admitted to the Greek Pantheon the Phœnician god under the name *Adonis*.

In Phœnicia and Phœnician colonies, we find frequent compositions with the name Baal, thus Hani-Baal (חַנִּי בַעַל) means "the grace of Baal." As Johannes (יוֹחָנָן) means "Yahveh is gracious," so an Edomite king was called "Baal-hanan," i. e., "Baal is gracious."

There are many allusions to the Baal cult of the Phœnicians in the Bible, especially to the holocausts or burnt offering of human victims, and we learn that Baal was worshipped under different cognomens as the "Baal of the covenant" (בַּעַל בְּרִית) (Judges viii. 33 and ix. 4), also called "God (*El*, אֵל בְּרִית) of the covenant" (v. 46). Baal-Zebub (בַּעַל זְבוּב), the lord of the flies, is a deity whose festival fell in the month when the insects disappear, and so he was represented in a myth as the great fly-catcher, which performance must have been one of the labors which the sun-god, the Phœnician Heracles, performs in his migration over the earth, and this name became among the Jews a common designation for Satan.[1]

From the votive tablets of Carthage, we reproduce one that is interesting in more than one respect. The inscription which stretches over the middle of the slab reads:

"To the Lady Tanit-Pene-Baal, and to the Lord Baal-Hammon, in redemption of his vow Abdeshmun, son of Shafet."

Underneath the inscription is a peculiar religious symbol which according to some archæologists takes the place of the Egyptian "key of life." On either side hovers a dove, the bird sacred to Astarte. Above the inscription we see Astarte, the Lady of the countenance of Baal, holding in her hand the symbol of her divinity, a disc within a crescent.

We have no information why Tanit-Astarte was with preference called "of the countenance of Baal," but we need not seek for a far-fetched explanation. *Pene* (or Hebrew פָּנֵי = countenance) means also affection. When in Aaron's blessing, God lifts his countenance upon the congregation, it means that God looks upon the people with kindness, that he loves them, and they possess his favor.[2] Thus the lady of the countenance of Baal is the goddess beholden by Baal; the one whom he loves and cherishes.

The goddess appears in the shape which later on Christian

[1] The word is used by Christ in Matt. x. 25.

[2] Cf. Delitzsch, *Babel and Bible*, 2d edition, pp. 29 f. and pp. 153–155.

ABDESHMUN'S MEMORIAL STONE

Found in Carthage, bearing a dedication to Tanit Pene Baal.

artists gave to angels; the arch above her represents the heavens; on either side stands a pillar which here assumes the shape of a shepherd's crook.

On the top of the slab appears a hand symbolising Providence, the dispensation of Baal-Hammon (the Phœnician name for the Egyptian Ammon), the supreme god and ruler of the universe, corresponding to the Christian God the Father, and it is noteworthy that the symbol of the out-stretched hand, also used as an emblem on top of Roman standards, remained a symbol of Providence among Christian artists almost down to the present day.

MISCELLANEOUS.

DHARMAPALA'S MISSION.

The Anagarika Dharmapala, a native of Ceylon and the officially appointed delegate of Buddhism to the Parliament of Religions, is visiting again this country, and this time he concentrates his efforts on a peculiar mission, which if he succeeds may lead to important results. He endeavors to rouse the sympathies of of Americans for India; he describes the misery of Hindu life, the poverty of the people, their ignorance, and the superstitions which prevent them from accepting the benefits of civilisation; and how easy it would be to help them if they were but educated. Dharmapala therefore proposes to found at Benares, the sacred city of both the Buddhists and Hindus, a simple manual training school for twenty of the Sudra children (the lowest caste) which, if successful, might lead to the future establishment of a college which might become a model institution for teaching agriculture and other practical trades. His aim is set forth by the Secretary of the American Maha-Bodhi Society, Mr. J. H. Grairo, as follows:

"The Indo-American Educational Propaganda aims to transplant American industrial ideas and methods by introducing American agricultural implements and also by starting industrial *non-sectarian* schools like the School of Education in the University of Chicago, the Lewis Institute, the Armour Institute, the Tuskegee Industrial School of Booker T. Washington, in important towns in India, to teach both boys and girls various branches in arts and domestic science, viz.: farming, dairying, gardening, weaving, carving on wood and metal, embroidering, modelling, book-binding, carpentry, smithing, hygienic and sanitary house-building, drawing, cooking, pottery, painting, floriculture, canning, mat, broom and brush making, music, ethics and physical culture, that will make life useful and active."

Mr. Dharmapala visited Booker Washington's institution in order to study the methods by which a lower race is being lifted up and is taught to better its conditions; and he trusts that the Hindu people, being of Aryan blood and the descendants of an ancient civilisation will do as well if not better than the negro, and that beneficient results will be reaped from a systematic schooling. India is as rich as the country of the United States; India's fields are even more fertile; if India could only be taught American methods, she could overcome her present state of degradation and be prosperous.

This is all very true, but it is not so easy to transfer a civilisation from one country to another, especially if in their historical development and social conditions they differ so radically as do the United States and India. Mr. Dharmapala's intentions are good and the purity of his motive cannot be doubted, but there are additional qualities needed in order to render such a movement successful.

The Maharajah of Calcutta gives his opinion on the subject in a letter to the Anagarika Dharmapala as follows:

"There are two sides to every question, and seeing that your letter has been so straightforward and to the point, I may with confidence write mine in the same strain. You will allow that to start a technical college in India on American lines as you propose, would require a vast scheme, necessitating the unselfish and perfect co-operation of many minds and brains, with liberal pecuniary support to ensure the successful issue of the proposition. There can be no doubt that an institution such as you describe could not fail to be of the very greatest benefit to a country like India which is still in a very backward state of development, especially in the line of technical education; but it must be remembered that India is comparatively a very poor country, and we can hardly point to our Carnegies and Rockefellers here. It is therefore, I think, absolutely impossible to expect to establish successfully an institution of the kind you mention with the aid of the contribution of any single individual. If I could know that the scheme has enlisted the active support and co-operation of at least a goodly number of enthusiastic patriots like your good self, I should be more than pleased to give it every consideration and lend it a helping hand, but at present I am of the opinion that more assistance is wanted from a large number of men who have a practical and working experience of this kind of thing, and who would be willing to accord their hearty, substantial co-operation thereto."

Mr. Dharmapala claims that the British government of India spends too much for war and too little for educational purposes. He regrets that the Christian missionaries do not do more for education and do not make their scholars independent and self-reliant. He thinks they should rather educate than convert them, and in spite of all their efforts the poorer classes are being more and more converted to Mohammedanism Mohammedanism, however, will alienate them more from civilisation. He believes that Buddhism would be better suited for the needs of the people, because Buddhism is not opposed to progress, to schooling, to education, and education is their first and most urgent need.

Mr. Dharmapala's agitation possesses a practical side to which Mr. Edward Atkinson of Boston calls attention, and it is the advantage which would accrue to the American manufacturers if the Hindu would only know the importance of agricultural and other machinery. India is a country teeming with millions and in dire need of all sorts of implements, but in order to feel their need they ought to be taught the use of machinery, and here the Anagarika Dharmapala ought to have a chance to enlist the help of the American manufacturers for whom India is a field of vast opportunities.

The Buddhist circles of India have the best intentions to accept instruction and are willing to be taught. There is, for instance, a Buddhist society in Madras who are anxious to have advice and if possible, guidance and support for the sake of working their way up in life and improving the conditions of the people. But they have not means enough to help themselves, and they encounter at the same time the hostility of other natives, of the more conservative orthodox Hindus.

It seems that on the question of education, of progress, of lifting up the general standard of life, all religions should join hands and work in brotherly concord. The Christian Churches and Christian missions are of course the strongest, and it is quite an innovation in the history of religion that Buddhism too and even Islam begin to missionarise, but non-Christian missions in Christian countries are still so insignificant, that they do not as yet cut any figure; nevertheless they exist and

ought to be encouraged not only by those who sympathise with their doctrines, but also by Christians.

Christians should not feel jealous of other religions if they do begin to missionarise. Not only have other religions the same right as the Christian religion, but it will be a help to the general cause of religion if they do appear in the field as competitors, and far from repudiating Buddhist missions, Christians ought to welcome them and offer them the hand of brotherhood on account of the zeal to spread the faith that is in them. In this sense we propose to Christians as well as to Buddhists and in the same way to the devotees of any other religion to join hands in the cause of morality and education which is, or ought to be, common to all of them. The eagerness of the Buddhists in Madras, Siam, Ceylon, Burma, Japan, etc., can only be stimulating and helpful. It will increase the discussion of religious topics; it will invite comparison and criticism, and the result will be a promotion of that which is good, and true, and wholesome.

There can be no doubt that Christian missions have improved and are still improving; they are broadening and become more practical, and as they keep the immediate needs in view, they will be more serviceable and helpful.

Whether the Anagarika Dharmapala will be successful in founding an agricultural college in Benares remains to be seen, but it seems to us that he could do nothing without the assistance of practical men who have experience in the work and would look upon it, not from the religious but the business standpoint, and venture into it as a good investment for which they could solicit and gain the cooperation of industry and trade.

In the meantime Mr. Dharmapala's work has prospered beyond expectation. We learn that the aristocratic *Englishman*, an English (that is to say a non-Native) paper of Calcutta publishes sympathetic comments on Dharmapala's work and Mr. William Jones, M. P. whom Mr. Dharmapala met at Mr. Atkinson's house will welcome him in London and will introduce him to the right persons who may aid him in the most practical way.

Unquestionably the work can prosper only if it is not anti-English and its success will be assured if the English government will appreciate its importance and lend a helping hand.

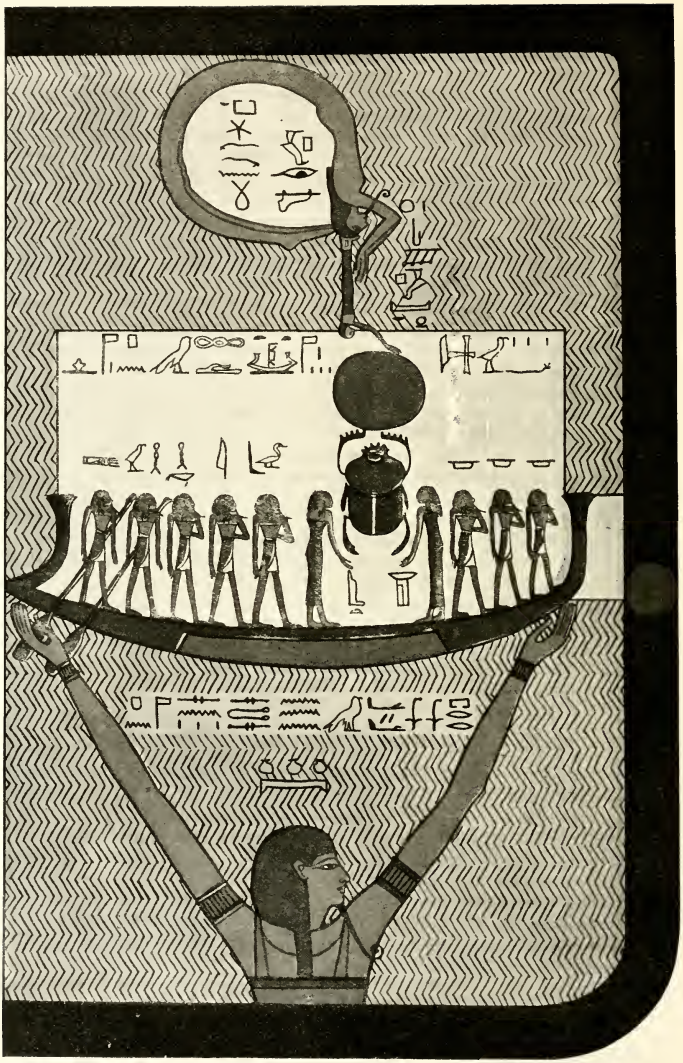
PROF. BUDGE'S NEW WORK DELAYED BY FIRE.

The Open Court Publishing Co. hoped to bring out before Christmas the American edition of E. A. Wallis Budge's book, *The Gods of the Egyptians*,[1] manufactured in England under the author's personal supervision, but the delivery of the great work has been delayed by a fire in the bindery which destroyed not only the copies destined for the American market but also the stones from which the color-plates had been made.

The English publishers, Methuen and Co., have at once made arrangements to replace the loss by a reduction of their own stock destined for the European market, and we expect soon to be in a position to fill orders of our American patrons.

The book itself, of which we have as yet only one advance copy in hand, is a most elegant work, bound in two volumes of 988 pages, richly illustrated with 98 colored plates averaging eight impressions each, and containing 131 illustrations in the text.

[1] Price of the two volumes, royal octavo, library binding, will be $20.00 net.



THE CREATION.

A reproduction from one of the colored plates in *The Gods of the Egyptians.*

The author, a leading Egyptologist, is well known as the keeper of the department of Egyptian and Assyrian antiquities of the British Museum, and his name is a sufficient guarantee that the book will be methodical, and authoritative. His statements are based upon original research and will be thoroughly up to date, incorporating all that is known on the subject.

There is no other book of equal rank on the Egyptian Pantheon, nor is it likely that anyone will appear in the near future to rival it. It is unique not only as being authoritative but also in its artistic makeup and the probability is that the work will soon become rare.[1]

A TRIBUTE TO THE HONORABLE C. C. BONNEY.

Read at the Memorial Meeting at the request of the Chicago Bar Association by his friend and colleague, A. N. Waterman, late Judge of the Appelate Court of Illinois.[2]

For upwards of forty years Mr. Charles Carrol Bonney practiced his profession in Chicago. From the very first he took high rank not only as a lawyer but as a man. No one had a higher estimate of what is required of a lawyer, the services he should render to the community in which he lives, the country of which he is a citizen, and the civilisatiou by which he is surrounded. Mr. Bonney was more than a lawyer who advises clients, assists suitors and tries causes. To him the profession he had selected was the noblest of all, because it deals most closely with that without which civilisation is impossible. He believed thoroughly in the regnant influences of human law, and consequently, he favored the enactment and enforcement of laws which in his judgment would tend to the preservation, the upbuilding of moral sentiment, the prosperity and peace of the entire community. He gave much of his time, and great labor, to the National Law and Order League, of which he was for many years President, and in whose services he delivered many addresses in the middle and northern States, as well as in the Canadas.

He was a ready and forceful speaker. Few men were able on all occasions to speak succinctly, consecutively and effectively as did he. I have not known another who spoke as instructively and well upon so great a variety of topics, and I believe his addresses to the various religious, social, scientific, and educational congresses held in Chicago in 1893 to have no parallel.

As a lawyer his briefs and his arguments were models of perspicuity; the right word, the proper expression for conveying the thought he had in mind, seemed to be always at his command.

He prepared and published several law books. Neither of these were designed to be a comprehensive treatise upon any subject. They were intended not so much for the use of lawyers as for persons engaged in the work of which these books treated. One of these was concerning the rights, obligations, and duties of Railway Carriers; the other a summary of the law of Marine Fire and Life Insurance. As convenient works of reference for railway and insurance men they were respec-

[1] The adjoined illustration is an uncolored half-tone reproduction from one of the colored plates. It represents the creation of the world from the primeval waters. The god Nu lifts up the boat of the sun in which Ra the sun-god is accompanied by a number of the Egyptian deities. In the upper portion of the picture we see the under-world encompassed by the body of Osiris on whose head stands the goddess Nut, stretching out her arms to receive the solar disc.

[2] We omit the data of Mr. Bonney's life which was stated in *The Open Court*, September. 1903.

tively most useful and complete. It is almost superfluous to say that all contained in them is stated with such clearness, and absence of technical phraseology as to be readily understood and apprehended by the business men for whose use they were written. Being made by "Mr. Bonney" they could not have been otherwise.

As husband, father, friend, gentleman, and scholar, his life was not only above reproach, but in him sweetness of disposition, gentleness of manner, consideration for others were mingled with perfect integrity. He lived, worked, and wore himself out for others. His sympathies were world-wide. Of a profoundly religious nature, he saw something of good in all men, and in all creeds. He loved mankind, worshipped God, bowed before human and divine law, toiled for the right, and died with perfect faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and through him an eternity of living conscious, intelligent, personal communion with the good who have been and shall be. A. N. WATERMAN.

PROF. ERNST HAECKEL'S SOLUTION OF THE "WORLD RIDDLE."

To the Editor of The Open Court:

The monism of Haeckel is the *reductio ad absurdum* of the idea of a God by proving too much: or in other words, Pantheism = Atheism.

All that is said by theologians, and by ultra deniers, only strengthens the conviction of the present impossibility of accounting for the Cosmos. The unbiassed man can agree with neither, as he can refute neither. He simply *does not know*: and the more he learns, and the more he thinks, the stronger grows the justification for his acknowledgment of ignorance.

He cannot deny the possibility of an anthropomorphic God, however crude and unsatisfactory may be such an attempt to explain the cosmogony. On the other hand, he stands aghast at the knowledge that person must assume to possess who can say "There is no God." Both assumptions are irrational, but of the two the assertion is a shade less irrational than the denial of the existence of a God-Creator, for the reason that the asserter has the slender analogy of our microscopically finite experience to support the view that what is made must have a maker. To the unprejudiced mind it appears impossible to reach conclusions concerning the infinite from a very limited number of observed sequences in the (very small) finite; but the procedure offers at least a faint pretext (however insufficient) for acceptance; whereas the denier has nothing on which to base his tremendous denial but his own inability to find what he denies; and his inability is infinite.

Of the two propositions representing the extremes of assertion and of negation it may be said that *it is perhaps a shade less irrational to assert on the strength of an analogy of unknown value, than to deny on the negative support of our own failure to find*

Accepting Haeckel's hypothesis, there is still ample room for even an anthropomorphic God (however unlikely that may be) before the existence, or first thrill of the "attenuated jelly" (protyle), and during the course of its evolution from Moneran to Homo sapiens.

But with such a God the mystery of the cosmos is merely transferred to Him, and is just as great as without Him, even if we knew accurately the phylogenetic

chain from prototype to man, and the ontogenetic sequence from germination to death.

PHILADELPHIA, September, 1903. PERSIFOR FRAZER.

AGNOSTICISM.

IN REPLY TO MR. PERSIFOR FRAZER.

Mr. Persifor Frazer is an agnostic, and he takes the consequences of his doctrine of nescience. He claims that Haeckel's solution of the world-riddle breaks down because he tries to prove too much. Mr. Frazer says that the unbiased man can agree with neither the theologian nor the atheist; "he can refute neither, he simply does not know." According to these principles any theory concerning the world-riddle (the constitution of the world, the nature of man's soul, and its fate after death, etc.) is on the same footing whether it be the superstition of the savage, or the mythology of Greece, or the dogma of some civilised religion, or the private conviction of a naturalist, or even the assured conclusions of science. If that be so, we had better give up all investigation and acquiesce in our ignorance from which there is no hope of escape.

There are two kinds of agnosticism: one is the agnosticism of modesty; the other, absolute agnosticism. The former is a temporary suspension of judgment, the latter a belief in perpetual nescience. The former is not agnosticism proper, but is the natural attitude of a man who does not dogmatise on a subject which he has not yet investigated. The latter is a declaration of bankruptcy, and it acts as a blight on thought.

In our opinion, the problem of God, of soul, of ethics, or the destiny of man and his duties in life,—in short, all the problems of philosophy, are not insolvable problems, but admit of scientific investigation and solution. As to God, we believe that we should first of all ask the question, not, whether or not does God exist, but (1) What do we mean by God; (2) How did the God-idea historically originate? and (3) What are the underlying facts which suggested the God-idea? Having answered these questions from the standpoint of an impartial investigator, we shall be better fitted to attack the original question, whether or not God exists.

There is no need to enter here into a discussion of the subject. We have only reluctantly yielded to Mr. Frazer's request of giving publicity to his note on Haeckel and will repeat here what we have said again and again that among all conceptions agnosticism is the most unsatisfactory, the most unscientific, and the most unphilosophic.

Agnosticism is an important epoch in the history of philosophic thought, but it is so inconsistent and untenable that even now it is fast dying out and will have to be regarded by the historian merely as a phase of transition. P. C.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

LESSONS IN THE STUDY OF HABITS. For Use in the Grammar School, the Home, or the Sunday School. By *Walter L. Sheldon*. Chicago: W. M. Welch Company. Pages, 270.

The author is a lecturer of the Ethical Society at St. Louis, Mo., who has had a great deal of experience in the instruction of ethics. It is a very difficult subject, since the abstract teaching of ethics easily becomes wearisome to both the teacher and the scholars. The present volume has to do with the habits of life, and

forms one part only of a series which will further deal with the duties in the home and the family, of citizenship, and of practical justice.

In the present book the subject is presented in a series of proverbs and verses, constituting as it were, the text for the ethical instruction, for instance in Chapter IV. on Conceit, we read, "Conceit may puff a man up, but it never props him up," followed by a series of other familiar quotations from the Bible, from Pope, from Dr. Johnson, etc. The quotations are followed by a dialogue which in the present case on Conceit begins as follows:

"You have heard about certain people 'being conceited'? What would it indicate to you if it were said of anybody?

"What is the chief characteristic of such persons? 'They talk about themselves,' you say. Yes, but how much? 'Oh,' you assert, 'a good deal.' Then you think that being conceited would mean talking about one's self a good deal?"

The dialogue continues in the same spirit and concludes with the remark that "there is a great deal of wisdom in this old proverb."

The points of the Lesson are then summarised in six brief sentences among which we note:

"That a conceited person is not so liable to improve, because he feels that he knows already and will not try to learn from others."

"That the conceited person resembles the rooster crowing, or the strutting peacock."

The duties are summed up in six "oughts" which in the question of conceit read as follows:

"I. We ought not to talk too much about ourselves.

"II. We ought not to think too much about ourselves.

"III. We ought not to be offensive to others by showing a sense of our importance.

"IV. We ought not to be vain, lest we stop improving ourselves.

"V. We ought not to be conceited, lest we make people laugh at us or despise us.

"VI. We ought not to be vain, lest we deceive ourselves and lose our self-respect."

Each chapter is finally supplied with suggestions to the teacher. Now and then appropriate poems are inserted which help to relieve the monotony which in moral lessons seems to be unavoidable.

AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST (New Series). Organ of The American Anthropological Association, the Anthropological Society of Washington, and the American Ethnological Society of New York. July-September, 1903. Lancaster, Pa.: The New Era Printing Company.

A number of Anthropological Societies, the American Anthropological Association, the Anthropological Society of Washington, and the American Ethnological Society of New York, have combined to publish a quarterly under the name of *American Anthropologist*, which has appeared for several years and contains a series of valuable contributions to a steadily growing science. The present number contains the following contributions:

"The Region of the Ancient 'Chicimecs,' with notes on the Tepecanos and the Ruin of La Quemada, Mexico," by Ales Hrdlicka.

"Prehistoric Porto Rican Pictographs," by J. Walter Fewkes. Mr. Fewkes, one of the most prominent anthropologists of this country distinguishes three kinds

of pictographs, (1) River pictographs, (2) Cave pictographs, (3) Pictographs on the boundary-stones of enclosures identified as dance plazas. The first are found in isolated valleys of high mountains and are cut on rocks, the surface of which has been worn smooth by the action of the waters. He describes specimens of all three, reproducing photographs. Without venturing into detailed explanations, Mr. Fewkes declares that the symbols are religious rather than secular, representing powers or beings which were worshipped, especially the sun or sky god, or the whirlwind or the whirlpool. Other symbols represent figures of zemis, i. e., the images of spirits, of either deceased people or the totems of the tribe.

Matilda Coxe Stevenson in her article on "Zuni Games" says: "By enlightened people games are associated with sport and recreation. Among some primitive peoples games are played primarily for divination, but the ceremonial games of the Zuni are for rain, and they constitute an important element in their religion and sociology. They are not played in a haphazard way; each game has its regulations and limitations, and there is deep meaning underlying all Zuni games supposed to have come to them from their gods." The author describes and illustrates with pictures all the games that are important among the Zuni.

Clarence B. Moore in an article on "The So-called 'Hoe-shaped Implement'" speaks of the several "implements" found in Florida, Georgia, Alabama, etc., and concludes that they served ceremonial purposes.

Mr. W. H. Holmes publishes the results of his investigations of the "Traces of Aboriginal Operations in an Iron Mine near Leslie, Missouri."

Mr. William Edwin Safford continues part of an article on "The Chamorro Language of Guam."

Franz Boas writes on "Heredity in Head Form"; and Samuel P. Verner explains the appearance of "The Yellow Men of Central Africa" as being due to three successive currents of imigration into Africa from the region of the Nile and the Red Sea.

BUDDHISTIC ESSAYS. Referring to the Abhidharma. Colombo: Ceylon Examiner Press. London: Luzac & Co. 1903. Pages, 21.

SATVÓTPATTI VINISCHAYA AND NIRVÁNA VIBHÁGA. Compiled by *M. Dharmaratna*. Translation. Colombo: Observer Office. London: Luzac & Co. 1902. Pages, 102.

This short essay is remarkable in being written by a serious man who though fairly well informed concerning Christianity remains a Buddhist. The author is none other but the brother of the King of Siam, Prince Chandrdhat Chudhathar, who in spite of his high position at court renounced wealth and honors to become a simple Buddhist priest. Heladiw Ruvana is a speech which he delivered at Colombo, and in reading it, the author wants his reader to take into consideration that English is not his mother tongue. He writes very plainly, however, and his meaning can never be misunderstood. He expresses himself very modestly in giving his view of Buddhism, and declares that he is "ever ready to discuss any criticism thereof."

The Prince-priest discusses the difficult subject of the soul and of Nirvâna and expresses a view, quite current among modern Buddhists, that the soul will be reincarnated at death. There is no soul-substance, no atman travelling from one place to another, but a re-birth takes place in the shape of a new formation. While the doctrine of re-birth (in contrast to transmigration) is truly the orthodox Buddhist doctrine, we venture to say that this peculiar interpretation, viz., that man's

re-birth should take place at the moment of his death, is a later conception which cannot be traced back to the oldest sources. The original doctrine is that the process of re-birth is continuous, which means that during his life man impresses his peculiar soul upon others and thus re-birth takes place by his deeds, not at the moment of death.

The Prince characterised the process by an illustration which is very appropriate. He says:

"When an artist paints his own likeness, the materials which he uses for colors are not made from material parts of his body, but from ordinary materials outside; so the process of re-birth is effected by a (dying) man through the assertion of his thinking habits, from the elements outside, just as the action of the phonograph is effected by the motions of the voice."

The word "dying" which we have put in parentheses is an idea which is foreign to the original conception. It is just while the painter is using the brush, that the likeness of his portrait is re-born,—his painting reproduces it. There is no atman travelling into the portrait, but stroke by stroke it is reproduced. The same is true of the phonograph. While the voice speaks it is reproduced, not when the voice ceases. The Prince-priest justifies his position by saying:

"The process of re-birth, however, takes place at death only, because then the exertion of physical thought being exhaustive is quite fixed for ever."

We know that the Prince-priest's explanation is quite common among Buddhists, but we venture to say that it would resolve Buddhist psychology into mysticism.

The little essay contains much that is good concerning Nirvâna and the law of Karma, and it is accompanied with some German comments signed "A. B.," which is obviously the signature of Adolf Bastian, the venerable father of comparative anthropology and the founder of the German Anthropological Museum at Berlin.

The second pamphlet is written by the editor of a native periodical of Ceylon and the author of many Buddhistic books. It contains elucidations of many intricacies which are difficult to understand for the uninitiated. The article on Nirvâna forms an interesting contribution to this much-mooted subject, being a collection of quotations, all of them verifying the general idea that Nirvâna is an eternal state where there is no birth, decay, or death. This second pamphlet also is accompanied with a German essay written by A. Bastian.

THE RECOVERY AND RESTATEMENT OF THE GOSPEL. By *Loran David Osborn*, Ph. D. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 1903. Pages, xxvi, 279. Price, $1.50.

The general character of this book may be expressed in the following quotations:

"The purpose of the following pages is to show how the gospel of Jesus has become obscured during the course of its historical development, and that it is therefore necessary to go back of this in order to recover the gospel which he taught; and further, that, inasmuch as the world's culture has radically changed during the centuries since Christianity received its first dogmatic expression, this recovered gospel needs restatement in terms of modern thought and life.

"The early ecclesiastical transformation of Christianity involved the substitution of the church for the Christ as the object of faith, and hence as the means of salvation; or, to say the least, Christ could be found only through the church, which therefore conditioned salvation.

"The fundamental idea of the gospel of Jesus is that of salvation. It cannot be better expressed than in the classical passage: 'God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth on him should not perish, but have eternal life.'

"Let each age do for itself what the first centuries did: so express this universal gospel in terms of contemporary thought and institutional life that it shall exercise its maximum influence upon the men of that age, and bring to them in greatest fulness the blessings of God's salvation in Jesus Christ."

THE STUDY OF MENTAL SCIENCE. Popular Lectures on the Uses and Characteristics of Logic and Psychology. By *J. Brough, LL. D.*, Professor of Logic and Philosophy at the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth. London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green & Co. Pages, vii, 129. Price, 2s.

Dr. J. Brough, Professor of Logic and Philosophy of the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth, publishes a thoughtful and conservative series of popular lectures on the study of mental science, and on the uses and characteristics of logic and psychology.

The author discusses in five lectures the following subjects: (1) mental science as ancillary to other studies, (2) the independent value of logic, (3) the independent value of psychology, (4) the sources and plan of logic, and (5) method in psychology.

Speaking of introspection, he says:

"Whether or not there can be a Science of the inner life, there can be by virtue of psycho-physical definitions a scheme of discipline common to mankind under which each man can watch the phases of his own inner life. Psychology can at least be a guide to the sole spectator in his use of 'art and pains.' And if the kingdom we look for is a personal discipline rather than a body of doctrine, we can know the genuine and true, and reject the fraudulent and false."

THE DAVIS PARALLEL GOSPELS. Being the Three Synoptic Gospels and some portions of John. Together with a short commentary. By *E. D. Davis* New York: Peter Eckler. Pages, iv, 160. Price, $1.00.

This is a collection of the three Synoptic Gospels in parallel columns with references to the Fourth Gospel, attempting to prove that the New Testament cannot be an inspired book.

The Chicago Israelite publishes a special number in celebration of Chanukah Festival. The contents of the number is devoted to Jewish interests: The Need of Missions to Offset the Missionaries, by Tobias Schanfarber; The Hebrew Union College, by Dr. Kaufman Kohler; The Jewish Encyclopædia; The Jewish Agricultural Aid Society of America, by A. R. Levy, Secretary; The National Jewish Hospital for Consumptives, by Alfred Mueller, Secretary; The Council of Jewish Women, by Mrs. Hannah G. Solomon, President; The Baron De Hirsch Fund, by A. S. Solomons, General Agent (since resigned); The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, by Solomon Schechter; and Zionism and Its Organisation, by Isidore D. Morrison. The number will be of interest also to Gentiles who wish to be posted on the strength, the methods, and the character of Judaism in this country. Not the least attraction of this number consists in the many illustrations, among them portraits of Rabbis and other prominent Jews.

A Japanese version of Dr. P. Carus's *The Religion of Science* has been recently published by the Kô Mê Sha Co., Tokyo. The translator is Mr. Sêya Hasegawa. He says in his Preface: "The publication is urgently demanded by the present condition of Japanese morality and religion, and it will also help scientists to attain an insight into the religious significance of their profession." Unfortunately, Japan is now suffering from the evil tendencies of materialism, utilitarianism, and agnosticism, introduced by those popular scholars who have neither power of insight nor depth of imagination, and it is my sincere hope that the Japanese public would not be slow in appreciating the importance of the thoughts set forth in this booklet. The translation, as the translator himself confesses, is not equal to the original in its force and readableness, but it is plain enough to make the reader understand what the author means to say. As to the title of the book, I should like to suggest that *Kwagaku-kyô* is preferable to *Kwagakuteki-shûkyô*, for the latter is not only "misleading," but actually incorrect. DAISETSU.

The centenary of Kants's day of death will take place on February 12, 1904. Hans Vaihinger, Professor of Philosophy at the University of Halle, sends out a circular in which he asks for contributions to a Kant fund for the purpose of establishing on a firm foundation the publication of the *Kantstudien*, a philosophical magazine of which he is the editor.

The *Kantstudien* is a credible undertaking supported by prominent professors, among whom we may mention E. Adickes, É. Boutroux, Edm. Caird, C. Cantoni, J. E. Creighton, W. Dilthey, B. Erdmann, R. Eucken, M. Heinze, R. Reicke, A. Rhiel, and W. Windelband. But the subscriptions to this periodical did not pay the expense of publication which required an annual sacrifice of 500 to 600 Marks, which had to be procured by collection. In order to perpetuate the enterprise in honor of the great German philosopher, Professor Vaihinger, who not only gives his services to the cause free of charge but has also made many pecuniary sacrifices, proposes to found a "Kant Society," analogous to the English "Mind Association" that is supporting the English quarterly *Mind*. Patrons make a donation of 400 marks, and members pay an annual assessment of twenty marks. Both will receive the periodical *Kantstudien* free of charge. The donations of life-members are to be deposited and the interest used for the continuation of the *Kantstudien*. The first general meeting of all patrons and members of the Kant Society is to take place on February 12th, 1904, at the house of Professor Vaihinger, 15 Reichardtstrasse, Halle, a. S., when a committee of three will be appointed to superintend the publication of the *Kantstudien*.

Should the "Kant Society" or the Kant studies be discontinued, the entire property should be turned over to the University of Königsberg on the condition that it be devoted to research work in the field of Kant literature.

Contributions will be received either by Prof. Hans Vaihinger, 15 Reichardtstrasse, or H. F. Lehman, Bankers, both in Halle, a. S., Germany. Prof. J. E. Creighton, Ithaca, N. Y.. is authorised to collect contributions to the Kant Society in the United States of North America.

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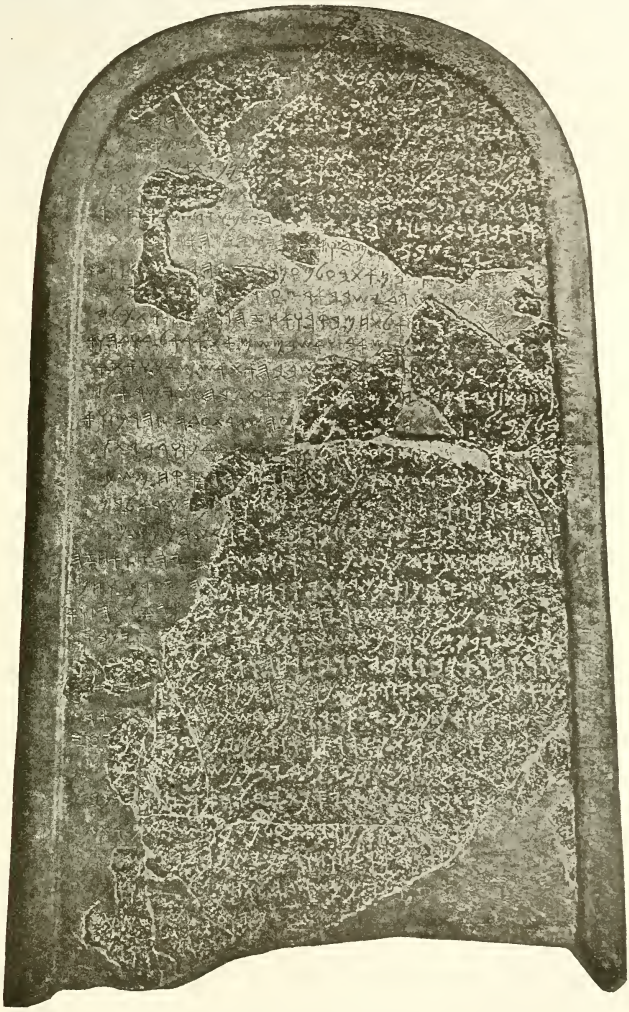

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