

The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER



A CHINESE REPRESENTATION OF BUDDHA AS A FISHERMAN.

(See page 411.)

The Open Court Publishing Company

CHICAGO AND LONDON

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



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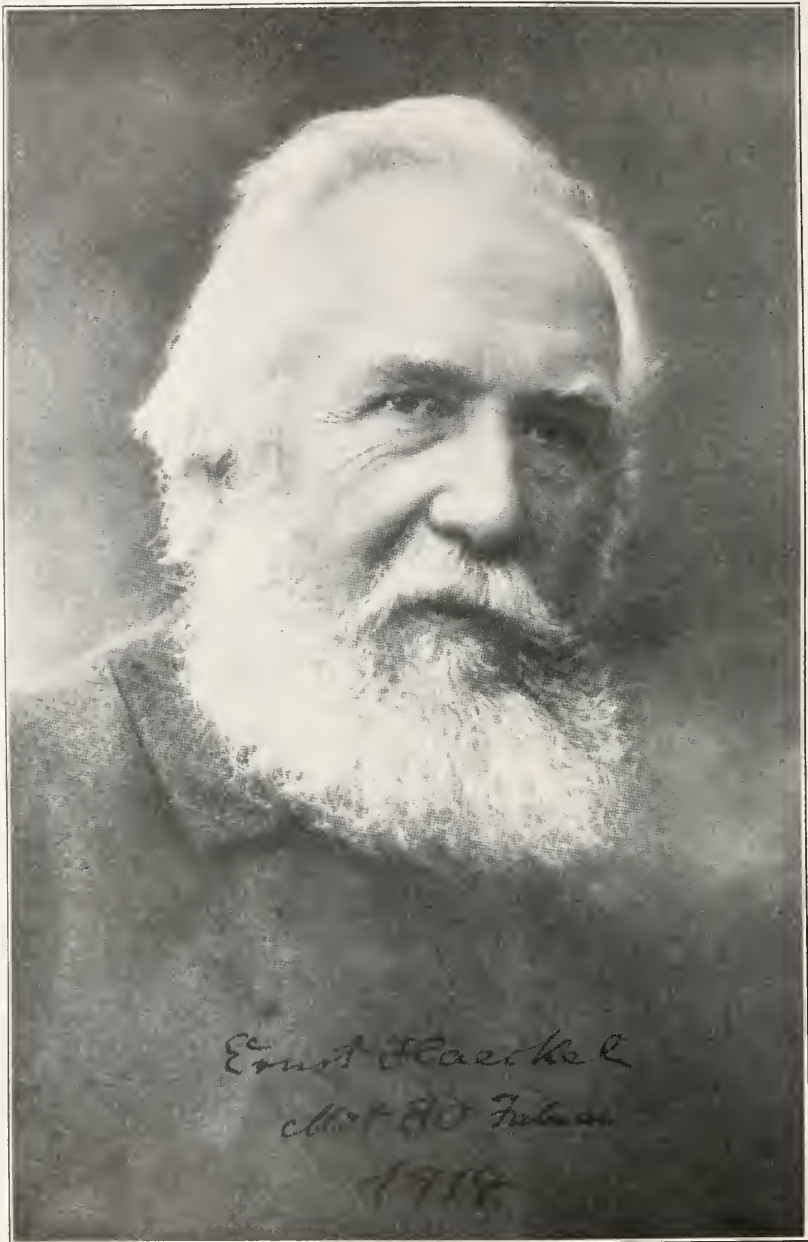
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ISIS

REVUE CONSACREE A L'HISTOIRE ET
A L'ORGANISATION DE LA SCIENCE,
PUBLIEE PAR GEORGE SARTON

EN RÉSUMÉ *Isis* est à la fois la revue philosophique des savants et la revue scientifique des philosophes; la revue historique des savants et la revue scientifique des historiens; la revue sociologique des savants et la revue scientifique des sociologues. Conçoit-on encore un philosophe, un historien, un sociologue ignorant tout de l'évolution et de l'organisation scientifiques de l'humanité? Tout philosophe préoccupé de science, tout savant préoccupé d'idées générales, soucieux de regarder au-dessus des cloisons de sa spécialité *doit donc s'abonner à ISIS*. — Le tome I (1913/14) a paru: 826 p. gr. 8°, l'index seul occupant 58 colonnes. (Prix: 30 frs.) Deux grands portraits hors texte. Les exemplaires restants seront réservés de préférence aux souscripteurs du tome II. Prix du tome II: 15 frs. *Demandez le programme et des extraits d'Isis à l'administration à*

WONDELGEM-LES-GAND (BELGIQUE)



Frontispiece to The Open Court.

THE OPEN COURT

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

VOL. XXVIII. (No. 7)

JULY, 1914

NO. 698

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GOD-NATURE.

A DISCUSSION OF HAECKEL'S RELIGION.

BY THE EDITOR.

PROFESSOR Ernst Haeckel's celebration of his 80th birthday, noted in *The Open Court* of last February, has been a triumph for the undaunted leader of the monistic movement. He has received over 1600 congratulations, among them 600 telegrams, 800 letters and 200 presents and congratulatory addresses from societies all over the world. Among the books, magazine articles and brochures which have been published on this occasion we note a work of two stately volumes, entitled *Was wir Ernst Haeckel verdanken*, edited at the request of the German *Monistenbund* by Heinrich Schmidt of Jena. It contains twelve elegant illustrations, a poetic prologue by Carl Brauckmann, an introduction by the editor, who passes in review the labors of Haeckel in scientific and artistic fields, and contributions of over fifty men of prominence in the world of science and literature. We mention Professor Ostwald, Dr. Breitenbach, Dr. Richard Semon, Professor Forel, Mr. James Morton, Professor Ortmann of the Carnegie Museum of Pittsburg, Pa., Dr. Davidoff of the Russian Laboratory at Villefranche-Sur-Mer, Dr. Ihering of Brazil, and there are many other men of international repute.

Another interesting little volume is entitled *Ernst Haeckel im Bilde*, which besides a short introduction contains one silhouette, a series of photographs, pencil sketches, and reproductions of oil paintings in all phases of Haeckel's life; first, as a student, with

his parents, as a docent, as a young professor, as a traveler in the Orient, on ship-board in his later years, and finally in his old age.

We learn from a postcard that the great grandfather of the professor, a certain Gottlob Haeckel, by trade a yarn-bleacher, was one of the 30,000 Protestants driven out of Salzburg by Count Firmian. This ancestor of the Haeckel family settled down in Prussia where Frederick the Great offered the refugees an asylum in Hirschberg, Silesia.



VILLA MEDUSA IN ERNST HAECKEL STREET, JENA.

The two volumes above mentioned characterize and eulogize Haeckel for his versatile activity in the service of science. He studied zoology and medicine, and gained his first laurels by laying down the principle of morphological method. He carried on successful investigations in the field of tiny life such as Radiolaria, sponges, Medusas and siphonophores. But his interests even then were not limited to the inhabitants of the ocean; we see him dressed as a butterfly hunter in a photograph taken on Lanzarote,

one of the Canary Islands. His attention was centered on the soul, and so he watched with pleasure the development of several souls into a community of souls like the siphonophore. He wrote on *Cell-souls and Soul-Cells*, and when he built himself a home in Jena in the Ernst Haeckel Strasse he called it "Medusa."

Haeckel's fame, however, does not rest upon his several labors in specialized domains of natural science, but upon his rare faculty of seeing the whole in the part and the universal in the particular. He is an ardent advocate of the evolution theory and was one of the first supporters of Darwin. His works *The Natural History of Creation* and his *Anthropogenesis* created quite a stir in the intellectual world, not only of Germany but also in other European countries. In these books he applied the lesson he had learned in his specialized investigations to the whole field of zoology.

Haeckel is not only a scientist; he is also an artist, and with an artist's eye he sees the beauty of nature's work. Like Goethe, he is a man endowed with all the noble qualities of human advantages. It is natural that his fascinating presence, his noble features with broad forehead and clear blue eyes, invited artists of high repute to paint this remarkable man who had become a leader in the struggle of opposing world-conceptions, and so we find among them many great names and no less a one than Lenbach.

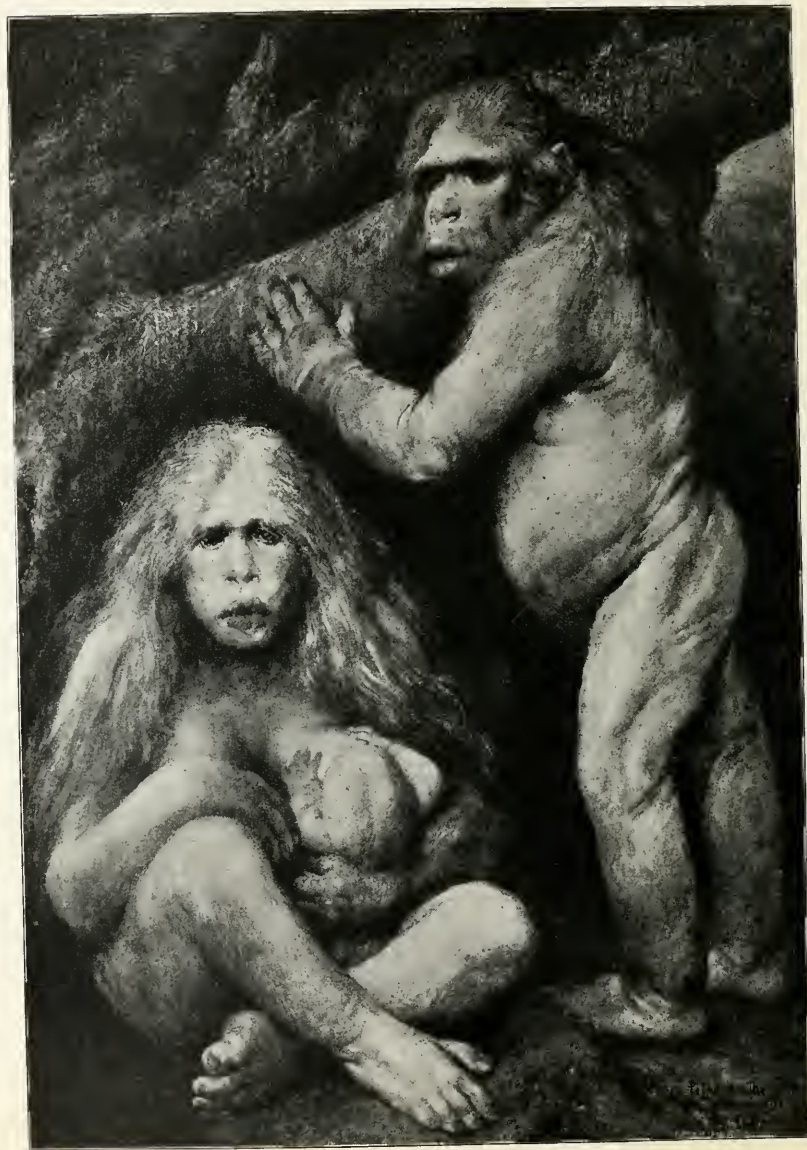
Gabriel Max took such a great interest in Haeckel's anthropogenesis, viz., the theory of the descent of man according to natural science, that he attempted to make a sketch of the missing link between ape and man, called *homo alalus*, that already bore human features but had not yet reached the height of *homo sapiens*.

Not the least valuable publication which has come out since the celebration of Haeckel's 80th birthday is a little book of only 72 pages, written by Haeckel himself and dedicated to his readers as his last message at the completion of his eightieth year. The title is *Gott-Natur* or *Theophysis*, and has reference to Goethe's use of the word, quoted by Haeckel, when the German poet in his pantheistic enthusiasm identifies God with nature as follows:

"Was kann der Mensch im Leben mehr gewinnen,
Als dass sich Gott-Natur ihm offenbare?
Wie sie das Feste lässt zu Geist verrinnen,
Wie sie das Geisterzeugte fest bewahre!"

[What greater boon can man in life attain
Than that God-Nature be to him revealed
To see how rigid stuff will spirit yield,
How what's begot by spirit will remain.]

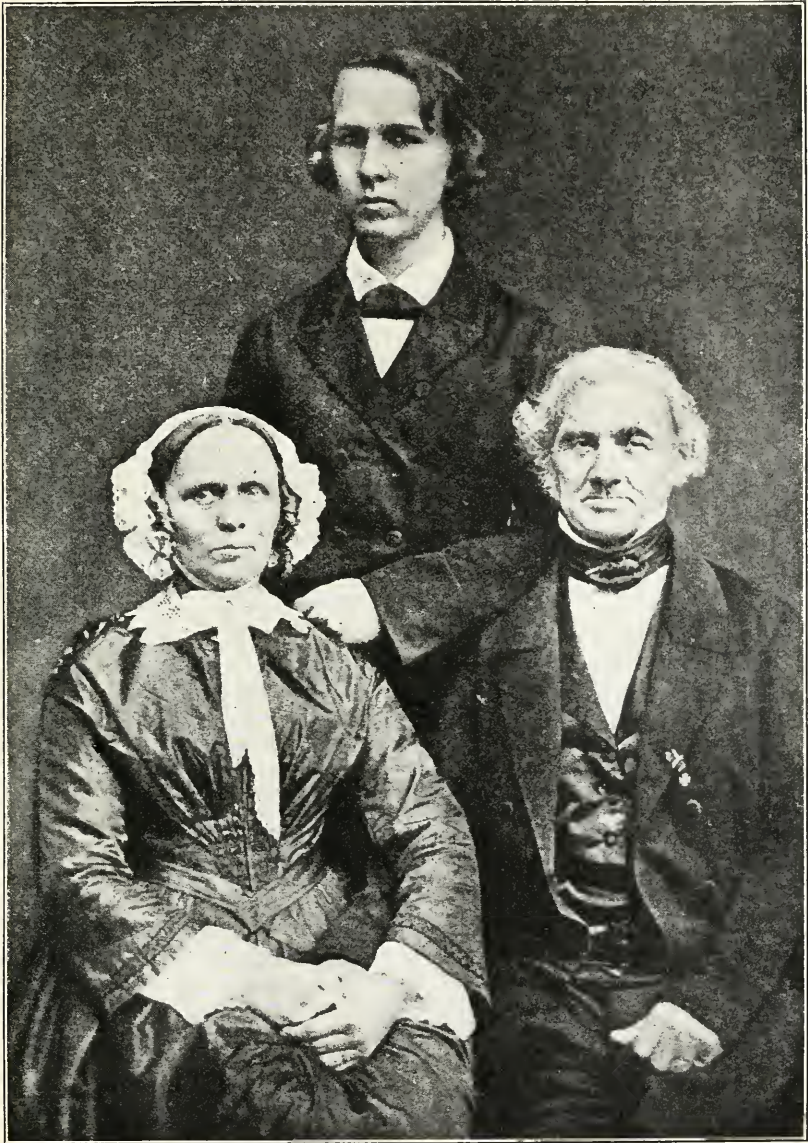
Haeckel claims as his patron saints Goethe, Lamarck and



THE MISSING LINK.

Presented by the artist, Gabriel Max, to Professor Haeckel.

Darwin, and in the spirit of these three great thinkers, he concludes the little book with another quotation from Goethe, thus: "Certainly



HAECKEL AND HIS PARENTS (1852).

there is no more beautiful worship of God than that which wells up in our bosom from a conversation we hold with nature."

An appendix to the book contains schedules in which Haeckel has systematized his views in tabular form.

The main contents of what we might call Haeckel's philosophy is contained on pages 36-37 in a little chapter entitled "Trinity of Substance," which reads as follows:

"If we recognize the equal validity of the above-mentioned three laws of constancy [the conservation of matter, of energy, and of the psychoma], and if we regard the three attributes of substance, namely (1) matter, (2) energy, (3) psychoma, as inseparably connected throughout the universe, we arrive at a simple comprehension of the universal concept of substance which brings into harmony the old and yet ever present controversies between materialism, energetics, and panpsychism. The principal error of these three opposed views of nature-philosophy lies in the fact that each of them emphasizes one fundamental principle and deduces the two others from this first one as subordinate principles. Thus the old materialism or the more recent mechanicalism regards matter as the only primitive principle and subordinates to it both energy and feeling. The modern energetics tries to deduce all phenomena from energy (*karma* in Buddhism). Psychomatics or panpsychism (also in a certain sense psychomonism) regards the *psyche* or spirit as the one universal principle and subordinates both matter and energy to this as the first and supreme principle (like the *atman* in the Veda). From this exclusive one-sidedness of the three conceptions of substance originates the eternal conflict for the supreme authority of one of these three fundamental laws.

"Our naturalistic monism (or cosmic hylozoism) avoids this onesidedness by regarding the three fundamental attributes of all substance as inseparably connected, as universally valid (throughout all space) and as indestructible (for all time). Hence it is neither pure materialism, nor absolute energetics, nor unconditioned psychomatics; much rather does it unite these three views into one perfect unity. Thus we attain a clear conception of all phenomena, and this is of supreme importance for the comprehension of their nature. The first cause of all being, of all becoming and passing away, we therefore see in the universal substance, the supreme being of our monistic religion, the All-God or Pantheos. This universal God is eternal and imperishable, infinite in space and time; he is impersonal and unconscious; he rules the world by his 'eternal unyielding great laws.' Devotional minds can find in the adoration and veneration of this universal God as much

satisfaction as does pure reason in a clear comprehension of his nature and operations.”*

Here is the place where we might briefly outline our criticism



ON THE CANARY ISLANDS WITH MIKLUCHO MAKLAY 1867).
of Haeckel's philosophy, and we must be excused for repeating
ourselves:

Without denying the truth of the trinity of substance as matter

and energy and psychoma we understand the situation differently, and must insist that Haeckel has forgotten in this important system that feature of existence which is most prominent of all. It is form.

In order to set forth my views plainly, I must make a few comments on the emptiness of the terms matter and energy. Matter and energy are so often supposed to contain all the riddles of the universe. There are many people who think: "Ah, if we could but know what matter is we would possess a key to all the problems of the world." That is a mistake, for matter is incapable of explaining anything and so is energy.

It is indispensable to make a few introductory remarks on matter and energy; they seem trivial but are important. According to our view existence is an enormous system of activity, and in this activity the thinking person has developed into a sentient and rational being. In philosophical language the thinking activity of a person is called "subject." This subject feels itself to be a body opposed by bodies moving about it. We call them objects. The thinker's own body is also felt to be objective, for one limb touches the other and experiences the same resistance as when touching other objects. The subject consists of sentiments or feelings or sensations or ideas, or longings. It is what Spinoza calls "thought." The objects that surround us are bodily things and their most characteristic feature is resistance.

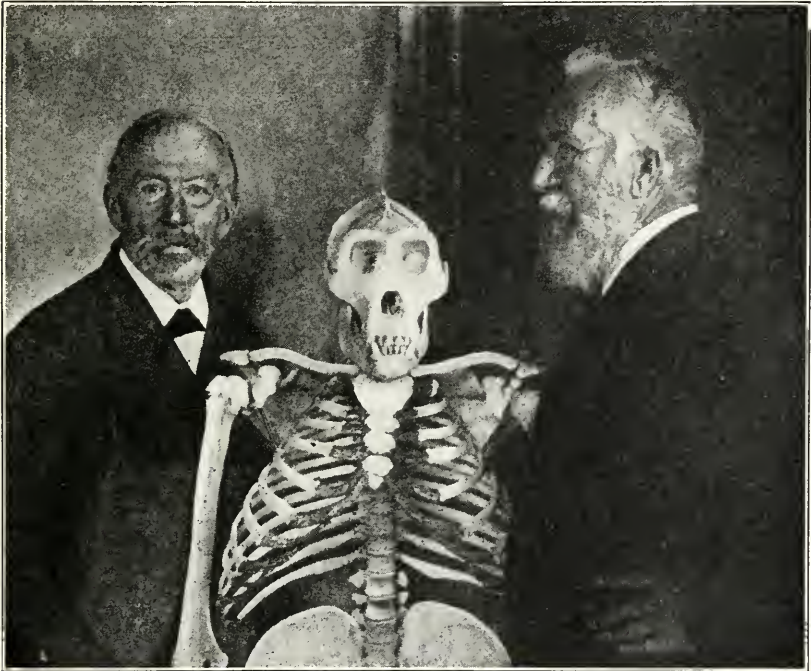
The most appropriate characteristic name for objects is reality, i. e., thingishness, or *Wirklichkeit*, which means activity or something that works. It is possessed of two qualities which are not identical, yet closely interconnected. One of them is objective *existence*, the other is *activity*.

The common name for the quality of objectivity is "matter." The word matter simply denotes that there is something other than the subject, that that something exists independently of our will, and that it opposes us. It is something that resists us, something that objects itself to us; hence we call material things "objects."

"Energy" on the other hand is the general name for everything that moves or changes its place, or changes the relation of its parts. Energy in itself is nothing unless it is a quality of some objects. A mere nothing can not change its place. On the other hand objective existence can not be real (*wirklich*) without manifesting itself in one way or another, and any kind of manifestation is motion. It must move or do something or act to be actual. The two features of existence accordingly are not identical, yet inseparable. They are not identical because energy can be transferred

from one body upon another, but they are inseparable in the sense that neither matter nor energy can exist in itself in a separate state. If they were identical we would not need to distinguish them and materialism and energeticism would mean the same.

There are thinkers who propose to explain the world either as mere energy or as mere matter, making energy an incidental feature of matter or *vice versa*. But the concept "matter" is a mere empty word, simply denoting existence in general, while energy means only the fact of actuality; it means that existence acts some-



GORILLA GIGAS (1898).

how, that it manifests itself. If we consider the meaning of matter and energy, we will understand that neither matter nor energy can explain anything. These two words denote simply that we deal with facts; they mean, the former that something exists, and the latter that something acts. That facts are facts cannot be explained; their existence can only be stated.

Explanations are *always* questions of form. To explain facts does not mean to explain why facts exist as facts, why matter or energy exists, but why these definite facts have arisen from other

facts; why they have assumed their special shape. Thus to explain facts means to describe them and trace their forms from prior forms.

All the problems of science consist in tracing the changes that take place in the sum total of existence, i. e., matter and energy, which on *a priori* grounds can neither increase nor decrease. The sum total of all substance and the sum total of all energy, or in one word the sum total of any kind of existence, remains the same for ever and aye. It has never originated nor can ever be destroyed. This is in Kantian terminology an *a priori* law, because the human mind is incapable of thinking that anything originates from nothing or that anything can turn into nothing. In other words: All the happenings in this world are changes of existing things, and here comes in the salient point through which we learn to appreciate the paramount significance of form.

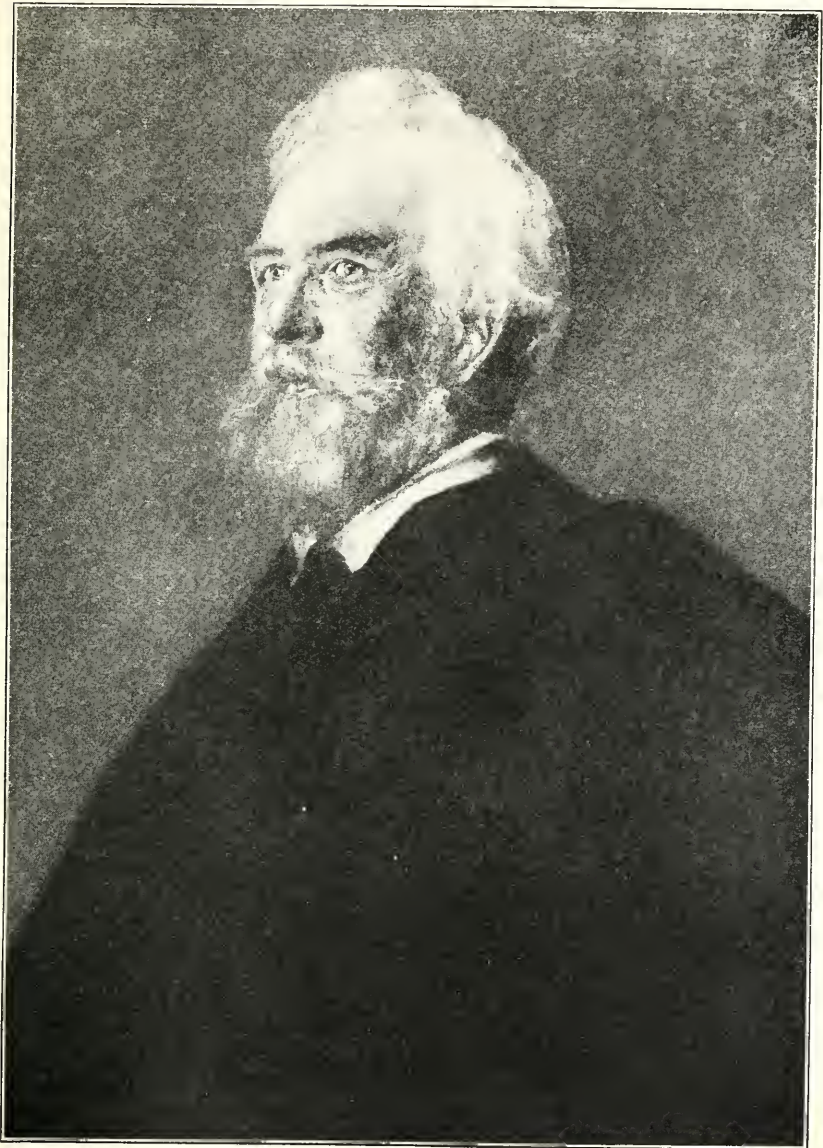
Here lies the wonder of existence; it is the intrinsic and necessary and definite character of form. From the standpoint of the materialist and also of the energeticist form is a mere nonentity and it becomes real only in so far as it consists of matter or as it determines the nature of energy, as it prescribes to energy its course, or form of motion. But the wonder and indeed the only wonder is this, that there are definite laws of form and these laws of form determine the uniformity of nature.

The term "uniformities" is the really correct designation for what commonly in loose and incorrect language is called laws of nature. Given definite conditions, the laws of form shape the course of nature in a definite way and will result in the formation of other forms predetermined by the laws of form.

The strange thing is that a rational being, a being that can think in pure forms, can excogitate the determinant features of forms by pure reflection, without having recourse to sense-experience. A thinker can isolate the notion of pure form through abstraction; he can think away matter and energy; he can build up systems of pure form such as logic, arithmetic, geometry and all other branches of pure thought, and these systems of pure thought do not describe particular conditions of material forms, but lay down merely the interrelations of forms for any kind of conditions, and the anyness of the purely formal sciences serves as a key for systematizing our experience and tracing the uniformities with which we are confronted in nature.

Form accordingly is the most important feature of the objective world, not matter and energy; and the sciences of pure form can be constructed by the thinking subject to the exclusion of the domain

of matter and energy. In this way the subject becomes possessed of the key to understand objective nature. Form and the laws



PORTRAIT BY LENBACH (1899)

of form furnish us with the explanation that is needed to adjust ourselves in this immeasurable domain of existence of which the

single individual and even the totality of all humankind is but a drop in the bucket.

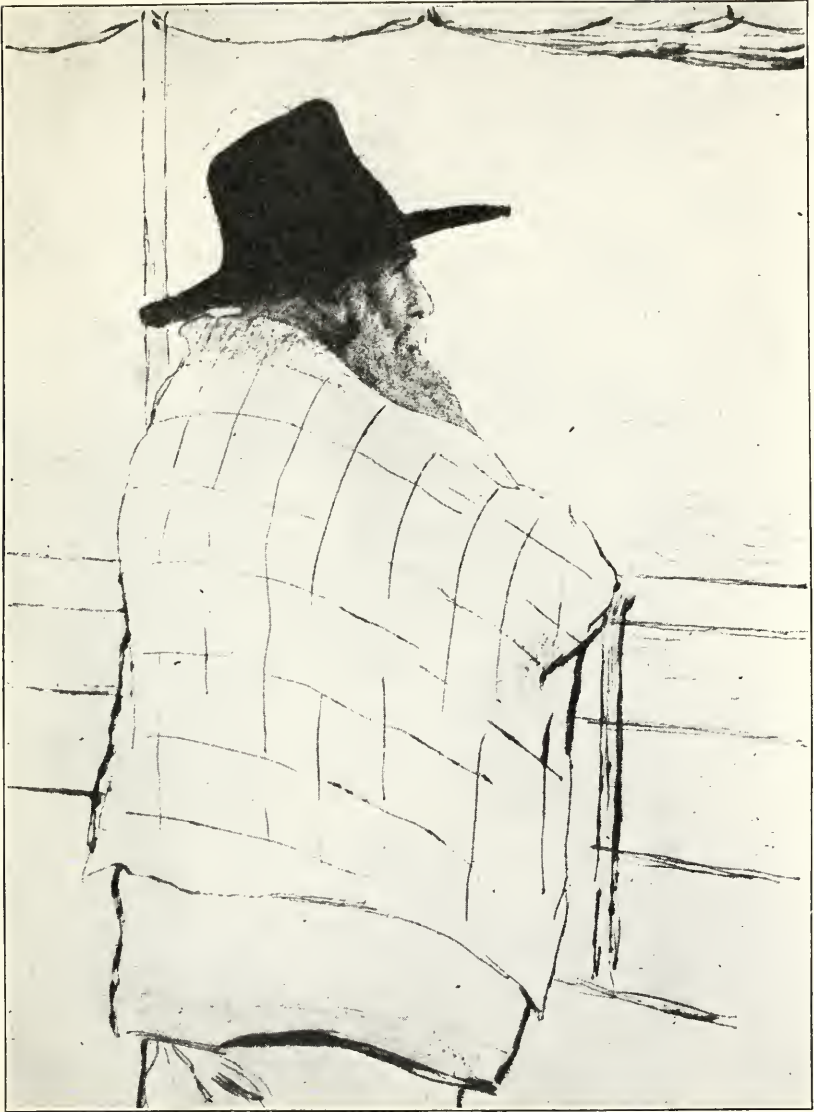
Incidentally we will make here the following remarks to explain that a true monism can be worked out consistently only through a consideration of the nature of form. Form and the laws of form possess the key for comprehending the unity of all existence. Monism is to me not the supremacy of matter, nor of energy nor of the *psychoma* or the spiritual, the psychical or the subjective aspect of nature, nor of all these three in one, but it is the oneness of law which implies the oneness of truth and also the oneness of all existence. This oneness of truth is essential in constituting the oneness of existence which is declared by monism.

The law of the conservation of matter and energy does not mean, as monists sometimes assure us, that the chemical atom is eternal and can never be lost.¹ On the contrary, so far as we must expect *a priori*, we are inclined to believe that the atom is the product of a formation according to some purely formal law. The time may come when the nature of the atom will be explained from its geometrical form by mathematics. Everything that is explicable can be explained only by laws of form. From *a priori* considerations, we must assume that the atom has originated from the primitive universal substance by some strain or force, and that after the unmeasured span of a cosmic period it may disperse again into its original diffusion of the primitive world-stuff, possibly the ether, though its ultimate constituents will retain their intrinsic possibility of a new formation. We may assume that when a planetary system, possibly also when the whole Milky Way system of worlds in which we live, has been dissolved into pure ether or whatever this world-substance may be, it still possesses its intrinsic power of palingenesis, of a new creation that will build up a world according to the same laws of form that shape this world in the life wherein we now take part.

It is noticeable that forms can be considered as pure forms. Who will deny that mathematics has a particular kind of existence in itself? Not as if there were somewhere in a Utopian heaven a world of mathematical theorems, of logarithms, of triangles, of logical notions; or of types, of things, of potentialities; but after all, these forms can be contemplated by themselves, and we can scarcely look upon them as idle non-existences without any significance. They are possibilities and in so far as they are not mere

¹ We read in Dr. L. Frei's *Katechismus der monistischen Weltanschauung* (1914): "Kein Atom der Materie geht verloren."

visions or haphazard inventions of an idle brain, but the necessary and legitimate results of the laws of thought, we call them truths.



ON BOARD THE "KIAUTSCHAU" (1901). Etching by Emil Orlek.
They constitute a kind of super-reality which justifies Plato in his belief in ideas—the so-called Platonic ideas—and explains also what the medieval realists meant when they spoke of ideas as being real.

We need not believe that this ideal world of ideas consists of concrete figures like the moulds of creation, as Plato characterizes them, in which God shapes the real things; but we must recognize them as the determinant conditions which shape the world and make things what they are according to the influence under which things originate. Neither can we regard the determinedness of the laws of pure form as the product of a divine mind, for we understand perfectly well that all laws of form are possessed of an intrinsic necessity. The multiplication table has not been excogitated by the schoolmaster, nor has it been made to be such as it is by a god; it has been constructed according to its own intrinsic conditions and can not be different in its intrinsically necessary character; and the same is true of all form.

The possibility of thinking pure forms in their purity has given rise to dualism. The formative factors, being so efficient, have been materialized and even personified; and noticing that forms of feelings are possessed of the faculty of directing and establishing purpose in life, the notion of a kind of substantial existence of spirit has originated. Considering the paramount significance of spiritual life, there is a truth at the bottom of its reality, but spirit is really part and parcel of the whole of reality. It is the resultant of the order and regularity produced by the laws of form, for this order in the realm of subjectivity produces what we call spirit.

It would lead here too far to enter into the detailed exposition of the origin of mind. We have fully and repeatedly set forth our theory of the origin of feeling from the subconscious irritations in the subjective features of existence, and also the origin of mind.² So we need not enter into these problems here. Further, we have explained causation as the law of change, which proves that the law of cause and effect is practically a reverse of the law of the conservation of matter and energy. It states that matter and energy remain the same in quantity, and every event is merely a new grouping of parts which takes place according to the laws of form.

The physical law of uniformities in the inorganic domain has its counterpart in the intellectual and social interrelation of society as well as in the development of individuals, of families and of nations. Definite actions have definite results, and these definite results express themselves as the moral world-order. There is as little chaos in social evolution as in the lower organized and in the

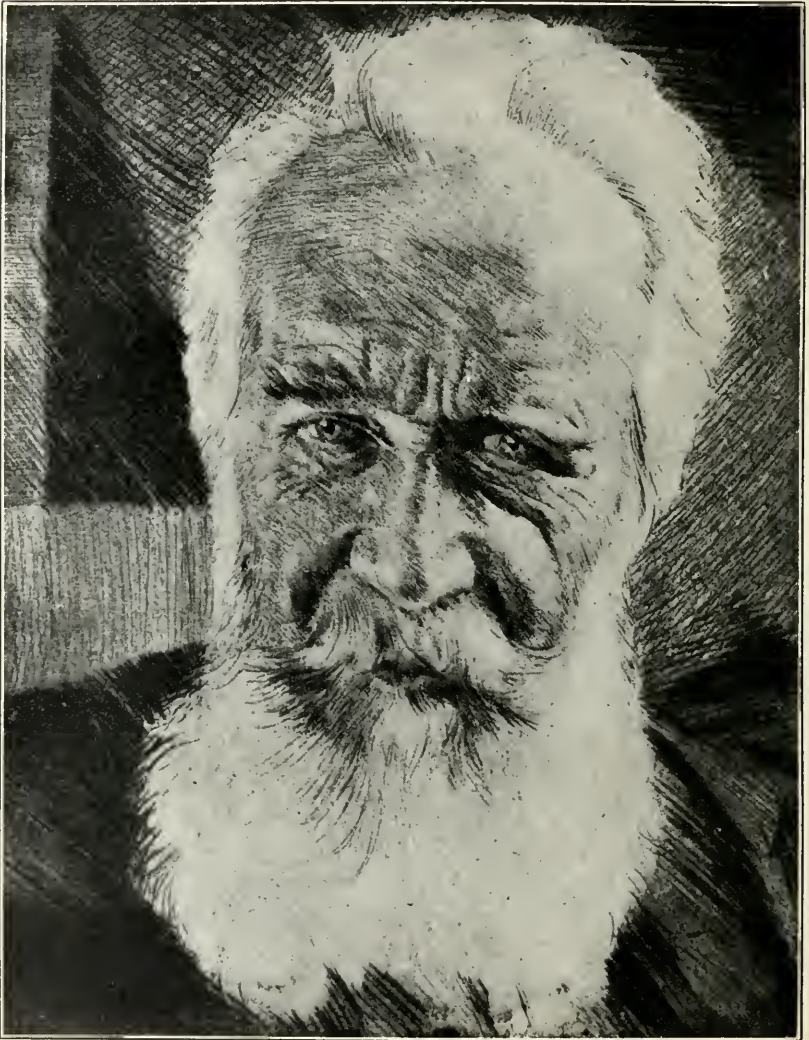
² See especially in *The Soul of Man* the chapters "Feeling and Motion" and "The Origin of Mind," also *The Philosophy of Form*, pp. 20-22.



PORTRAIT BY KARL BAUER.

In the Phylogenetic Museum at Jena (1908).

inorganic domains of cosmic life. Those nations prosper which live in conformity with the laws of nature. There are definite social conditions which produce the best results. The people who obey



ETCHING BY KARL BAUER.

them may have to suffer in the struggle for existence, but in the long run their race will survive and prosper.

For these reasons I do not subscribe to Haeckel's sentence on

page 41, "There is no providence, there is no moral world-order." I would insist that there is a moral world-order, and religious natures have poetically represented it as the providence of a divine being, as the dispensation of God.

Here is another point where I object to the typical monism vigorously represented by Haeckel. It is monistic pantheism. I object to deifying matter and also to deifying energy. Nor can I feel any reverence toward the sum total of matter and energy, be it called Nature or the All or the Pan. Among agnostics it has become customary to capitalize energy and speak of it as the inscrutable Energy in terms of veneration. Energy means to me motion or strain, and what is matter but an amount of mass, viz., volume times weight? There is not the slightest reason why we should bow down in awe before an enormous amount of energy or kneel before a big lump of matter. What we have to revere is the order that shows itself in the cosmic laws forming the Milky Way system in its grandeur with its uncounted suns and planets. We admire the omnipresent order of the universe that at the same time shapes the minute form of an atom and the bulky sphere of a sun, that governs the motion of the motes that hover in the air unnoticed and often unnoticeable to our crude senses and makes comets roam in orderly courses. It is form we admire, and the laws of form reveal to us the secrets of the world.

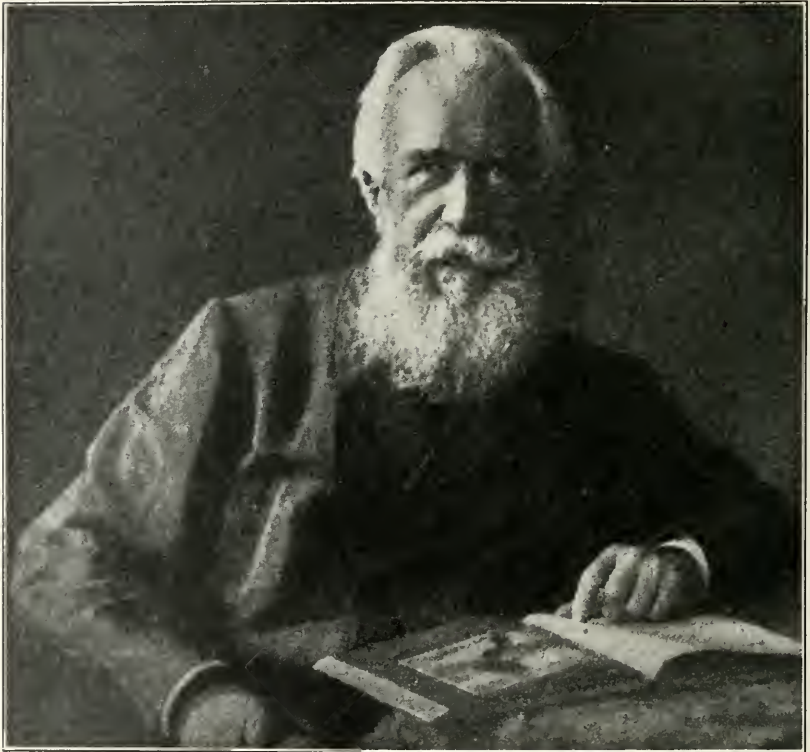
All we can do is forming and re-forming; we can change the quality of existence, not its quantity. The laws of nature are such not only that order prevails in the inorganic domain, but also that life will pursue a definite course of a predetermined order; and from these conditions devolve on us our highest tasks and duties, which are to change conditions so as to make us rise higher and higher in the scale of evolution.

Our reverence is due not to matter and energy, nor to the sum total of nature, but to the general character of the formative in nature, to the whole system of the determinant factors of the truly creative principle that forms the world as a whole and shapes the destinies of every single human being.

Haeckel repeats his principle that there is no moral world order on page 43 in a somewhat modified form, saying, "There is no general world-reason, nor moral world-order valid throughout."

The formative factors of natural laws are in their totality what we understand by "world reason," and we do not doubt that Haeckel in spite of his own declaration believes in a world-reason in

our sense, nor can we understand how he can deny the existence of a moral world-order, if we understand by it the law that determines the welfare of society, the social law that can not be infringed upon with impunity. This moral world-order is just as true as the multiplication table. In my conception of monism, the moral world-order is just as undeniable as any natural law and is as true as any mathematical, geometrical or arithmetical theorem.



Ernst Haeckel

From this standpoint, rational beings will naturally develop wherever the conditions for organized life prevail, and a society of rational beings will bring forth social and religious institutions, states and churches with different forms of government, with creeds and moral codes. The laws of the development of religious beliefs are just as definite as the stages in the growth of plants, and the approximation of religious truths is just as much predetermined

as the slow progress of scientific inquiry: both pass through errors and both have to grapple with errors many of which are un-



IN RAPALLO (1914).

avoidable stations on the road to truth which reveals itself with ever increasing clearness. Astrology has changed into astronomy

and the time is coming, yea, it is near at hand, when even theology will change into theonomy.

These points which I raise here may seem to many monists to be insignificant differences, but they are not. The intellectual life of man, his religious needs and his moral aspirations are facts. The question is not so much to deny their existence as to explain them from a rigorously monistic standpoint.

It is not true that man's life is ended at death, implying that we have no interest in what will happen to us or what will become of our ideas, or what will be the fate of our accomplishments. Death is not an absolute end, and with these considerations we will discover that the old religions have solved these problems in a pragmatic way by expressing great truths in mythological language. Mankind has directly felt the truth of the responsibility for our conduct and our actions, of the continuance of our life after death, of the general standard of conduct, and above all the reverence we feel toward the All of existence, toward the factors that have developed us and continue to guide our future growth. The allegories under which they have been presented are naturally flavored in a dualistic fashion and it is probably on account of this dualism that Haeckel has been induced not to recognize the truth in religious dogmas, but the fact remains that if we follow Haeckel's negativism we are apt to lose the most important truths in the domain of intellectual and moral life.

There is no need to add that my differences with Professor Haeckel do not diminish my admiration for him nor debar me from recognizing the enormous work which he has done in strict science as well as in a popularization of scientific world-conception and I rejoice at the great success he has gained in fighting superstitions. But with all deference to the great champion of monism, the founder of the *Monistenbund*, I deem it necessary to take exception to some of his doctrines, although I feel convinced that so far as his intentions are concerned our differences are purely verbal. I have expressed them from time to time, but Professor Haeckel has never wavered in his kindness and friendliness, and I will conclude therefore by saying frankly and publicly that I am proud of the personal friendship that exists between the venerable octogenarian and myself, almost twenty years his junior.

All honor to the undaunted champion of truth!

THE PHYSIOLOGUS AND THE CHRISTIAN FISH SYMBOL.¹

BY RICHARD GARBE.

UNDER the title *Φυσιολόγος* a small work on Christian zoology, or rather animal symbolism, was written in Alexandria in the first quarter of the second century. In it are enumerated the properties of a large number of real and fabulous animals and also of some trees and stones, and these are assigned either to Christ or to the devil and held up before the people as examples to be imitated or avoided. This curious little work which contains old nature lore and old nature fables in a Christian setting found a wide circulation in the Christian world. It was translated into Ethiopic, Armenian, Syriac and Arabic, and in Europe was worked over in the Middle Ages in a number of Latin versions which were carried over into the languages of most of the Germanic and Romance nations. The animal symbolism of medieval composition and graphic art which is so singularly delightful to us, had its origin in the *Physiologus*.

In the Greek original of this book the following Indian elements have been discovered, though to be sure the one to be treated first is not quite convincing.

In the second chapter it is specified as the third characteristic of the lion that his young are born dead and are awakened to life on the third day by a roar from their father: thus did God also on the third day awaken his son Jesus Christ from the

¹ Translated by Lydia G. Robinson from the author's *Indien und das Christentum* (Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1914). An English translation of the entire book is in preparation with the Open Court Publishing Company. In the bibliographical references the following abbreviations will be observed: ZDMG, *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*; SBA, *Sitzungsberichte der Kgl. Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin*.

dead. This lion story, as Grünwedel confidently asserts,² is supposed to go back to one of the earliest epithets of Buddha which later has been transferred also to several Bodhisattvas: namely, "the one who calls with the lion's voice," Skt. *simhanâda*, Pâli *sihanâda*. I think that this combination must be understood thus: The foolish statement in the Physiologus has arisen as the result of a misunderstanding from the statement of the Buddhists that "the lion of the house of the Shâkyas," as Buddha is often called, awakens men by his powerful call to the real life, to the knowledge of truth, and has shown them the way to eternal salvation. At least I can not imagine any other connection between the epithet of Buddha and the lion story of the Physiologus. The whole idea is not very plausible in itself but it gains in probability through the observation to which we now proceed.

Very evident is the misunderstanding of a well-known Indian story which has been pointed out independently by two scholars, F. W. K. Müller³ and Lüders,⁴ in Chapter 17 of the Physiologus in the account of the capture of the unicorn. According to that account the very strong and crafty unicorn can be conquered only in one way. A pure virgin must be sent to him. The unicorn approaches her and lays his head confidently in her lap, whereupon the virgin takes the animal, who follows her willingly, and leads it *into the palace to the king*. The concluding sentence furnishes proof that the origin of this fable has been derived from the Indian story of the hermit "Unicorn" (Ekashringa) which is widespread in both Buddhist and Brahman literature, and fragments of its oldest literary version, as Lüders has shown, are preserved in the verses of Jâtaka 526. In the Indian story a princess craftily entices to the capital city *into the palace of her father* the ascetic Unicorn, whose presence is necessary to remove the drought in the land. Hence it is obvious that the information about the capture of the unicorn animal in the Physiologus and its medieval offshoots has arisen through an obvious misunderstanding of the Indian legend.

Equally convincing is the evidence of an Indian derivation for the story of the elephant in Chapter 19 of the Physiologus which Berthold Laufer has given us on the basis of a Chinese source.⁵

² ZDMG, LII, p. 460, note 5; *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*, Leipsic, 1900, p. 128.

³ Anniversary volume for Adolf Bastian, pp. 531-536, especially 532.

⁴ *Nachr. v. d. K. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, Phil.-his. Kl.*, 1897, p. 115; 1901, p. 53, note 2.

⁵ *T'oung Pao*, XIV, July 1913, pp. 361f.

In the Physiologus we are told the following:⁶ "When the elephant has fallen he cannot rise because his knees have no joints. But how does he happen to fall? When he wants to sleep he leans against a tree and sleeps that way. Now since the Indians know of this peculiarity of the elephant they go about it and saw a little at the tree. The elephant comes to lean against it and as soon as he touches the tree it falls with him to the ground. Now after he has fallen he cannot get up again, therefore he begins to whine and cry. Another elephant hears him and comes to help him but cannot raise the fallen one. Then both cry out and twelve others come, but even these are not able to raise him. Then they all cry. Last of all comes the little elephant who places his trunk around the elephant and lifts him up."

The same thing is told of the rhinoceros in the Chinese account, originating in India, which Laufer has discovered. That this is more original than the account in the Physiologus, which of course also refers expressly to India, appears from the fact that the Indians who have always been well acquainted with the elephant could not possibly have represented it as possessing legs without knee joints. Hence in India the fable must have been told of the rhinoceros which is much rarer there than the elephant and is found only in the southern part of the country and on the islands of the Indian archipelago. The Physiologus has transferred this story of the rhinoceros, which he does not mention at all, upon the elephant.

Wo Shi-Kao, a Chinese physician from the period of the T'ang dynasty (618-907) who occupied an official position on the coast of Southern China, heard the genuine and original version from the mouth of a ship captain. In the words of Laufer it runs as follows: "The maritime people intent on capturing a rhinoceros proceed by erecting on a mountain path many structures of decayed timber, something like a stable for swine or sheep. The front legs of the rhinoceros being straight without joints, the animal is in the habit of sleeping by leaning against the trunk of a tree. The rotten timber will suddenly break down, and the animal will topple in front without being able for a long time to rise. Then they attack and kill it."

We must fully agree also with the succeeding observations which Laufer adds to this text in order to establish the originality of its subject in spite of its late attestation. The Chinese version relates consistently the capture of the rhinoceros by the craft of the

⁶ According to the German translation of Emil Peters, Berlin, 1898, p. 39.

huntsmen which is based on the animal's alleged anatomical character and manner of life; whereas the Physiologus merely tells of the cunning preparation for the capture, but then entirely forgets the huntsmen who are lying in wait. It treats only of the wonderful rescue of the fallen elephant which accords with the religious purpose of the book in giving occasion for its symbolical interpretation. The fallen elephant is Adam; the first who comes to his rescue is the law; the twelve who come afterwards but who are no more successful are the prophets; and the tiny elephant who finally brings deliverance is Christ who has humbled himself.

The Chinese text does not name India expressly but speaks of the "maritime people," by which must be meant in an indefinite way the inhabitants of the coast lands of farther India or of the islands of the archipelago, at any rate tribes that were under the influence of Indian civilization. Our story must have circulated in India proper (as the version of the Physiologus shows) long before the time when the ship captain mentioned by the Chinese physician had brought it to China. It reached the western part of the old world somewhat before the Greek Physiologus was written; for Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, VIII, 39) and Cæsar (*De bello Gallico*, VI, 27) tell the same story of the elk who had no joints in his legs and therefore slept leaning against a tree, which the hunters sawed into in order to capture the animal. The derivation of this story from India and its connection with the fable of the elephant in the Physiologus and the fable of the rhinoceros in the Chinese account is as obvious as the necessity of the assumption that the last named version represents the original form of this strange bit of folklore.

Dependence on India is also perfectly clear in one other passage of the Physiologus. The bird *χαπαδριός* is mentioned in Chapter 38 as carrying away to the sun the illness of a man near whom it is brought, and there being consumed. This can be nothing else but the Indian bird *hâridravá*,⁷ to which (Rigveda I, 50, 12 and Atharvaveda I, 22, 4) jaundice is transmitted and in the latter passage in verse 1 the disease is wished away to the sun.

These loans from India which we find in the Physiologus might seem in themselves to be of but little consequence for the purpose of this book, but still they are of great essential importance. The Gospel of John originated at the same time and in the same cycles of belief and thought as the Physiologus; therefore Indian material could find entrance into the former as well as the latter. I em-

⁷ Ernst Kuhn in an epilogue to Van den Bergh's *Indische Einflüsse*, 2d ed., p. 118, note 1, where the earlier literature on this coincidence is also given.

phasize this possibility with the greater positiveness because personally I have not been able to convince myself of the presence of Buddhist elements in the Gospel of John after careful investigation of the details under consideration.⁸ But even the infiltration of Buddhist elements in other New Testament writings seems more comprehensible in the light of the Indian stories in the Physiologus.

* * *

The Christian fish-symbol is not mentioned in the Physiologus, and since it fits in so excellently into this thought-cycle we may in this case ascribe its full demonstrative force to the *argumentum e silentio*, and maintain that the fish-symbol had not yet found any application in Christianity at the time the Physiologus was written. The first evidence of it is in Tertullian at the end of the second century.

Pischel⁹ believes that he has established the loan of this symbol from northern Buddhism and that he has found its historical foundation in the mingling of religions recently brought to light in Turkestan. This thesis of Pischel's aroused a vigorous investigation of the problem but may now be finally characterized as untenable. The fish-symbol as denoting the Saviour arose in Christianity independently of Buddhism and must be referred to other sources.

From a scholarly essay of J. Scheftelowitz¹⁰ which is based on a large mass of material, it appears first that the conception of the fish as a symbol of the Christian originated in Judaism, which was familiar with the fish as the symbol of the Israelite; secondly and chiefly, that the idea of the fish as a symbol of protection against demonic influences and as a sign of good luck was astonishingly wide spread,¹¹ and with this is connected the equally wide-spread notion of the fish as the seat of departed human souls and also as the symbol of fertility. The fish-symbol denoting Christ as the Saviour has its root (like the same symbol for saviour gods and for Buddha in India, like the Babylonian legend of the pious Par-napishtim who was rescued from the deluge by the fish-god Ea, and many similar stories) in ancient popular ideas for whose origin we must go back to the beginnings of mankind, to the times when man regarded many animals which were superior to him in strength

⁸ See *Indien und das Christentum*, pp. 34, 35, 39-41.

⁹ "Der Ursprung des christlichen Fischsymbols," SBA, 1905, pp. 506ff.

¹⁰ "Das Fischsymbol im Judentum und Christentum," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft*, XIV, 1911, pp. 1ff, 321ff.

¹¹ Pp. 343ff.

and skill as higher beings which he therefore deified. The fish belongs to the oldest totem animals, and while man was still in the state of savagery it aroused his admiration on account of its ability to swim and live beneath the water.¹²

The *direct* derivation of the Christian fish-symbol as denoting the Saviour must be sought in the application which the fish has found in the symbolism of classical antiquity and with other Mediterranean nations.

This also sets aside the conception of Oldenberg¹³ that the origin of the Christian fish-symbol can be explained in a perfectly satisfactory manner from the familiar acrostic¹⁴ without the aid of foreign influences.

The objections which Van den Bergh¹⁵ has raised to this view go to show that the Christian use of the word *ἰχθύς* cannot have originated in that acrostic. When Van den Bergh proves that the close succession of these five words was not in the least customary in ordinary speech and in fact is not to be found at all in earlier times, and further that the combination of these letters in an acrostic was not suggested by any particular size of the initials in epigraphical use, it follows that the word *ἰχθύς* cannot originally have been referred to Christ. Van den Bergh¹⁶ says: "Through the interpretation of its letters the Ichthys became serviceable to the Christians and entirely lost its pagan aspect." I would like to change this explanation slightly; for I think that the religious and symbolic meaning of the fish then current in pagan lands in the sense of protection, salvation, good fortune, health and fertility caused the Christian interpretation of the letters in the word.

To the best known writings of the literature of northern Buddhism belong the "Lotus of the Good Law" and the biographies of Buddha called Lalitavistara and Mahāvastu, none of which can be placed before 200 A. D. Most of the parallels with the Gospel stories which have been met with in Buddhist literature are found in these three works.¹⁷ Unfortunately nothing more can now be said about these parallels except that it is not impossible that they were borrowed from Christianity. When in the later

¹² Compare the useful compilations of Paul Carus in "Animal Symbolism," *The Open Court*, February 1911, pp. 79ff.

¹³ ZDMG, LIX, pp. 625ff.

¹⁴ *ἰχθύς* = Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ υἱὸς σωτήρ.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, LX, pp. 210ff.

¹⁶ *Loc cit.*, p. 212.

¹⁷ *The Monist*, XXI, October 1911, p. 520.

Mahâyâna writings mention is made of Buddha as a fisherman who catches men like fishes, and this comparison has passed over into Chinese art in which Buddha is represented as a fisherman with rod and hook,¹⁸ we cannot fail to recognize here a transference of the Christian symbol into the Buddhist world, because the catching of fish is an entirely un-Buddhistic act.

¹⁸ Paul Carus, *The Open Court*, June 1911, p. 357. See the illustration on the cover of this issue.

THE SATIRES OF MR. MACHINE.¹

BY ERNST BERGMANN.

[An account of the beginning of the La Mettrie-Haller controversy as recorded by Dr. Bergmann in his book *Die Satiren des Herrn Maschine*, was published in *The Open Court* of July 1913, together with other material of interest in connection with La Mettrie and his principal work, *L'homme machine* (English translation with French text, *Man a Machine*, Chicago, Open Court Publishing Company, 1912). In this article we have the next phase of this controversy as reported by Dr. Bergmann in his interesting book.—ED.]

HALLER had sufficient occasion to continue in the year 1748 the fight he had entered upon against La Mettrie, especially as the dangerous innovator, responding to a summons from Frederick the Great, removed to Potsdam on February 7 of this year, thus drawing closer to his opponent in distance.² As early as November 30, 1747, Haller had reviewed most unfavorably *La faculté vengée*, a satirical comedy directed against the charlatan Astruc and the medical faculty of Paris, at the same time naming the true author and mentioning all the attendant circumstances.³ He declared that La Mettrie insulted his own relatives because they did not stand by him, that by this violent and offensive pamphlet he had lost the respect of all sensible people, which is the last possession of an

¹ Translated from the German by Lydia G. Robinson.

² The date of La Mettrie's arrival is given wrongly in almost every case. Compare the *Vossische Zeitung* of February 8, 1748: "The famous Doctor de la Mettrie whom his majesty has summoned from Holland arrived here yesterday." (*Der berühmte Herr Doctor de la Mettrie, welchen Se. Majestät aus Holland anhero berufen lassen, ist gestern allhier angekommen*).

³ This composition belongs to the most brilliant creations of La Mettrie, the satirist. With a wit worthy of Aristophanes it describes how the Paris faculty deliberates over the banishment of the brawler "Chat-Huant" (Screech-owl), i. e., La Mettrie. The members of the faculty are concealed under such names as "Savantasse" = "Learned Swindler" (Astruc), "Muscadin" = "a dude" (Sidobre) etc. The true names of those ridiculed are added in a key. Unfortunately we must refrain from entering into this "*bitterböse Stachel-schrift*" (Haller). It was burned by decree of Parliament July 9, 1746, together with the rest of La Mettrie's writings, in the Place de Grève at Paris by the public executioner. (Copy in the author's possession).

unfortunate man. It is deplorable to see that the physician Haller did not in the least know how to appreciate the righteous battle La Mettrie was waging against the charlatanry which was flourishing so luxuriantly in the medical profession at that time.

In the meantime the signal for battle now comes from another quarter. On March 31, 1748, Samuel Christian Hollmann (1696-1787), professor of philosophy and natural theology in the University of Göttingen, a confessed Wolffian and a most intimate friend of Haller, had written a letter on *L'homme machine*, (*Brief über l'Homme machine*), probably at the instigation of his colleague Haller, which Haller published in the *Göttinger Gelehrten Zeitungen* on May 6 and 7 of the same year, with a commendatory introduction as if it had been sent in anonymously.⁴

Hollmann charged La Mettrie with carelessness in loose thinking; said that all of *L'homme machine* was stolen and was nothing more than a "free translation" of the "confidential correspondence between two good friends on the nature of the soul;"⁵ that this "automatic sage" disproves himself by his own machine theory which still uses thought in attempting to establish truth. He forgets entirely that he is merely a machine writing there. Is it really true that plain organized matter can produce thought and consciousness? No more than "a paper- or grist-mill can make shoes." The soul has a higher origin. La Mettrie's theory itself shows that he is more than a mere machine, namely a thinking machine, although to be sure one "of the lowest kind, or perhaps something still more trifling." Indeed how can he help it if his machine thinks thus and not otherwise? This machine may well appeal to Descartes, but if Descartes could read *L'homme machine* he would place its author among the *petit philosophes*.

Finally the writer of the letter discovers in La Mettrie a Spinozist in disguise who regards "a wise nature as the mother of all things." And now the good man's gall runs over: "A Spinozist is in my eyes a wretch whom one must pity, and to whose assistance if he can be helped one must try to come with a few notes from the doctrine of reason and a few clear explanations of what sort of a thing a substance is." People who have clear ideas on these subjects "would be ashamed to be disquieted for even a quarter of an hour by the distracted thoughts of a Spinozist."

Yet this silly nonsense of an arrogantly pious man was received with murmurs of approval in the camp of the German

⁴ It was Zimmermann who made known the true author, p. 229.

⁵ The Hague, 1713. The accusation is unfounded.

spiritualists as the first defensive measure from that side. In the course of the same year, 1748, there appeared a separate print of the Hollmann letter in a French translation apparently made expressly for La Mettrie under the title "Lettre d'un Anonyme pour servir de critique ou de réfutation au livre intitulé l'Homme machine,"⁶ in which form the letter then passed through German and French revisions.⁷ At first La Mettrie regarded as his opponent the Berlin ecclesiastical commissioner (*Konsistorialrat*) Sack who was known to be hostile to freethought,⁸ but soon he came to the conclusion that Haller himself was the anonymous author.⁹ His reply is the remarkable *Epître à mon esprit ou l'Anonyme persiflé*, a duodecimo pamphlet of 22 pages without place or date, which according to our calculation must have appeared in Berlin about March 1749,¹⁰ and from which Poritzky has already communicated some passages.¹¹

In a soliloquy with his own spirit La Mettrie, as we are already informed by the title, castigates the anonymous author of the letter on *L'homme machine*, whom he now assumes to be

⁶ Without place (Berlin) and date (1749?). 4°, 24 pages. We have not been able to find a copy of this translation anywhere.

⁷ The *Berlinische Bibliothek* was the first to reproduce an abstract. (End of) 1748, II., pp. 798-800. Entered in the *Göttinger Gelehrten Zeitungen* under date of April 17, 1749.

⁸ Thus Zimmermann reports, p. 229. Cf. also a note in Haller's *Tagebuch der medizinischen Literatur*. Berne, 1791. III, p. 537.

⁹ Remark in Zimmermann, p. 229. This also appears from a passage in La Mettrie's *Supplément à l'ouvrage de Pénélope etc.* Berlin, 1750, p. 358. "Il me traitait aussi cavalièrement, qu'un autre Anonyme vient (!) de traiter l'Homme machine." At "autre" La Mettrie makes this note: "Haller, dit-on; je n'en serais point surpris. Il a encore tous les préjugés de l'enfance, quoique médecin. En ce sens je permets qu'on le regarde comme un phénomène de l'art." According to a date on page 43 the passage was probably written in the beginning of 1749.

¹⁰ Of this original edition two copies were preserved in the Library of the Ducal House at Gotha (under Phil. 8. 329) of which one is now in the author's possession. With this exception I can learn of no other copy in a public library (Communication of the information bureau of German libraries in Berlin, July 16, 1912). A reprint appeared in Paris (Valade) 1774.

¹¹ P. 210f. The *Epître à mon esprit* is included in the *Œuvres philosophiques*, Berlin, 1764, II, 245-262; and Berlin, 1796, II. Scholarly journals reproduced extracts in great number: for instance, the *Nachrichten von einer Hallischen Bibl.*, 1749, III, 179-186; the *Züricher Freimüt. Urt. u. Nachr.* v. 14 Okt. 1751; the *Berlinische Bibliothek*, 1749, III, p. 118f; also Windheim's *Philosophische Bibliothek*, Hannover, 1749, I, 247-254; the *Acta hist.-ecclesiastica*, Weimar, 1749, XIII, 470, etc. There is a distorted German translation on pp. 49-69 of "Die zu Boden gestürzte Maschine oder glaubwürdige Nachrichten vom Leben und sonderbaren Ende des berühmten Arztes de Lamettrie. Difficile est, satiram non scribere." Frankfurt and Leipsic, 1750, 8°, 70 pages. Referred to in the *Gött. Gel. Zeit.* of Nov. 9, 1750. Two copies of this queer little document have also been preserved, one (under As. 10341a) in the Berlin Royal Library, and the other in the author's possession.

Haller and again some orthodox man from Berlin. With pretended contrition he deplores the flightiness of which he has been accused and the levity of his pen (page 3). Entire sentences are quoted from Hollmann's letter (6f.) and enlarged upon ironically. Verily, how can you help it, my spirit, if your machine operates so poorly? But what a miserable philosopher you are! what hazy ideas of substance you have(7)! And you do not even consider it necessary to ask advice of the theologians! And what a bewildering labyrinth of atheism you have constructed, my spirit! Blind imitator of Spinoza, you might do me harm (18f). And how would it fare with you if Mr. Descartes were to arise from his grave? How this timid philosopher would censure you for all your clumsy frankness! Man and beast, "these two kinds of creatures from the animal kingdom," are organized exactly alike. To be sure! certainly! But be quiet about it. Why say it so loud? Keep this secret, my spirit, so that you can point out with the greater confidence that animals are merely machines. The philosophers will understand you as they have understood the artful Descartes, and draw their own conclusions with respect to man as well. In the meantime you can pass with the theologians for a good orthodox (18f).

The discernment of his reckless and inconsiderate mode of confession is the meaning of this irony, as the entire satire represents in general a *γνώθι σαυτόν*. The polemic element remains in the background, the opponent is too insignificant. La Mettrie speaks, to be sure, of the insipid attacks of those who honor him with their pious hatred (13), of the "first pedant at a certain university" (7); he has much evil to say of the teachers of the gospel, of those Tarruffes who play their part under the mask of religion and whose supreme divinity is self-love (20). But the interesting thing about this dialogue with his spirit is the excellent portrait of himself which his irony incidentally discloses. A deeper reflection upon the reasons for the stormy opposition which arose against him from all sides seems to have preceded the actual writing and to have interrupted temporarily the usually cheerful mood of his spirit. Pronounce an impartial judgment upon yourself, my spirit! You are too lively, my friend. Every one says that you have a more than too fertile imagination. "You have a hot head in which everything is calcined and nothing reaches its proper maturity. There is no sequence to your ideas, no keen reflection. You do not take regular steps, so to speak, but cut actual capers. You might be compared to a piece of land which bears early fruit, to be sure, but

wild and unripe, fruit which though new and rare is unhealthful and injurious" (4f). And again: "I love you, my spirit; I would rather go to the Bastille with you than be praised by a theologian. *Doux charme de ma vie*, my only refuge! How painful it is to me that instead of in my head you are dwelling in I know not what sort of a fiery vessel, in which the mercury and the salts that compose your being can not be brought into any stability" (12)! La Mettrie could not be characterized more strikingly. You are a dreamer and enthusiast, a visionary, *un cerveau illuminé*. You think as quickly as you write.¹² The power of your imagination is as uncertain as your finger. You are fickle! Reform, O my spirit. Accustom yourself to some of the bad qualities of your opponents. It will bring blessings to you. Learn to believe what your pastor tries to make you believe, write a fine inspiring treatise on the immortality of the soul, and above all do not take everything so tragically. "*Croyez que la bonne plaisanterie est la pierre de touche de la plus fine raison*" (22). "Believe that good humor is the touchstone of the finest reason."

* * *

Haller made a brief mention of the *Épître à mon esprit* in his journal of March 17, 1749, without, however, ascribing any particular significance to it. A few months later, on September 4, he received a second satire directed more particularly against himself, *La machine terrassée*, which is one of the most original things La Mettrie ever wrote. The joke about it is that Haller did not recognize his opponent. "It is," he writes, "a small satire against La Mettrie in which he is reproached in our learned journals with the many mistakes which he has committed against scholarship and the intellect. He is accused of plagiarizing with regard to Boerhaave's commentary and is reproached for the really exceedingly improper swaggering which he has carried on in his latest writings." Haller states that the paper would not be worth a review, "if it were not for its connection with ourselves."

The course of history preceding this second satire is in brief as follows:

On January 1, 1748, Haller had acquitted his prolific opponent

¹²The German translator comments in the following neat Alexandrines:

"Auch seine Feder ist mechanisch abgericht,
Sie schreibet von sich selbst, er aber denket nicht,"

which may be rendered into English,

"Machine-like, e'en his pen is trained to spread the ink,
It writes quite of itself; he doesn't have to think."

of the generally prevalent suspicion that he had written Diderot's *Pensées philosophiques*. Nevertheless, following a correct instinct, he had charged him to his face on May 30 of the same year with being the author of the refutation entitled *L'Homme plus que machine*,¹³ which was then passing around among the editorial offices of the deluded adversaries of the La Mettrie muse as a wholesome antidote against the materialistic atheistic machine theory.¹⁴ The book indeed seemed to be directed against the "bold author," the "machine teacher" or "machine master" and his "shameless, blasphemous statements" which strive to contend against the spiritual nature of the human soul. According to reliable accounts La Mettrie himself was really the author. Haller was not in the least justified in seeing in *L'homme plante*, which La Mettrie openly acknowledged, scarcely more than the "sport of a mere joker" in which it were folly to look for anything serious or reasonable.¹⁵ So his constantly increasing spite against the scintillating Frenchman exploded the more violently in his review of La Mettrie's cynical "*Ouvrage de Pénélope, ou le Machiavélisme en médecine*, par Alethejus Demetrius,"¹⁶ a destructive satire in brilliant style on the charlatantry of the medical profession. In it La Mettrie imparts to young physicians the same Mephistophelian counsel which we find in the scene with the young bachelor in Goethe's Faust.¹⁷ The embittered Haller lacked the vision for what was really sublime and entirely legitimate in this historically memorable satire which is brimful of puzzles requiring elucidation. Haller takes the "Machiavelism" (first part) on its face value and then stands in perplexity when in "Anti-Machiavelism" (second part) La Mettrie casts aside the helmet of irony and sketches an imposing description of Boerhaave, the great reformer of medicine.¹⁸ Under the pseudonym Alethejus Demetrius, Haller writes, is hidden "the notorious (!) La Mettrie." "His immoderate zeal against God, chastity and the doctors," betrayed him sufficiently, and also "the indecent expressions," "the unbridled effrontery,"

¹³ It was long thought that the author of *L'Homme plus que machine* was Elie Luzac, of Leyden, the publisher of *L'Homme machine*. See his preface as translated in *The Open Court*, July 1913, p. 426.

¹⁴ Cf. Windheim's *Philosophische Bibliothek*, Hannover, 1749, I, 198-216, and *Neuer Büchersaal d. schön. Wiss. u. fr. Künste*, Leipsic, 1748, VI, 500-515.

¹⁵ *Gött. Gel. Zeit.* of May 20, 1748. Poritzky (pp. 228-243) has rightly called express attention to the significance of this document. La Mettrie here anticipates the Goethe-Darwin theory of primitive plant life.

¹⁶ Geneva, 1748. 2 volumes. Haller's review appeared August 1, 1748.

¹⁷ The headings to the chapters read: "On the Superfluity of Anatomy, Physics, Surgery"; "On the Necessity of Literature, Painting, Music, etc."

¹⁸ II, 281ff.

with which he slandered the Paris physicians. One can hardly believe his eyes when he sees with what satisfaction Haller records La Mettrie's unprecedentedly audacious avowal in "Machiavelism" that he had for the most part copied his medical books, "that he had spent a hundred thousand pounds in dissipation and debauchery before he became doctor, and had bought this title at Rheims without having the slightest knowledge of the science of medicine." To this *irrisor deorum hominumque* nothing is sacred, not even his own person. In conclusion Haller calls attention with pedantic exactitude to a few comical slips of his adversary who, there is no doubt, was careless. La Mettrie writes that Aldrovandus had borrowed his ornithology from Willoughby. Unfortunately Aldrovandus died before Willoughby was born. The *Giornali di Letterati* appear in La Mettrie as a certain "Monsieur Giorno." "But what can one expect of a copyist who has published the whole commentary of our Mr. Haller under his own name!" In this manner Haller proceeds in his review of the last three parts of the *Institutions de médecine* which differ from the first only by the greater carelessness with which La Mettrie has here done his copying.¹⁹ The city of Breslau figures as a scholar with this Frenchman who is little acquainted with the geography of Germany. La Mettrie has not even considered it necessary to give heed to the list of errata and there are more similar evidences of slovenliness.

At this point the hostilities have reached their climax, but whoever may think that La Mettrie has taken offense is sadly mistaken. He shows not the slightest trace of any kind of resentment. On the contrary, his *bonne plaisanterie* never sat so lightly upon him as now. His answer is the *Épître à Mlle. A. C. P. ou la machine terrassée*, another duodecimo of twenty-three pages which was printed in Berlin in July or August without mention of place but with the date 1749.²⁰ The identity of the writing is beyond doubt. In the first place it is directed against Haller. His two critiques of August 1 and October 31, 1748, are paraphrased in a not unwitty fashion. Messrs. Aldrovandus and Willoughby bring their affair to an end (p. 9), the author Giorno makes his appearance, the learned physician Breslau, the uncorrected list of errata, the civet-cat and the "dissolved eggs" (p. 8). These and other similar slips are merely the small jests of Mr. Machine. The dissipation at Rheims and the purchased degree are not forgotten (p. 14).

¹⁹ *Gött. Gel. Zeit.* of October, 31, 1748.

²⁰ No copy of this satire can be found in the collective catalogue of the libraries. (Report of the information bureau, July 16, 1912). We quote from

But the point of the whole is as follows: The anonymous satirist (La Mettrie) gives a fictitious Parisienne an impartial account of an artificial human machine *à la* Vaucanson which in our days created a great sensation and finally came to a curious end.²¹ This machine which is living but not endowed with a soul has fallen to the ground (*terrassée*) and been delivered over to Pluto's Bastille. "It was in constant motion and rolled around so long that it finally broke its neck. By its cries, by its cunning strokes, by its calumnies, and by the writing of many books it sought to outstrip ordinary machines" (4). Now it is dead. *Pauvre machine!*

I will tell you its story. The crude and cumbersome matter of Mr. Machine, "for this is his *nomen et omen*," was prepared in I know not what retort. The cynic Caeleno(?) set it in order when lo, and behold! Mr. Machine moves like the (automatic) ducks of Mr. Vaucanson in Paris. Like them he is without a soul, without understanding, reason, or cognition, without politeness and manners. His whole being is nothing but matter. He is the "man-machine" (*L'homme machine*), the "man-plant" (*L'homme plante*), the "super-machine." These are the titles in which he glories (*Ce sont les titres, dont il fait gloire*, page 6).

There is not much to say about the education of Mr. Machine.²² The machine was set up and moved away. It directed its movements to Paris and Leyden, to Rheims. It was even graduated, honor enough for a machine! Soon it began to plunder the republic of scholars in a perfectly mechanical way. You are acquainted, Mademoiselle, with the pretty conceits which Mr. Machine published under the title *Les institutions de médecine!* Read these jokes! You will then sufficiently admire the creative wit of Mr. Machine (9f).

At times Mr. Machine forgot that he was only a machine. He considered himself more terrible than he was. He thought that

the only copy known to be extant which is in our own possession. A reproduction appeared first in the *Œuvres philosophiques*, Berlin, 1764, II, 227-244; then in *Œuvres*, Berlin, 1774, 1796, etc. In the complete editions of the fifties none of the three satires of Mr. Machine was included. A review of the *Machine terrassée* may be found in the *Nachr. von einer Hallischen Bibl.*, 1749, III, 469f, and a German translation in the above mentioned work, *Die zu Boden gestürzte Maschine*, pp. 6-21.

²¹ By this machine of course is to be understood the author of *L'homme machine*.

²² It is possible that La Mettrie came upon the idea of his machine fable through the following passage of a criticism of the *Épître à mon esprit*: "The crudity, the rude behaviour towards deserving men, the vulgar words of abuse make it as clear as daylight that the entire machine of the author and particularly the driving wheels of his brain, have not been polished by any proper education." *Berliner Bibliothek*, 1749, p. 118.

by his aid all apes, and hence yours also Mademoiselle, would in time learn to read. He considered himself the pillar of the republic of scholars, the Hercules of our century. He raved against the parsons, the arrogant brutes (12)! "On the day when my system appeared," he exclaimed, "the foundations of most sacred theology were shaken and the broad and flat hats of all of those clowns and buffoons which the ordinary man reveres became more disarranged than ever."²³

Now he is dead, poor Mr. Machine! Shortly before the end he wrote another letter to his spirit and openly confessed that he was a fool, whereupon there came over him a longing for the paradise of machines, an eternal standstill. He took an overdose of ratsbane and plunged into blessed darkness²⁴ (p. 5). What? A piece of foolishness? But consider, Mademoiselle, "a machine does not do what it wishes but what it must."

Now he lies his full length on the banks of the Acheron. His soul, or rather his matter, is like a loosened string of a bass viol. Pluto sends Charon across the gloomy river to bring in recruits. And behold, at the terrifying roar of the classical ferryman, Mr. Machine awakens from his blessed repose. He becomes aware with horror that he has an immortal soul which he had always contended against when alive (p. 17).

What does it avail him now that he anxiously protests in trembling tones, "I am a dead body, I am simply matter, I am a machine, I am like the flowers which bloom to-day and are withered to-morrow." "Hold your tongue," answers Charon, and rows him across the silent stream (18).

They land and draw near to his dwelling place. It is the abode of charlatans, clowns and buffoons. They are just making noisy preparation to have a picnic. Delighted to find himself in the pleasant company of materialists Mr. Machine draws nearer. "My name is Machine!" Hardly had he pronounced the fatal word when a pedant from a certain university (?) fell upon him. "Wretched scoundrel, do you consider it honest to have attacked my honor in such an infamous fashion? It is true I sold you your doctor's degree, but are you aware that up to this very hour you still owe me the money for it (20)?"

He seized Mr. Machine by the throat and choked him. There lay the machine on the ground. But the charlatans, clowns and

²³ Quotation from *Épître à mon esprit*, p. 11, which seems to strengthen the probability that a controversy had been raised against La Mettrie.

²⁴ A remarkable anticipation of his own fate. He died at the age of 42 from ptomaine poisoning.

buffoons instantly drew off its skin over its ears and after considerable altercation made a bagpipe out of it. They longed to have some good music. Now this is the second existence of Mr. Machine. He is now a bagpipe. "Cheer up, Mr. Bagpipe, pipe away and do your best to entice and wheedle!"

"*C'est la carrière du feu, Mr. Machine.*"

* * *

La Mettrie preserved his *incognito* very well, and was now to discover how the journalists Haller, Windheim, etc. proclaimed with great complacency his literary destruction, without surmising in the least that this somewhat coarse but doubtless original and witty satire on materialism flowed from the very pen of Mr. Machine himself. In the meantime this bold auto-persiflage was of course written only to be at once disproved. Close upon its heels followed the *Réponse à l'auteur de la machine terrassée*, without place [Berlin] 1749, 12°, 24 pp., which was slightly disposed of by Haller September 4, 1749, as "mere twaddle" and announced in the *Berliner wöchentl. Ber.* of July 21, 1749. This document belongs to the greatest rarities of Lamettriana.²⁵ The original was entirely lost sight of soon after its appearance, and this may have been due in part to the tiny form in which the libel appeared. Whereas the first two satires were included in the *Œuvres* in 1764, no reprint of the *Réponse* is to be found in any of the numerous eighteenth century editions of La Mettrie. The existence and contents of this satire are known only from the above mentioned reviews and from a badly distorted translation in the collection we have already referred to, *Die zu Boden gestürzte Maschine*.²⁶ We have now had the good fortune by searching in the right place to discover a well preserved copy of the French original of this third satire also and so to make it accessible to investigation.²⁷

Our hopes for a brilliant and well-prepared defense of the

²⁵ Nérée Quépat characterizes it as *fort rare*, p. 190.

²⁶ Pp. 22-48. The translator who is prejudiced against La Mettrie proceeds in an extremely arbitrary fashion, suppresses entire sentences and adds stronger phrases according to his own will. Poritzky who utilizes this translation (following the Berlin copy) in the absence of the original has firmly established this fact probably on the basis of a contemporary criticism (p 221). He can not possibly have compared the texts because he does not even know the exact title of the satires. We also look in vain for any reference to a source in this passage in Poritzky.

²⁷ The library of the University of Göttingen claims to possess a copy with a different title, according to a communication from the bureau of information in Berlin. (8. *Theol. thet.*, I, 124).

feigned attack remain unfulfilled. The wit of Mr. Machine seems for the time being to be exhausted in this field. His *Réponse* is pretty confused²⁸ and makes up in obscenities what it lacks in substance.

La Mettrie pretends that another man than himself had really written the machine satire. In this other person John Partridge of Swiftian memory comes again to life.²⁹ "Swift may say what he pleases," the satire begins, "Partridge is not dead. He lives in you and through you whose prophetic eloquence draws to it so large a crowd of adherents." Consequently La Mettrie addresses his opponent throughout the entire writing as "M. P." (Mr. Partridge). At first M. P. is to him only the imaginary author of the machine satire. "Through you, mighty Echo, the voice of the Göttingen journals, that hitherto—*vox clamantis in deserto*—has been heard only in the wilderness, is now spread abroad also in the cities" (p. 11). The author "Giorno," Aldrovandus, etc., appear once more. But now it is interesting to see Partridge and Haller melt together under his pen in the further course of the satire which is obviously carelessly thrown together. "Do you know," he begins, "that you exceed that calendar-maker whose memory has been perpetuated by Swift? How delicate, how natural is your satire, how well you contrive to conceal your footsteps!" A rare gift indeed! It might be said that you reap where others find nothing even to glean.³⁰ I have been on many military expeditions but your list of wars astonishes me. Devil take it, I would never in my life have considered you so dangerous. You have disclosed the sources of my thievery, you have decried me as a copyist (p. 15). Any attempts to reply would be superfluous. A man of your prestige is taken at his word. But it does you no good to get into

²⁸ Poritzky to be sure is of a different opinion, P. 210.

²⁹ John Partridge was a charlatan in London, a shoemaker by trade, who under William III and Anne (1702-1714) in order to obtain a better livelihood deceived the public with invented predictions as an astrologer and "Philomath" in calendars, under the name of "Merlinus Liberatus," etc. Swift handled this dishonorable calendar-maker and his astrological nonsense severely in a famous satire *Predictions for the Year 1708*, which appeared at the end of 1707 under the pseudonym of Isaak Bickerstaff Esqu. and in which Swift in serious guise published the results of his own astrological experiments. According to this, some well-known personages were to die on definite days of the year 1708, among others also John Partridge on March 29. The point of this amusing story is that John Partridge, seized by pangs of conscience, confessed the whole dishonesty of his actions on March 29 on his supposed deathbed, but must have become a shoemaker again after his fortunate survival of this *dies ater*, since no one ever heard again of his calendar. (Henry Craik, *The Life of Jonathan Swift*, London, 1882, pp. 170ff).

³⁰ This expression occurs again later.

a passion. The attacks you make upon me are as futile as the efforts of a hopping turtle (p. 13).

And then! I confess that your little pamphlet is bewitching. You may pass judgment, you may draw conclusions, you may use the salt of criticism or wield the lash of satire—at all times you are wholly a man, M. P.! How inimitably you can string the pearls of learning! Under your hands copper is turned to gold. Happy the man who possesses such weapons! And your very eagle's glance! But I wager that you are no more able to look at the sun than I am to read your writings without causing my eyes to overflow from laughing (10).

And finally! How unexceptional is the attachment you profess for me. I swear to you, M. P., that as soon as I learn your correct name and dwelling place I will invite myself to dinner at your home, *sans façons à la française*. Does that strike you as strange? Tell me who you are, let us drink down our dispute in a glass of wine. We will not have those clowns for company for I cannot see them without laughing (p. 7). A pretty girl, my noble Amphitryon, delights the eye far more than a poor repartee. One speaks with the eyes, the heart becomes tender, finally—

Besides at Haller La Mettrie once more takes aim also at Hollmann and ridicules him in quite an unworthy fashion as "*adroit septième de Leibniz*." "Merciless *raisonneur*, monadist stuffed full of adequate causes, metaphysician crammed with *principia contradictionis*, harmonist without harmony, *déclamateur*, *prêcher emphatique*, *pousseur de syllogismes et d'ergo*, etc." Yet all this seems rather to point to Haller.

La Mettrie first takes up the fable of the machine in a clumsy fashion. With your permission, Mr. P., I make my appearance again in the world in order to congratulate you upon your satire. What a dirty trick to poison me with ratsbane! But the rest I can easily understand. "*Je suis si sujet ou dévoïement*, M. P., that I am not at all surprised *que vous ayez fait sortir mon âme par où les apothicaires viennent très-humblement à son secours*. But why did your good pleasure take just this way? *Dites, St. Homme, le luisant Pod... serait il votre conduite favori?*" (4f).

There is no need of entering further into the contents of the satire. The esthetic qualities are not sufficiently attractive to justify the exaggerated cynicisms. La Mettrie frequently departs from Mr. Partridge but always takes up the pen again until upon the last page he himself is finally aware that he has been wasting "on a neat's tongue salt which has lost its savor" (p. 24).

A CHINESE ST. PATRICK.

HISTORY OR MYTH?

BY JOHN STEELE.

IN the reconstruction of ancient history the myth hypothesis has been freely adopted as the universal solvent. No difficulty, however intractable to other treatment, has been known to resist this agent, corrosive often to a degree. This method in criticism is not the exclusive property of the last two centuries. The Greeks used it and disposed of many awkward theological difficulties by its means.

In the absence of direct proof myth, other things being equal, may be as good a working hypothesis as any; but the crux of the problem is in the establishment of the equivalency of the assumptions that justify the different hypotheses. In the treatment of the ancient histories of the middle East this equivalency is most difficult to secure. Whole hosts of contemporary facts have disappeared. Customs are known to us only by chance allusion. Modes of thought are lost. Most difficult of all, the atmosphere of past time has become so attenuated that we find it difficult, if not impossible, to breathe it in quantity sufficient to saturate our reasoning faculty. As a result we have a free use of the myth solvent.

Now this method of solution is open to some objections that lie on the surface. It is easy, it has a suspicious history, and it is opposed to the common-sense humanistic thinking of the simpler East. It is easier to cut the knot than to undo it, but in other departments of criticism the obvious solution is suspect. It requires courage to accept an antinomy and wait for the further light that will bring the higher resolution. It requires courage also to sit down in front of an historical difficulty, and wait and work for

its solution without resorting, *currente calamo* to myth as the obvious and therefore the only reasonable explanation.

Again, the myth as a solvent has ever been the child and not the parent of scepticism. This holds good whether the scepticism be philosophic or religious and whether the interest behind it be destructive or conservative. The fact is sufficient to suggest extreme caution both in the application of the method and in the acceptance of its results.

And finally the ancient histories, when approached from the eastern side, so to speak, are so replete with human interest that to sublimate them is to do violence to the basal instincts of humanity. No amount of study lore can in such a case outweigh the humanism that underlies the thinking of the centuries.

An incident recorded in a Chinese local history seems to bring us to the very cradle of a myth, and at the same time to show that the easy and obvious mythical explanation is not the most credible one.

At the beginning of the ninth Christian century the T'ang dynasty was served by the ardent Confucianist and able administrator, Han Yü. Too well served indeed for his own interest, for when the emperor, a devotee of Buddhism, welcomed with extravagant honors the arrival at the capital of a bone of the Indian saint, Han Yü protested in a memorial which remains to the present day a monument to his patriotism. The reward of this temerity was banishment to Ch'ao-chou, a prefecture on the southeastern border of the empire, scarcely reclaimed and but for a few scholars sunk in barbaric ignorance. The district retains the name to-day, with Ch'ao-chou fu as its administrative center and Swatow as its trading port.

The administration of Han Yü lasted a bare nine months, but in that time he contrived to establish civilization on a sure basis, and he is worshiped to this day as the patron saint of the region under the posthumous title of Wên-kung, "Literary Duke." The means he employed was the development of the village school system. Enlisting the services of a noted scholar of the region, who now occupies the place of honor next him in the temples, he popularized education to such a degree that at the close of the Ming dynasty Ch'ao-chou natives boasted that their "white words" (*patois*) were spoken in the streets of Peking. This referred to the large band of Ch'ao-chou scholars who held office under the Ming emperors.

But the most dramatic incident in the administration of Han

Yü in A. D. 819 is his expulsion of a monster crocodile from the river which flows past the prefectural city and has since been called by his name. The story goes that dwellers on the river bank appealed to him for protection against this monster, who devoured their sheep, pigs, fowls, and cattle, and even dragged into the water the wild boars, deer, and bears which came down from the hills to drink. The prefect in response to this appeal prepared an ultimatum to the monster, and cast it into the stream along with a sheep and a pig. Thereupon the crocodile disappeared, cast out by this eastern St. Patrick.

The story seems to present as perfect an example of the myth as we could ask for. It satisfies all the conditions. The administrator found his province dominated by barbaric ignorance. He engaged this demon, and expelled it. Such legends are common in other lands. The only touch wanting to complete the myth is the metamorphosis of the crocodile into a dragon, as has been done in the dragon stories of Rhodes and elsewhere. And scholars of repute are not wanting who accept this interpretation, e. g., Professor Giles in an article on Han Yü in his *Dictionary of Chinese Biography*.

But there are strong reasons for accepting even the details of the crocodile story as genuine history, without accepting the causal nexus assumed by the recorders.

This crocodile story does not stand alone in the annals of Ch'ao-chou. Two other instances, at intervals of about 150 years, are recorded. That given in fullest detail refers to the year A. D. 999, under the Sung dynasty. Chên Yao-tso was at that time prefect of Ch'ao-chou. Devoted to the teachings of Confucius, as was his illustrious predecessor, he erected a shrine to the latter, and depicted on its walls the story of the crocodile. In the summer of the following year word was brought to him from Liu-wong, a town forty miles further up the Han river, that a crocodile had appeared in a deep pool there and with a blow of his tail had swept into the water a boy of the surname Chang who was playing by his mother as she washed clothes on the river bank. On receipt of this news the prefect sent two of his officers to drag the pool with a stout net. They secured the beast, and brought him to Ch'ao-chou fu, where he was treated as a contumacious descendant of Han Yü's enemy, was cut in pieces and boiled as a warning to others. This story, corresponding on the one hand with the known habits of the alligator and on the other with the practices of Chinese magistrates, is well authenticated. The third story lacks detail, and is on that

account the less likely to be a fabrication. It is the latest record of the appearance of a crocodile in the Han river.

The documents recording these events have always been accepted as contemporaneous with the events themselves by scholars who are among the keenest and most fearless literary critics in the world. The evidence for their genuineness is derived from criticism of the lower and the higher order, for the Chinese are experts in both. The "Ultimatum" of Han Yü corresponds in style with other literary remains of the great writer, and has a place along with unquestioned products of his pen in the collection of "Masterpieces of Literature," upon which the style of students throughout the empire has been modeled for centuries.

Although no alligators are now found in the Han and none of their remains have yet been discovered in Ch'ao-chou (no serious geological work has yet been attempted there), the occurrence of such reptiles in that region, either as visitors or habitants, is in the order of nature. M. Fauvel has shown how widely the crocodile was distributed through China. If other evidence were lacking the existence of allied species to-day in the rivers of Indo-China on the south and in the Yangtze in China proper, makes their occurrence at intermediate points, when riverine conditions were favorable, a matter of certainty. The distribution of the Nile crocodile from Egypt, through Madagascar, to the Cape is a parallel instance.

Strong evidence for the actuality of the occurrence is derived from its relation to the administrative problems of Ch'ao-chou under the T'ang dynasty. The prefect was appealed to by the people entrusted to his care. As official in charge of the district he was the "father and mother" of the inhabitants. It is not only the instinct of sport that sends an Indian collector into the jungle after the tiger which has been playing havoc with the bullocks and men of the district for which he is responsible. Han Yü could not turn a deaf ear to the cry of his "children." In virtue of his office he was compelled to do all in his power to give them relief; and as a consistent Confucianist he believed himself to be in such harmony with the established order of things as to have the assistance of nature when he set himself to remove any cause of disturbance in her realm.

The "Ultimatum" also opens up a vein of political philosophy which is conclusive as to its genuineness, as well as illustrative of the Oriental theory of government. The rule of the emperor spelled to Han Yü a civilization pushed out from the capital until it covered the most remote provinces of the empire. On its borders

this civilization marched with Chaos, unsubdued and but sullenly yielding to superior force the fastnesses she once claimed as her own. So to-day in India the jungle marches with the village fields, and man disputes the possession of his holding with the wild beasts. The prefect had learned from history of the disappearance of noxious animals from his district before the all-pervasive civilization of the great Yü. He knew of the decadence that followed that ruler's death, and of the return to their old haunts of the savage and the wild beast. Now, when he holds commission from an emperor under whom the old limits of empire had been restored, he finds his authority disputed by this monster. The crocodile is the protagonist of a hardly subdued and still rebellious savagery which must be pushed beyond the borders of the imperial sway. The "Ultimatum" allows to the crocodile a right to live, and a place in nature. All it asks is that this place shall be beyond the emperor's dominion. The strain of exalted imperialism in which the document is conceived is very noble.

And the monster disappeared! Han Yü was fortunate as he deserved to be. A chronicler tells that during the night that followed the committal of his "Ultimatum" to the waters a great storm raged and the waters below the city were dried up. When normal conditions returned the crocodile had disappeared. There is nothing incredible in this. In the ninth century A. D. the river Han below Ch'ao-chou fu was more like an estuary than it is to-day. A heavy rainfall among the mountains would send down a volume of water which would first scour the channel clear of such unwieldy things as crocodiles, and then deposit over the estuary great quantities of disintegrating granite sand. This would for the time choke up all the channels, and spread the waters of the river over a wide area. Even if the crocodile were not swept away by the first rush of water, the shoaling up of the river below him threatening his retreat to deeper waters would be sufficient to cause him to withdraw down river. This one finds in the Malay Peninsula to-day as the dry season comes on, the unfortunate crocodiles remaining in isolated pools being subject to death from starvation. Either of the above explanations would sufficiently account, in a natural manner, for the disappearance of the beast. *Felix opportunitate* the great prefect enjoys the added honor of being the exterminator of the crocodile, and the bringer of peace to the people. It is worth while noting that the early references to this occurrence treat it as a matter of importance secondary to Han Yü's great administrative and educational reforms. By these

they say he made of the barbarous southeast "a dwelling place of Confucius and Mencius by the sea-shore."

On the evidence submitted here one may fairly claim that in this case the mythical solution, though temptingly obvious, is not the correct one. Other difficult cases in Eastern historical literature may, on examination, yield a similar result.

THE BRIDEGROOM'S PRICE.

BY CHINMOY.

THE tragic tale that was unfolded at the Coroner's Court in Calcutta the other day, in course of an inquest touching the death of a Brahmin maid of 16 of respectable parentage, has stirred Hindu India to the quick. The police report showed that at midnight, people living in neighboring houses in a populous quarter of the city roused the parents of the deceased, informing them that a fire was burning on the roof of the house. The father and some of the neighbors got up on the roof, and to their horror found the girl enveloped in flames. The fire was put out with as much promptitude as was possible under the circumstances, and the girl, who had already sustained severe injuries, was removed to the hospital where she died the same day. The evidence collected at the Coroner's Court went to show that the deceased girl was to be given in marriage to a graduate law student, and it was decided to mortgage her father's ancestral house in order to raise the money necessary for meeting the marriage expenses. This item included a demand from the bridegroom's father for 800 rupees (about \$265.00) in cash as the *Pan* or the "bridegroom's price," and jewelry for the bride which, as stipulated with the bridegroom's father, must not fall below 1200 rupees (\$400) in value.

Snehalata ("the creeper of affection")—for that was the name of the girl—came to know about the loan transaction, and made up her mind to sacrifice herself rather than reduce her nearest and dearest to such straits. A bottle of kerosine oil and a match box helped her carry out her grim resolve.

This martyrdom of a little girl has forcibly turned the eyes of the thinking Indian public to the objectionable practice of charging a "bridegroom's price" in the upper Hindu Society of Bengal.

According to the custom that now prevails in Hindu India, neither the boy nor the girl has any voice in any of the slightest details about their marriage. It is their parents or, in their absence, other near male relatives who possess absolute discretion in matters relating to the marriage of their wards. But as a result of the tragedy related above, a Hindu publicist has gone so far as to preach to the young men of Bengal that open disobedience of their parents would be no sin, if they were asked to be party to any dishonorable act such as taking "bridegroom's price" would constitute.

It would appear that the charging of a price either for the bride or for the bridegroom is not authorized by the Hindu Sastras. Although even from the times of the Rik-Veda, the bride is enjoined in the "mantra" that is chanted at the time of marriage to take to her husband's house ample presents, and although she is supposed to be given away with befitting clothes and ornaments, the sacred texts never mention bridegroom's price except to condemn it. But as irony of fate would have it, the grinding pressure of this noxious custom is felt the most in this century of enlightenment and broad culture, and the old quotation that "she that is good and fayre nede none other dowrie" has lost all its significance in British India. A well-known proverb in one of the Indian vernaculars says that the death of an unmarried girl, the sale of standing sugar cane, the death of an enemy are the three fortunate things. The compulsory system of marriage of Hindu girls and the exaggerated notions about the social status of various families or sub-castes within the same caste, have helped to brand the female child as a degraded being who brings nothing but dishonor on her paternal line.

This has largely been responsible for female infanticide that was practised among the Hindus before the British government put it down with a firm hand. With the spread of education and the growth of liberal ideas, the narrow code of social virtues and etiquette has undergone a change in many directions. But the "bridegroom's price," which is much in vogue in upper classes of the Hindus, particularly in Bengal, is to be largely attributed to the influence of education itself. In the last census report of India we read that educational qualifications put up a price of a bridegroom, not so much because of any belief in education as an advantage *per se*, but because the bridegroom is more likely to get remunerative employment. Besides this potential value of university degrees as a good asset in the matrimonial market, high price argues high

position. The following table taken from the official report will prove interesting in this connection.

(BENGALI) CASTE	BRIDEGROOM'S PRICE	BRIDE'S AGE	BRIDEGROOM'S AGE
Brahmin.....	500 to 5000 Rupees	8-14	17-20
Vaidya	500 to 3000 Rupees	10-14	20-25
Kaystha.....	200 to 5000 Rupees	9-14	16-25

This illustrates the average rate of the bridegroom's price charged in Bengal. As to the uses this money is put to, it is interesting to note that after deducting the necessary marriage expenses on the bridegroom's side, in most instances it is devoted towards the educational expenses of the bridegroom who has perhaps a few years more to be maintained at college. In many instances a certain monthly allowance has to be paid by the father-in-law direct to the son-in-law till the latter finishes his studies. The price of a bridegroom varies with the number of university examinations he has passed, and is sometimes in inverse ratio to the beauty of the girl.

It is curious that among higher castes who are educated and take a price for the bridegroom, it is considered a disgraceful thing to take anything for the girls, and that only those who are poor and had not the benefit of education will do so. There is decidedly less to be said against the system of taking a bride's price which prevails in certain parts of India, and has been interpreted as back payment by the bridegroom's father for the girl's upbringing in her father's house. If the bridegroom's price continues to go up, a time may come when a considerable number of girls will remain unmarried in spite of the rigorous injunctions of the Sastras to the contrary. Already the marriageable age of girls has increased in Bengal, and what was the dream of reformers and legislators has been accomplished by the mere fact that to-day the marriage of a girl deferred means a lot of money saved.

This mercenary element in matrimony in India, where marriage is looked upon as a most holy sacrament and not a contract, is disapproved by a limited section of men of advanced ideas who have already formed associations for stamping this scourge out of the Hindu society. If they can rouse the conscience of their country, a task which has been simplified by the self-slaughter of Snehalata, they can yet succeed. Will the government of the country—which put a stop to Sati and legalized re-marriage of Hindu widows—do nothing to strengthen the hands of these reformers? This is a question which is on everybody's lips in India just now.

It is curious, however, that the noble self-sacrifice of this young Brahmin girl should have given a handle to the orthodox Hindu to preach the benefits of child-marriage. At a meeting, which was presided over by a Hindu ex-Justice of the High Court, another eminent member of the orthodox Hindu society, Sir Gurudas Banerjea, also an ex-Justice of the Calcutta High Court, propounded the view that child-marriages are not so bad as they are represented to be, from the social point of view. It was pointed out that the rise in the price of bridegrooms was due to the tendency to postpone the marriage of boys, and it was solemnly urged that the remedy for the situation was that young men should marry at an earlier age. This orthodox view, however grotesque, is not without a substratum of truth; for it must be recognized that the tendency to defer the marriage of boys is the cause of the difficulty under which the parents of the girls labor. By the inexorable decree and usage of Hindu society, girls must be married before a certain age. The boys, on the other hand, being free to marry whenever they and their parents choose, the supply of bridegrooms, eligible according to the laws of hypergamy,¹ naturally falls below the demand, and the fathers of boys can then very well ask for high dowries.

Whatever be the orthodox view on the matter, the young men of India do not seem to be in a mood to tolerate these evil practices any longer. Meetings are being held all over the country, and young bachelors are registering their vows to refuse any payment at marriage, and are collecting funds to perpetuate the memory of the martyred Brahmin girl Snehalata. In the last letter which this girl addressed to her father, she made a piteous appeal to the young men of her country.

"Father," she wrote, "I have heard that many noble-hearted and educated young men volunteered for philanthropic work for the

¹ Hypergamy is an Indian custom sanctioned by tradition that the man should marry in or above his caste but never below it.

relief of the sufferers from the Burdwan floods. God bless their kindly hearts, so full of compassion for their suffering fellow-beings. I have also heard that many young men have taken a vow not to buy *bideshi* (foreign) articles. Only the other day I heard how bands of noble-minded youths had gone from door to door to raise funds for the relief of some people in far away South Africa. But is there no one among them to feel for their own people?"

Describing the vision which prompted her to take her own life, the letter continues:

"Last night I dreamt a dream, father, which made me take my vow. To the entralling strains of a music unheard before, and amid a blaze of light as never was on land or sea, I saw the Divine Mother Durga, with benignant smile, beckoning me to the abode of the blest, up above, and then I thought of you father, of the ever sorrow-laden face of my beloved mother and of the dear little ones who have done so much to brighten our home. And then I resolved to save you all and made a sign to the Divine Mother that I would not delay obeying her merciful call."

But the concluding portion is most touching and is not without a prophetic vein:

"After I am gone, father, I know you will shed tears over my ashes. I shall be gone—but the house will be saved. Since then I have been pondering on the best way of ending my worldly pilgrimage—fire, water, or poison, I have preferred the first, and may the conflagration I shall kindle set the whole country on fire!"

We say, Amen!

A LOST LEGEND RECONSTRUCTED.

BY THE EDITOR.

GEOLOGISTS reconstruct the history of the earth by drawing conclusions from the nature of the strata in its crust, and in a similar way philologists have reconstructed the history of language, and even the thought that underlies the formation of words. There are many problems that are solved by philology, among which we ought to mention above all the question of the cradle of the Aryan race.

Old errors die hard and they die gradually, one piece after another. Formerly there was a consensus of the most competent minds that the Aryan race must have had its pristine home in Asia somewhere around the Hindu Kush. It was an old traditional notion still based on the idea that the site of the paradise described in Genesis ought to be located in the vicinity of the Euphrates and Tigris. While the idea of a paradise was abandoned, the belief in an Asiatic home of mankind was retained until a British scholar by the name of Robert Gordon Latham pointed out that for philological reasons the cradle of the Aryans should be sought in northern Europe. Among other arguments he pointed out that in India, Iran, Greece, Italy and northern Europe, all the northern animals and trees have common names, while the terms of southern plants and creatures are importations of a comparatively late date, in Latin and Greek as well as in German and Celtic.

Sometimes there are slight changes of meaning in the old words, but the words remain in approximately their original significance. For instance *vulpes* or *volpes* (fox) is the same word as the Teutonic "wolf," also preserved in "whelp." Further *fagus* (beech), derived from the root *FAG*, "to eat," is the tree with edible fruit. The German *Ecker* or *Buchecker* (beachnut) is ety-

mologically the same as the English "acorn," (the kernel of the oak); both were eaten in primitive times. These instances are enumerated here to characterize the drift of Latham's speculation and not as fully established facts, for we must grant that philologists of a later date have doubted the etymological connection between *volpes*, "wolf" and "whelp" and are inclined to regard the homophony of these words as purely accidental. But even if this be so, we do not doubt the northern European origin of all these words and other similar ones, while the words "lion," "elephant," "palm," the Latin *vinum* (= vine, the plant of the wine), etc., have been imported from the southern east. Philologists rejected, or rather ignored, Latham's theory which however gradually gained ground by being supported by archeologists for archeological reasons and may now be considered as safely established.

Moreover it stands to reason that emigrants always seek a more pleasant home, and so the ancient Asiatic Aryans can scarcely be suspected of having moved to the dreary cold north, while *vice versa* in northern countries there were always people ready to exchange the inhospitable land of their birth for sunnier and brighter climes in the more fertile Asiatic fields.

The truth that mankind originated in Northern Europe was taught us first by a study of language and then corroborated by archeology and anthropology. We have arrived now at the conclusion that the territory from the Baltic to the Pyrenees with its cold winters was the school of mankind, and a severe school it was because man had to progress under penalty of extermination.

There are treasures in the bowels of the earth, and so there are treasures of historical information in language, and we will communicate here one conclusion which can be drawn from the name of the pretty little beetles called lady-birds or lady-bugs. The very word presupposes a legend now lost, and we can reconstruct it in the tenor of the Christian tradition of apocryphal literature. Indeed it is probable that the underlying conception of the name presupposes a still older legend which dates back into the pagan antiquity of the Saxons, or of mankind in general.

The word lady-bug suggests that the little creature which bears the name had originated by coming in contact with Mary, the mother of Christ, commonly called "Our Lady"; and we must assume that while traveling the Holy Family once reached a place where they were bothered with bugs, but these bugs changed in such a way as to give origin to this new species of beetles which somehow bore a resemblance to bugs but had lost all the ugly quali-

ties that make bugs a pest to the poorer population in inns where cleanliness is unknown.

That such is the meaning of the English word "lady-bug" is proved by its German name which is *Marienkäfer*, which means "the beetle of Mary"; or *Marienwürmchen*, "the little worm of Mary"; or *Frauenkäfer*, "lady-bug."

Preserved in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn* is a German folk-song on the *Marienwürmchen* which Schumann has set to music. It runs thus in Dr. Theodore Baker's English translation:

"My Lady-bird, come, light awhile
Upon my hand, upon my hand,
You never need to fear me;
I will not harm you, pretty thing,
Only let me see your gaudy wing,
Gaudy wings I love so dearly!

"My Lady-bird, now fly away,
Your home's afire! Your children cry
So sadly, cry so sadly.
The naughty spider lies in wait,
He'll catch them if you come too late;
And your children cry so sadly.

"Now, Lady-bird, fly on to see
Our neighbor's child, our neighbor's child,
Fly on, you need no warning;
They will not harm you, kindly things,
They only want to see your gaudy wings;
So bid them all good morning."

There is no question that the first portion of the name "Lady," or "Mary" refers to the Mother of Christ, for the use of "lady," and in German *Frau*, in this sense is quite common. The latter part varies in form, and the almost ostentatious use of other terms than *bug* in both the English and the German languages is noticeable and suggests the idea that people avoided calling the creature by its original name, as too inappropriate to bring it in close connection with one who all through the Middle Ages was the object of a most devout veneration. Hence it happened that the name "lady-bird" in defiance of our zoological nomenclature was preferred in large portions of England to the more correct term "lady-bug," the latter form being preserved mainly and almost exclusively in the United States; but in both countries the children sing the old nursery rhyme:

"Lady-bird, lady-bird,
Where are you roving?"
"Over the sea!"

"Lady-bird, lady-bird,
Whom are you loving?"
"All that love me!"

A similar rhyme runs thus:

"Lady-bird, lady-bird,
Fly away home.
Your house is on fire,
Your children alone."

We may be sure that the idea is older than Christianity, and that in pre-Christian days the same story was told of some divine mother, perhaps the Saxon goddess of the earth, Hertha, or the queen of heaven, Frigga or Freya. We cannot tell whether the legend hails from southern or northern countries; nor is it impossible that it was once common all over the pagan world but forgotten, and a last trace of it is now preserved in the name alone. It stands to reason, however, that the legend did not exist in ancient Italy, for the Romans called the lady-bug after its color *coccinella*.

The trace of a similar story may be found in another word which denotes the long spider webs called "gossamer" which in the fall fly about in the air.

Gossamer really means "the godly fabric," and we may be sure that it refers to the webs of a divine spinner, presumably again the chief mother-goddess of pre-Christian times. That the gossamer does not refer to a god but a goddess appears from its German name which is *Altweibersommer*, also sometimes called *Mariensommer*, *Mädchensommer*, *Mechdildissommer* or *Mariengarn*, and in Latin *fila divae virginis* or *filamenta Mariae*.

The Scandinavian *gosummer* shows a popular misconception of the original meaning of the word as it denotes the gossamer to be an indication that the summer is about to go. The Danes too connect the meaning of the word with the summer season, and call it *Zomerdraden*, i. e., "summer threads."

However, the word *samer* in *gossamer* and *Altweibersommer* has nothing to do with the warm season, called in English "summer" and in German *Sommer*. The word *samer* in *gossamer* means a fabric or a web, a thread, the product of spinning, used for sewing. The word is most probably derived from the root SIW, traceable

in the Sanskrit *sutra*, "thread," and also in the Teutonic languages where it appears in the English verb "to sew" and in "seam" and its German equivalent *Saum*. However, the meaning of this old German word *Samer* or *Sommer* is forgotten in the linguistic consciousness of both the English and the German people of to-day.

The first part of the German word *Altweibersommer*, viz., "old women," does not denote any old cronies but obviously can refer to no other than the mother-goddess Frau Holle, who appears so often in German fairy tales. We read, for instance, that when Frau Holle, like a model housewife, shakes the beds in the home of the gods in heaven, the snow-flakes fall down like feathers from heaven to earth.

The name "Holle" is probably the same as the modern German *holde*, the feminine of *hold*, "benign." The same root persists in the name Hulda. The plural, *die Holden*, was used down to Goethe's time in the sense of benign spirits or goddesses, a kind of angels of the old Teutonic pantheon.

Thus in analyzing the words *gossamer* and *Altweibersommer* we learn that the old Germans explained the threads floating around in autumn to be the fabric of the old woman Frau Holle, corresponding to the Christian Virgin Mary; and this again teaches us that there existed an old legend which had a story to tell of a divine spinner and the threads of her distaff that were flying about in the air. These gossamer threads may again be related to the legend of Samson where we read that Samson, the sun-god, before his final defeat, tore to tatters the ropes with which he had been bound by the cunning art of Delilah.

Grimm in his *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (Vol. X, 1, pp. 1518-1519, s. v. "Sommer 14") reports that popular belief credits the elves and dwarfs with having woven the gossamer. He adds: "It is said that these threads are the relics of the cloth which Mary took up with her when being carried up out of her grave to heaven. In the air she let it go, as Elijah dropped his mantle, whereupon it was separated into innumerable fine threads which every summer fly about as a perpetual commemoration after the day of her assumption, August 15."

The explanation that the name *Altweibersommer* indicated that in autumn the summer had lost its youthfulness and had become feeble, like an old woman, is based on the idea which originated when the term "the old woman" ceased to be used in the sense of mother-goddess.

As a result of a consideration of the etymology of the word

“lady-bug” the writer of these lines has reconstructed the underlying legend in a humorous little poem which reads thus:

When Joseph into Egypt came
 He arrived at a filthy inn, ho!
 Such as he'd never seen before
 Nor e'er had entered into.
 Maria cried: "O Baby dear,
 I'm sure it is not kosher here.

"The bread is sour and musty too,
 The pantry is teeming with vermin,
 Uncounted mice the kitchen holds,
 Who can their tale determine!
 St. Patrick help! That is a fright!
 We'll lose here all our appetite.

"Behold the beds are full of bugs
 And the crannies alive are with roaches;
 Here breeds disease, woe to our Boy
 That he this place approaches!"
 Maria said unto her spouse,
 "Come let us flee this nasty house."

But suddenly from heaven came
 The angels, and were rubbing
 The dirt from dishes, pans and plates,
 They were sweeping and washing and scrubbing.
 Oh! what relief in sore distress!
 Yea, next to God is cleanliness.

Bugs in the bed that Mary touched
 Lost all of their horrible features;
 The mice ran out and fell a prey
 To cats and other creatures;
 Clean are the dishes and the mugs.
 How pretty are Our Lady's bugs!

Mine host and hostess stand aghast,
 So quickly all is mended.
 How wondrous are their Hebrew guests!
 Even sages will scarce comprehend it.
 All Christendom exults with joy,
 Blest be Maria and her Boy!

When Joseph Into Egypt Came

Melody by
the Author

Playfully



mf

The first system of the piano introduction, consisting of a treble and bass clef staff. The treble clef staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat), and a common time signature. The bass clef staff begins with a bass clef, the same key signature, and a common time signature. The music is marked *mf* and *Playfully*. The treble staff contains a melody of eighth and quarter notes, while the bass staff provides a simple harmonic accompaniment.



The vocal melody for the first system, written on a single treble clef staff. It begins with a treble clef, a key signature of two flats, and a common time signature. The melody is marked *mf* and consists of a series of eighth and quarter notes.

1. When Jo-seph in - to E-gypt came He ar-rived at a fil - thy
2. "The bread is sour and mus - ty too And the pantry is teeming with
3. "Be - hold the beds are full of bugs, And the crannies a - live are with



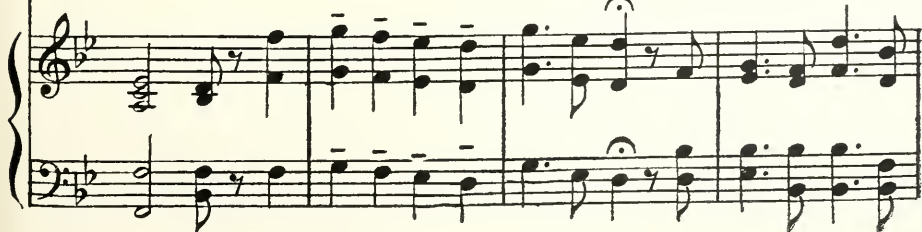
mf

The piano accompaniment for the second system, consisting of a treble and bass clef staff. The treble clef staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of two flats, and a common time signature. The bass clef staff begins with a bass clef, the same key signature, and a common time signature. The music is marked *mf*. The treble staff contains a melody of eighth and quarter notes, while the bass staff provides a simple harmonic accompaniment.



The vocal melody for the second system, written on a single treble clef staff. It begins with a treble clef, a key signature of two flats, and a common time signature. The melody is marked *mf* and consists of a series of eighth and quarter notes.

inn, ho! Such as he'd nev - er seen be - fore Nor e'er had entered
ver - min, Un - count - ed mice the kitchen holds, Who can their tale de -
roach - es; Here breeds disease, wo - e to our Boy That he this place ap -



The piano accompaniment for the third system, consisting of a treble and bass clef staff. The treble clef staff begins with a treble clef, a key signature of two flats, and a common time signature. The bass clef staff begins with a bass clef, the same key signature, and a common time signature. The music is marked *mf*. The treble staff contains a melody of eighth and quarter notes, while the bass staff provides a simple harmonic accompaniment.

Slowly and gravely

in - to. Ma - ri - a cried, "O
ter - mine! St. Pa - trick help! that
proach-es!" Ma - ri - a said un-

mf

Ba - by dear! I'm sure it is not ko - sher here.
is a fright! We'll lose here all our ap - pe - tite.
to her spouse, "Come let us flee this nas - ty house".

mf Spiritedly

4. But sud - den - ly from heav - en came The

mf

an - gels and were rub - bing The dirt from dish - es

The first system of the musical score consists of a vocal line and piano accompaniment. The vocal line is in a treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The piano accompaniment is in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs). The lyrics are: "an - gels and were rub - bing The dirt from dish - es".

pans and plate, They were sweeping, and washing, and scrubbing, O

The second system of the musical score continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "pans and plate, They were sweeping, and washing, and scrubbing, O".

what relief in sore distress! Yea, next to God is clean - li - ness, Yea,

rit

The third system of the musical score continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "what relief in sore distress! Yea, next to God is clean - li - ness, Yea,". The word "rit" (ritardando) is written above the final note of the vocal line.

next to God is clean - li - ness,

The fourth system of the musical score continues the vocal line and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "next to God is clean - li - ness,".

5. Bugs in the bed that Ma-ry touched Lost all of their hor - rible

The first system of the musical score consists of a vocal line and a piano accompaniment. The vocal line is written in a treble clef with a key signature of two flats (B-flat and E-flat) and a common time signature. The lyrics are "5. Bugs in the bed that Ma-ry touched Lost all of their hor - rible". The piano accompaniment is written in a grand staff (treble and bass clefs) with the same key signature and time signature. It features a steady bass line and chords in the right hand.

fea - tures. The mice ran out and fell a prey To cats and oth-er

The second system continues the musical score. The vocal line lyrics are "fea - tures. The mice ran out and fell a prey To cats and oth-er". The piano accompaniment continues with similar harmonic support, including some rests in the vocal line.

creatures, Clean are the dish-es

The third system of the score. The vocal line lyrics are "creatures, Clean are the dish-es". The piano accompaniment includes a dynamic marking of *mf* (mezzo-forte) in the bass line. The vocal line has several rests.

and the mugs. How pret - ty are Our La - dys' bugs!

The fourth and final system of the score. The vocal line lyrics are "and the mugs. How pret - ty are Our La - dys' bugs!". The piano accompaniment provides harmonic support throughout the system.

mf Slowly and gravely

6. Mine host and hos-tess stand a-ghast, So quick-ly all is

mf

This system contains the first two staves of music. The vocal line is on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of two flats. The piano accompaniment is on two staves (treble and bass clefs) with a key signature of two flats. The tempo and mood are indicated as 'mf' (mezzo-forte) and 'Slowly and gravely'. The lyrics are '6. Mine host and hos-tess stand a-ghast, So quick-ly all is'.

mend-ed, How wondrous are their He-brew guests Ev-en

cresc

This system contains the next two staves of music. The vocal line continues with the lyrics 'mend-ed, How wondrous are their He-brew guests Ev-en'. The piano accompaniment continues. The dynamic marking *cresc* (crescendo) is placed above the vocal line.

sag-es will scarce com-pre-hend it. All Christ-en-dom ex-

This system contains the next two staves of music. The vocal line continues with the lyrics 'sag-es will scarce com-pre-hend it. All Christ-en-dom ex-'. The piano accompaniment continues.

ults with joy, Blest be Ma-ri-a and her Boy, Ma-ri-a and her Boy!

f *ff rit*

f *ff rit*

This system contains the final two staves of music. The vocal line concludes with the lyrics 'ults with joy, Blest be Ma-ri-a and her Boy, Ma-ri-a and her Boy!'. The piano accompaniment concludes. Dynamic markings *f* and *ff rit* (fortissimo ritardando) are present above and below the staves.

MISCELLANEOUS.

AN EPITAPH OF ANCIENT ROME.

To the Editor of The Open Court:

In reference to the epitaph you quote in your article "Mysticism and Immortality" in the June number of *The Open Court*, permit me to call your attention to the following taken from a book by Prof. F. F. Abbott of Princeton University, *Common People of Ancient Rome*, page 90: "I was not, I was. I am not, I care not." (*Non fui, fui, non sum, non curo.*) This sentiment was so freely used that it is indicated now and then merely by the initial letters, N. F., F., N. S., N. C.

It seems that William Kingdon Clifford must have been acquainted with old Roman epitaphs.

I understand that Professor Abbott got his data from the book by G. W. Ven Bleek, *Quae de hominum post mortem condicione doceant carmina sepulcratia Latina.*

PERRY B. PRESTON.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

VITAL PROBLEMS OF RELIGION. By the Rev. J. R. Cohu. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1914. Pp. 289. Price, 5 shillings net.

Every generation has to settle the religious problem over again according to the world-conception that has become dominant, and the rector of Aston Clinton, Rev. J. R. Cohu, presents us with his solution which is backed up by an introduction from the pen of the Lord Bishop of S. Asaph. Mr. Cohu's solution will be satisfactory to a large number of thinking men who are Christians at the bottom of their hearts and try to save as much of their creeds as possible. In this sense Mr. Cohu goes over the field of religious ideas and endorses the principles in great outlines without entering into the details, and at the bottom of these principles he finds the thought that if evolution is traceable in the world and if nature is ordained by law, it is an indication that an intellectual being dominates it, and that the leading ideas of Christianity must be true. We will epitomize his book in extracts characteristic of the different arguments here proposed. Mr. Cohu says:

"Definitions are always troublesome, and religion is the most troublesome of words to define. It has to cover every shade and grade of soul-attitude, from palæolithic man's thrill of shudder in the presence of earthquakes and primeval-forest dangers, right up to the heart-experience of a Christ. And for the religious sense to awaken, either in savage or philosopher, all that is needed is to be alive to the facts and mysteries of life. In the presence of an immense universe, evil and death, the same religious shudder thrills savage and philosopher alike, and forces a sigh which is the birth of prayer. 'Out of the deep I cried unto Thee, and Thou heardest me.' (Page 15)...."

"If we are to find the clue to the sphinx-riddle of existence, we must seek it, not in material nature or through science, but in the human heart. Personality is the gateway through which we must pass to all true knowledge of God, man, nature, if we are to see them as an organic whole (31)....

"Surely, this unity of plan, this sense of values, this onward and upward tendency to ever higher ends, one and all contradict Haeckel's explanation of evolution as 'a redistribution of matter in motion under the influence of blind force.' When we see stones carefully cut into shape and put into place and emerging into a cathedral, we do not speak of the process as a redistribution of matter in motion under the influence of blind force; we look upon the cathedral as the expression of an artist's idea. Professor Dewey is right. Admit evolution, and you must admit intelligence, will and purpose in and behind this evolution as its driving-power and its key. The universe is one scheme, and mind is the meaning of it (60-61)....

"The God nature reveals is only an indwelling God closely akin to the God of pantheism, and, as already said, we want more than an idealized world-reason or world-soul. We want a God who is transcendent as well as immanent, and we shall never grasp his immanence till we grasp his transcendence. And it is only through the door of our reason and conscience that we can escape from the semi-panteism of nature (86)....

"Man's personality is ever one and the same, creative, self-conscious and self-directing. Our heart and mind and will are the soul's faculties or channels of self-expression, and, as proceeding from one and the same soul, you never find them apart. Our personality has an ideal which it presents to us as a categorical imperative. This ideal is ever with us and shows us 'the face of our birth,' the self God means us to be. Thus it makes us dissatisfied with what we actually are, and creates the soul-hunger or unrest we all feel. Man, if he is to obey the soul's categorical imperative and achieve its ideal, must have freedom of will. He must be able to be and to do what he knows he ought to do and to be. Besides our conscious self, we also have a larger self which we call our subconscious or our subliminal mind (154-155)....

"If history proves anything, it is that an absolute idea is being evolved in the universe. Whatever the language in which we express this idea, whether we say, with Matthew Arnold, 'there is a power not ourselves that makes for righteousness,' or with Tennyson, 'through the ages an increasing purpose runs,' or, with Christ, call it 'the coming of the Kingdom of God,'—we agree that, in and through men, God is working for a definite end (193-194)....

"Jesus Christ is Son of Man and Son of God. Essentially one in nature with God and man, Jesus in his own self realized the at-one-ment of man with God. He is the first-born among many brethren. In him dwelleth the grace and truth and love of God bodily. God was in him reconciling the world unto himself. Through the spirit of Jesus God is drawing all men unto himself to rise to the fulness of their stature as sons of God. Jesus is our Way, our Truth, our Life.

"There is a Holy Catholic Church, a communion of saints, and a baptism of the spirit for the remission of sins." (282).

Thoughtful though Mr. Cohu's expressions are he will not be regarded as helpful to those who look for an adjustment of the difficult questions which modern science has forced upon the Christian believer. He does not recognize

the weight of scientific arguments, and to the question "Are the facts of science objective facts?" he replies with a decided "No" (p. 120). He argues that the only objective facts we know are our sensations and thoughts. All our other knowledge is only inferred from these. On the other hand he answers the question, "Are the assertions of religion mere make-belief?" as follows: "Here my facts are real objective facts. But personality, or the human heart and mind and will, is precisely the field of religion. Therefore the facts of religion, far from being mere make-believe, are objective facts far more real than those of science, Q. E. D."

The result is that he deems the religious problem answered by allowing science to be satisfied with its own insufficiency. He says (pages 114-115):

"The old view works out right in practice, and that is the best test of value. Of what earthly use are these metaphysical hair-splittings? I prefer sober English common-sense to metaphysics made in Germany."

Mr. Cohu agrees with Tyrrell when he says (page 238):

"We want no religion of intellectualism that buries its head in the clouds of the abstract and substitutes the absolute for the Babe of Bethlehem or the Man of Calvary." Mr. Cohu adds: "An accurately defined intellectual creed would rob worship of all warmth and beauty, and probably rob simple souls of their faith."

The application of this principle is expressed on page 236 as follows:

"'Revise our creeds,' is one of the popular cries to-day. God forbid! These old creed-makers wrought better than they knew. They may not have formulated, signed, sealed and delivered articles of faith for all time, but in the Nicene Creed they came so near it that modern thought endorses its every word, with the possible excision of two words ('virgin,' 'third'). It is the most inspired piece of writing outside the Bible." κ

SECOND CHARACTERS OR THE LANGUAGE OF FORMS. By the Right Honourable Anthony, Earl of Shaftesbury. Edited by *Benjamin Rand*, Ph. D., Cambridge: University Press, 1914. Pp. 182. Price 7s. 6. net.

Miss Jourdain's article in the June *Open Court* on "The Boldest of the English Philosophers" will call to mind the third Earl of Shaftesbury's place in the world of English art and criticism. The *Second Characters* (which followed his better known work *Characteristics*) contains four treatises: A Letter Concerning Design, a Notion of the Historical Draught of Hercules, The Picture of Cebes, and Plastics. This last treatise is made up of 23 small essays. In his preface Dr. Rand says: "Like Plato, Shaftesbury realized that you must surround the citizens with an atmosphere of grace and beauty if you desire to instil noble and true ideas in the mind. And animated by the inspired purpose of reviving and elevating art, particularly in England, his remaining strength was steadfastly applied to the production of *Second Characters*."

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