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

VOL. XXXVI (No. 8)

AUGUST, 1922

NO. 795

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EMPEROR KWANG-HSU, Emperor of China in 1875.

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THE PHILOSOPHY OF TANG-SZU-TUNG.

BY KIANG SHAO-YUEN.

The Science of Love by Tang-Szu-Tung hastened the modernization of China. Written by one who had labored and died for the cause of national readjustment and reconstruction, the book could not fail to exert great influence upon the nation. The cause it advocated had grown increasingly powerful. The nation was in the critical period of transition.

His book quickened the coming of constitutional and democratic government. It voiced the necessity of a revision of traditional morality as the basis of industrial, economic, political and social reforms. It justified the adoption of scientific education and scientific culture. It emphasized the unity of human life; and cor roborated the efforts to realize this unity by the abolition of distinctions and the erection of a social life based on the principle of equality.

The new spirit that appealed to the future instead of the past—the spirit that had faith in progress—was immensely reinforced by the array of facts Tang-Szu-Tung presented. The dawning upon the Chinese mind of a new internationalism was hastened by his appeal for the sharing with foreign nations of commercial, political, intellectual and religious life.

Influenced by the best Christian missionary work, he made a synthesis of the Christian gospel of "love" and the message of certain Chinese teachers, such as Methi (b. 500-490, d. 426-416 B. C.) who had stressed "all-inclusive love". Following this thread, Tang-Szu-Tung separated from Confucianism the ethical system based on the "five relationships" which he thought inferior to the ethic

of "love"; placed the emphasis upon the idealistic aspect of Confucianism; and thus opened the way to a reinterpretation of that religion, such as would make it accord more with the demands of new China. In similar fashion he marked out a new path for the development of Buddism, more in tune with "this-world". Thus, he abolished the ancient incompatibility of religion and life, married the struggle for secular achievement to the struggle for religious emancipation, and identified the two goals, though, as might have been expected, he retained certain traditional elements, reference to which will be made later in this essay. What is clearly apparent is the modernization of both Confucianism and Buddhism.

The Science of Love is one of the most widely read and discussed books in Modern China. Factors in its popularity are its boldness of speech, its originality and depth of thought, its powerful pleading for reformation and progress in the name of the old ethical and religious system of the land (Confucianism and Buddhism). The fact that its author was immolated resulted in making his name known to all intelligent Chinese, in making him beloved by all progressive Chinese. Prohibition of the reading of his book by the Manchu government only gave it additional prestige. Ten years ago, to have failed to read it was disgrace for an educated Chinese. The writer of this essay remembers—as a child of thirteen-receiving advice from his brother as to "what to read"; the second volume on that prescribed list was The Science of Love. It appeals to various classes for various reasons. A Buddhist finds the author preaching Buddhism, bringing its meaning and message to a new public. For a reader without Buddhist sympathies, there is stimulation in the polemic against the virtues of frugality or of chastity. A Confucian finds in it a new way of interpreting his system. An anti-Confucianist is intrigued by Tang's criticism of traditional Confucian morality. The opponent of Christianity is disarmed because Christianity is treated as a religion, not the religion, and as a religion which serves the same function as others, viz., the overthrowing of boundaries and inequalities; moreover, here he finds rejected the Christian dogmas of original sin, final judgment, the "soul". The radical finds the book palatable because it undermines those pillars of conservatism -caste morality and absolute monarchism.

That Tang's reinterpretation of Confucianism and Buddhism has been accepted by some sections of these faiths in China, is

evidenced on every side. Reformers are re-making and developing the ancient faiths according to Tang's prescription.

* * * * * *

We pass on to describe the man and his history.

Tang-Szu-Tung was born at his father's house in Peking in 1865, the year of Lincoln's assassination. In company with his two elder brothers, he began at the age of five years his education under a tutor. Seven years later, his eldest brother, his second sister, and his beloved mother, died within five days. Later, his father's concubine treated him very harshly and from his thirteenth to his nineteenth year he went back and forth from Hunan, the original home of his father, to Kanshu, in which province his father was a district mayor.

His physique was remarkable. He enjoyed sports, taking keen delight in boxing, riding, and the use of bow and arrow. During one winter, he traveled on horseback for seven successive days and nights, a distance of 1600 lis in snow-covered solitary mountains, with one soldier as body-guard. At twenty, he served for a short time in the Chinese army in Chinese Turkestan (Sinkiang, "The New Territory"). During the next ten years, he traveled extensively in northwest and south China. The year 1893 found him in Shanghai, where he first came in contact with western scientific progress. (Naívely delighted he had his "picture" taken in company with two friends). There also he obtained many Chinese books on western science, history, politics and Christian literature, the Bible included.

The next year, when he attained the age of thirty, the Sino-Japanese War began and Tang's period of extensive traveling within the Chinese Empire and his intensive study of literature came to an end. But before this period closed, and in spite of his constant moving from one place to another, he had composed a great number of essays and poems which he preserved and edited, evidently with a view to future publication.

The next two years witnessed a complete change in him. He was "born again". Heretofore, although the son of a provincial governor, and not without some realization of the burning needs of his country, (he had some leanings to a military life), Tang had devoted himself largely to the study of commentaries on Confucian classics, philology, literary and historical criticism, archeology, and the cultivation of the art of writing essays and of seal-

carving. His interests had been catholic in the extreme; embracing almost all lines of study known to the Chinese scholars of his day. Tang was a model of the "Old Learning".

The conclusion in 1894 of the Sino-Japanese War, with its peace treaty that gave Formosa to China's victor Japan, awakened all thinking Chinese to the importance of occidental physical sciences and practical arts, and to the power of strong organization. Thousands of young men applied themselves with genuine earnestness to the study of these subjects; they saw the blood dripping from the wounds of the nation; many were those who felt the national humiliation and sought for retaliation. Amid this national awakening and universal demand for "New Learning", Tang, now a man of thirty-one, pushed aside his copious notes of ancient inscriptions and octavo volumes of commentaries and "complete works" of literary men, and occupied himself with Newton's three laws of motion, with Kepler's whirling solar system, with the Magna Charta, and with algebraic equations. He gathered about him a number of men in his father's home town, and organized them into a society for the promotion of learning. They held frequent meetings for discussions of current problems and for mutual encouragement, moral and intellectual.

In the same year, the famous Self-Defense League was formed, led by Kang Yu Wei. The league was dedicated to the reformation of China along educational, industrial, economic and military lines, to be carried out by the government through the agencies of newspapers and pamphlets and lectures. Two branches were maintained, one in Peking, the other in Shanghai; and enlightened patriots flocked there from all parts of the Empire. Tang went to Peking via Shanghai with the purpose of meeting this group of advocates, especially their leader, Kang Yu Wei. Arriving at Peking, he found Kang had already left for Kwangtung; but Kang's pupil, Liang-Chi-Chao, welcomed him and poured into his eager mind the Master's system of teaching, and outlined a programme of reform constructed with reference to present needs, planned in the hope of a grander and ever-perfecting future, and set in the back-ground of naturalistic idealism.

Kang was a Confucianist and kept referring his ideas to Confucian classics, thereby giving them a Confucian sanction and form. He was also familiar with Buddhist philosophy. Kang's inspiring thought was eagerly accepted by Tang-Szu-Tung, whose mental hori-

zon was greatly widened, his life given a more positive tone, and his thought a new line of development.

The next year was one of intensive study in the city of Nan-king, interrupted only by a few short trips to Shanghai to help the propaganda. Both Confucian and Christian literature, but principally Buddhist works borrowed from the famous Buddhist layman Yang Wen Hwei, were studied, side by side with Chinese books on physical science, western history and western government. Considering the short time and the wide variety of subjects, his accomplishment is remarkable. The Science of Love his most important writing, was produced within this year.

During the first of these years, the three highest officials in his native province Hunan, with the active support of the gentry, attempted to carry out in that province all the new projects suggested by the reform party. A large number of vigorous and enlightened men, among whom were Liang Chi Chao and Tang-Szu-Tung, were called to the provincial metropolis to open up new enterprises. Tang proposed and organized steamship navigation, the opening of two mines, the building of a railway connecting Hunan and Kwangtung, a civil service school, a military training school, and a citizens' voluntary Defense League. In addition, he formed a society for the Promotion of Learning of South China, and became its President, and as such, its chief lecturer. This society functioned in two ways: first, in conducting frequent meetings of responsible citizens for the discussion of questions and projects in which the welfare and interest of the community were involved, intending it to be the embryo of a municipal council; second, in arranging public lectures to disseminate knowledge and to inculcate patriotism in the mind of the masses. The great social and commercial activity in the Empire and in other great nations, and the interpretation of the meaning of such activity; the function and nature of government, the responsibility of citizens towards the nation and their community, the challenge of the present deplorable conditions of the nation and the call for devotion and sacrifice, were the themes of these lectures.

Upon a special recommendation, Tang was summoned the next year to the imperial court by Emperor Kuang Hsü. Kuang Hsü became Emperor in 1875 when but a mere boy, and until 1889 was a mere figurehead, the power being in the hand of his aunt, the Empress Dowager. Even after the latter year, intrigue in the

imperial family strained the relations between the Emperor and Empress Dowager. But Kuang Hsü saw in the face of constant foreign oppressions and national humiliations the pressing need of reforms. In 1898 he began to give vent to his progressive ideas, and issued edict after edict making sweeping changes in the old regime, such as the modification of the examination system, the establishment of modern public schools, and the reorganization of the military system. Most of the edicts may be traced to the pens of a number of young men whom the Emperor, following the advice and recommendations of one or two high officials, had raised to more responsible positions. The most famous of these reformers were Kang Yu Wei, now a "practice secretary" in Tsung-li-Ya-men, Liang-Chi-Chao, now the chief of the Bureau of Translation and Publication, and four others, Tang-Szu-Tung included, now raised to the fourth rank of officialdom and appointed practice secretaries in the Keung-Chi-Chu. Fear of the Empress Dowager prevented the Emperor's putting them into higher and more responsible positions. Yet through a genuine desire to carry out reforms and to build around him a party of choice and able men whom he could trust, he put these obscure and subordinate officials into higher positions so that he could consult with them personally and frequently,

But the time was not ripe for reform. Kuang Hsü's shrewdness was of no avail. Discontent was generated by reactionary officials, both Manchu and Chinese. The Emperor's efforts to explain through edicts the need and purpose of reform availed nothing. The Empress Dowager left the Summer Palace and came back to seize the reins of government; she was supported by all the conservative officials in prominent positions, and by the army. A coup d'état took place September 22, 1898. The Emperor was confined. The Dowager was installed with ceremony. An edict was issued that same day for the arrest of Kang Yu Wei, and the news reached Tang as he was entertaining a visitor, Liang Chi Chao. Tang asked the latter to go to the Japanese minister at Peking to see if something could be done to save Kang, and himself waited in his residence for the military authorities to arrest him. Not being molested that day, Tang took the opportunity the following day to deposit with Liang Chi Chao at the Japanese Legation the Mss. of his writings and his family correspondence. These are his words to Liang: "If none goes away, the future of our cause is forfeited; if none lingers and suffers death, there would be nothing to pay back the debt we owe to the good Emperor. The fate of our Master the Nan-hai (i. e. Kang Yu Wei) is still unknown. Let you and me divide the work among us; you carry away with you the burden of our cause, as Chen-Yin carried the orphan, and I will shed my blood here in my birthplace". They embraced each other and parted henceforth.

Tang went back to his residence and discussed with a spadassin some scheme to free Emperor Kuang Hsü. For three days nothing could be done. On September 25th three Japanese liberals called on Tang and urged him with all kinds of arguments to flee from Peking to Japan. But Tang stood firm on his decision to stay. When they continued to urge him to leave, they heard him saying, "In every nation on the earth, no Reformation has ever been accomplished without the shedding of blood. So far in China the shedding of blood for the sake of Reformation is unheard of, and that is the reason why the country is still in the grip of conservatism. I shall be the first one to die for the reformation cause!" The next day he was arrested. On September 29, 1898, he and his five colleagues were publicly beheaded. They are the "Six Martyrs of the Year Wu-Hsu", whom the Chinese will remember for all ages to come.

It was the Manchu Empress Dowager who put him to death; it was the unripe and evil society which killed him through her. But he died for the cause of bettering Humanity through bettering China, and it was his philosophy which inspired him to live a life of noble endeavor and to die a martyr's death.

Before analyzing in detail *The Science of Love*, it will be well to recall the spirit and the form of its author's thought.

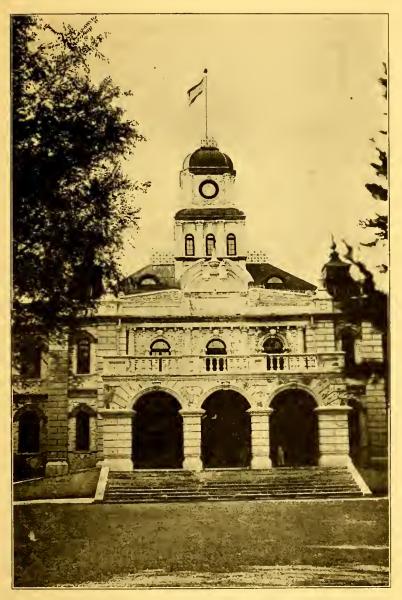
As to the spirit, Tang never lost the sense of his painful child-hood with its tragic bereavements. This affected his thought as profoundly as his sympathy for his nation, his hatred of its sordid life, of the evil and choking oppression of effeminate Manchu rule, of the conservatism and inertia of its civilization, and the tyranny of other nations. His passionate desire is to serve men, to reform his nation, to lift the Chinese life to a higher level, to create brighter and happier families in a free atmosphere, to unite not only his own nation but all nations, to break down all walls and barriers which divide men from each other, in family life, social and po-

litical life, in international life. Tang's passion is to baptize the world with one pervading love. His dynamic hope is the Buddhist hope of Perfection in the Mahayanic form—a hope be retained because he had identified it with secular human achievement and social progress. In the light of this hope he sees a strong, prosperous and free China; a blossoming, healthy, spontaneous Chinese life; a united, harmonious and co-operative humanity. This is the spirit which animates his work.

The form of his thought has the following content. His cosmos is a vast realm of thousands of atomic, rising and disintegrating worlds, looked at through both Buddhist vision and astronomical telescope and biological microscope. His Man is flesh, bones, organs, cells, plus a Christian soul interpreted to mean Buddhist Bodhi. His instruments are (i) for struggling Mankind; politics, religion, and learning; (ii) for struggling individuals, Love untainted by the sense of distinction of whatever kind, and Science which analyses in order to show that distinction do not exist and to support the ethical feeling and practice of universal Love.

Tang's keywords are: Love, unity, equality, breaking inequalities, no distinction of self and others, action, courage, striving, forward-moving, fearlessness.

What is The Science of Love? In its fifty sections readers will find a series of vigorous and interesting discussions of various kinds of problems touching the Chinese life. In order to grasp the significance of the book, it is nece sary to di cern the underlying purpo e and spirit which gives the seemingly loosely-connected sections a singular inner unity. Then, approached from the standpoint of the author, it will reveal itself as a personal confession of faith or a religious interpretation of life, written with two objects. First, it is an intellectual articulation of, and religious justification for, the neces ity of cultural changes in China. The reasons for change are the rise of a new and more vigorous civilization in the West and a rising nation in the East; the corruption of Chine-e government in the hands of Manchu victors; the demonstrated weakness of the nation in dealing with other nations; the rise of new international and economic conditions. All these dangers call for radical readju tment of the life of China's age-long civilization if the downfall of her culture and national life are to be averted. Second, it is written to call out loyalty, to give direction and courage, and to instill new hopes in the nation's sons who are now summoned to face the new perplexing situations. It calls them to take up the responsibility for the building up of a free, reformed, and pro-



AUDITORIUM OF THE NANKING TEACHERS' COLLEGE. gressive nation, secure in the international life, forming a part in the international order, and, after security is achieved, paints

the vision of nations and races marching together to the goal of an elevated, harmonious and peaceful state of human life.

Of the twenty-seven propositions given at the beginning of the work, which is but a medium sized volume, divided into two parts, twenty-four aim to set forth the various aspects of the author's conception of life and the universe. The remaining three name the Chinese and foreign (Confucian, Christian, Buddhist) classics and books and also modern sciences whose mastery is considered by him to be absolutely necessary for its classification of mind, for penetrating the mystery and meaning of life, and for an understanding of right conduct in life, or in his own words, for "the practice of the Science of Love". The preface, written after the completion of the work, states his life experience, his dominant desires, and the sources and form of the interpretation itself.

Tang's philosophy declares that:

- (1) There is one all-pervading and omnipresent substance, which he calls ether. This ether is the basis of all things, whether organic or inorganic. Its manifestations in nature at large are electrical waves, force and atoms; in Man, physical body and Consciousness having its seat in the brain. Since Ether is one, the Universe with its manifestations, its infinite numbers of vast solar systems and minute particles, is one. Everything is it, therefore everything is I. The most subtle manifestation of Ether in Nature is Electricity and in Man neurological Consciousness. Indeed, neurological consciousness is but form-possessing electricity, and electricity formless-consciousness. Now, if we have demonstrated the brain as that which makes us conscious of the unity of our organs and parts and limbs as one body, we must further seek to know that Electricity in the same manner connects all organic and inorganic beings into one body.
- (2) Since the whole universe, in virtue of the one absolute permeating Ether as its basis, is one body or organic being, and since a perfectly healthy body is concerned with, sensitive and responsive to, whatever happens to all other parts of the body, we therefore should be concerned with and respond to whatever happens to our fellowmen, nay, the whole animate creation. In other words, since there is free communication or mutual response in all parts of a healthy body, there should be in the same manner free communication or mutual response between all human beings. That we human beings have failed to realize our unity with the

whole universe and have been egoists, each minding his private interests, in ignorance or even at the expense of the interest of others, is to Tang-Szu-Tung a tragedy and an abnormality; all the castes and classes we set up, all the distinctions we carefully make, and all the cruelties we heartlessly tolerate and indulge in, are, in his words, self-mutilation similar to the cutting up into small pieces of one's own body. All insensibility to the pains and needs and cries of others is—to this sensible soul—self-paralysis.

(3) The virture (the only virtue we need to cultivate) is Love—Love that knows no differing or opposing interests, that is the realization of our unity with all, of our literal oneness with all. Tang-Szu-Tung is not the first Chinese thinker in history to emphasize Love, but he is probably the first to reduce all virtues into the one virtue of Love. The main categories of cardinal virtues in Chinese ethics are the triple Wisdom, Love and Courage, the five virtues of Love, Justice, Propriety, Wisdom and Faithfulness, and also the category of Loyalty (to Emperors), Filial Piety, Purity and Fidelity (of women to men).

Tang argues, however, that Love, psychologically, is the only original virtue. He sustains his thesis in this way: Love is knowledge or Wisdom embodied in actions; Love produces Courage which is demanded in actions; Love calls out co-ordination and co-operation which are the essence of Justice; Love gives rise naturally to Faithfulness, and ends in actions we call Propriety; hence Love is everything; Wisdom, Courage, Justice, Faithfulness, and Propriety are only the effects of Love.

Further, he argues that Love is the only primal and final Virtue. Loyalty (of subjects to rulers), Filial Piety and Fidelity (of women to men) are, in contrast, but artificial, impartial virtues. This he proves as follows: Love is owed to all by all and claimed by all from all; but when Kings, fathers and husbands came along to claim the right of taking love without the desire to give it, the right of being served without the wish to serve, they distorted Love, and reduced it to these partial and artificial virtues of Loyalty, Filial Piety, and Fidelity. The result was slavery and selfishness. Hence Love is the first and the last virtue, free and yet binding; all else is bondage. "Therefore" says Tang, "all founders of religion, Buddha, Confucius, and Jesus, speak only of Love; when they refer to other virtues, they are simply employing

"names" already formed and social usage, in order to make clear the application of Love and to help men to come into harmony with ease. Could anything hold a position equal with Love?"

(4) What is Love? In a universe in which Love prevails, all beings are equally concerned with the weal and woe of all others, as parts and limbs in a healthy body are concerned with the welfare of each other and ever ready to come to the relief of each other. The medical name of bodily paralysis in Chinese is "nolove". So Tang comments, "when there is no-Love, the parts of a body are like separate territories to each other. So when there is Love, separate territories must belong to each other like the parts of a body. Even when separate territories are made to belong to each other like parts of a body even that is not the highest realization of Love. For are not separate territories throughout the universe actually one body?"

More concretely, Love means, and demands as its one essential condition, free and unrestrained "Communication", that is giving and taking. Communication is fourfold (a) Communication between the Nation, i. e., China, and surrounding nations, which Tang claimed to have been hinted at in the classic Spring and Autumn: (b) communication between the ruling and the ruled; (c) communication between the male and the female. These two he claimed to have been implied in the Classic of Changes; and (d) communication between one's own self and others, which he found clearly taught in Buddhist sutras.

The present writer likes to think of Tang-Szu-Tung's "four communications" and one Love as an important step in the advancement or growth or expansion of Chinese ethical thought. It is evident that they are, on the negative side, the beginnings of modern Chinese criticism of, and revolt from, traditional Ethics; and, on the positive side of the process, the first step towards establishing new political, social, sex, and international morality. His "Communication between the ruling and the ruled" is a cry for Constitution and Parliament, a protest against Manchu despotism, and an anticipation of political democracy in present-day China.

¹ The conception of "name" is a very important one in historical Chinese philosophy. An adequate treatment of it is a task that falls outside the present essay. Suffice it to say that Tang is the first Modern Chinese to repudiate this conception with the instrument of Taoistic and Buddhistic logic; he recognized the havoc it had wrought in Chinese family, social and political life.

His "communication between the male and the female" is a voice raised against woman seclusion and an anticipation of the present Woman Emancipation Movement. His "communication between the Nation and surrounding nations" vindicates international commerce in China, and China's closer intercourse with other nations, urging her to struggle for her rightful place among the nations of the world. The following words of Tang may be quoted in this connection:

"When they (i. e., other nations) have attained greater prosperity than we, we are to learn from them; when they are in greater turmoil than we, we are to save them. It is possible for us to share with them a common learning, a common government, and a common religion. What arguments then can be advanced against such a small institution as international commerce?"

(5) Although Tang makes much of the "communications" between ruler and ruled, male and female, nation and nations, he has no conception of these distinctions as eternal and alterable. That would be to argue merely for amelioration. He is too conscious of the evils that caste has brought upon China. He protests against the accepted standard, category, and content of morality. That is not to say he proclaimed openly the abolition of monarchy, or the reorganization of the Chinese family on the basis of equality and But he prepared the way for this generation, by his polemic against traditional ethics, the foundation of that which existed, the absolutism of which had been unchallenged. He did denounce the three categories of Ruler and Subjects, Father and Son, Husband and Wife. He reduced the ethics of the Five relationships to that of the last one, Friends and Friend, arguing that the ethics of the first four Relationships must be subsumed under this one category. These are his words: "We all indulge in discussing Reform; yet we allow the Five Relationships to stand unaltered. In my opinion, so long as the ethics of the Five Relationships are not removed, all great principles can have no soil for germination. How much more is it so with reference to the Three Categories?"

Having regard to the fact that even today, as in Tang's time. Chinese leaders assert the possibility of introducing occidental mechanical arts, the factory system of production, large scale commerce, scientific education, while they wish to preserve the old Chinese ethics and the social arrangement which these ethics

sanction, Tang's pronouncement is truly remarkable. Were all other elements left out of *The Science of Love*, this insight would win for the book a unique place in the history of Chinese thought.

Again, though he made no suggestion of a concrete world organization, he has the vision, already hinted at, of a Humanity realizing its unity, sharing a common Learning, Government, Religion. "The principle of the Classics of Spring and Autumn is", he writes, "that the world is one family. There are natural geographical units; but there should not be separate peoples. We live on the common earth; and nothing will keep us permanently divided into nations. Nations will lose their power of control over men. When this comes to pass, where will the power of control be? It will be invested in no other than Learning—Learning as that into which all powers flow, and are absorbed!"

Finally, several quotations may be made to bring out the meaning of "communication between one's own self and others". In discussing the time-honored Chinese notion that men's craftiness in dealing with each other is silently brewing a great calamity, which if not averted before its ripening, will eventually fall upon the community, Tang offers "compassion", a term used by Buddhists as the solvent or antidote. "When Compassion prevails," he says, "I will treat all others as my equals and thereby be relieved of any fear of them; others will treat me as their equal and be relieved of their fears of me. Then Fearlessness will exile Craftiness. One of Buddha's epitaphs is 'the Great Fearless'. His ministry of saving me is through the offering of Fearlessness". After a few sentences, Tang continues, "Let those who desire to avert the great calamity by the power of mind, make the vow that he will labor not only for the salvation of China but for the wholesale salvation of even the most secure and prosperous occidental nations, and in addition, of all animate beings. For his spiritual power can not be increased if his mind is not fair." 2 In the 49th section he discusses the relation between personal salvation and cosmic salvation, i. e., the salvation of others, in the following words: "But if the labor for cosmic salvation is not preceded by that for

² The idea of salvation of all animate beings is in effect the intensification of the Confucian doctrine of extension of Love to men as well as animals, and is originally tied up with the Buddhist scheme of salvation. The Christian limitation of soul to human beings alone is so un-Buddhist and un-oriental that Tang devotes a whole section in his book to its repudiation.

personal salvation, one will find his Wisdom insufficient for practical purposes and at last the bankruptcy of his power of saving others. If he should be from the very beginning absorbed in the labor for personal salvation, he would have to struggle on in entire negligence of the welfare of "natural beings", which is evidently in contradiction to his original purpose. Shall we give priority to the task of personal or of cosmic salvation? I reply: the difficulty arises from a false distinction of self and other selves. Listen! The truth is this: In the light of the vision that there is no self outside other selves and no other selves outside one's own self, personal salvation and cosmic salvation are identical."



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Here it is obvious that Tang assumes the Buddhist Vidjnanâvadin psychology as the basis of his theory as to the relation of self and selves; also, he accepts the Buddhist mental discipline which aims at the destruction of Mana-consciousness as the ultimate means of arriving at that state of mind in which all ideas of difference and distinction between self and not-self disappear. To explain at length the elaborate system of Buddhist psychology is outside the range of this paper.

(6) But, in spite of his recommendation of the fanciful Buddhist mental discipline as the method for reaching that sublime

state of mind in which one understands all and loves all; in spite of his exaltation of Love over Knowledge; Tang has ample reason for assigning to Science a place—a very important place in Man's struggle for the embodiment of love, or, better, for the knowledge of Love. He welcomes Science not merely because it gives us power of control over nature and enriches our material life, but because, to his way of thinking, it leads to the highest wisdom. Let us see how he justifies himself here.

By recognizing Ether as the one all-inclusive and all-pervading spiritual substance, Tang is incurably a Monist; he conceives existence as one absolute existence. When a man fails to realize this living truth concerning existence and becomes self-centric, he views and measures all things surrounding him with reference to himself. Hence, such a person minimizes or magnifies things which are smaller or larger than his thought of himself; he names things which are contingent to, or farther away from him in space as near or far; and in time as present, past or future; his "self" is but a little drop in the ocean of existence; the rest is "not-self". Woe to him! His consciousness will be full of false distinctionsbigness and smallness, longevity and shortness, now-ness and thenness, here-ness and there-ness, self and not-self; his mind will be disturbed by false fears and hopes; his Love will be limited; his life will be made miserable by clinging to, by exclusive engagement with, petty things and selfish plans.

The road to the Temple of Absolute Existence is paved with bricks of non-distinction. None who sees the Universe as distinct and separate blocks-this block and that block, I-block and youblock; none who views the Universe as pieces, or heaps of pieces, nearer and farther; none who views the Universe with diseased and short-sighted eyes can command the vision of the grand whole. Throw away distinctions! Then you will understand and Love. "In order to break distinctions", Tang writes, "we must first of all build up Science. But in order to do this, we must in turn discriminate distinctions. . . there is neither this nor that; this is but that and that is but this; it matters not whether it is or is not known; there is nothing to be known—this is what I call the breaking of distinction." To elucidate Tang's thought here, a passage preceding that just quoted may be given: "All these distinctions are endless deceptions. The occidental science serves remarkably as the key to unlock the whole mystery; what expands can be contracted, what is invisible can be made visible, what disappears can be collected and preserved, what is extinct can be revitalized; sound and light are intangible, but can be caught as if they were substantial; matter is impenetrable, but can become transparent. If the study of sound, light, chemistry, electricity, gas and kinetic, are pursued with ever greater success, all distinctions will probably be undermined".

He conclues his argument thus: "That which attempts to discriminate distinctions is what is called in the Occident Logic, and is just that method of argumentation employed by Kung-Sun-Lung and Hweh-Shi, and Logic is what a seeker of truth should start with. From Logic proceeds Mathematics which is the application of the principles of Logic to the study of figures". (He is thinking of geometry). "Further, from Mathematics comes Science which is the application of both Logic and Mathematics, and is the instrument of a seeker in the next stage. When Science has been pursued to its completion, and the breaking up of all distinctions accomplished thereby, then a seeker obtains the consummate truth".

Evidently, Tang surrendered to the Buddhi t doctrine of One Absolute Existence and No-Distinctions because of its ethical idealism. He embraced Western science because it abolished the closed Universe of fixed and irreducible categories and set up a fluid, therefore more acceptable universe. Here is a Chinese instance of absolute idealism which leaves room for change. Regarding Love as the law of life demanded by one Absolute Existence, and "Learning" as the means of realizing that Existence, hence of gaining vision into the inner necessity of Love, Tang's own name for his work is The Learning of Love. Wisdom gives the true Knowledge, it is the rationale of Love—this is the essence of the teaching. The present writer translates the title of the book as The Science of Love because Tang identifies Science and "Learning" in the preface, and in the body of the work (p. 12a, part 2) speaks of Science as the "substance" of "Learning", and of the successful completion of Science as the consummate stage of a "learner".

(7) What saved Tang, in spite of his Absolutism, from accepting a static view of the universe, with its corollaries of acquiescence in what exists and submission to evil, was (in the present writer's opinion) the urgent need of radical changes in Chinese national and social life, the new strength of the idea of progress conferred by evolutionary and experimental science, (which came to

him from afar), the ancient emphasis upon full, rich and creative life embodied in Confucianism, and, finally, the cosmic emotion—cosmic compassion, the courage of cosmic revolution—in Mahayanic Buddhism.

Tang's view of the constitution of the cosmos has already been delineated (see p. 9). We should add to that Tang's conception of Ether as a flux of "minute coming-into-existences and ceasing-to-be's", a term employed in Buddhist philosophy. The contents of this flux are so minute that they cannot be divided any farther, but as processes they spread out, durate and lengthen into the one eternal substance Ether, a substance that is, in his Buddhist terminology, "neither - coming - into - existence-nor-ceasing-to-be". Thus our author identifies Being and Becoming, and has found that wisdom of "eternity amid changes and immortality in life" which is, according to one distinguished European theologian, the essence of religion.

From this view of the make-up of the cosmos, several very important conclusions are drawn. They are:

(a) "The Oneness of Present, Past and Future".

Under this head, the 16th proposition stated at the beginning of *The Science of Love* is explained. This proposition reads: "There is Past, there is also Future, but there is no Present: both Past and Future are, however, Present". This inference about Time was to be expected. Since the duration of minute-life processes is continuous and all-a-piece, the natural and inevitable corollary is that you cannot cut the duration into unconnected pieces, saying, "this is what comes first, this is what comes after; or this is the precedent, that is the consequent". There is but one Duration. Further, the duration is made up of life-processes following each other so very rapidly that when, and even before, one can ever seize a moment and name it present, it has already been overtaken by the oncoming moments and relegated to the Past. Therefore be cheerful: the Future is ours already; there is but one Eternal Present.

(b) "The harmony of one and many".

All the world-systems in the cosmos, and all living beings in the thousands of world-systems are in the same cosmic stream and have their place in the same duration. "Should all living beings converge in me, I am not made a bit larger; should 1 be distributed among all living beings, I am not made a bit smaller", says Tang. This rather mystical utterance points only to the fact that since I and all others are in the same cosmic stream, I am not alone, not small, can not keep myself within narrow personal limits or consider myself to be without others. Because of the cosmic life which is in all, one is not a grain bigger or smaller than others.

- (8) From the conception of a universe in flux, and of a cosmic present being relegated to a past, Tang easily justifies dynamic change as the law of growth, in both group and individual life. Lao Tze's doctrine of inaction and Chinese conservatism, both historical and contemporary, are forcibly attacked. Words and phrases torn from their context in Confucian classics, Buddhist Sutras, and Christian bible, are quoted in support. Dynamic character, forward-striving life, changes and improvement in the life of the nation, are demanded by the new combination of circumstances. Insofar as Tang contrives to make Confucianism and Buddhism support and justify measures of reconstruction, and to find in their ancient ethical and religious teachings justification for the endeavors of the new age, he is bringing Confucianism and Buddhism in line with the new life and is pouring his new wine into old bottles.
- (9) Tang's prediction of the destiny of our planet is an interesting blending of Confucian hope and Buddhistic vision with his own slender scientific knowledge. Here it is clear that his mind and outlook are by no means purely "scientific". He had received little scientific traning, and moreover, science, in his time and even today, cannot provide direction for all departments of our complex life. Where the self-conscious human spirit questions ultimate things our immature science is silent as to the answers. Imagination, tradition, preconceived ideas, strong desires, announce conclusions which it were better for some to accept. Tang's view of the future of humanity is colored, notwithstanding his knowledge of scientific facts and acceptance of scientific method, by Buddhist notions. He is still indelibly a Buddhist.
 - (a) He accepts the theory of Evolution,³ and the ascending course of human history. The golden age is yet to come; it is not in the past. In the face of hindrances to progress, the disorders attending reforms, he calls for patience, for courage, and the "long"

³ The term "Evolution", though not found in *The Science of Love* appears in a letter written by him to a friend. The First Chinese work on Evolution was published two years before Tang's death and he must have read it.

view". "We should think in the terms of thousands and tens of thousands of years, and not be peering at history through pinholes", he says in one passage.

(b) The third and last period of human development, the period of Great Harmony or the Period of Universal Peace socalled in Kung-Yang's commentary on the Spring and Autumn, is the period when wars, rivalry, jealously, anguish, hatred, selfish desires, and poverty will have ended; boundaries, distinctions, classes will have vanished away; freedom, equality and universal fraternity in one great human family will have been established. There will be no kings or emperors, or even the emperor, but a world-wide democracy; no religious Lords, or even the religious Lord; no religion; because every man and woman will have grown to the full stature of his or her being, and will embody all the qualities and excellences found in the "religious lords", "Fathers will have no need of practicing paternal care and sons no need of filial piety; elder brothers and younger will forget about their friendliness and respect, and husbands and wives their unison". Tang means that all our distinctive virtues are born of and sustained by a divided human life where segregations and groups obtain-born of and sustained by wall-civilization; and therefore will lose their significance and meaning when human life becomes one and cosmic consciousness supersedes group-consciousness. Paternal love, filial piety, and the other (Chinese) family virtues will be meaningless when Humanity becomes one big Family, just as Patriotism will be out-grown when Humanity becomes one Nation. The fanaticism that offers human lives on the altar of abstract, divisive ethical qualities or virtues, will be no more. Says Tang, "Those who wish to produce perfect nations will have to perfect the world; and those who wish to produce perfect families will have to perfect society". He also knows that "when nations are most perfect, there will be no nations; when families are most perfect, there will be no families".

But before this third and final stage is the Second Period of Human Development or the Period of Rising Peace, which Tang allows The Book of Changes to foretell—a period when "all nations on the earth will bow before one King and the followers of all religions before one "religious Lord". Here he is merely relating the opinion of an anonymous person and does not stop to expound it. Elsewhere, however, he sets forth plainly his own opinion that Buddhism, because of its consistent emphasis upon absolute equal-

ity in human relations, and its indication of the ideal state of affairs to be worked out by the human race, will be the religion which will enjoy a limited period of universality till it is lost in the Ocean of Perfection.

(c) Tang knows that in the distant future our earth will gradually change its shape and contour, lose its fertility, its moisture, its life, as a consequence of the cooling of the sun; that it will dissolve into particles which will form new planets. What then for him is the ultimate destiny of Man and his civilization? According to the Mahayanic Buddhist faith, our lives do not originate from Mother Earth; the Earth receives its life from us imperfect and deluded beings. We who have failed to realize the eternal Truth, who live in the prison-house of the "eight-consciousnesses" or "consciousness-bodies" of our own making, have brought the Earth and indeed the whole manifested Universe into existence. Therefore when we have by mental and spiritual discipline dispossessed ourselves of the illusory real "consciousness-body", the earth will vanish with us, its magical makers. We sustain and nurture the Universe in which we transmigrate, and from transmigrations suffer (samsara). The cessation of the Universe is to be coveted-it is our only task, our religious task. The earlier it is accomplished, the better. Thus, Buddhists may be said to be the most radical revolutionists extant; they plot for the life of the cosmos, crying "Down with Everything, including Ourselves!" Tang is still a Buddhist. His initiation into the mystery of Science has not alienated him from Buddhist Dharma. He would not have been disturbed by Bertrand Russell's pessimism in A Free Man's Worship.

Buddhism in the future may be willing to give credit to Tang-Szu-Tung for his identification, or still better, synchronization of the period of the greatest possible human achievement on earth with the period of emancipation or salvation of all men. For his scheme implies that secular achievement and religious duty—secular quest for finite progress and happiness, and religious quest for eternal truth and perfection—are no longer conflicting and mutually exclusive claims but are made one. "Mundane dharma" and "supermundane dharma" are identified, a Chinese Buddhist would say. Each step made in human progress is a religious gain; every discovery in Science and every effort to realize a world-organization, bring nearer salvation.

Tang makes his Man, since emerging from lower forms in the ascent of his destiny, pass three stages. They are the three Confucian epochs or periods of human development, two of which we have discussed. The other which is the first period is that of Turmoil and Discord. Tang had in mind no doubt a synthesis of the Buddhist prospect of Salvation and the Evolutionistic prospect of progress.

A few more sentences will round out the philosophy of Tang. In all probability, he had heard of Malthus' theory of population. But he seems not to have been worried by it. Scientific agriculture will make the soil more productive. Chemistry will prepare artificial food first from the chemical compounds found on the planet and then from the air. Anatomy and physiology will change man's organism to fit it to live on air, like the Taoist ascetic does. They will further "drain away the gross matter of human bodies and retain the subtle-decrease the body and increase the soul". (Note the influence of Christian dualism here). Finally, with the aid of eugenics 4 which improves the racial stock generation after generation, a new race of human beings will emerge as the old race emerged from lower forms of animate life. The new men will embody the accumulated "spirit" of their predecessors as men in the present form embody the accumulated "spirit" of the past evolution. They (the new men) will "use exclusively Intelligence and Force, and possess soul and no body"; they will find it possible to "dwell in water, fire, wind and air, and fly back and forth to the stars and suns and will suffer no harm even when the earth is completely destroyed". Again, in his own words, "when the karma of finite beings ceases, that of the earth also ceases; when the body of finite beings is removed, that of the earth is also removed". "All finite beings will have attained Buddhahood". Universal emancipation through civilization; individual salvation through social progress; realization of Truth through enrichment of finite cosmic life; destruction of life through its enrichment and perfection; religious attainment through scientific control; impartial love as life discipline and analytical Science as intellectual discipline in the realization of the oneness of cosmic life-these are Tang-Szu-Tung's noble though rather fanciful aspirations.

4 What Tang calls the Science of Improving the Racial Stock is probably eugenics if this science was then known to the Chinese.

It may not be amiss to close this essay with a few criticisms of our author, first emphasizing the fact that Tang-Szu-Tung's constructive work is not vitiated by his adherence in some respects to tradition.

He retained many Buddhist ideas, such as Karma, transmigration (samsara), existence of the universe in consciousness (vidjnanvada), and Buddhahood. For these he had no other support than tradition.

He read into Confucianism modern ideas, showing that he had but a slender grasp of the historic method.

He is pre-religious-historic in his notion that Jesus, Confucius, and Buddha are the Nirmanakaya ("manifested bodies") of one Dharmakaya; and that the three religions represented are revelations of truth, each adapted to the time, culture, and mental capacity of its respective age.

He had no historic understanding of any of these three religions, as a consequence of which he entertained the vicious idea that one historic religion, which he happened to find existing in his society, and which was flexible enough to be re-interpreted, (i. e., Buddhism) should be the world-religion. Such an idea engenders religious jealousy and rivalry.

THE "LAW OF PROGRESS".

BY F. W. FITZPATRICK.

S OME time ago I prepared for a certain newspaper a series of sketches illustrating parallels in the rise and fall of ancient Republics. The purpose of that paper's editors was, I suppose, to call the attention of its readers to the pitfalls into which those Republics stumbled and to thereupon build editorials warning its constituents that "like conditions beget like results", that "history repeats itself" and that we were surely plunging into the same maelstrom that engulfed nations that were once great. Howbeit, the points brought forth in these notes provoked some discussion in which I read an oft repeated reference to the "law of progress", a term that grates abominably upon my nerves, a rasping misnomer.

Now I would like to leave the question of whether we are on the road to a downfall like that of the Roman Republic or not to some other time and spend a little while glancing over what we know of that alleged "law of progress" that we have heard about and lived with upon more or less intimate terms since our school days.

The gathering of the authorities was a most fascinating pastime, placing their opinions before you is merely to translate and edit that great mass of data into "readable length", therefore is the task an easy one, a light vacation labor, and if I make it readable I am then well repaid for the work.

The best sign of progress is that there is much talk of progress. True, it is an often misapplied term and one used thoughtlessly: few could really define in what progress really consists. Still it is well that the word should be upon every one's lips, it expresses a tendency toward something on the part of every mind. Garrau aptly puts it that "you may be quite certain of the mediocrity of

an artist who is satisfied with his picture, who thinks it finished and does not desire to add to it, the insufficiency of a virtue that does not wish itself more perfect, likewise you may attest that an age when people do not aspire to higher and better things than they have, that age is a retrogressive one and had better be wiped off the records". This striving, this hope, this effort toward progress is at once the blessing and the danger of our time. Some there are who, in the name of Progress, would have us break our necks to reach a certain point; others in the name of that same Progress would convince us that the surest way of advancing is to go backward. Over-zealous as some may be the movement they impart to a period is a benefit. It persists, forms itself from these implications and divergent tendencies and becomes salutary and corrective.

To claim, however, that there is a "law" of progress is forcing a point. There may be such a law, and some of the higher authorities implicity believe there is, but if there is it certainly has not been made manifest. What are the conditions of progress? Even if these were determined there would still remain the necessity of establishing their relative importance and the precise role each plays in our affairs. What is the object of human development. Is it striving for the happiness of the individual? Or do we each fit in a little cog and by our presence there are turning the great wheel in some one direction, toward some development of purpose that we, alas, are still ignorant of?

From the earliest time man has had a vague consciousness of a faculty of progress which would lead us to believe that it is one of the essential and distinctive characteristics of our species. This has been more or less developed and understood. In China and in India you will find that idea in its lowest developed state, while in Greece and Rome of old it was carried to excess. You will find in the most ancient classics a mass of peculiar notions wherein life, progress, is compared to certain astral revolutions, and periodical evolution of the seasons, the working of a wheel always coming back to the point from which it started. We think our scientists and philosophers have done some wonderfully original thinking, take for instance our theory of evolution; go back to Maximander and you will find that that philosopher claimed that the action of the sun upon the earth when the latter was covered with waters, induced evaporation in the form of pelicules, matrixes containing

minute form of imperfect organisms that, later, developing by degrees, gave birth to all forms of living things; according to him our ancestors were aquatic animals that, living in muddy waters grew accustomed little by little to living upon the land as the latter was formed and were gradually dried out in the sun. If that is not full-fledged evolution, what is? With the Roman poets the idea was well developed. Take Virgil or Horace, how frequently they touch upon the glorious ascension of humanity from savagery to civilization; but they likewise invariably comment upon the decadence of that higher civilization into a posterity more vicious than any of its ancestors.

With the writers of prose, Cicero, Aristotle, Seneca, the idea of progress was something more definite. Seneca, for instance, claimed that nature would always have some new and better secrets to reveal to us but that it would do so gradually and only in the long run of human generations. He deplored that the philosophers of his time thought themselves initiated into the full truths while he could see that they had barely reached the gate of the temple.

The idea of progress was but slowly developed in Pagan times. With the advent of Christianity the idea germinated into stronger life. All the preceding ages were but a preparation, a gradual upbuilding of thought, for the coming of Christ. After him the world was to go on to the day of final judgment, when the perfect life should at last be reached. The middle ages were not particularly propitious to the high understanding of the term "progress". The authors of that time are interesting, however, St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, Roger Bacon, Joaquin de Flore, John of Parma, Gerhard Amaury of Chartres voiced the sentiments of the times. The general notion was that time was divided into three epochs; the age of the Old Testament or of the Father, when all was in preparation, when God manifested his omnipotence and governed by law and fear; the age of the New Testament or the kingdom of the Son, when he revealed himself through mysteries and the Sacrament and the third age, or the government of the Holy Ghost, in a time to come when we will see truth face to face without symbol or veil. You will find the same ideas in Campanella, Paracelce and Dante. It was from that form that the notion of progress passed from the Middle Ages to the period of the Renaissance, the 16th century. It was then that great men, Bodin, Bacon, Descartes and Pascal divested it of its mystic character, secularized it, attempted to determine its elements and follow it in its most diverse applications. That idea has kept on growing in importance until it contaminates all the ideas and speculations of the modern mind. In the 18th century it became known as the "Law of History"; in the 19th century it implied the study of nature and under the name of evolution "it pretends to contain the formula of universal existence."

What will we do with it in the 20th century?

I have before me Marcelli's, Flint's, Rougemont's and Cousin's writings upon "progress"—Garrau calls them the "vestibules to the science of progress." They all endeavor to prove that there is an edifice, yet one may well doubt its existence or feel that it is but an imaginary cathedral that hope has pictured in our minds. How many formulas have been given us and how many systems, and not one that has not been proven erroneous and swept aside by some successor possessing still greater assurance?

Cousin's theory was a most attractive one. His idea was that progress was but the successive appearance upon the stage of history of three ideas that are the very foundation of reasoning; the idea of the infinite, that of the finite and that of the relation between the infinite and the finite. The Orient of long ago was the expression of the first; Graeco-Roman society was the development of the idea of the finite and modern civilization the expression of the relation of both. A theory that would be well enough if man was but reason without heat radiation or activity but there is nothing in it to explain the numberless forces living and complex, instincts, desires, passions and sentiments.

Schelling, Krause, Savigny and Spencer compose another school, and in fact St. Simon, Fourier and Azais may be said to be of the same school though they indulge in more metaphor than do the others who claim for their deductions scientific precision. One group asserts that the different forms of the ascension state are determined by gravitation, by contraction or by expansion—no two of them agree upon which force it really is. Whereas the Spencerian claim that the governing class, the commercial class, the libraries are to the state as the nervo-muscular, circulatory and nutritive systems are to the body of a vertebrate. Garrau rightfully claims that to get down to absolute precision is to ignore the apparent conditions that distinguish physiological phenomena from moral and social phenomena. To pit the latter's theory against

Spencer's theory we must observe that the animal and plant life, properly placed, would increase and multiply to an alarming, if not fatal degree; their development follows but one route, irrevocably outlined and whose final term is simply the realization, in the individual, of the type of the species. Without conscience and without choice does the tree project its branches towards the light; the growth of the human species towards improvement is invariably the result of a voluntary effort and the recompense for something well done. The growth of humanity is not as with animal and vegetable life along set lines, toward a result that cannot but be attained; many directions are possible; there is a capacity for decadence as well as for progress. In animal life different organs are harmoniously developed and upon that harmony depends the life of the individual. Imagine a vertebrate living with a rudimentary heart and a full-grown brain. If we admit, analogically, that nations are but organs of one vast body, humanity, then the case is presented to us of certain organs in their first stage of development, certain others reaching the final heights of evolution and still others retrograding; infancy, adolescence, full virility, middle age, senility, all in the same body—is the animal Garrau presents to us built upon Spencerian lines; a strange animal indeed.

Prejudice is certainly a funny thing. One of the brightest writers of fifty years ago, Conrad Hermann, of Leipzig, followed along the same lines of thought as the others we have just noted, but embellished his theory with more detailed particulars. He is specific. Youth to him is the exuberant energy whose expression is in art; riper age, distinguished by more sober judgment, practical, is the age of industry; and then follows the profound meditations of old age finding expression in the sciences—the highest form of life. He contends that Germany has reached the most exalted point attainable and that it is rank foolishness for any other nation to aspire to reach or supersede her. Haeckel following the same line of thought tells us in all seriousness that the Indo-Germanic race is the one that has gotten the furthest removed from the original form of man-monkey. Fortunately for us who have a little English blood in our veins these high authorities admit the English to a little participation in these Germanic advantages, but the Latin races are absolutely beyond salvation!

Is it not sufficient proof that these deductions are necessarily chimerical and that the attempt to compare the phases of our

individual existence to the phases of the world's existence are futile when we realize that we have absolutely no knowledge of how old the world may be? We have a faint idea of the term of its existence in the past, but how much longer is that existence to continue? Is the earth young or is she old, are we reaching senility, or are we in the first stage of adolescence?

Lasaulx is without doubt the one philosopher who has given most precision to the theory that pretends to find in the life of nations the phases of human life. Naudin agrees with him. Independently of all human intervention many species of animal and plant life have died a natural death. Some have been destroyed through the agency of some external circumstance, but even in the human species certain races are in a process of extinction, not by any violent destruction but by the gradual weakening of the generative faculties and weaker and weaker resistance to the general causes of dissolution. They perish, "as a dying leaf upon the tree drawing no further sustenance from the trunk that has nourished it". Their conclusions are risky, however, when they apply this process to nations. True, each nation has in itself a certain amount of vital force that it expends more or less in the course of its evolution. This outlay of strength and force follows in certain channels, in one it gives life to a language, in another it is religion, the arts, philosophy, a system of government; and all these are organs to the same laws of increase and loss of force as they are to the varied expressions of that force. "Nations that have escaped destruction by external causes seem to be condemned to die of old age. Many have disappeared; Greece and Rome succumbed less to the blows of their enemies than to the crushing weight of their old age. Nor genius nor virtue can reanimate these bodies whose vital force has been sapped away," says Naudin.

A fascinating theory I grant you, but is it a tenable one? The individual by the act of his conception receives the force of a limited life; that life is spent, used up in the cycle of succeeding years, but what are the limits of the vital force of a nation? As a matter of fact we may say that a new nation is born every day. The energy that animates it is being renewed man by man, generation by generation. The generation that passes away leaves behind it good works, a heritage of art, of science and of progress that nourishes the next, which in turn will add to that heritage, an en-

tailed fortune to succeeding generations. Has there ever been a nation that actually perished of old age?

If the existence of an inherent force, a vital energy, in nations is not sufficient to account for progress, how much less reason is there to seek that cause in extraneous impellants! How about the influence made upon our affairs by our rotation about the Sun, magnetic currents, gravitation and the other theories of Hegel, Michellet and of Lasaulx who would have progress, liberty, civilization marching on from the Orient to the Occident? In the name of Heaven, what connection is there between the planetary movement controlled by mechanical forces, and the progress of liberty? Then too, where is the beginning of East and West? For our convenience we have placed it somewhere, but as a matter of fact in such a theory as this what account is taken of the American continent; is it East or West; is it progressive or retrogressive?

My favorite author-Garrau, thinks with many of the later English and Italian writers, that the action of the climate, the production of the soil and the relative altitudes of habitation have a much more direct influence upon humanity than any of the above cited alleged influences. They are certainly less contestable arguments. Montesquieu and Buckle have opened the way to an almost limitless calculation, one might call it along mathematical lines and with some degree of accuracy between these causes and effects. No one can gainsay that these conditions modify life in their vicinity; they exercise a very great influence upon the economic state, politics, society, of a nation. Given the nature, the number, the intensity of these causes to your specialists, metallurgists, chemists, physiologists, ethnologists and political economists can figure out pretty accurately the nature, the tendencies, the life of a people. Who has not observed that in a country where external nature is gigantic, somber, terrible, the inhabitants are paralyzed, superstitious, sensual weaklings, and yet, as Flint says, in India for instance, it is not nature that is too big as much as it is that man is too small. Place men there of another calibre and that very nature that dwarfs the one class will be subjected and made use of by the other.

Heredity?

Bagehot sees in it the essential conditions for the development of nations. One of the strongest inherited traits in man is the belief that might is right and the resorting to that argument upon the slightest provocation. War is another name for that inherited trait. Some claim that war is progress. Each battle, they say, is a step in civilization. Not so; at first war was but a struggle of barbarians to remain barbarians; later it was used for as unholy ends and with as little benefit to its users. Were not the wars of Napoleon distinctly disadvantageous to Europe and well nigh destructive to France? What about the others, what about our Great World War? Some good may have come from some war, as an incidental auxiliary it may have helped progress in upsetting the barriers that separated people, in mixing races, in eventually propagating new ideas, but war has never been the immediate real cause of one iota of progress.

How can heredity be a part of a "law of progress"? It cannot but make like from like and it is so dependent upon environment, education and other externals that it might as well be eliminated from our consideration. A man may receive from his parents a lively, restless imagination. With it he has an equal chance of becoming a great artist or a superstitious fanatic. What we inherit is as a piece of rough stone, "it may be carved into the semblance of a god or of a beast". Bagehot sees in heredity the principal agent of progress; Edgar Quinet sees in it a reactionary force!

Any influence heredity may have upon the human race would hardly justify its elevation into a prime cause, creative, as it were, of the *law* of progress. Perhaps humanity is still too near infancy, sciences that seem indispensable auxiliaries to history are too young yet that a definite theory of progress may be possible. That theory may be a dream and hope far off, a conquest reserved for the later days of our species.

Herbert, Schopenhauer, Renonvier, Bonillier, Flaxman, Derward, Ford-Smith, have said their little pieces, but remain unconvinced, skeptical, still gropping in the darkness for the Law of Progress.

Perhaps we strain at the word "law". The word, I submit, means the constant communication, necessary between two phenomena, of which one is the antecedent of the essential condition of the other. With this acceptance of the word can there be a LAW of progress? No, such a law would impose itself, of absosolute necessity, upon all phenomena it governed. Now, necessity excludes liberty; and the facts of history are the product of a free

agency. Either must we set aside the question of the law of progress or cease to speak of liberty.

This question has a religious phase. Quatrefages, Berger, Bunsen and Fancello enlarge upon that aspect of the matter. The notion of God, of religion, is essential and distinctive of the human species, therefore, it alone of all the animals is progressive. This idea man has of God, the primordial and constant force that moves nations, the living breath that inspires humanity towards truth and justice, gives birth perforce to a language, social or political constitutions, civilization. Progress is a fact. That, like all other facts has a law, but that law has nothing in common with the laws that govern astronomical, physical, chemical and vital phenomena. It is a law that does not compel, it escapes the inflexible rigidity of mathematical formulae. It is for humanity the obligation instinctively felt at first as a necessity, subdued later on as a dignity and duty to feel about in every direction towards an ideal of beauty, of truth, of happiness and of perfection. However, that ideal may be disfigured by ignorance or superstition no individual of the human race is absolutely devoid of it. It is the beacon that lights men on coming into this world; to us belongs the duty to gather, to concentrate and to fortify its rays, ours the task to establish the direction in which these rays shall shine that we may feel developing in us, through their beneficent heat, a stern sense of duty that enables us to accomplish the noble and sacred work of Progress. Neither fatality nor nature can relieve us of that task, for Progress is precisely the triumph of moral reason and liberty over Nature and Fatality.

GAUTAMA, THE BUDDHA; JESUS, THE CHRIST.

BY DON WILLIAM LEET.

THE infinite Compassion of the Buddha, the flaming Love of the man of Nazareth, is an old new quality common to all Social Reformers or Saviors, a selfless emotion which by its beautiful might makes irrelevant and trifling distinctions between persons expressing it.

Yet contrasts between these great lovers, Gautama and Jesus, are marked.

Who was Gautama? A man living 500 years before the Christian era who after spiritual apprenticeship, fasts and questings, became the Buddha, Enlightened, and preached a doctrine which transformed India of that time into a heaven of blessedness and harmony,—a doctrine which as its founder prophesied endured for 500 years.

Who was Jesus? Some say he was the Maitreya, the future incarnation or expression of the Buddha—the next Buddha, Arimadeya. This is unlikely since Gautama's dispensation yet has 2500 years to run and since Jesus was not the Buddha type. Buddha had his Judas, who the Burmese call Dewadat, who even claimed to be the real Teacher and who tried in various ways to betray and destroy Gautama. Some hold Jesus to be the expression of this man, since the religion sprung up from Jesus' works has endeavored unceasingly to betray Buddhism. The Siamese speak of the evil Dewadat as the God of Europe and the cause of all the evil in this world. In truth, the mission of the white-skin has been one of conquest, pillage, and destruction. In contrast to the more loving Oriental, his life has been as that of a carnivorous animal, murderous, cruel, vindictive, wantonly destructive of all life—animal, vegetable and mineral—heedless of others' good and hence of his

own. The Chinese spit after the white man passes and say that they can smell the cadaver about him.

Others believe Jesus was the Hindu Krishna, who was born of a virgin in a cave, announced by a star, hidden from a massacre of innocents, and who later performed miracles, raised the dead, healed the sick, championed the poor, and so forth, conforming to details common to all so-called "avatars". Others maintain that there is no more relationship between one avatar and another than there is between one man and another. "Who is My mother and who are My brethren?"

Be that as it may, both Buddha and Christ, the Anointed, lived in eras when many gods were worshipped, when symbols for *being* were popular.

"Come unto Me. I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in Me, though he were dead, yet he shall live", said Jesus.

Verily one is the savior of oneself; what other savior should there be? A man pays in himself for the evil he has done, and in himself is he purified. The good and bad are purified by oneself; no one can purify another", said Buddha.

Both were attesting one Power, yet their expression of It were as black and white. Christ, the mystic: "I and my Father are one. I that speak unto thee am He."

Buddha, the philosophical monist: "Self is an error, an illusion, a dream. Ye that are slaves of the I,... receive the good tidings that your cruel master does not exist!"

"I am the light of the world. Ye are from beneath; I am from above: ye are of this world; I am not of this world."

And in one of the Buddhist scriptures it is written, "It is bootless to worship the Buddha. The earth and the Buddha are alike in themselves inert".

Jesus, living on the fringe of the Occident, knowing that the hideous tide of Western materialism was too strong to stem, turned revolutionist to denounce all materiality violently within Judaism. Buddha's revolt took the form of an abrogation of Brahminism itself and all current Hindu religions to found a completely new cosmology and movement of which "a little thereof saves from much sorrow".

Jesus, knowing that it was too late to accomplish brotherhood (although he could not refrain from declaring it), expressed his activity in acclaiming the Kingdom, the Father, the Spirit.

Gautama held that Spirit could not be spoken of; he refused to define Nibbana, and confined his activity to the presentation of an ethical-social program with rules to be followed as the only practical way for Society as a whole to attain a harmony with "the Law."

Jesus was a mystical poet and a metaphysical doctor. Buddha was (in active life) (since he refused to speak of the One) a social reformer. He presented four Noble Truths,—that misery is the essence of and inherent in all component existence; that a cessation of this "life" is the only possible remedy for suffering caused by what we might call Desire; that destruction of Desire only can be achieved by an ineffable Nibbana; that such a realization is possible by following a "Noble Eightfold Path" of right or whole belief, aims, speech, action, means of livelihood, thought, effort, and meditation. Here was a delineation of an empirical system without a god or Savior which actually was adopted with complete success (so far as systems go) by a Society finer, kinder, and more simply profound than any we even dream of today, a Society which as a result of the teaching of this *Dhamma* still persists after 2500 years in Ceylon, Bali, Burmah, and parts of China.

"Love one another", said Jesus.

"Refrain from all hatred; generate good; cleanse your own thoughts," this is the teaching of the Buddhas".

"Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you".

Buddha said: "If a man foolishly does me wrong, I will return to him the protection of my ungrudging love. The more hate that comes from him, the more shall be love that goes from me".

"Whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart".

"The man of restless mind, of passions fierce, with eyes only for the pleasing—craving in him grows great: He forges a heavy chain".

"Thou shalt not steal".

"The member of a Buddha's order should abstain from theft, even of a blade of grass".

In forgiveness, Jesus taught: "I say not unto you, until seven times: but until seventy times seven", and Buddha: "Though a man with a sharp sword should cut one's body bit by bit, let not an angry thought arise, let the mouth speak no ill word".

"A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another", said Jesus.

"For hatred does not cease by hatred at any time", said Buddha, "hatred ceases by non-hatred; this is an old rule".

Always behind the simple command of Gautama was a continuation, a signpost pointing to a plan of self-salvation more detailed. "Who here has forsaken all lust, who is vowed to the homeless life, who has dried up the craving for existence, who is done with delight and underlight, come to coolness, rid of the bases of being—" And then followed a great metaphysic, an intricate instruction showing how to demolish "the bases of being", a logic, ethic, and yoga that cut deep into esoteric thought. There were thinkers to be upset intellectually as well as the simple folk to be guided and the indolent to be appeased: Buddha had to be all things to all men to establish the Law over the immortal Vedas!

The time seemed short to Jesus who made his life a rich rebuke to current materiality and who was concerned with the sooncoming end of this world and a subsequent entrance into "the Kingdom of Heaven".

Buddhism, on the contrary, was willing to take the material illusion less hastily, declaring that while we might progress into "Heaven" there were innumerable heavens and hells in the world-system (that is:—the subjective thought-system) and that to attain to any of them (there were instructions for that too) only could be to prolong the illusion, Nibbana being an undefined, utterly beyond the pairs—good and non-good, desire (love) and hate, pleasure and pain, bondage and liberation, and so forth. Gautama Buddha was the supreme teacher of the Way, but there had been three Buddhas before him in the present world-period and an indefinite number in the unceasing (for the fettered) revolutions of the great world-wheel of life and death.

"Put away anger, lay aside pride, pass beyond all fetters. Whose clings not to the constituents of existence, to nothing whatsoever, suffering comes not nigh him".

Miracle working was considered "clinging to the constituents of existence" and perhaps the most obvious difference between Jesus and Buddha was that the latter declared himself absolutely against the working of miracles. These tricks with nature were always common to Hindu civilization and did not signify any particular spirituality; if Hindus had allowed themselves to judge their god-

men by their works they would have had a galaxy of false prophets. Buddha's chief objection to tricks or nature feats was that they were a far less efficient and lasting method of teaching than the concrete word-thought-action propaganda. He was more practically concerned with the progress of mind and the practice of training it to free itself from itself and the trammels of matter.

Yet to those who feared extinction he declared, "It is true that I preach extinction, but only the extinction of pride, lust, evil thought and ignorance; not that of forgiveness, love, charity, and truth". His tremendous compassion for all suffering, in man, the animals, and down to the last atom, led him to seek a means of wholly eliminating it. Jesus' love seemed more immediately concerned with the salvation of humanity by a release into heaven, a method certainly obtainable at least in some degree by the power of miracles. It was in this way that Jesus could "save" the world. Buddha held heaven to be only a partial salvation and therefore to be foregone. Yet he never would define his end:

"If any teach Nibbana is to cease, say unto such they lie; If any teach Nibbana is to live, say unto such they err".

Knowing that even God-consciousness subtly implied a lack of it, he only could indicate that truth was beyond utterance. On the contrary, Jesus drew many parables of "the Kingdom of Heaven" and spoke constantly of "the Father".

Buddha saw the trinity—ignorance-activity-spirituality, inertia-flux-balance, birth-fruition-passing on, the embassary-the Word-the Father—repeated ceaselessly, a game played on creation as if it were its essence as it is indeed the essence of suffering. It was this illusion that he warred against,—the inability to unite the three into a realized one. Again, Jesus was more opportunely concerned with lifting men out of the second to the third, from blind activity to spirituality, from the world to the Father. Jesus' love was immediate; Buddha's compassion was calmer, more thoroughly Oriental, for it recognized that the whole trinity (including spirituality) had to be surmounted, that the seeds of hell itself were planted in heaven.

It was for this reason that the disciples—if they could be called such—of the fourth Buddha understood him so much better than the disciples of Jesus understood their preceptor; it is for this reason that the line of Buddhas is so distinctly separate from the more populous line of savior-avatars.

Jesus may have used "the Father" as a blanket term for the unification of the three states of being and introduced "Heaven" only to popularize the inexpressible. He may have incorporated ignorance-activity into one concept, eliminated spirituality or the third state entirely, and contrasted his (devil) concept with his Truth. This, however, is improbable and perhaps impossible since his characteristics were so meticulously similar to all other world-saviors, since if he had meant this his terminology could no longer have been that of a mystic and qualified dualist, since he held Heaven and the end of the world so seriously, and since he felt his mission to be for eternal salvation (with the unsubscribing damned), whereas Buddha had nothing to do with the saving of souls, holding them to be unreal, and projected a frankly temporary, practical doctrine of selflessness, non-killing, non-hatred, and the rest.

Difficult as it is to draw distinctions accurately between two prophets living so far in the past and themselves 500 years apart, easy as it may be to declare superficially the parallelism of the good brothers, it is nevertheless apparent that on the questions of divinity, vicarious sin expiation, social reformation, the Absolute, and miracle mongering, there were sharp differences between them.

Jesus was one with the Father—Buddha would not discuss lt; Jesus was somehow suffering for the whole world—Buddha's last words were "work out your own salvation with diligence"; Jesus presented a general pacifist ethic—Buddha was far more detailed in mind-salvation instruction; Jesus promised a heaven for the elect and a contrasting punishment—Buddha tried to dispel the illusion of heaven and hell; Jesus performed miracles in order to make the world more like heaven—Buddha refused to employ or to allow his pupils to employ such means of teaching, always throwing the individual's salvation back on the individual himself.

Like Krishna, Jesus claimed Godhood—Buddha declared himself merely a man and hence a figurehead. Jesus declared himself the only-begotten son of God (at least it is so presented)—whereas Buddha was active in demolishing beliefs in *long lines* of avatars.

In short, Jesus was another Osiris, Horus, Indra, Prajapati, Mithras, Attis, Dionysus, Montezuma, Quetzalcoatl, a bonafide "savior", a redeemer (as all Sun-gods had been), a Presence and a Life that men thought they in some manner had lost, and therefore worshipped. Buddha, unlike all avatars, holds a unique posi-

tion as the one enlightened teacher presenting a salvation solely by oneself, a simple instruction of how without saviors to attain this, and a repudiation of all divinations and god-spells (gospels). Buddhism never has been a religion but an ethic, the one movement that (while it remained Buddhism) never has taken life, animate or inanimate, nor subscribed to the outward symbol trumpery that is the very groundwork of all "religions".

Jesus' suffering and resurrection was the sign of all men coming to God, the proof that death would be swallowed up in victory. But this conquest of death indicates a fear of it (which accounts for the crucifixion) and Buddha saw this as another illusion in time and progress which had to be passed beyond,—that the birth-death-resurrection unit had to be balanced equally and then melted into an undefined. Here was the whole distinction between Greek and Hindu Monism, or, more exactly, between two stages in the Oriental initiation. At the earlier stage, if death had not been wholly embraced, the novitiate had to die. Again,—to say God is Love shadowed a smaller love to be transformed; to refuse to say—indicated either a thorough at-one-ment with "Love" or an honest materialism.

Yet as Kabir says,

"No avatar can be the Infinite Spirit For he suffers the results of his deeds."

"Why callest thou Me good? there is none good but One, that is, God." But then again comes the "I and my Father are one"!

Other prophets who were not concerned with salvaging the world or reforming Society said what apparently neither Jesus nor Buddha dared teach. Vasishtha declared "The wise man knows no bondage or liberation, nor any error of any kind: all the three are only in the conceptions of the ignorant."

Krishna taught Arjuna "He who thinketh It to be a slayer and he who thinketh It to be slain; both of these know not, for It neither killeth nor is killed. Neither is It ever born, nor doth It die. He who knoweth It to be imperishable and eternal, unborn and unchanging, whom and how can that man kill or cause to be killed?"

And Sankaracharya: "There is neither death nor birth, neither bound nor striving for freedom, neither seeker after liberation nor liberated—this is the absolute truth."

But the truth that even the teacher and disciple are dreams-

lies—impermanent sections of cosmic emotions—karmas—is rarely ever accepted by teacher and disciple.

Indeed, it is the peculiar characteristic of the Savior-Teacher type, lost in ecstaticly sorrowful spacial love-forest, that its clinging to illusion to destroy it, its compassion for the apparent reality of matter, should be immense,—that the Master ever should pestpone his own "freedom" in order to "help" others to freedom. So Buddha declared that until the last atom went into Nibbana before him, it was not for him. The type does not see or rather realize an Absolute in which all qualities (including non-good, murder, destruction, and the evil-suffering attributes) are one; it does not see error dispelling itself (and hence a fixed postulate perfect per se) but rather sees itself descended willingly to abet error's elimination. Others than avatars the saviors from salvation, may have uttered higher truth or seen only one inexpressible in Christs or Buddhas, but theirs has not been the compelling sympathy of the Savior-Teachers. The world still seems to need its kings of humanity, its princes of love.

Perhaps the comparison between Gautama and Jesus is unfair for, whereas we have authentic stone-tablet records of the life and sayings of Buddha, the Jesus we know apparently was foisted on the Occident by the Roman Empire out of a political necessity arising from the threatening growth in Rome at that time of Mithraism, which became so popular a religion (sculptural evidences of it still remain in England) that it had to be suppressed by physical force and perhaps by imitation of its baptism, eucharist, twelve disciples, cave birth, and so forth, all current in the religion of Mithra (and many others) and possibly available in a newer (by 600 years) less dangerous priesteraft calling itself Christianity, one of a number of small priest-cults, persecuted and (being weaker-willed and more compromising than other minority Christian groups) no doubt willing to be subsidized (like the majority-socialists!) even if some facts and ethical standards had to be distorted and denied, and to become a Church,—which itself became thoroughly corrupt, "excommunicating", and "church-like" by the time of the Nicaean Council. 325 A. D.

Even if there had been little or no bases of fact in the Christian cult as a whole, the current common avatar (Christ) life was widely known and easily available (even in the form of an antique Babylonian Mystery-play in the crucifixion scene of which one

player, usually taken from a gaol, had to die in actuality); there was an abundance of pre-christian gospels and sayings practically identical with "Jesus" to draw upon; and the numerous sects of Gnostics, Therapeutie, Essenes, all of whose teachings were of the same mould, easily could have supplied a "demand" for gospels, as Edward Carpenter explains in his Pagan and Christian Creeds.

At any rate, if there was a real man, Jesus, His teachings certainly must have been far more full and complete than the story we have to draw upon. It is quite probable that "Christos" was originally a derivation of "Krishna" and that "Jesus" never lived, but that a certain Apollonius whose life paralleled the gospels account of Jesus, and who went to Egypt and India for instruction, was the physical basis for the Roman Christ-myth. For Europeans in those days, a "religion" was as necessary as an "Art" is to us; both can be sops to man's spirit and convenient preservers of bourgeois and class-ruled governments.

All this, however, does not invalidate the variance between two great Orientals, a philosophical teacher who reformed Society, and a religious mystic yet unnamed who condemned it and who probably had to amend his words to suit an Occidental (pagan) civilization decaying with undue rapidity.

Indeed, all Buddhas and Christs only appear in decadent ages, and are at best only symbols of the One-prophets of a Golden Age (just as that age is itself a symbol of *That* beyond ages) in which there shall be no need of Buddhas, when every man will be his own Christ. This, granted that Buddhas or Christs, the apparent writer or the reader, ever exist at all.

"MOSES" AND OTHER TITLES.

BY A. H. GODBEY.

MORE than a thousand years of Hebrew life in Palestine have left to us but a few fragments of its literary product. We hope the spade in modern Palestine will yet recover much. What remains to us, in the Old Testament, refers to various ancient sources of information. It would be presumptuous to assume that all sources are named in the fragments remaining to us. We are compelled by their own testimony to admit the composite character of some of this surviving literature. We find mention of the following lost sources of information:

"Book of the Wars of Yahveh"—("the Lord"), Num. xxi. 14.

"Book of Jasher", Josh. x. 13; 2 Sam. i. 18.

"Book of Constitution for the Kingdom", 1 Sam. x. 25.

"Book of the Acts of Solomon", 1 Kin. xi. 41.

"Book of Visions of Iddo the Seer", 2 Chr. ix. 29.

"Midrash on Iddo", 2 Chr. xiii. 22.

"Book of Iddo the Seer on Genealogies", 2 Chr. xii. 15.

"Book of Shemaiah the Prophet", 2 Chr. xii. 15.

"Book of Nathan the Prophet", 2 Chr. ix. 29; 1 Chr. xxix. 29.

"Book of Ahijah the Shilonite", 2 Chr. ix. 29.

"Book of Gad the Seer", 1 Chron. xxix. 29.

"Book of Samuel the Seer", 1 Chron. xxix. 29.

"Book of John, Son of Hanani", 2 Chr. xx. 34.

"Burned Book of Jeremiah", Jer. xxxvi. 4-23.

"Memoir on Amalekite War", Ex. xvii. 14.

"Book of Isaiah upon Uzziah", 2 Chr. xxvi. 22.

"Book of Chronicles of Kings of Judah", 1 Kin, xiv. 21; xv. 7, etc.

"Book of Chronicles of Kings of Israel", 1 Kin. xiv. 19, etc.

"Book of Chronicles of King David", 1 Chr. xxvii. 24.

"Book of Kings of Israel and Judah", 2 Chr. xxxv. 27; xxxvi. 8.

"Midrash on the Book of Kings", 2 Chr. xxiv. 27.

"Copy of this law in a Book", Deut. xvii. 18; 2 Kin. "xxii. 8.

What is the value of these lost sources? With regard to extant fragments, we are familiar with rational arguments designed to prove the inspiration and ethical value of the scriptures as a whole. The same critical process must be equally reliable for any given fragment. If we decide that Tobit is not worthy to be ranked with Deuteronomy, we may with equal certainty conclude that all portions of Deuteronomy are not equally valuable; and so far any other portion of the Old Testament. If a rational examination of a small section is impermissible, a rational argument for the inspiration of the whole is worthless. We thus assert that all claims of inspiration and special revelation must appear before the bar of rational inquiry and investigation, and accept the decision of that tribunal. Failing this, Romish tradition, Moslem and Buddhist legends and claims, and pagan rituals and mummeries, being equally dogmatic, would be entitled to equal credence. Like the myriad gods assembled in the Roman Pantheon, mutally multifying each other with the stony stare of unrecognition across the empty spaces, all claims of inspiration would prove mutually destructive. Survival of the fittest must surely be determined by the ability to give a reason for the hope that is within.

Now we have asserted our rational competency to pass upon the relative inspiration and credibility and didactic value of the extant fragments of Hebrew literature, by assigning certain portions of it to the Apocrypha. But what rational conclusion is possible as to the value of the above-mentioned lost literature? Can we, ere its recovery by the spade of the explorer, confidently and dogmatically assert the finality and superiority of all that is extant, when it so often cites, or appeals to the authority of that which is lost? That the thoughts of men as a whole "widen with the process of the suns" does not adequately answer the query.

And what of other prophets mentioned here and there in the Old Testament, of whom no known writings remain to us? Was there ever any written collection of their sayings? No one knows. Temple schools were everywhere in Babylonia; how much writing was done in "schools of the prophets" in Israel? No one knows. Did Elijah and Elisha write anything? What is the curions "writing of Elijah the prophet" to Jehoram, long after Elijah was

dead? (2 Chr. xxi. 15.) Shall we acknowledge a case of "spirit-writing?" or conclude there was a second Elijah? or has the Chronicler credited to Elijah a denunciation that really came from a later prophet? or recorded Elijah's letter of rebuke, specifying the wrong King?

And what is the precise significance of the titles cited above? In answering this question, no problem of Higher or Lower Criticism is involved. It is wholly a matter of dictionary; or correctly understanding ancient oriental idioms and colloquial expressions. Without this preliminary knowledge, any discussion is sure to err—one may be fundamentally wrong from the beginning. To know in advance what ancient people meant by some terms they used daily may prove disastrous to hobbies, orthodox or heterodox, but the truth is more important to us than any hobby.

But in presenting this preliminary truth, there are some disadvantages. The best informed reader of English has not at hand the necessary data for first hand knowledge and decision upon this point. If in addition to the Old Testament every one had at hand the other "Sacred Books of the East", as in English translation, and quantities of the ancient literature of Israel's neighbors, (the amount available now is many times the Old Testament in volume) he would soon observe some vital facts. But the average reader is compelled to be content with the information given him by the expert linguist, archæologist, and orientalist, just as he has to be content with Peary's Poles. The archæologist or comparative religionist himself knows this, and is sometimes sensitive at having to state dogmatically facts highly displeasing to some fervid theorist.

What do such terms as "Book of Iddo the Scer", "Book of Samuel", "Code of Hammurabi", "Books of Moses", mean? The average modern western mind, of moderate information, at once thinks of personal authorship. But the idea of personal authorship or of "literary property" is not in the ancient world, and such construction of ancient idioms by the modern Western mind is wholly astray at the outset. We have vast and varied bodies of ancient literature in our possession to-day; ballads of various nations; the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle; The King Arthur Legends; Mahabharata; Babylonian Chronicle; songs, prayers, "divinely authoritative" rituals, royal records, legends, myths, medical books, contracts, epics, royal inscriptions, legal codes and decisions, etc. We find variant versions of the same legend, song, or ritual; we

have combinations of two or more in a later version. We do not know the author or compiler of any ancient song, code, ritual, royal record, or legend; nor of any revision or combination; nor will we ever know. We are in the realm of the nameless. Only in the case of personal letters, legal decisions, or business contracts of the ancient Orient do we know names of authors. There is no notion of personal title to any other sort of literary production. This is true of old English ballads, the Teuton's Nebelungenlied, the Eddas of the Norseman; of Assyria or Babylonia; of Egypt or China; Palestine or India. We will never know the authors of the Egyptian Book of the Dead, nor of its component sections; of the Rig Veda songs, nor of the Atharva magical rites; of the Creation and Flood legends of Babylonia; of Ishtar's descent; of Orphic hymns. All ancient sacred literature is "inspired", or "found" somewhere; a wandering mediæval French minstrel was merely a "troubadour" or "finder", not claiming like the Greek bard to be a poiêtês (poet) or "maker". Such still is the Arab minstrel. The very latest version of this "inspired" or "found" literature claims the authority of "the fathers" or of antiquity, just as some modern pious dogmatists do. Personal authorship is never claimed.

Then what do popular titles mean? An Assyrian royal inscription may begin "I am Esashaddon, the great King, the mighty King", etc. But the average Assyrian king does not appear to have been able to read or write. In England, William the Conqueror and William Rufus, illiterate, were succeeded by Henry Beauclerc, or "Fine Scholar"—he could write his name. What happened in Assyria was that royal scribes prepared such account, as unknown monks in England wrote the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and like Hebrew scribes wrote like Chronicles. If satisfactory, the King accepted it as his own. There lies before me a letter from an Assyrian architect saying they are ready to put in place the record of royal achievements and if the copy sent to the King is satisfactory, the architect hopes the King will return it at once. We do not know who wrote that chronicle any more than we know the writer of Anglo-Saxon or Hebrew chronicle, but because of its subject matter we may conveniently speak of it as "an Esarhaddon inscription".

So we speak of the "code of Hammurabi", or "Laws of Hammurabi" as the Brahmin speaks of "Laws of Manu", and the uninformed at once think of personal authorship. Hammurabi did

not write it, nor personally revise it, probably not even one paragraph of it. There was an older Sumerian code, fragments of it are extant, and comparison is easy. When this West Semitic adventurer seized the reins of political authority, he found this ancient code, backed by the cult of the sun god at Sippara, Larsa and Harran, so strongly intrenched in life and custom that his kingship depended upon his announcing his humble acceptance of the sun cult and code and its jurists. The Semitic scribes and jurists prepared him a Semitic translation and revision of it which we now have. But neither they nor their successors called it "Laws of Hammurabi"—that title is our invention. They called it *Inuma ilum sirum*. Both this title, and fragments of the code were known to us before De Morgan discovered the nearly complete code at Susa twenty years ago. It had been growing for ages.

But what does Inuma ilum sirum mean? It shows us one way of referring to a document in the ancient world. The words are "When the exalted god" and are the opening words of the Prologue. We follow the same method still ourselves, in referring to a popular hymn. So does the ancient Oriental. In a Babylonian ritual we may read: "Here sing, Bel, Bel, in the morning"; or, "Sing, O Sheep of Life, O Pure Sheep," etc. The church of Rome habitually cites all Papal bulls the same way, e. g. "Unam Sanctam," etc.

The ancient Hebrew scholar did the same. His entire ritual compilation he called *Torah*, "instruction." The first section is *Bereshith*, "In the beginning." The second, our "Exodus" is *Shemoth*, "names" (These are the names). Next is *Wayyikra*, "and he called", (And the Lord called unto Moses.) Numbers is *Bammidbar*, "in the wilderness", (And the Lord spoke unto Moses in the wilderness). Deuteronomy is *Debarim*, "words" (These are the words.) For century after century the Hebrew scribe thus cited them the titles not suggesting any personal authorship.

The second and popular method of reference is to refer to any composition by naming its subject matter, or some unique feature of its contents. A royal inscription is about a King—not by him. Seven Voyages of Sindbad the Sailor are not written by him. The Books of Samuel recognize him as the key personage of the epoch, but are not written by him. An old woman, greatly pleased with a sermon I preached long ago, always referred to it as "That 'ere frog sermon", from a tree-frog illustration I used.

In the same way I find the Moslem named Suras or chapters of the Kuran. One is "The Cow", another "The Table", and so on. If I said to a Moslem scholar "It is said by the Cow" he would understand. If he discovered that I thought a cow wrote it, he would think me crazy. I pick up the Brahmin Satapatha Brahmana, and find a certain section referred to as "The Barren Cow", and soon I turn to the "Authorless" Egyptian Book of the Dead, and find like nomenclature. I turn to Moslem or Romish compilations of saint lore, and find it is not written by said saints, but about them; I turn to Babylonian ritual that was dominant in Palestine long before the Hebrew, and find "The Lifted Hand Series", "The Eastern Demon Series", "The Water Sprinkling Ritual", "The Effusion Rite", etc. And so I come to understand that Samuel, Judges, Ruth or Kings, or Iddo the Seer, may contain much about such persons, but nothing in the colloquial fashions of the time would warrant the occasional modern western assertion of personal authorship.

But it will be recognized that only the scholar of the ancient world could use the first method of reference, naming the openings words of any composition. The second method is necessarily the popular one. So Jewish scholars who translated their literature into Greek conceded something to popular necessity, and in their compendium of fragments of ancient law used Greek titles suggestive of some feature of each section: Genesis, "Beginning"; Exodus, "Going Out"; Leviticus, "Levite Ritual"; Arithmoi, "Numberings"; Deuteronomy, "Second Law" (Mistranslation of "copy of this Law" in Deut. xvii. 18). But in the Hebrew text the scholar's mode of entitling was retained; and in neither is there suggestion of personal authorship.

As above stated, Jewish scholars called the whole group Torah; the masses find it easier to recall the most prominent figure in the compilation and say "Moses." Their speaking thus was originally parallel to our referring to "the Britannica," or "the Comericana"; an easily understood reference to their compendium of ritual and moral prescriptions. Even so late as Christ's time the Greek idea of being a "maker" (poet) has but partially prevailed, and the compromise with the notion of the divine authority of the past results in much pseudæpigraphic literature, presenting current Pharisee opinions under the names of Enoch, Esdrad, Solomon, the Sibyl, Baruch, etc. All of this had to be duly "discovered" somewhere, as it was composed and published.

There is no clue anywhere to the actual personal authorship. In the same way some devout Brahmins, after the Sepoy rebellion failed, undertook to bring out a new edition of Manu, embodying modern English ideas. It was still Manu. No Brahmin could have gained acceptance for it by putting his own name to it; the past is the only admissible authority; as with Rabbinism in Christ's time, claiming only expository authority, however novel their fantasies.

Popular crediting a law or quotation to "Moses" then in carlier days did not imply personal authorship. Such is not the mode of thought of the time. That is a later notion from western influence, and misunderstanding of ancient colloquial usage. One unaware of ancient literary habits may rush into print to demonstrate the inspiration and inerrancy of his own ignorance.

THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF AUGUSTE COMTE. .

(Concluded).

BY HARRY ELMER BARNES.

In the period of fetichism, or what would now be called animism 69 the family or private society was instituted and with it that fixity of residence which made the later development of the state possible. 70 In the first polytheistic period, that of theocratic or conservative polytheism (i. e., the period of the great oriental empires), the great political contribution was the founding of the city (i. e., the state) and the development of the institution of landed property. Its great defect was the attempt to found a church before the civic life had been perfected." Another unifying and disciplinary feature of this period was the wide development of the caste-system.72 In the next period, that of intellectual polytheism (i. e., the Greek age) there were no important political contributions except in a negative sense. service of the Greeks was intellectual and was rendered by freeing humanity from theocratic influences. National solidarity was impaired by the attacks of the Greeks upon property and upon caste without providing other unifying influences, and their political life was mainly the rule of demagogues. If the Greeks made any political contribution at all it was in repelling the Persian advance.⁷³ In the Roman period, or the age of social monotheism,

⁶⁹ L. T. Hobhouse, "Comte's Three Stages," in Sociological Review, 1908, p. 264. For Wundt's arguments supporting fetichism as the most primitive cult see his Volkerpsychologie, Mythus und Religion, Vol. II.

⁷⁰ Polity, Vol. III, pp. 91-2, 118-23.

⁷¹ Ibid, Vol. III, pp. 156-161, 171-8, 201-2.

⁷² Ibid, pp. 171-2.

⁷³ Ibid Vol. III, pp. 916-21

⁷³ Ibid., Vol. III, pp. 216-31.

there were several phases of political progress. The most important was the development of the conception of "Fatherland," which Comte defines as "the permanent seat of all those moral and intellectual impressions, by whose unbroken influence the individual destiny is moulded." 74 "Nothing is so well adapted to consolidate social ties as their habitual consolidation around a material seat, which is equally appropriate to relations of Continuity as to those of Solidarity." 75. The world is, thus, indebted to Rome for the first definite step taken towards sociocracy.76 Again, Roman law tended towards sociocracy, since, to a considerable degree, it substituted social sanctions for supernatural sanctions in the administration of its law.77 Finally, when Roman warfare was transformed from conquest into defense, it resulted naturally in the transformation of slavery into serfdom and of the Empire into small-state systems, thus opening the way for the development of feudalism, the germs of which are to be found in the cession of Roman territory to barbarian chieftains.78

The next period was that of the defensive monotheism or the Catholic-feudal transition—the period of the establishment of the Church, as contrasted to foundation of family and state in earlier periods. "The distinguishing feature of medieval civilization was the two-fold nature of the aims in view and the combination of two hetrogeneous elements for its attainment." 79 The general purpose of the period was to systematize life, and this, the work of the Church, failed for the most part. The special purpose of the age was the emancipation of women and laborers, the work mainly of fendalism, and this was, to a large degree, successful.80 Since the religion of this period was universal and political power local, there resulted the indispensable separation of church and state. At the same time warfare was finally transformed from aggressive to defensive.81 Mariolatry, with its idealization of woman, was an advance towards sociolatry or the worship of humanity.82 Great steps in advance were taken with the separation

⁷⁴ Ibid., pp. 305-6.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 307.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 306.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 311.

⁷⁸ Ibid., pp. 336, 350-1.

⁷⁹ Ibid., p. 353.

⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 353.

⁸¹ Ibid., pp. 387-8.

⁸² Ibid., p. 409.

of employers from employed, the rise of the gild corporations, and the emancipation of the serfs.⁸³

But, in spite of these important contributions, it was not for this period of defensive monotheism to inaugurate the Positivist régime. Another period, that of the "Western Revolution" had to intervene. This corresponds to the metaphysical period of mental development. The eight main forces operating to bring about this revolution were: the influence of women; scientific advances; modern industrial improvements; art; the development of the state; the decay of the Church; the work of the legists; and, finally, the negative contributions of the metaphysicians.84 In this period industry became consolidated, as employers and employed united in their mutual interest against the other classes. Government, in turn, began to patronize industry because it recognized that its development was essential to the furnishing of the wealth needed for maintaining military activities. This reacted upon the rulers by making them responsible administrators of the public wealth. This double process marked the real entry of industry into western politics as the chief end of the modern polity. Civilization, hitherto military, now became progressively industrial in character.85 The whole period, and particularly that of the French Revolution, was one of disintegration and of preparation for Positivism.86

In the preliminary work of the next or Positive period, important beginnings had already been made before Comte. Condorcet had laid the philosophic foundation for sociology. De-Maistre renewed the veneration for the best elements in the Middle Ages. Scientific advances had been made by Lamarck, Bichat, Broussais, Cabanis, and Gall. Comte discovered the two fundamental laws of sociology, and his system, which was too intellectualistic in the *Philosophy*, was well-rounded on its emotional side by his friendship with Clotidle de Vaux, and appeared in a more complete form in the *Polity*. On the intellectual side, then, everything was ready for the institution of the Positivist system and, strangely enough, at just this same time the *coup d'etat* of 1851 had revived the institution of the Dictatorship, which was the great preliminary step in the political field preparatory to the inauguration of Positivism, and Comte himself stood ready to as-

⁸³ Ibid., pp. 412-13.

⁸⁴ Ibid., pp. 434-446.

⁸⁵ Ibid., pp. 487-9.

⁸⁶ Ibid., pp. 423-4.

sume the office of supreme pontiff of the new religion.87 Psychology and history had, thus, conspired, through man's fundamental mental make-up and the struggles of ages, to render the Positivist system as inevitable as it was desirable. In this last stage of social evolution "Family, State, and Church are finally to be distinguished and harmonized, or fixed in their proper organic relations to each other, so as to preclude forever their warfare or intrusion upon each other's provinces." 88

4. Forms of the State and the Government.

As to the forms of the state and government, while Comte was familiar with the conventional Aristotelian classification, it was regarded by him as of minor importance and superficial significance. To him there were only two fundamental types of society, state, and government—theocracy and sociocracy.89 The former was the government of theologically oriented priests, in which the temporal power was subordinated to the spiritual. The latter was the condition to be reached in the Positivist state, where spiritual and temporal power were to be separated and properly coordinated, and in which social organization was to be based on the principles of Comte's sociology. It has been the problem of the greater part of human history to effect the transformation from the former to the latter.90

5. Sovereignty.

In a system of social control like that proposed by Comte, in which authority was to be divided into moral, material and intellectual, each to be enforced by separate organs, and in which the latter, while the most important, was to be administered through persuasion and suggestion, it is easy to see that there was no place for any such concept as that of political sovereignty in its conventional modern sense.91 Probably the directors of material activities, that is, the leaders of the employer class, came the nearest to having sovereign power of any of Comte's proposed governing agencies; at least they were to possess the functions of ordinary civil government. As far as he discusses the problem of sovereignty he seems to mean by it participation in government,92

⁸⁷ Ibid., pp. 526-30. 87 Ibid., pp. 526-30.
88 Caird, op. eit., p. 35. For Flint's rather unsympathetic treatment of Comte's philosophy of history see his History of the Philosophy of History in France, 1894, pp. 575-615
89 Polity, Vol. II, p. 344.
90 Ibid., Vol. III, passim.
91 Cf. Chiappini, op. eit., pp. 97ff.
92 Polity, Vol. I, pp. 106-110.

The nearest he gets to a positive theory of sovereignty is his approbation of Hobbes' doctrine that government has an important basis in force.93 He says, in speaking of popular sovereignty, that the Positive theory on this point separates the elements of truth from those of error in the metaphysical doctrine. He here accepts two different conceptions of popular sovereignty: one a political connotation, applicable in special cases, and the other a moral interpretation suitable in all cases. By the political application he means that the voice of the people should be appealed to in cases which concern the practical interests of the whole community and are intelligible to the masses, such as declarations of war and the decisions of the law-courts. One the other hand, it would be manifestly absurd to have the whole people decide on questions of particular interest requiring special and trained judgment. The moral aspect of popular sovereignty consists in the proposition that the efforts of the whole of society should be centered on the common good, that is, "the preponderance of social feeling over all personal interests." 94

6. The Positivist Scheme of Social Reconstruction.

It is difficult to grasp the full meaning and significance of Comte's theory and plan of social organization without a preliminary statement of the historical background of Comte's doctrines. He was witnessing the disintegration of the old social order, as a result of the French and Industrial Revolutions, and was keenly conscious of the evils of the new, though still transitional, society. Quite in contrast to Say, Bastiat and the French optimists, Comte joined with Sismondi in condemning the new capitalistic order. His indictment of the new bourgeois age is well stated by Levy-Bruhl:

Comte saw the bourgoisie at work during Louis Philippe's reign, and he passes severe judgment upon it. Its political conceptions, he says, refer not to the aim and exercise of power, but especially to its possessions. It regards the revolution as terminated by the establishment of the parliamentary régime, whereas this is only an "equivocal halting-place." A complete social reorganization is not less feared by this middle class than by the old upper classes. Although filled with the critical spirit of the eighteenth century, even under a Republican form it would prolong a system of theological hypocrisy, by means of which the respectful submission of the masses is insured, while no strict duty is imposed upon the leaders. This is hard upon the proletariat,

⁹³ Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 247-9.
⁹⁴ Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 106-110.

whose condition is far from improving. It "establishes dungeons for those who ask for bread." It believes that these millions of men will be able to remain indefinitely "encamped" in modern society without being properly settled in it with definite and respected rights. The capital which it holds in its hands, after having been an instrument of emancipation, has become one of oppression. It is thus that, by a paradox difficult to uphold, the invention of machinery, which à priori, one would be led to believe, would soften the condition of the proletariat, has, on the contrary, been a new cause of suffering to them, and has made their lot a doubly hard one. Here, in brief, we have a formidable indictment against the middle classes, and in particular against the political economy which has nourished them.95

Yet, the problem is not one of capitalism, as such, or its abolition. It is not the industrial or financial technique of the new industrial order which is at fault, but the failure to develop a new industrial and social morality which could exert a proper control and discipline over the modern industrial system:

That there should be powerful industrial masters is only an evil if they use their power to oppress the men who depend upon them. It is a good thing, on the contrary, if these masters know and fulfill their duties. It is of little consequence to popular interests in whose hands capital is accumulated, so long as the use of it is made beneficial to the social masses.

But modern society has not yet got its system of morality. Industrial relations which have become immensely developed in it are abandoned to a dangerous empiricism, instead of being systematized according to moral laws. War, more or less openly declared, alone regulates the relations between capital and labour. 96

What is needed, then, is a new industrial and social morality, to be inculcated through the Positive educational system. will be far more effective than state socialistic schemes and paternalistic legislation. Comte's scheme of social reconstruction was, thus, one which rested more on a moral than a political basis. The socialization of the modern order "depends far more upon moral than upon political measures. The latter can undoubtedly prevent the accumulation of riches in a small number of hands, at the risk of paralyzing industrial activity. But these tyrannical proceedings would be far less efficiacious than the universal reproof inflicted by positive ethics upon a selfish use of the riches possessed." PT "Everything then depends upon the common moral education, which itself depends upon the establishment of a

Levy-Bruhl, The Philosophy of Comtc, pp. 320-21.
 Ibid., pp. 328-9.
 Ibid., p. 329.

spiritual power. The superiority of the positive doctrine lies in the fact that it has restored this power." 98 "Once common education was established, under the direction of the spiritual power, the tyranny of the capitalist class would be no more to be feared. Rich men would consider themselves as the moral guardians of public capital. It is not here a question of charity. Those who possess will have the 'duty' of securing, first, education and then work for all." 99 In turning now to a more detailed consideration of Comte's scheme for a new social dispensation, it must be borne in mind that his chief aim was to develop a new social morality, believing that this would be the only force adequate to solve the problems of modern industrialism.

Comte's theory of social reconstruction, like his doctrines of social organization and his philosophy of history, rests ultimately upon the three-fold divisions of the human personality into feeling, action and intelligence. In the first place, one must turn to his analysis of the social forces. They are: (1) material force, based on action and expressed in numbers and wealth; (2) intellectual force, founded on speculation and expressed in conception and expression; and (3) moral force, based on affection and expressed in command prompted by character and obedience prompted by the heart.100 It is the supreme task of social organization, as well as its chief difficulty, to combine these forces in the right proportion without the undue predominance of any one.101

In the state one finds that the fundamental social classes are founded on this same general principle. "In the smallest cities capable of separate existence, we find these classes: the Priests who guide our speculation; the Women who inspire our highest affections; and the practical Leaders who direct our activity, be in war or in industry." 102 The agency needed to connect and harmonize these three fundamental orders is to be found in the mass of the people or the Proletariat, "for they are united to the affectionate sex by domestic ties; to the Priesthood through the medium of the education and advice which it gives them; and to the practical Leaders through common action and the protection afforded them." 102

Every social class, except the women, should be divided on an

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 331. 99 Ibid., p. 329. 100 Polity, Vol. II, pp. 225-8. 101 Ibid., pp. 224, 228. 102 Ibid., p. 291. 103 Ibid., p. 292.

hierarchical basis according to the principle of importance and specialization of function. "Our ultimate state will exhibit a classification of society more distinct than any we know in all sides of human life. From the High Priest of Humanity down to the humblest laborer, society will show the same principle at work distributing ranks: generality of view decreasing as independence of life increases." 104

The directive power, or what might perhaps be called the function of government, in Comte's state was essentially to be centered in the priests of the Positive religion and in the leaders of industry. His scheme of social, economic and political reorganization was derived in its major outlines from Saint-Simon. The temporal and military power of the past was to give way to the principle of capacité industrielle, as applied to the material government; and capacité positive as applied to the intellectual direction and moral surveillance.105

The most important class in the Positivist state was to be the priesthood, or those distinguished by positive capacity.¹⁰⁶ At the outset it should be understood that Comte's priests were not theologians, but sociologists. They were to be the scientific directors of society, selected for their special talent and their immediate and extensive acquaintance with those sociological principles upon which enlightened social policy depends. They were to interpret to man the religious, or rather sociological, doctrines of Positivism, of which the principle was love; the basis, order; and the end, progress.¹⁰⁷ Aside from special training, the priesthood must be eminent for the qualities of courage, perseverence, and prudence.108 Of the organization of the Positive priesthood, which Comte describes in the most minute detail, only the most general outline can be given here. It suffices to say that there were to be some twenty thousand priests for western Europe, presided over by a High Priest of Humanity with his headquarters at Paris. He was to be assisted by seven national chief priests, and this number was to be increased to forty-nine at the final re-

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 266. There are here certain anticipations of the modern socio-political theory of the functional reorganization of the state. Cf. F. Pécant, "Auguste Comte et Durkheim," in Revue de Metaphysique et de Morale, Oct.-Dec., 1921, pp. 64ff.

108 Cf. Chiappini, op. cit., p. 18. "En derniere analyse, les princes de la science, ou sociologistes, et les princes de la finance, ou banquiers, seront les chiefs de gouvernement. Defourny, op. cit., p. 193.

100 Cf. Chiappini. op. cit., pp. 134ff.

101 Polity, Vol. II, p. 286.

108 Ibid., p. 343.

generation of the world and its conversion to Positivism. remainder of the priesthood were to be local priests and vicars attached to the local temples, which were to be distributed in the proportion of one to every ten thousand families. The priests were to be paid a fixed salary, so low as to preclude pecuniary reasons for desiring service in the profession.109

It is rather difficult to say just what Comte considered the fundamental function of the priesthood, as he enumerates in various places several "supreme duties" of this class. It seems, however, that he regarded their duties in general to comprise the following. They were above all to be the systematic directors of education. 110 They were to judge of the worth of each member of society and try, as far as possible, by means of suggestion and personal opinion, to have him placed in society according to his merits and capacities. This, Comte admits, is a rather difficult achievement, as one can hardly judge of the capacity of an individual until his career is over, but the priesthood should do its best to arrive at a correct preliminary estimate.111 Again, the priests should foster the feeling of continuity between different generations and of solidarity between the different social classes by teaching men their relation to nature, the past, and to other men. 112 Then, the priests should be the general moral censors of the community, using the force of their opinions in keeping men aware of their social duties and obligations, and warning them, in case of deviation.113 Finally, they should be the general fountain-spring of useful social and scientific knowledge and advice.114 In short, the priests should constitute the ideal aristocracy of intellect, being not unlike the philosopher kings for whom Plato had longed.

The priests should not, however, assume to possess an iota of temporal power. It was the mixture of spiritual and temporal power which was the great defect of antiquity, and it was the great contribution of Christianity that it had separated the two. The powers of the priesthood were, rather, to be employed in the following extra-legal manner. In the first place, they were to exercise their influence through the medium of their teaching and preaching. Then they were to give a proper direction to public opinion. Again, they might give their formal condemnation to any

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 222-225.
110 Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 337-9, IV, p. 64.
111 Ibid., pp. 266-70.
112 Ibid., pp. 262. 289-90.
113 Ibid., pp. 338ff.
114 Ibid., ppp 309-10.

act. Finally, they were to have a most important consulting function in all affairs of civic life. They might suggest action by the "secular arm of the law," but must never undertake such action on their own responsibility and initiative. 115 It seems that Comte, like Jefferson before him, relied upon the principle that the people would sufficiently admire and respect superior intellectual and moral ability to insure their willing submission to the guidance of the priesthood—a noble theory, but something which history has thus far shown to be hopeless in practice.

The material or industrial power, as well as the actual functions of civil government, were to be divided among the classes of employers, subdivided into bankers, merchants, manufacturers, and agriculturists, each arranged on an hierarchical principle and all possessing "capacité industrielle." 116 As the most influential and least numerous of the employer class, the bankers were to possess the most authority.117 The general principle of concentration of power among the employers is that there should be a single manager for the whole field of industry which one man could personally direct.118 While the employers have the legal right to fix their incomes at any figure they may deem desirable, still they will be checked in excessive consumption by their greater need for, and desire of, public esteem, and it is a function of the Positivist priests to make the wealthy realize their social responsibility.119 In this manner Comte hoped to assure both industrial efficiency and social justice. In their relations to their employees the leaders of industry should always keep in mind the two following principles: "that everyone at all times should be the entire owner of everything of which he has the constant and exclusive use;" and "that every industrious citizen shall be secured in the means of fully developing his domestic life."120 As to the transmission of wealth and industrial function, each individual has the right to nominate his successor seven years before the date of his expected retirement and to submit this nomination to the judgment of public opinion. Free testamentary disposition of wealth was to be allowed in all cases.121

¹¹⁵ Ibid., pp. 262, 339-42.
116 Ibid., pp. 336-9; Vol. IV, p. 71.
117 Ibid., Vol. IV, pp. 71, 301. On this basis American society has at present made progress towards the Positivist era. See the speech of Senator R. M. LaFollette in *The Congressional Record*, March 14, 1921.

¹¹⁸ Polity, Vol. II, p. 338.
119 Ibid., pp. 328-30, 335-6.
120 Ibid., pp. 334-5.
121 Ibid., pp. 330-1, Vol. IV, p. 291.

In regard to moral authority in the Positive state, Comte held that domestic morality should be guided by the women and public morality safeguarded by the prieshood. 122 The moral influence of woman was to be insured by the Positivist rule of indissoluble monogamous marriage and perpetual widowhood.123

With respect to foreign relations in the Positivist society, Comte held that they would be largely eliminated upon the adoption of the Positivist religion, with its universal priesthood and its tendency to dissolve the greater nations into non-tyrannical city states.124

In the matter of individual liberty and the principles of state interference Comte erected no constitutional barriers to tyranny. The individual had to rely upon the heeding of the moral exhortations of the priesthood by the governing class. Again, the individual had no private sphere of rights which was free in any sense from invasion by some organ of the directing power of society.125 Duties, rather than rights, were the central feature of Comte's political philosophy. In fact, the individual, as such, was practically ignored and all attention was centered upon the social organism. Even universal suffrage and parliamentary government were condemned.126 Comte, thus, solved the problem of the reconciliation of sovereignty and liberty by failing to provide for assurance of either.

In this way Comte proposed for a theory of the state a rather curious combination of religious and intellectual idealism with benevolent, though partly non-political, paternalism. This, more than anything else, separates the doctrines of Comte from those of his successor in the field of sociology-Herbert Spencer.

7. Public Opinion and Social Control.

Comte laid considerable stress upon the value of public opinion as an effective agent of social control. He held that it was practically the sole guaranty of public morality, and maintained that without an intelligently organized public opinion there could be little hope of any extended reform and reconstruction of social institutions.127 The requisite conditions, he says, for the proper

¹²² Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 255-6, 338ff.
123 Ibid., Vol. I, pp. 187-196.
124 Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 251, 304.
125 Chiappini, op. cit., pp. 64f, 186. "Cette substitution des devoirs aux droits est vraiement l'idée centrale du systéme politique d'Auguste

Comte." p. 46.

126 Cf. Chiappini, pp. 107ff.
127 Polity, Vol. I, p. 111

organization of public opinion are: "first, the establishment of fixed principles of social action; secondly, their adoption by the public and its consent to their application in special cases; and, lastly, a recognized organ to lay down the principles and to apply them to the conduct of daily life.128 The workingmen's clubs, which were then flourishing in the first flush of enthusiastic beginnings (i. e. during Revolution of 1848), Comte looked upon as likely to be one of the great instrumentalities in getting rules of social conduct adopted by the public. 129 But, to be effective, public opinion must have an able and recognized organ of expression, for its spontaneous and direct enunciation by the people is rarely possible or effective. Once more Positivism could come to the rescue, with all the needed apparatus for an effective public opinion. Its doctrines supplied the proper rules of social conduct. The proletariat furnished the necessary dynamic power. The priest-philosopher-sociologists of the Comtian régime offered an unrivalled organ for the proper expression of public opinion. All three requisite conditions for healthy public opinion were then in existence, but not yet in a proper relation to each other. The progressive step which was needed was a "firm alliance between philosophers and proletaries."130 Finally, according to Comte, the influence of public opinion will probably become increasingly greater in the future. "All views of the future condition of society, the views of practical men as well as of philosophic thinkers, agree in the belief that the principal feature of the State to which we are tending will be the increased influence which Public Opinion is destined to exercise." 131 When it has become the great regulator of society it will eliminate revolutions and violent disputes by "substituting peaceable definition of duties." 132

It is perfectly obvious that in a state, like that designed by Comte, with its hierarchical arrangement of governmental agents and its hereditary transmission of them, there could be no such institution as the modern political party. The nearest thing that could be possible would be a group of agitators attempting to direct public opinion in some definite manner.

8. The Nature of Social and Political Progress.

In regard to the nature of social evolution and the laws gov-

¹²⁸ Ibid., p. 112. 120 Ibid., pp. 114-15. 130 Ibid., pp. 117-20. 181 Ibid., p. 110. 182 Ibid., p. 120.

erning its progress, Comte was about midway between the positions of Spencer and Ward, though the latter regarded him as the founder of the principle of "social telesis." He held, on the one hand, that the general tendencies of social evolution and the fundamental lines of its progress were subject to invariable laws and confined to certain fixed stages which could not be seriously altered by human interference. At the same time, he maintained that social development might be slightly modified and considerably hastened by the intelligent co-operation of mankind, based upon an understanding of the great laws of social evolution, that is, Comte's philosophy of history. All schemes of social reform, to be successful, must be in harmony with the general march of civilization and not too far ahead of the conditions of the time. It is the function of social science to gather together all of the relevant facts concerning the course of social evolution in the past, so that the political and social policy of the present may accord with what seems to be the universal laws of development. While society need not blindly obey the laws of social evolution, but may hasten progress by intelligent action, still nothing could be more foolish than to imagine that social systems can be reconstructed in a day by the drawing up of a new constitution. Comte defended his own proposal by contending that they were not his own arbitary propositions of reform, but merely a statement of the teachings of history and social science as to the evolution and future state of society.133 Some of the more significant of Comte's remarks on the above problem are the following:

It appears, therefore, from the preceding remarks that the elementary march of civilization is unquestionably subject to a natural and invariable law which overrules all special human divergencies. . . .

Political science should exclusively employ itself in coördinating all the special facts relative to the progress of civilization and in reducing these to the smallest possible number of general facts, the connection of which ought to manifest the natural law of this progress, leaving for a subsequent appreciation the various causes which can modify its rapidity. . . .

But society does not and cannot progress in this way (i. e. by making constitutions for social reform as in the French Revolution.) The pretention of constructing off-hand in a few months or even years, a social system, in its complete and definite shape

¹³³ Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 234-5, IV, pp. 536, 558-61; General Appendix, third part, "Plan of the Scientific Operations necessary for Reorganization Society." 1822.

is an extravagant chimera absolutely incompatible with the weakness of the human intellect.

A sound political system can never aim at impelling the human race, since this is moved by its proper impulse, in accordance with a law as necessary as, though more easily modified than, that of gravitation. But it does seek to facilitate human progress by en-

There is a great difference between obeying the progress of civilization blindly and obeying it intelligently. The changes it demands take place as much in the first as in the second case; but they are longer delayed, and, above all, are only accomplished after having produced serious social perturbations more or less serious, according to the nature and importance of these changes. Now the disturbances of every sort, which thus arise in the body politic, may be, in great part, avoided, by adopting measures based on an exact knowledge of the changes which tend to produce themselves. .

Now in order to attain this end, it is manifestly indispensable that we should know as precisely as possible, the actual tendency of civilization so as to bring our political conduct into harmony with it.134

9. The Social Environment and Social and Political Theory.

That there is a very intimate relation between the type of social and political system and the political theory of the period was one of the fundamental theses of Comte's philosophy of history. Scientific views of society could hardly be expected in the theological period. Comte states this very clearly in the following passage: "Short as is our life, and feeble as is our reason we cannot emancipate ourselves from the influence of our environment. Even the wildest dreamers reflect in their dreams the contemporary social state." 135 His best review of this point is probably to be found in his history of the attempts to found a scientific science of society before his own day.¹³⁶ The bearing of the social and political ideas of his time upon Comte's writings is evident throughout his works.

10. Summary.

Comte's sociology has been called by some writers a "prolegomenon" to the subject.137 Similarity it would not be inaccu-

¹³⁴ Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 536; 558-60. For Ward's appreciation of Comte's beginnings towards a doctrine of social telesis, see Dynamic Sociology, Vol. 1, p. 137.
135 Philosophie Positive, Vol. II, p. 11; cited by Bristol, op. cit.,

p. 12.

136 Martineau, II, pp. 197-208. 137 E. g. Defourny, followed by Bristol.

rate to declare that the same relationship exists between his theory of the state and that of most later sociologists. The main doctrines of Comte along political lines which suggest subsequent developments are the following: (1) the sociological view of the state, and the thesis that political activities and institutions must be studied in their wider social setting and relationships; (2) the organic theory of the state, later developed by Spencer, Schaeffle, Lilenfield, Fouillée, Roberty, Worms, and others; (3) the more universal sociological doctrine that the state is not an artificial product of rational perception of its utility, but a natural product of social necessity and historic growth; (4) the theory that the only rational limits of state activity are to be determined by a study of sociological principles and not by an appeal to "natural" laws; (5) a proper recognition of the all-important function of the broader social and extra-legal methods of social control-a line which has been exploited by such writers as Professors Ross, Cooley, Giddings and Sumner; (6) a recognition of the necessary conformity between measures for social amelioration, the fundamental characteristics of human nature and the principles of sociology—a matter to which sociologists are constantly calling the attention of the social economists and philanthropists; (7) a synthetic view of the historic process through which the present political organization has been reached, particularly suggestive for its emphasis upon the transition of the state from a military to an industrial basis—a view made much of by Spencer and later writers.

Comte's immediate influence, however, was not great and his devoted followers few. Except for Littré and his French disciples and Frederic Harrison and his group in England the Positive social philosophy was not enthusiastically adopted. But a few years after the publication of the *Polity* Darwinism made its appearance. This, together with Spencerian evolution, turned sociology in large part either into the social Darwinism of Gumplowicz and his school or into the much less fertile field of the biological analogies developed by Schäffle, Lilienfeld, Worms and others. Spencerian sociology lent its great prestige to the defence of *laissez-faire* and to the denunciation of "social telesis." French sociology after Comte developed chiefly in the more restricted fields of social anthropology and social psychology. Sociology in America was, for the first generation, based either on Spencerianism, as with Giddings, or upon the German *Klassenkampf* doc-

trines, as with Small and his school, or upon the French social psychology, as with Ross. Only Lester F. Ward took Comte seriously, and Ward diverged so widely from Comte in his system of social philosophy that most of his readers forgot his tribute to the Frenchman. Finally, the well-nigh complete bourgeois domination of western society tended to discourage the cultivation of the doctrines of a writer so critical of unregulated capitalism as Comte. Whether doctrines akin to those of Comte will have any considerable vogue in the construction of future plans of social reorganization is a problem of prophecy and not of the history of social theory, but it seems safe to say that no less comprehensive scheme will be adequate to the reorganization of the social order.

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