The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Editor: DR. PAUL CARUS. Assistant Editor: T. J. McCormack.

Frontispiece The HOLY SAINT LOSAPHAT of India.

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

VOL. XV. (NO. 5)

MAY, 1901.

NO. 540

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

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THE HOLY SAINT JOSAPHAT OF INDIA.

OR THE CHRISTIAN CANONISATION OF BUDDHA.

From a photograph of the image in the church of San Giosafat in Palermo.

Frontispiece to The Open Court.

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Copyrig	ht by The Open Court Pu	ablishing Co., 1901	•

SCIENTIFIC FAITH.

BY THE HON. CHARLES CARROLL BONNEY.

TOLERANCE, not bigotry, is the fruit of Scientific Faith. Religious Science naturally culminates in a scientific expression of faith. The word faith as here used is intended to signify a settled conviction of the truth of certain ideas. The duration of this conviction is not material. It may be of long standing or of recent formation, but it is essential that it be controlling.

One of the first steps toward a rational arrangement of scientific ideas is a clear perception of the distinction between absolute and perfect truth and the view which may be obtained of it from a study of its manifestations in the subject involved. The mind should be taught to recognise the fact that the perfect truth exists independently of its ideas and remains the same whether those ideas be correct or erroneous. The mind is thus put in an attitude of diligent search to discover and embrace the truth, and is forewarned that errors will only harm themselves and not the truth.

The mind is so constituted that the pursuit and utilisation of knowledge is as natural to it as the acquisition and consumption of food. The spirit of inquiry into the existence and relations of all the objects which the mind finds in the world it inhabits is also as natural as the hunger and thirst for material sustenance.

The first great discovery which the mind makes in its search for accurate knowledge is the distinction between apparent and real truth. It soon begins to learn that "appearances are often deceiving," and that there are many things which "are not what they seem."

The mind is thus led to inquire into the verity of appearances before accepting them, and so begins the upbuilding of a scientific system. The doubts it feels and the tests it applies are thus not in opposition to the truth but from a desire to ascertain the facts and be governed by them.

The mind soon makes another great and important discovery. It learns from experience and otherwise that its ideas of any object depend upon the correctness of its knowledge of that object, and thus if its knowledge be defective or erroneous its ideas will be unreliable and misleading. Thus a loyalty to the truth compels the mind to be constantly on the alert to discover and correct the errors into which it may fall.

By such discovery and correction and the pursuit of the new ideas to which the process leads, the progress of the world is wrought.

Thus in the language of the poet:

"We build the ladder by which we rise, From the lowly earth to the vaulted skies, And mount to its summit round by round."

While this process is going on in the mind, liberty of opinion and freedom of conscience become more and more sacred to the soul as the means by which it may seek and secure the richest blessings provided for it by the Creator.

In early life the mind is inclined to leap at once to conclusions, but as years advance it becomes more cautious and delays its judgment for investigation and reflexion.

The common stages to a conclusion are hearing, toleration investigation, and when these have been passed a mental reservation that the conclusion will be changed if the discovery of new facts should at any time require.

The reflecting mind realises more and more how very small is the domain of its absolute knowledge.

It discovers on examination that nearly all the ideas it holds owe something to information derived from others, in whose competency and fidelity it has confidence. The safeguard of this process is the Golden Rule. The mind accords to others merely the respect and credence which it asks for itself. Thus justice and sound judgment exercise a controlling influence in the upbuilding of the character.

It is a startling fact that the mind is so constituted that it can believe anything however absurd, or disbelieve anything however true. Of the truth of this statement any one may satisfy himself by observation and experiment, as well as by reference to the world's history from the earliest times. Unguided belief is like a horse without a bridle, very likely to run away. It is therefore a matter of necessity that in the formation of beliefs, the mind be guided by common sense and sound judgment.

The basis of belief in any case is the entire body of ideas which the mind holds in relation to the subject involved. It accepts with credence what harmonises with those ideas and seems worthy of belief, and rejects whatever is inconsistent therewith.

As soon as the mind realises that its own ideas on any point depend upon the correctness of its knowledge relating to that point, and must be changed in case any error be discovered in the information on which it is rested, it ceases to be arrogant and dogmatic and holds itself ready to hear with kindness and patience an expression of a different view.

In the earlier stages of development the mind is likely to give an undue weight to creed formulas and doctrinal statements; but as wisdom comes with experience and reflexion the mind discovers that the meaning which it finds in credal forms is necessarily more or less affected by its own ideas and environment, and that this must necessarily be the case with every other adherent. Thus the mind perceives that there is a domain of personal liberty for every soul and that the most it can expect from others is a cordial sympathy and general agreement.

Thus he who holds a scientific faith on any subject, keeps himself in readiness to correct any error into which he may have fallen; and as willing to hear from others their ideas and convictions as he is ready to communicate his own so far as they are willing to receive them. This is the way to promote peace on earth and good will among men. Thus a Scientific Faith wears ever the white bloom of charity and tolerance without one thorn to mar its heavenly beauty.

The real significance of formal creeds is largely misunderstood. Almost any Declaration of Faith, for example the Apostles Creed, represents whole volumes of ideas in innumerable combinations, and as it is said that no two leaves in a forest are precisely alike, so it may be affirmed that among thousands of communicants no two can be found to whom the words of the creed have exactly the same meaning. For as was said to the Parliament of Religions, "each must see God with the eyes of his own soul," and the views of each believer will necessarily take on to some extent the hue of his own environment.

He looks through that environment as through a colored glass upon every object to which he directs his vision.

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The most that can be expected from those who profess a common creed is a general agreement on the principal points involved. Always there must remain to every soul a little world in which it communes directly with the Creator, feeling that He at least understands.its faith, its aspirations and its prayers.

Half the sectarian prejudices that have embittered the world have arisen from misinterpretations of Declarations of Faith by hostile critics. But he who has no love for a creed cannot discover its innermost meaning. Only the patient devotee can do that.

The command to "Judge Not" applies with peculiar force to the things of Religion. The apostles of every faith may freely declare the good tidings they have to offer that they have no commission to become assailants of other forms of faith.

The orderly process to a Scientific Faith is not difficult to understand and follow. The supreme condition of progress is loyalty to the truth; a love of the truth and a determination to obey it.

It is also steadfastly to be borne in mind that "spiritual things must be spiritually discerned."

Each faculty of the soul should diligently seek the things which it is created to enjoy and make useful. The musical faculty should seek the "harmony of sweet sounds;" the mathematical faculty, the mysterious charm of numbers; the religious faculty, the transcendent ideas that bind the soul to the Creator. The soul that thus lives and strives will develop in harmonious proportions, and will find itself sustained and soothed by the innumerable consolations of a Scientific Faith.

THE LEGENDS OF GENESIS."

BY H. GUNKEL.

Ι.

THE SIGNIFICANCE AND SCOPE OF THE LEGENDS.

ARE the narratives of Genesis history or legend? For the modern historian this is no longer an open question; nevertheless it is important to get a clear notion of the bases of this modern position.

The writing of history is not an innate endowment of the human mind; it arose in the course of human history and at a definite stage of development. Uncivilised races do not write history; they are incapable of reproducing their experiences objectively, and have no interest in leaving to posterity an authentic account of the events of their time. Experiences fade before they are fairly cold, and fact and fancy mingle; only in poetical form, in song and saga, are unlettered tribes able to report historical occurrences. Only at a certain stage of civilisation has objectivity so grown and the interest in transmitting national experiences to posterity so increased that the writing of history becomes possible. Such history has for its subjects great public events, the deeds of popular leaders and kings, and especially wars. Accordingly some sort of political organisation is an antecedent presumption to the writing of history.

Only in a later, in the main a much later, time is the art of writing history, learned through the practice of writing national histories, applied to other spheres of human life, whence we have memoirs and the histories of families. But considerable sections of the people have never risen to the appreciation of history proper,

¹The present treatise is the Introduction to the same author's *Commentary on Genesis* (Vandenboek & Ruprecht, Göttingen), in which the positions here taken are expounded and supported in greater detail.—Translated from the German by Prof. W. H. Carruth, of the University of Kansas.

and have remained in the saga stage, or in what in modern times is analogous to saga.

Thus we find among the civilised peoples of antiquity two distinct kinds of historical records side by side: history proper and popular tradition, the latter treating in naïve poetical fashion partly the same subjects as the former, and partly the events of older, prehistoric times. And it is not to be forgotten that historical memories may be preserved even in such traditions, although clothed in poetic garb.

Even so did history originate in Israel. In the period from which the Book of Genesis is transmitted to us the art of history had been long established and highly developed according to ancient standards, having here as everywhere the deeds of kings and especially wars for themes; a monument of this history is found in the narratives of the Second Book of Samuel.

But in a people with such a highly developed poetical faculty as Israel there must have been a place for saga too. The senseless confusion of "legend" with "lying" has caused good people to hesitate to concede that there are legends in the Old Testament. But legends are not lies; on the contrary, they are a particular form of poetry. Why should not the lofty spirit of Old Testament religion, which employed so many varieties of poetry, indulge in this form also? For religion everywhere, the Israelite religion in cluded, has especially cherished poetry and poetic narrative, since poetic narrative is much better qualified than prose to be the medium of religious thought. Genesis is a more intensely religious book than the Book of Kings.

There is no denying that there are legends in the Old Testament; consider for instance the stories of Samson and of Jonah. Accordingly it is not a matter of belief or skepticism, but merely a matter of better knowledge, to examine whether the narratives of Genesis are history or legend. The objection is raised that Jesus and the Apostles clearly considered these accounts to be fact and not poetry. Suppose they did; the men of the New Testament are not presumed to have been exceptional men in such matters, but shared the point of view of their time. Hence we are not warranted in looking to the New Testament for a solution of questions in the literary history of the Old Testament.

CRITERIA FOR LEGEND AND HISTORY.

Now, since legend and history are very different in both origin and nature, there are many criteria by which they may be distin-

guished. One of the chief points of difference is that legend is originally oral tradition, while history is usually found in written form; this is inherent in the nature of the two species: legend being the tradition of those who are not in the habit of writing, while history, which is a sort of scientific activity, presupposes practice in writing. At the same time the writing down of an historical tradition serves to fix it, whereas oral tradition cannot remain uncorrupted for any length of time and is therefore inadequate to be the vehicle of history. Now it is evident that Genesis contains the final sublimation into writing of a body of oral traditions. The tales of the Patriarchs do not have the air of having been written down by the Patriarchs themselves; on the contrary many passages reveal clearly the great interval of time that lies between the period of the Patriarchs and the narrators. We read frequently the expression "even to this day," as in Genesis xix. 38; the kings of Edom are enumerated down to the time of David, xxxvi. 31 ff.; the sentence "in those days the Canaanites dwelt in the land" must have been written at a time when this race had long since passed away.

But the whole style of the narrative, as is to be shown hereafter, can be understood only on the supposition of its having been oral tradition; this condition can be realised especially in the many variants, to be treated in the following pages. But if the contents of Genesis is tradition, it is, as the preceding considerations show, legend also.

DIFFERENT SPHERES OF INTEREST.

Another distinguishing feature of legend and history is their different spheres of interest. History treats great public occurrences, while legend deals with things that interest the common people, with personal and private matters, and is fond of presenting even political affairs and personages so that they will attract popular attention. History would be expected to tell how and for what reasons David succeeded in delivering Israel from the Philistines; legend prefers to tell how the boy David once slew a Philistine giant. How does the material of Genesis stand in the light of this distinction? With the exception of a single chapter (Chapter xiv), it contains no accounts of great political events, but treats rather the history of a family. We hear a quantity of details, which certainly have for the greater part no value for political history, whether they are credited or not: that Abraham was pious and magnanimous, and that he once put away his concubine to please his wife; that Jacob deceived his brother; that Rachel and Leah were jealous,—"unimportant anecdotes of country life, stories of springs, of watering-troughs, and such as are told in the bedchamber," attractive enough to read, yet everything but historical occurrences. Such minor incidents aroused no public interest when they took place; the historian does not report them, but popular tradition and legend delight in such details.

EYE-WITNESS AND REPORTER.

In the case of every event that purports to be a credible historical memorandum, it must be possible to explain the connexion between the eve-witness of the event reported and the one who reports it. This is quite different in the case of legend which depends for its material partly upon tradition and partly upon imagination. We need only apply this test to the first narratives of Genesis in order to recognise their character straightway. No man was present at the creation of the universe; no human tradition extends back to the period of the origin of our race, of the first peoples and the primitive languages. In former times, before the deciphering of hieroglyphs and cuneiform writing, it was possible for Israelitic tradition to be regarded as so old that it did not seem absurd to look to it for such reminiscences of prehistoric ages; but now when creation has widened so mightily in our view, when we see that the People of Israel is one of the youngest in the group to which it belongs, there is an end of all such conjectures. Between the origin of the primitive races of southwestern Asia and the appearance of the People of Israel upon the stage of life had rolled unnumbered millenniums; hence there is no room for serious discussion over historical traditions said to be possessed by Israel regarding those primitive times.

The accounts of the patriarchs also give rise to the most serious doubts. According to the tradition the period of the patriarchs is followed by the four hundred years during which Israel lived in Egypt. Nothing is reported from this period; historical recollection seems to have been utterly blotted out. And yet we have an abundance of unimportant details regarding the period of the patriarchs. How is it conceivable that a people should preserve a great quantity of the very minutest details from the history of its primitive ancestors and at the same time forget its own national history for a long period following? It is not possible for oral tradition to preserve an authentic record of such details so vividly and for so long a time. And then, consider these narratives in detail. The question how the reporter could know of the things which he relates cannot be raised in most cases without exciting laughter. How does the reporter of the Deluge pretend to know the depth of the water? Are we to suppose that Noah took soundings? How is anyone supposed to know what God said or thought alone or in the councils of Heaven? (Cp. Genesis i. 2, 18, vi. 3-6 ff., xi. 6 ff.)

THE CRITERION OF INCREDIBILITY.

The clearest criterion of legend is that it frequently reports things which are quite incredible. This poetry has another sort of probability from that which obtains in prosaic life, and ancient Israel considered many things to be possible which to us seem impossible. Thus many things are reported in Genesis which go directly against our better knowledge: we know that there are too many species of animals for all to have been assembled in any ark; that Ararat is not the highest mountain on earth; that the "firmament of heaven," of which Genesis i. 6 ff. speaks, is not a reality, but an optical illusion ; that the stars cannot have come into existence after plants, as Genesis ii. 10-14 reports; that the rivers of the earth do not come chiefly from four principal streams, as Genesis ii. thinks, that the Tigris and the Euphrates have not a common source, that the Dead Sea had been in existence long before human beings came to live in Palestine, instead of originating in historical times, and so on.

Of the many etymologies in Genesis the majority are to be rejected according to the investigations of modern philology. The theory on which the legends of the patriarchs are based, that the nations of the earth originated from the expansion of a single family, in each case from a single ancestor, is quite infantile.¹ Any other conclusion is impossible from the point of view of our modern historical science, which is not a figment of imagination but is based upon the observation of facts. And however cautious the modern historian may be in declaring anything impossible, he may declare with all confidence that animals—serpents and she-asses, for instance—do not speak and never have spoken, that there is no tree whose fruit confers immortality or knowledge, that angels and men do not have carnal connexion, and that a world-conquering army cannot be defeated—as Genesis xiv. declares—with three hundred and eighteen men.

¹ Compare my Commentary to Genesis, pp. 78 ff.

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WANING ANTHROPOMORPHISM.

The narratives of Genesis being mostly of a religious nature are constantly speaking of God. Now the manner in which narratives speak of God is one of the surest means of determining whether they are historical or poetic. Here too the historian cannot avoid having a universal point of view. We believe that God works in the universe in the silent and secret background of all things; sometimes his influence seems almost tangible, as in the case of exceptionally great and impressive events and personalities; we divine his control in the marvellous interdependence of things; but nowhere does he appear as an operative factor beside others, but always as the last and ultimate cause of everything. Very different is the point of view of many of the narratives in Genesis. We find God walking about in the Garden of Eden; with his own hands he fashions man and closes the door of the ark : he even breathes his own breath into man's nostrils and makes unsuccessful experiments with animals; he scents the sacrifice of Noah: he appears to Abraham and Lot in the guise of a wayfarer, or as an angel calls directly out of Heaven. Once, indeed, God appears to Abraham in his proper form, having the appearance of a burning torch and of a smoking baking-pot (the Revised Version in English has here "furnace"). The speeches of God in Genesis are remarkable for the fact that his words are not heard in the obscure moments of intensest human excitement, in the state of ecstasy, as was the case with the prophets when they heard the voice of God, but that God speaks in all respects as does one man to another. We are able to comprehend this as the naïve conception of the men of old, but we cannot regard belief in the literal truth of such accounts as an essential of religious conviction.

And these arguments are immensely strengthened when we compare the narratives which on inner evidence we regard as poetry with the specimens which we know of strict Israelitish history. For these violations of probability and even of possibility are not found throughout the Old Testament, but only in certain definite portions possessing a uniform tone, whereas they are not to be found in other portions which for other reasons we regard as more strictly historical. Consider especially the central portion of the Second Book of Samuel, the history of the rebellion of Absalom, the most exquisite piece of early historical writing in Israel. The world that is there portrayed is the world that we know. In this world iron does not float and serpents do not speak; no god or angel appears like a person among other persons, but everything happens as we are used to seeing things happen. In a word, the distinction between legend and history is not injected into the Old Testament, but is to be found by any attentive reader already present in the Old Testament.

Moreover, it should not be forgotten that many of the legends of the Old Testament are not only similar to those of other nations, but are actually related to them by origin and nature. Now we cannot regard the story of the Deluge in Genesis as history and that of the Babylonians as legend; in fact, the account of the Deluge in Genesis is a younger version of the Babylonian legend. Neither can we reject all other cosmogonies as fiction and defend that of Genesis as history; on the contrary the account of Genesis i., greatly as it differs in its religious spirit from other cosmogonies, is by its literary method closely related to them.

LEGEND IS POETRY.

But the important point is and will remain the poetic tone of the narratives. History, which claims to inform us of what has actually happened, is in its very nature prose, while legend is by nature poetry, its aim being to please, to elevate, to inspire and to move. He who wishes to do justice to such narratives must have some æsthetic faculty, to catch in the telling of a story what it is and what it purports to be. And in doing so he is not expressing a hostile or even skeptical judgment, but simply studying lovingly the nature of his material. Whoever possesses heart and feeling must perceive, for instance in the case of the sacrifice of Isaac, that the important matter is not to establish certain historical facts, but to impart to the hearer the heartrending grief of the father who is commanded to sacrifice his child with his own hand, and then his boundless gratitude and joy when God's mercy releases him from this grievous trial. And every one who perceives the peculiar poetic charm of these old legends must feel irritated by the barbarian-for there are pious barbarians-who thinks he is putting the true value upon these narratives only when he treats them as prose and history.

The conclusion, then, that one of these narratives is legend is by no means intended to detract from the value of the narrative; it only means that the one who pronounces it has perceived somewhat of the poetic beauty of the narrative and thinks that he has thus arrived at an understanding of the story. Only ignorance can regard such a conclusion as irreverent, for it is the judgment of reverence and love. These poetic narratives are the most beautiful possession which a people brings down through the course of its history, and the legends of Israel, especially those of Genesis, are perhaps the most beautiful and most profound ever known on earth.

A child, indeed, unable to distinguish between reality and poetry, loses something when it is told that its dearest stories are "not true." But the modern theologian should be farther developed. The evangelical churches and their chosen representatives would do well not to dispute the fact that Genesis contains legends —as has been done too frequently—but to recognise that the knowledge of this fact is the indispensable condition to an historical understanding of Genesis. This knowledge is already too widely diffused among those trained in historical study to be suppressed. It will surely spread among the masses of our people, for the process is irresistible. Shall not we Evangelicals take care that it be presented to them in the right spirit?

THE VARIETIES OF LEGENDS IN GENESIS.

In the great mass of our materials two groups are distinctly recognisable:

1. The legends of the origin of the world and of the progenitors of the human race, the stories down to the tower of Babel, their locality being remote and their sphere of interest the whole world;

2. The legends of the patriarchs of Israel: Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, and the latter's sons, the locality and the sphere of interest being Canaan and adjacent lands.

Even in their character the two groups are most plainly distinguished: the narratives of the first group speak of God in a way different from that of the legends of the patriarchs. In the latter the divinity appears always enveloped in mystery, unrecognised or speaking out of Heaven, or perhaps only in a dream; in the earlier legends, on the contrary, God walks intimately among men and no one marvels at it: in the legend of Paradise men dwell in God's house; it is assumed that he is in the habit of visiting them every evening; he even closes the ark for Noah, and appears to him in person, attracted by his sacrifice. Furthermore, in the legends of the patriarchs the real actors are always men; if the divinity appears, it is regarded as an exception. But in the primitive legends the divinity is the leading actor (as in the creation), or at least among those chiefly concerned (as in the story of Paradise, of the union of men and of angels, of the Deluge and the Tower of Babel). This distinction is, to be sure, only relative, for some of the legends of the Patriarchs (notably those connected with Hebron and Penuel) represent the divinity as appearing in the same way; on the other hand, the story of Cain and Abel and that of the cursing of Canaan, in which human beings are the chief actors, are among the primitive legends. However, the distinction applies on the whole to the two groups. This prominence of the action of the divinity in the primitive legends indicates that these have a more decidedly "mythical" character: that they are faded myths.

FADED MYTHS.

"Myths"—let no one shrink from the word—are stories of the gods, in contradistinction to the legends in which the actors are men. Stories of the gods are in all nations the oldest narratives; the legend as a literary variety has its origin in myths. Accordingly, when we find that these primitive legends are akin to myths, we must infer that they have come down to us in comparatively ancient form. They come from a period of Israel's history when the childlike belief of the people had not yet fully arrived at the conception of a divinity whose operations are shrouded in a mystery. On the other hand, these original myths have reached us in comparatively faded colors. This we can perceive in the narratives themselves, where we are able in some points to reconstruct an older form of the story than the one transmitted to us: notably Genesis vi. 1-4 is nothing but a torso.

We are led to similar conclusions when we compare the primitive legends with the allusions to the myths which we find in the poets and prophets of the Old Testament and the later apocalyptic writers;¹ as, for instance, the myths of Jahveh's combat with Rahab or Leviathan, of the fall of Helal, and so on. The same result very clearly follows a comparison of the primitive legends of Genesis with the myths of the Orient, especially of the biblical story of the creation and the Deluge with the Babylonian versions of the same subjects. The colossal outlines, the peculiarly brilliant colors which characterise these myths in the original form are lost in a measure in the biblical legends of the beginnings of things. The equivalence of the divine beings and the objects or realms of nature, the combat of the gods among one another, the birth of the

¹Compare the material gathered in my work Creation and Chaos, 1895.

gods, are some of the features which have disappeared in the version of Genesis.

MONOTHEISM HOSTILE TO MYTHS.

In all this we can see the essential character of the religion of Israel. The characteristic trait of the religion of Jahweh is unfavorable to myths. For this religion from its very beginning tends toward monotheism. But for a story of the gods at least two gods are essential. Therefore the Israel which we observe in the Old Testament could not tolerate genuine and unmodified myths, at least not in prose. The poet was excused for occasional allusions to myths. Hence in poetry we find preserved traces of a point of view older than that of the tradition of Genesis, frankly familiar with myths. But the primitive legends preserved to us are all dominated by this unspoken aversion to mythology. The monotheism of Israel tolerates only such myths as represent God as acting alone, as in the story of the creation, and even then there is no real "story," where action and counter-action give rise to a new situation or action. Or at the most, the story deals with action between God and men, where, however, men are too weak in the true Israelitish conception to be worthy rivals of God, to produce in their clash with God a real epic action; as soon as God intervenes all is decided. If in such a case a "story" is to be told, men must perform their part first. This is the method of the legends of Paradise and of the Tower of Babel. With the story of the Deluge it is different, God taking part from the beginning; but as a result of this the continued interest of the hearer is not maintained. Furthermore it should be noted that the legends preserved to us with mythical elements are much less numerous than the legends of the patriarchs in which this element is absent. This fact also may fairly be regarded as a result of the Israelitish aversion to mythology.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF MYTHS.

It is not proposed to present here a theory of the origin and primitive significance of myths. Only a few observations may be permitted. A certain series of myths may be interpreted on the assumption that some natural phenomenon that is wont to occur frequently or regularly in the actual world has furnished the colors for the painting of one similar but gigantic phenomenon in primitive times. Thus the creation of the world is painted as Spring on a grand scale, and the overflows of the rivers of Mesopotamia gave rise to the story of the Deluge.

Many myths attempt to answer questions being intended to give instruction. This is the case with the primitive legends of Genesis: the story of creation raises the question. Whence come heaven and earth? and at the same time, Why is the Sabbath sacred? The story of Paradise treats the question, Whence are man's reason and his mortality? and along with this, Whence are man's body and mind? Whence his language? Whence the love of the sexes? Whence does it come that woman brings forth with so much pain, that man must till the stubborn field, that the serpent goes upon its belly, and so on? The legend of Babel asks the question, Whence is the variety of nations in language and location? The answers to these questions constitute the real content of the respective legends. In the case of the legend of the Deluge this is different, but there is an ætiological, or explanatory, feature at the close: Why is there never such a flood again? And what is the meaning of the rainbow?

All these questions interest not Israel alone, but the whole world. We know that ancient Israel in general was not inclined to philosophic speculation, but that it always took most interest in immediate and Israelitish affairs. But here is a place in which the ancient race is able to treat universal human problems, the profoundest questions of mankind. This they have done in unique fashion in the stories of the creation and of Eden: these are the beginnings of theology and of philosophy. It is no wonder that especial emphasis has been laid upon these features, and that every generation, since Genesis has been known, has read into it its own deepest thoughts.

THE LEGENDS OF THE PATRIARCHS.

The primitive legends are followed in Genesis by the legends of the patriarchs. The distinctive feature of these legends is that they tell of the progenitors of races, especially of Israel. At the foundation of these legends lies the theory that all races, Israel included, have come in each case from the family of a single ancestor, which gradually expanded. This theory is not supported by observed facts, for no human eye observes the origin of races; on the contrary, it is the remnant of a primitive poetic conception of tribal life.

In earliest times the individual man counts for little; there is much more interest in the destinies of the race: the tribe, the nation, are regarded as real entities much more than at the present day. Thus it comes that the destinies of the race are regarded as being the destinies of a person: the race sighs, triumphs, is dejected, rebels, dies, comes to life again, etc. Thus too the relations of races are regarded as the relations of individuals: two races, it is said, are brothers, i. e., are closely related and equal; if one of them is regarded as richer, stronger, or nobler, it is said to be the firstborn brother, or it comes of a better mother, while the other is younger, or comes of a concubine. Israel being divided into twelve tribes, we are told that the tribal ancestor of Israel had twelve sons. Some of these tribes having a closer union with one another, they are said to come from one mother. The relation of mother and son exists between Hagar and Ishmael; the more distant relation of uncle and nephew between Abraham and Lot.

Originally these persons were the tribes themselves. This method of expression is still entirely current later in the pathetic poetry of the prophets: Edom builds his nest on high, Moab dies to the sound of trumpets, Asshur falls upon Israel like a lion upon his prey, Jerusalem and Samaria are two unchaste sisters, Edom has treated his brother Israel with enmity, etc. Such personifications must have been very familiar to the earliest ages. But as the world became more prosaic and these expressions were no longer understood in the simple narrative, the question was asked, who these persons, Jacob, Juda, Simeon, really were, and the answer given that they were the patriarchs and the later races and tribes their sons; an answer which seems to be a matter of course, since it was customary to refer to the individual Israelites and Ammonites as "Sons of Israel" and "Sons of Ammon."

We are not putting a new meaning into the legends which treat of such race-individuals, when we regard their heroes, Ishmael, Jacob, Esau, and others, as tribes and try to interpret the stories about them as tribal events; we are simply getting at their meaning as it was understood in primitive times in Israel.

On the other hand, we must go about this attempt with caution, for we must reckon with the possibility that some of these figures do not originally represent tribes, but only came to be regarded as patriarchs in a later time, and further, after the figures of the patriarchs had once become established as the heroes of epic legends, that legends of other sorts and wanting the basis of tribal history became attached to these. We may certainly regard as personifications of tribes those figures whose names are known to us in other connexions as names of tribes; such are notably, Ishmael, Ammon, Moab, the twelve tribes and their divisions. Sometimes it is perfectly evident from the narratives themselves that we have to do with tribes, as in the case of Cain and Abel, Jacob and Esau, Ham and Japhet. Accordingly, many of the narratives treating such ancestors are originally the experiences of races or tribes.

Once in ancient times, so we may assume, there were conflicts over wells between the citizens of Gerar and the neighboring Bedouins, ending in a compromise at Beersheba. The legend depicts these affairs as a war and a treaty between Abimelech, king of Gerar, and the patriarchs called in the legend Abraham or Isaac. (21, 22 ff., 26).

Dinah, the daughter of Jacob, is seduced by Shechem, and in punishment Shechem is treacherously assaulted by Dinah's brothers; Jacob, however, abjures the brothers and curses them. The history at the bottom of this is probably as follows: Dinah, an Israelitish family, is overpowered by the Canaanitish city of Shechem and then treacherously avenged by Simeon and Levi, the most closely related tribes, but the other tribes of Israel renounce them and allow the two tribes to be destroyed.

The legend of Tamar, also, depicts in part early relations in the tribe of Judah: Judah allied itself with Canaanites, in the legend Hirah of Adullam and Judah's wife, Bathshua; a number of Judæan-Canaanitish tribes (Er and Onan) perished early; finally two new tribes arose (Perez and Zerah). In the Esau-Jacob legend also there are quite evidently historical reminiscences: Esau and Jacob are brother tribes, Esau a tribe of hunters, Jacob a tribe of shepherds; Esau is the elder, but by sale or fraud he loses his birthright, that is, the older and better known tribe of Esau was compelled to give way to the later and originally weaker tribe of Jacob and has now the poorer land.

A similar rivalry is assumed by the legend between the Judæan tribes of Perez and Zerah and between Ephraim and Manasseh. Reuben, the first-born among the Israelitish tribes, loses his birthright on account of sin: the tribe of Reuben, which was the leading tribe in the earliest times, afterwards forfeited this position. Cain, the husbandman, slew his brother Abel, the herdsman, but was compelled to leave the land which they had before occupied in common. Shem, Japhet and Canaan are originally brothers; but Japhet has now a much more extensive territory than the others, and Canaan is the servant of both.

We hear of many migrations. From the north Abraham migrates to Canaan, after him Rebeccah, to marry Isaac, and finally comes Jacob; the initial point of the migration is given as Ur-Kasdim and Haran the city of Nahor (xxiv. 10). In the legend of Joseph there is described a migration of Israelitish tribes to Egypt; the account of the trip of Abraham to Egypt has a similar basis.

Now it is in the nature of legend that we do not catch sight of these old occurrences clearly by its means, but only as through a mist. Legend has woven a poetic veil about the historical memories and hidden their outlines. In most cases the time of the event is not to be derived from the legend itself; often even the place is not to be distinguished, and sometimes not even the personality of the actor. Who can tell what race it was that came to Canaan from Aram-Naharajim? Where the real home of Jacob and Esau was, of Cain and Abel, of Shem and Japhet, the legend has forgotten. What tribes parted at Bethel, in case there is any historical basis to the legend of the separation of Lot and Abraham? And so, although the things of the past are hidden rather than revealed in these legends, he would be a barbarian who would despise them on this account, for often they are more valuable than would be prosaic reports of actual occurrences. For instance, if we had good historical data regarding Ishmael we should not value them highly, for this "wild ass" rendered little service to mankind; but as it is, touched by the hand of poetry, he is immortal.

In these legends the clearest matter is the character of races: here is Esau, the huntsman of the steppes, living with little reflexion from hand to mouth, forgetful, magnanimous, brave, and hairy as a goat; and there is Jacob the herdsman, a smooth man, more cunning and accustomed to look into the future. His uncle Laban is the type of the Aramæan, avaricious and deceitful, but to outward appearances an excellent and upright man, never at loss for an excuse. A more noble figure is Abraham, hospitable, peaceful, a model of piety.

Moreover it is clear to us in many cases in what spirit the incidents are regarded: we perceive most easily how the legend despises the unchastity of Canaan, how it mocks at Esau and Laban, how it rejoices that Lot, with all his avarice, obtained after all the worse land, etc.

ANTIQUITY OF THE LEGENDS.

These legends have not hitherto received full justice, even when it has been recognised that they are legends. Even the most superficial reader can distinguish for himself the chief original sources in Genesis from which the present redaction was con-

structed, now commonly called the writings of the Elohist, of the Yahvist, and of the Priestly Code. Since the sources of the Elohist and the Jahvist were written down in the ninth or eighth century B. C. some commentators have been disposed to think that the legends themselves originated in the main in the age of the Israelitish kingdom and furnished therefore no revelations of primitive history. But in reality these legends are much older. The tribal and race names which they preserve are almost all forgotten in other records: we know nothing of Shem, Ham, and Japhet, of Abel and Cain, of Esau and Jacob, nothing of Hagar and scarcely anything of Ishmael, from the historical records of Israel. Hence we must conclude that these races all belong to prehistoric times. This is particularly evident in the case of Jacob and Esau, who were, to be sure, identified later with Israel and Edom. But this very lapping of names, as well as many features of the legend which are not applicable to Israel and Edom, as, for instance, the treaties between the city of Gerar and the sons of Abraham (or Isaac) concerning the possession of certain wells, especially that of Beersheba, show us that the old narrative originally had in mind entirely different races; in the legend Jacob is not disposed to war; in history Israel conquered Edom in war; in the legend Esau is stupid, in history he is famous for his wisdom.

Another proof of the age of these tribal legends may be found in the history of the legend in Israel. The legends in the Book of Judges have ceased to speak of tribes as persons (excepting Judges i.), but they tell of heroes, of individual leaders of the tribes. The latest story that preserves the old style and to which an historical date can be assigned is the legend of the capture of Shechem, the Dinah legend of Genesis. Sometime in the earlier portion of the period of Judges, then, this naïve style of narrative disappeared so far as we can ascertain; from that time on such narratives are merely transmitted, but no longer constructed new.

CLASSIFICATION OF LEGENDS.

We call these legends "historical" when they reflect historical occurrences, "ethnographic" when they contain chiefly descriptions of race and tribal relations. Thus we characterise the legend of the treaty of Beersheba and the various legends of migrations as "historical," but those of Jacob and Esau as "ethnographic."

ÆTIOLOGICAL LEGENDS.

Alongside these narratives of Genesis are also "ætiological" legends, that is, those that are written for a purpose, or to explain something. There is no end of the questions which interest a primitive people. The instinct for asking questions is innate in man: he wants to know of the origin of things. The child looks into the world with wide eyes and asks, Why? The answer which the child gives itself and with which it is for the time satisfied, is perhaps very childish, and hence incorrect, and yet, if it is a bright child the answer is interesting and touching even for the grown man. In the same way a primitive people asks similar questions and answers them as best it can. These questions are usually the same that we ourselves are asking and trying to answer in our scientific researches. Hence what we find in these legends are the beginnings of human science, only humble beginnings of course, and yet venerable to us because they are beginnings, and at the same time peculiarly attractive and touching, for in these answers ancient Israel has uttered its most intimate feelings, clothing them in a bright garb of poetry. Some of these questions are the following:

ETHNOLOGICAL LEGENDS.

There is a desire to know the reasons for the relations of tribes. Why is Canaan the servant of his brethren? Why has Japhet such an extended territory? Why do the children of Lot dwell in the inhospitable East? How does it come that Reuben has lost his birthright? Why must Cain wander about a restless fugitive? Why is sevenfold vengeance proclaimed against the slayer of Cain? Why is Gilead the border between Israel and the Aramæans? Why does Beersheba belong to us and not to the people of Gerar? Why is Shechem in possession of Joseph? Why have we a right to the holy places at Shechem and Machpela? Why has Ishmael become a Bedouin people with just this territory and this God? How does it come that the Egyptian peasants have to bear the heavy tax of the fifth, while the fields of the priests are exempt? And with especial frequency the question was asked, How does Israel come to have this glorious land of Canaan?

The legends tell in many variations how it came about that the patriarchs received this particular land: God gave it to Abraham because of his obedience; when on the occasion of the separation at Bethel Lot chose the East, the West fell to Abraham; Jacob obtained the blessing of the better country from Isaac by a deception; God promised it to Jacob at Bethel, and so on.

Such ethnological legends, which tell a fictitious story in order to explain tribal relations, are of course very difficult to distinguish from historical legends which contain the remnant of a tradition of some actual event. Very commonly ethnological and ethnographic features are combined in the same legend: the relations underlying the story are historical, but the way in which they are explained is poetic.

The usual nature of the answer given to these questions by our legends is that the present relations are due to some transaction of the patriarchs: the tribal ancestor bought the holy place, and accordingly it belongs to us, his heirs; the ancestors of Israel and Aram established Gilead as their mutual boundary; Cain's ancestor was condemned to perpetual wandering by the word of God, and so on. A favorite way is to find the explanation in a miraculous utterance of God or some of the patriarchs, and the legend has to tell how this miraculous utterance came to be made in olden times. And this sort of explanation was regarded as completely satisfactory, so that there came to be later a distinct literary variety of "charm" or "blessing."¹

Childish as these explanations now seem to us, and impossible as it was for the men of old to find out the true reasons of such things, yet we must not overlook the profundity of many of these poetic legends: they are all based on the assumption that the tribal and national relations of that day were not chance, but that they were all the results of events of the primitive world, that they were in a way "predestined." In these legends we have the first rudiments of a philosophy of history.

ETYMOLOGICAL LEGENDS.

Along with the above we find etymological legends or features of legends, as it were, beginnings of the science of language. Ancient Israel spent much thought upon the origin and the real meaning of the names of races, mountains, wells, sanctuaries, and cities. To them names were not so unimportant as to us, for they were convinced that names were somehow closely related to the things. It was quite impossible in many cases for the ancient people to give the correct explanation, for names were with Israel as with other nations among the most ancient possessions of the people, coming

1 Cp. Genesis xlix.

down from extinct races or from faraway stages of the national language. Many of our current names such as Rhine, Moselle, Neckar, Harz, Berlin, London, Thames, Seine, etc. are equally unintelligible to those not trained in philology. It is probable that the very fact of the oddity and unintelligibility of these names attracted the attention of the ancient race. Early Israel as a matter of course explains such names without any scientific spirit and wholly on the basis of the language as it stood. It identifies the old name with a modern one which sounds more or less like it, and proceeds to tell a little story explaining why this particular word was uttered under these circumstances and was adopted as the name. We too have our popular etymologies. How many there are who believe that the noble river which runs down between New Hampshire and Vermont and across Massachusetts and Connecticut is so named because it "connects" the first two and "cuts" the latter two states! Manhattan Island was named from the exclamation of a savage who was struck by the size of a Dutch hat worn by an early burgher, "Man hat on !" Many are the stories told to explain why a famous London highway is called "Rotten Row" (Route en roi).

The Lombards, we are told by another legend, were originally called Winili. But on an occasion the women of the tribe put on beards as a disguise, and Wodan looking out of his window in the morning exclaimed, "What are those 'long beards' (Langobarden)?" Grimm, *German Legends*, No. 390.

The famous Thuringian castle, the Wartburg, is said to have derived its name from the fact that the landgrave, having strayed thither during a hunt, exclaimed, "Wart, Berg, du sollst mir eine Burg werden" (Wait, mountain, thou shalt become my fortress).

Similar legends are numerous in Genesis and in later works. The city of Babel is named from the fact that God there confused human tongues (*balal*), xi. 9; Jacob is interpreted as "heelholder" because at birth he held his brother, whom he robbed of the birthright, by the heel (xxv. 26); Zoar means "trifle," because Lot said appealingly, "It is only a trifle" (xix. 20, 22); Beersheba is "the well of seven," because Abraham there gave Abimelech seven lambs (xxi. 28 ff.); Isaac (*Yishak*) is said to have his name from the fact that his mother laughed (*sahak*) when his birth was foretold to her (xviii. 12), and so forth.

In order to realise the utter naïveté of most of these interpretations, consider that the Hebrew legend calmly explains the Babylonian name Babel from the Hebrew vocabulary, and that the writers are often satisfied with merely approximate similarities of sounds: for instance Cain (more exactly Kayin) from kaniti, "I have murdered" (iv. I), Reuben from rah beonyi, "the hath regarded my misery" (xxix. 32), etc. Every student of Hebrew knows that these are not satisfactory etymologies. Investigators have not always fully perceived the naïve character of this theory of etymology, but have allowed themselves to be misled into patching up some very unsatisfactory etymologies with modern appliances. In one case many theologians even are wont to declare one of these explanations, a very ingenious one indeed (Jahveh = "I am that I am," Ex. iii. I4) as an established etymology. But etymologies are not acquired by revelation. The etymological legends are especially valuable to us because they are especially clear illustrations of the ætiological variety of legend.

CEREMONIAL LEGENDS.

More important than these etymological legends are those whose purpose is to explain the regulations of religious ceremonials. Such ceremonial regulations play a great part in the life of primitive races, but many of these customs have become in part or altogether unintelligible to the one who observes them in the earliest times of which we have authentic record. For customs are far more persistent than opinions, and religious customs are particularly conservative. And even we, whose religious service has undergone a vigorous purging in the Reformation and again at the hands of rationalism, see and hear in our churches many things which we understand only in part or not at all.

Ancient Israel reflected deeply upon the origin of these religious practices. And if the grown people become too blunted by custom to be able to perceive the strange and unintelligible features of the custom, they are roused from their indifference by the questions of the children. When the children see their father perform all sorts of curious customs during the Feast of the Passover, they will ask—thus it is expressly told, Ex. xii. 26; xiii. 14—What does this mean? and then the story of the Passover is to be told them. A similar direction is given with relation to the twelve stones in the Jordan (Josh. iv. 6), which the father is to explain to the children as memorials of the passage of the Jordan. In these examples, then, we see clearly how such a legend is the answer to a question. Similarly, questions are asked with regard to the origin of circumcision, and of the Sabbath. Why do we not eat the muscle of the thigh? Why do they anoint the holy stone of Bethel and deliver the tithes there? Why do we not sacrifice a child at Jeruel as Jahveh commands, but in its stead a ram (Gen. xxii.)? Why do our people "limp," that is, perform a certain dance, at the festival in Penuel (xxxii. 32)?

No Israelite could have given the real reason for all these things, for they were too old. But to relieve this embarrassment myth and legend step in. They tell a story and explain the sacred custom: long ago an event occurred from which this ceremony very naturally sprang, and we perform the ceremony representing the event in commemoration of it. But this story that explains the custom is always laid in primitive times. Thus the ancient race gives the entirely correct impression that the customs of their religious service originated in the immemorial past: the trees of Shechem and Hebron are older than Abraham! We perform the rite of circumcision in memory of Moses, whose firstborn was circumcised as a redemption for Moses whose blood God demanded (Ex. iv. 24 ff). We rest on the seventh day because God at the creation of the world rested on the seventh day (a myth, because God himself is the actor in it). The muscle of the thigh is sacred to us because God struck Jacob on this muscle while wrestling with him at Penuel (xxxii. 33). The stone at Bethel was first anointed by Jacob because it was his pillow in the night when God appeared to him (xxviii. 11 ff.). At Jeruel-this is the name of the scene of the sacrifice of Isaac, xxii, 1-19 (cf. the Commentary, p. 218 ff.)-God at first demanded of Abraham his child, but afterward accepted a ram. We "limp" at Penuel in imitation of Jacob, who limped there when his hip was lamed in the wrestling with God (xxxii, 32). And so on.

In all this matter we are constantly hearing of certain definite places, such as Bethel, Penuel, Shechem, Beersheba, Lacha-roi, Jeruel, etc., and of the trees, wells, and stone monuments at these places. These are the primitive sanctuaries of the tribes and families of Israel. Primitive times felt that there was some immediate manifestation of the nature of the divinity in these monuments, but a later time which no longer regarded the connexion as so clear and so self-evident, raised the question, Why is this particular place and this sacred memorial so especially sacred? The regular answer to this question was, Because in this place the divinity appeared to our ancestor. In commemoration of this theophany we worship God in this place. Now in the history of religion it is of great significance that the ceremonial legend comes from a time when religious feeling no longer perceived as self-evident the divinity of the locality and the natural monument and had forgotten the significance of the sacred ceremony. Accordingly the legend has to supply an explanation of how it came about that the God and the tribal ancestor met in this particular place.

Abraham happened to be sitting under the tree in the noonday heat just as the men appeared to him, and for this reason the tree is sacred (xix. I ff). The well in the desert, Lacha-roi, became the sanctuary of Ishmael because his mother in her flight into the desert met at this well the God who comforted her (xvi. 7 ff). Jacob happened to be passing the night in a certain place and resting his head upon a stone when he saw the heavenly ladder; therefore this stone is our sanctuary (xxviii. 10 ff). Moses chanced to come with his flocks to the holy mountain and the thornbush (Ex. iii-I ff). Probably every one of the greater sanctuaries of Israel had some similar legend of its origin.

We can easily imagine that any such legend of a sanctuary was originally told on the occasion of the festival concerned and on the original spot, just as the Feast of the Passover and the legend of the exodus, the feast of Purim and the legend of Esther, the Babylonian Easter festival and the Babylonian hymn of the creation, belong together, and as with us Christmas and Easter are not to be thought of without their stories. These ceremonial legends are so valuable to us because we discover from them what were the sacred places and customs of Israel and at the same time they give us a very vivid realisation of ancient religious feeling: they are our chief sources of information regarding the oldest religion of Israel. Genesis is full of them, and but few are found in the later books. Almost everywhere in Genesis where a certain place is named, and at least wherever God appears at a definite place, it is based on such a legend. In these legends we have the beginning of the history of religion.

GEOLOGICAL AND OTHER LEGENDS.

Aside from the foregoing we may distinguish a number of other sorts of legends, of which at least the geological deserves mention. Such geological legends undertake to explain the origin of a locality. Whence comes the Dead Sea with its dreadful desert? The region was cursed by God on account of the terrible sin of its inhabitants. Whence comes the pillar of salt yonder with its resemblance to a woman? That is a woman, Lot's wife, turned into a pillar of salt in punishment for attempting to spy out the mystery of God (xix, 26). But whence does it come that the bit of territory about Zoar is an exception to the general desolation? Because Jahveh spared it as a refuge for Lot (xix, 17-22).

All these ætiological legends, then, are remote from the standards of the modern sciences to which they correspond; we regard them with the emotion with which a man looks back upon his childhood. But even for our science they have a great value, for they furnish us in their descriptions or implications of definite conditions the most important material for the knowledge of the ancient world.

MIXED LEGENDS.

Very frequently various types of legend are combined in one. The flight of Hagar (xvi.) is to be called ethnographic because it depicts the life of Ishmael; ethnologic, because it undertakers to explain these conditions; in one feature it is allied to the ceremonial legends, its explanation of the sacredness of Lacha-roi; furthermore it has etymological elements in its interpretation of the names Lacha-roi and Ishmael.-The legend of Paradise treats all at once a number of questions .- The legend of Bethel explains at once the worship at Bethel and the name of the place .- The legends of Beersheba (xxi., xxii. ff., xxvi.) contain remnants of history, telling of a tribal treaty established there, and at the same time certain religious features, as the explanation of the sanctity of the place, and finally some etymological elements .- The legend of Penuel explains the sanctity of the place, the ceremony of limping, and the names Penuel and Israel. And so on. Etymological elements, it may be noted, never appear alone in Genesis, but always in connexion with other features.

ORIGIN OF THE LEGENDS.

In many cases the origin of the legends will have been revealed with what has already been considered. Thus in most etymological features it can be shown quite clearly that those features in the legend which explain the name were invented for this very purpose. The incident of Abraham's giving Abimelech seven (sheba) lambs at Beersheba (xxi., 28 ff.) was surely invented to explain this name; also the laughing (sahak) of Isaac's mother (xviii. 12–15), etc. The narrative of Judah, Er, Onan (xxxviii.) and the others is plainly nothing but a history of the Israelite families, just as the legend of Dinah (xxxiv.) is merely a reflexion of the attack upon Shechem. But on the other hand the investigator is to be warned not to be too quick to jump at the conclusion that he always has

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the origin of the legend in this oldest interpretation attainable by us; on the contrary, we have to reckon with the possibility that the features of the story which are intelligible to us were injected into it later, and that the legend itself is older than any meaning we can see in it.

Finally, there are legends which cannot be classified under any of the heads given above. Of such are large portions of the legend of Joseph; also the chief feature of the story of Jacob and Laban, the deceits and tricks, cannot be understood from the standpoint of either history or ætiology.

The preceding classification of legends is based of course upon the chief or dominant features. Along with these go the purely ornamental or æsthetic features twining about the others like vines over their trellises. The art of these legends is revealed especially in this portrayal of the subject matter given.

THE HOLY SAINT JOSAPHAT OF INDIA.

FROM THE ACCOUNT OF THE HON. ANDREW D. WHITE.

 W^{E} owe the picture constituting the frontispiece to the present number of The Open Court to the courtesy of our distinguished fellow countryman, the Hon. Andrew D. White, American Ambassador to the court of Berlin, and a scholar and publicist of merited eminence, who has had the original photograph especially reproduced for our purpose. The story of St. Josaphat, who is none other than Buddha himself canonised and enrolled as a Christian saint, forms so interesting an episode in the history of religion and sheds so much light on the evolution of our religious and intellectual beliefs, that we have decided to reproduce Mr. White's excellent account of the affair in full, rather than limit ourselves to a mere note on the picture. This account is taken with the author's consent from his large two-volume work, A History of the Warfare of Science with Theology in Christendom.¹ In the chapter on "The Victory of the Scientific and Literary Methods," Mr. White traces briefly the history of Assyrian and Egyptian research and its effect on our interpretation of the Bible and on traditional theological science. He then says:

"Even more extensive were the revelations made by scientific criticism applied to the sacred literature of southern and eastern Asia. The resemblances of sundry fundamental narratives and ideas in our own sacred books with those of Buddhism were especially suggestive.

"Here, too, had been a long preparatory history. The discoveries in Sanscrit philology made in the latter half of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth, by Sir William Jones, Carey, Wilkins, Foster, Colebrooke, and others, had met at first with some opposition from theologians. The declaration by

¹ This very interesting work, which is now the standard history of civilisation, is published by D. Appleton & Co. of New York. Dugald Stewart that the discovery of Sanscrit was fraudulent, and its vocabulary and grammar patched together out of Greek and Latin, showed the feeling of the older race of biblical students. But researches went on. Bopp, Burnouf, Lassen, Weber, Whitney, Max Müller, and others continued the work during the nineteenth century. More and more evident became the sources from which many ideas and narratives in our own sacred books had been developed. Studies in the sacred books of Brahmanism, and in the institutions of Buddhism, the most widespread of all religions, its devotees outnumbering those of all branches of the Christian Church together, proved especially fruitful in facts relating to general sacred literature and early European religious ideas.

"Noteworthy in the progress of this knowledge was the work of Fathers Huc and Gabet. In 1839 the former of these, a French Lazarist priest, set out on a mission to China. Having prepared himself at Macao by eighteen months of hard study, and having arrayed himself like a native, even to the wearing of the queue and the staining of his skin, he visited Peking and penetrated Mongolia. Five years later, taking Gabet with him, both disguised as Lamas, he began his long and toilsome journey to the chief seats of Buddhism in Thibet, and, after two years of fearful dangers and sufferings, accomplished it. Driven out finally by the Chinese, Huc returned to Europe in 1852, having made one of the most heroic, self-denving, and, as it turned out, one of the most valuable efforts in all the noble annals of Christian missions. His accounts of these journeys, written in a style simple, clear, and interesting, at once attracted attention throughout the world. But far more important than any services he had rendered to the Church he served was the influence of his book upon the general opinions of thinking men; for he completed a series of revelations made by earlier, less gifted, and less devoted travellers, and brought to the notice of the world the amazing similarity of the ideas, institutions, observances, ceremonies, and ritual, and even the ecclesiastical costumes of the Buddhists to those of his own Church.¹

"Buddhism was thus shown with its hierarchy, in which the Grand Lama, an infallible representative of the Most High, is surrounded by its minor Lamas, much like cardinals; with its bishops wearing mitres, its celibate priests with shaven crown, cope, dalmatic, and censer; its cathedrals with clergy gathered in the choir;

^{1[}Huc's delightful book of *Travels* has been recently reprinted by the Open Court Publishing Co. with the original wood-cuts.—Ed.]

its vast monasteries filled with monks and nuns vowed to poverty, chastity, and obedience; its church arrangements, with shrines of saints and angels; its use of images, pictures, and illuminated missals; its service, with a striking general resemblance to the Mass; antiphonal choirs; intoning of prayers; recital of creeds; repetition of litanies; processions; mystic rites and incense; the offering and adoration of bread upon an altar lighted by candles; the drinking from a chalice by the priest; prayers and offerings for the dead; benediction with outstretched hands; fasts, confessions, and doctrine of purgatory-all this and more was now clearly revealed. The good father was evidently staggered by these amazing facts; but his robust faith soon gave him an explanation: he suggested that Satan, in anticipation of Christianity, had revealed to Buddhism this divinely constituted order of things. The naïve explanation did not commend itself to his superiors in the Roman Church. In the days of St. Augustine or of St. Thomas Aquinas it would doubtless have been received much more kindly; but in the days of Cardinal Antonelli this was hardly to be expected : the Roman authorities, seeing the danger of such plain revelations in the nineteenth century, even when coupled with such devout explanations, put the book under the ban, though not before it had been spread throughout the world in various translations. Father Huc was sent on no more missions.

"Yet there came even more significant discoveries, especially bearing upon the claims of that great branch of the Church which supposes itself to possess a divine safeguard against error in belief. For now was brought to light by literary research the irrefragable evidence that the great Buddha-Sakya Muni himselfhad been canonised and enrolled among the Christian saints whose intercession may be invoked, and in whose honor images, altars, and chapels may be erected; and this, not only by the usage of the mediæval Church, Greek and Roman, but by the special and infallible sanction of a long series of popes, from the end of the sixteenth century to the end of the nineteenth-a sanction granted under one of the most curious errors in human history. The story enables us to understand the way in which many of the beliefs of Christendom have been developed, especially how they have been influenced from the seats of older religions: and it throws much light into the character and exercise of papal infallibility.

"Early in the seventh century there was composed, as is now believed, at the Convent of St. Saba near Jerusalem, a pious romance entitled *Barlaam and Josaphat*—the latter personage, the hero of the story, being represented as a Hindu prince converted to Christianity by the former.

"This story, having been attributed to St. John of Damascus in the following century, became amazingly popular, and was soon accepted as true: it was translated from the Greek original not only into Latin, Hebrew, Arabic, and Ethiopic, but into every important European language, including even Polish, Bohemian, and Icelandic. Thence it came into the pious historical encyclopædia of Vincent of Beauvais, and, most important of all, into the *Lives* of the Saints.

"Hence the name of its pious hero found its way into the list of saints whose intercession is to be prayed for, and it passed without challenge until about 1590, when, the general subject of canonisation having been brought up at Rome, Pope Sixtus V., by virtue of his infallibility and immunity against error in everything relating to faith and morals, sanctioned a revised list of saints, authorising and directing it to be accepted by the Church; and among those on whom he thus forever infallibly set the seal of Heaven was included 'The Holy Saint Josaphat of India, whose wonderful acts St. John of Damascus has related.' The 27th of November was appointed as the day set apart in honor of this saint, and the decree, having been enforced by successive popes for over two hundred and fifty years, was again officially approved by Pius IX. in 1873. This decree was duly accepted as infallible, and in one of the largest cities of Italy may to-day be seen a Christian church dedicated to this saint. On its front are the initials of his Italianised name; over its main entrance is the inscription 'Divo Josafat'; and within it is an altar dedicated to the saint-above this being a pedestal bearing his name and supporting a large statue which represents him as a youthful prince wearing a crown and contemplating a crucifix.

"Moreover, relics of this saint were found; bones alleged to be parts of his skeleton, having been presented by a Doge of Venice to a King of Portugal, are now treasured at Antwerp.

"But even as early as the sixteenth century a pregnant fact regarding this whole legend was noted: for the Portuguese historian Diego Conto showed that it was identical with the legend of Buddha. Fortunately for the historian his faith was so robust that he saw in this resemblance only a trick of Satan; the life of Buddha being, in his opinion, merely a diabolic counterfeit of the life of Josaphat centuries before the latter was lived or written—just as good Abbé Huc saw in the ceremonies of Buddhism a similar anticipatory counterfeit of Christian ritual.

"There the whole matter virtually rested for about three hundred years—various scholars calling attention to the legend as a curiosity, but none really showing its true bearings—until, in 1859, Laboulaye in France, Liebrecht in Germany, and others following them, demonstrated that this Christian work was drawn almost literally from an early biography of Buddha, being conformed to it in the most minute details, not only of events but of phraseology; the only important changes being that, at the end of the various experiences showing the wretchedness of the world, identical with those ascribed in the original to the young Prince Buddha, the hero, instead of becoming a hermit, becomes a Christian, and that for the appellation of Buddha—'Bodisat'—is substituted the more scriptural Josaphat.

"Thus it was that, by virtue of the infallibility vouchsafed to the papacy in matters of faith and morals, Buddha became a Christian saint.

"Yet these were by no means the most pregnant revelations. As the Buddhist scriptures were more fully examined, there were disclosed interesting anticipations of statements in later sacred books. The miraculous conception of Buddha and his virgin birth, like that of Horus in Egypt and of Krishna in India; the previous annunciation to his mother Maja; his birth during a journey by her; the star appearing in the east, and the angels chanting in the heavens at his birth; his temptation-all these and a multitude of other statements were full of suggestions to larger thought regarding the development of sacred literature in general. Even the eminent Roman Catholic missionary Bishop Bigandet was obliged to confess, in his scholarly life of Buddha, these striking similarities between the Buddhist scriptures and those which it was his mission to expound, though by this honest statement his own further promotion was rendered impossible. Fausböll also found the story of the judgment of Solomon imbedded in Buddhist folklore; and Sir Edwin Arnold, by his poem, The Light of Asia, spread far and wide a knowledge of the anticipation in Buddhism of some ideas which down to a recent period were considered distinctively Christian.

"Imperfect as the revelations thus made of an evolution of religious beliefs, institutions, and literature still are, they have not been without an important bearing upon the newer conception of our own sacred books: more and more manifest has become the

interdependence of all human development; more and more clear the truth that Christianity, as a great fact in man's history, is not dependent for its life upon any parasitic growths of myth and legend, no matter how beautiful they may be.¹ The present writer gladly avails himself of the opportunity to thank the learned Director of the National Library at Palermo, Monsignor Marzo, for his kindness in showing him the very interesting church of San Giosafat in that city; and to the custodians of the church for their readiness to allow photographs of the saint to be taken. The writer's visit was made in April, 1895, and the original photograph of our illustration may be seen in the library of Cornell University. As to the more rare editions of Barlaam and Josaphat, a copy of the Icelandic translation is to be seen in the remarkable collection of Prof. Willard Fiske, at Florence. As to the influence of these translations, it may be noted that when young John Kuncewicz, afterward a Polish archbishop, became a monk, he took the name of the sainted Prince Josafat; and, having fallen a victim to one of the innumerable murderous affrays of the seventeenth century between different sorts of fanatics-Greek, Catholic, and Protestant-in Poland, he also was finally canonised under that name, evidently as a means of annoying the Russian Government."²

¹ " For full details of the canonisation of Buddha under the name of St. Josaphat, see Fausböll, Buddhist Birth Stories, translated by Rhys Davids, London, 1880, pp. xxxvi and following also Prof. Max Müller in the Contemporary Review for July, 1890; also the article 'Barlaam and Josaphat,' in ninth edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica. For the more recent and full accounts, correcting some minor details in the foregoing authorities, see Kuhn, Barlaam and Josaphat, Munich, 1893, especially pp. 82, 83. For a very thorough discussion of the whole subject, see Zotenberg, Notice sur le liver de Barlaam et Josaphat, Paris, 1886; especially for arguments fixing date of the work, see parts to iii; also Gaston Paris in the Revue de Paris for June, 1895. For the transliteration between the appellation of Buddha Bodhisat and the name of the salitors of the work ascribed to St. John of Damascus, see Table III., on p. xev. The reader who is curious to trace up a multitude of the myths and legends of early Hebrew and Christian mythology to their more eastern and southern sources can do so in Bible Myths, New York, 1883."

² See Contieri, Vita di S. Giosafat, Arcivescovo e Martira Ruteno, Roma, 1867.

THE MUSKEE-KEE WIN-NI-NEE.

THE MEDICINE-MAN OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIANS.

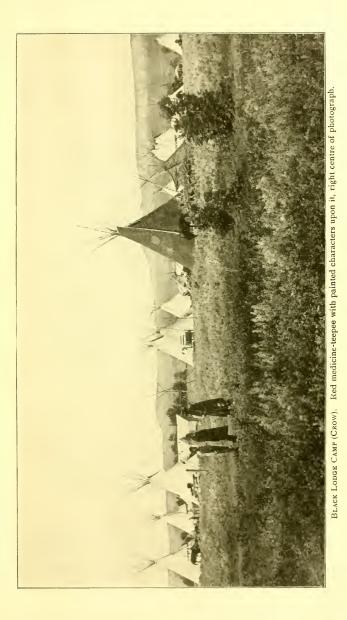
BY W. THORNTON PARKER, M. D.

THE medicine-man among all North American Indians is a person of conspicuous importance, as he is supposed to possess control over mysterious agencies, and to be endowed with powers well-nigh supernatural. He is believed to be not only under the influence of spirits of great power, but to have more or less control over them, compelling their aid for weal or woe, upon friend or enemy. He is also supposed to be able to interpret signs of major or minor import, and to foretell the severity or mildness of approaching seasons, and the appropriateness of time for expeditions concerned in the chase, or in war.

These doctors, magicians, prophets, dreamers, or whatever the medicine-man may be conceived to be, are prepared for their skilful profession only after long and arduous training. The tests necessary for recognition as skilful and responsible practioners are often very severe and exacting, requiring physical endurance and bravery of no mean order. These ordeals or tests when completed endow the medicine-man with magical and mysterious powers of cure and prophecy, acknowledged by all the tribes.

Oftentimes the renown of these men will have spread among other tribes and even among other nations, Indians making long journeys to consult and listen to the distinguished Shaman: Young men who are seeking to become great prophets travel far for the instruction of those celebrated in the mythical arts; but such instances are by no means common, as each tribe has its own system of arriving at results.

The medicine-lodge is believed by many to be the actual habitation of the Great Spirit; it is as it were their tabernacle, or Sacred



Ark in the wilderness. Col. Inman in his *Salt Lake Trail* thus describes the influence of the medicine-lodge :

"When the prophecies of these medicine-men fail, the Indians "attribute it to some neglect of the instructions imparted, and not "to any deficiency in their medicine-man; but when success occurs, "great is the honor bestowed upon their prophet. Their confidence "in these medicine-men is really remarkable."

The Indian believes in the immortality of the soul, and in his dreams and in the semi-delirium of sicknesses or accidents gains an insight into future mysteries, and has glimpses of the beauties and happiness of the life to come. It is not to be wondered at therefore that to his prophets he attributes great discernment in these and all other matters of importance.

Among the Ojibways the commonest form of greeting is Bozho-nee-chee. Bo-zho is undoubtedly a corruption of the French, Bon jour, which thick-mouthed French voyageurs have repeated in the hearing of Indians; and so after centuries the words Bo-zho have become almost universal among Algonquin Indians, or those living along the Great Lakes and upon the Mississippi, Missouri, and Ohio rivers. So early trappers witnessed the wonderful influence of the medicine-men and also saw that these possessors of supernatural powers made use of it in healing diseased bodies, as well as in controlling the mind and spirit. They therefore called these men médecin, or doctor.

From calling them doctor or *médecin* it was an easy transition to call their power by the same name, and the similarity in sounds of the English and the French words made the term readily adapted by the English-speaking people. So at last *medicine*-man came to mean the man having mysterious power over medicine or magic or mysterious arts in general; and the medicine-man controlling the medicine, and some medicine being good, some evil, certain things came to be called "good medicine" or "bad medicine," and certain occurrences to be "good medicine" or "bad medicine," in other words "propitious" or "unpropitious."

Traditions have also been in the keeping, as it were, of the medicine-men. Colonel Inman, in his *Salt Lake Trail*, mentions that the Indians of North America or most of them have a tradition of a great flood or deluge which occurred ages ago. While on the expedition of General Carr, in 1869, when Buffalo Bill (Cody) was Chief of Scouts, a member of the command brought into camp a huge bone. The surgeon of the expedition examined it and said it certainly must be an enormous femur or thigh bone. The Indians agreed with this theory, but claimed it had belonged to one of the giants which inhabited the earth many generations back. One of the medicine-men present thus explained the prodigious size of this apparently human bone. "A long time ago," said he, "the great earth was peopled by warriors of gigantic stature. These



CURLEY, CUSTER'S SCOUT (CROW). Only Survivor of the Custer Massacre, June 25, 1876.

Indians were huge enough to walk beside the buffalo and lift them up and carry them under their arms as a man would a pet dog. These warriors became so powerful that at last they dared to defy the Great Spirit! This angered the Creator and He ordered the rain to come. It poured so continuously that all the rivers overflowed their banks, and the prairies became submerged. The Indians in terror fled to the hills and then the waters rose upon them there. At last they climbed the highest peaks of the Rockies, but go where they would the Great Father's vengeance followed them and engulfed them all. Then the earth became silent, and when the last of the waters had receded and all was dry and fair again,



AN AMERICAN INDIAN IGNITING WOOD BY MEANS OF A FIRE-DRILL.

the Mighty Creator sent a new race, the size of men we now see, not over six and a half feet tall. These people would not defy the Great Spirit, but taught their children to call Him Great Father and to worship Him for His goodness and implore His help and protection and His blessing. The Great Father knows the hearts and minds of His children and those who love Him He blesses." The Indian medicine-man never teaches disrespect toward or rebellion against the Great Father, neither does he count his art as wonderful in the sight of the Creator of all men and all things.

The religion of the Indians promises nothing for the next world, having no reference to it, but helps to prolong life here. The Christian religion is considered greatly inferior, as its promises are for the future life.

The ceremony of the Grand Medicine is an elaborate ritual, covering several days, the endless number of gods and spirits being called upon to minister to the sick man and to lengthen his life. The several degrees of the Grand Medicine teach the use of incantations, of medicines and poisons, and the requirements necessary to constitute a Brave. "When a young man seeks admission to the Grand Medicine Lodge, he first fasts until he sees in his dream some animal (the mink, beaver, otter, and fisher being most common) which he hunts and kills. The skin is then ornamented with beads or porcupine quills, and the spirit of the animal becomes the friend and companion of the man." The medicine-men have only a limited knowledge of herbs, but they are expert in dressing wounds, and the art of extracting barbed arrows from the flesh can be learned from them.

"After going through with certain incantations, the Grand-"Medicine-man tells his patient that his pain is caused by a bear "or some other animal, which is gnawing at the vitals. He makes "a most infernal noise in order to drive the spirit away, and if the "patient recovers, he accredits it to his own skill; if death follows, "he falls back upon the plea so often used by his white brother, "I was called too late!" They make great gain out of the people "and are their counsellors in peace and war. They are bitter op-"ponents of Christianity. The venerable medicine-man Shada-"yence was the most cunning antagonist I ever had among the "Indians."1

In olden times,—yes, to within the memory of living Ojibways, —the medicine-man at the funeral ceremony thus addressed the departed: "Dear friend, you will not feel lonely while pursuing your journey towards the setting sun. I have killed for you a Sioux (hated enemy of the Ojibways), and I have scalped him. He will accompany you and provide for you, hunting your food as you need it. The scalp I have taken, use it for your moccasins."

And yet in spite of these apparently heathenish rites, the Indian is never an atheist; always bending humbly in recognition of

1 From Bishop Whipple's Autobiography, Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate.

the Great Spirit, the Heavenly Father, the Creator of all things and all men, "Geechee Manito," Great Spirit, whom we in English call the Almighty God.

The Muskee-kee win-ni-nee or medicine-man is quite a different individual from the priest or prophet or magician. The Indian doctor is very skilful in curing simple ailments. Their remedies are cathartics, sweating medicines, expectorants or cough and lung remedies; diuretics, remedies acting on the kidneys, emetics to produce vomiting; remedies for inflammation of mucous surfaces, bladder, etc.; alteratives to eradicate diseases, bitter herbs for tonics, and soporifics, narcotics, etc. to induce sleep; ointments, emulsions, lotions, teas, etc. When we consider the Indian remedies, it makes quite a pharmacopœia and dispensatory. Then the Indians possess very strict rules concerning the management of women in their natural ailments, and unlike the Africans, our Redmen, native Americans, are a clean, orderly people and worthy of respect. In matters relating to hydrotherapy they excel. No one can give better sweatings.

Down by one of the sweat lodges a woman is kindling fires and heating the stones in the centre of the lodge and outside. She covers the frame with robes or skins so as to keep the heat in. A bucket of water stands near the fire. Soon half a dozen young men come to the place and following them the medicine-man. The young men drop their blankets and crawl into the sweat lodge; they are naked as they creep beneath the coverings. The medicineman starts his "Hoyhey, Hoyhey, Hoyhey," and sings his sacred songs. The woman passes a vessel into the sweat house; the water hisses as it falls on the hot stones, and steam creeps forth from the crevices in the coverings. At length after a longer or shorter exposure to the steam heat, the men creep out, rise, and all wet with perspiration rush down to the stream and plunge into the cold water. This is the famous Indian sweat bath, cleansing, invigorating, almost stimulating. The patient feels refreshed and like a new man. It is primitive, but it is effective.

¹ The word "hoyhey" is hard to spell in English, perhaps "App-ee" would be more explanatory. In the matter of cathartics the Indians outdo their pale-face friends in the abuse and excess of these remedies. They require *large* doses and as every treatment is preceded by purgings some attribute their mortality from consumption to be due to this over-dosing. It is more likely, however, that the change from well-ventilated teepees to close cabins, and from open wood fires to overheated iron stoves, and from venison, prairie chicken, and ground corn cooked in open fireplaces, to the doughy flour bread baked in stoves, that this is due. The borders of the lakes where camps and cabins have long been established become foul and unhealthy, and the pure water they have been used to has failed. Change of habits and the infrequency of the healthful exercise of the hun, also act against their once rugged constitutions.

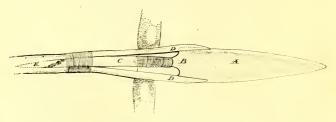


And last but not least, these medicine-men are skilled in counter-irritation for the treatment and cure of various disorders.

As surgeons they excel in skilful bandaging, splints, and other treatment of fractures; in deformities; in the treatment of snake, dog, wolf, and other bites. They are adepts in extracting arrows and bullets. Bishop Whipple once narrated to me how the Indians remove an arrow-head. They take a willow stick, cut it exactly in half by dexterously splitting it, remove the pith and smoothing the ends insert one above the superior flange of the arrow, the other beneath, then bind the two together close to the wound and cautiously remove *all*.

The Indian ambulance or *travois* is a remarkable conveyance for carrying the wounded out of reach of the battle, or for transporting him over long marches to his home camp. The comfort of this mode of conveyance is greater than would appear at first sight. It is from witnessing this primitive method among our Indians that American army surgeons have in frontier wars adopted this system and called it the *travois*.

Where can you find among primitive peoples greater natural intelligence in all that pertains to every-day life? In the manufacture of clothing, of teepees or lodges, of arms, or ornaments fit for



THE EXTRACTION OF AN ARROW-HEAD.

A, Arrow-head; B, Staft of arrow bound upon flange of arrow-head with gut; C, Shaft of arrow; D, Superior portion of wood; D, Inferior portion of wood; midway between E and C, gut string binding the two pieces tightly together before traction is made to withdraw.

. a prince to wear? In point of fact, the clothing of a well-to-do Indian squaw, of which the dress of the wife of the Ute chief Uray would be an excellent example, is often quite valuable, ranging anywhere from fifty to one hundred and fifty dollars. The bead ornaments are skilfully and beautifully made, handsome specimens readily bringing in our eastern stores from ten to seventy-five dollars. The decorated otter and mountain-lion skins and the wellknown buffalo hides are highly prized. The skins used for the teepees or lodges are most carefully tanned and prepared by squaws. Moccasins, pouches, rifle-cases, knife-scabbards, and quirts, are well made and command high prices. All these beautiful things, together with pipes, silver ornaments, precious stones, and ores, nug-

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gets of gold, are freely given to the medicine-man for his professional fees, or as a reward from "grateful patients" for some

extraordinary success in "cure." The ordinary fee for the Muskeekee win-ni-nee is in yards of calico, so many for each consultation. The grand-medicine-lodge is usually an unroofed structure, The primitive ambulance, a pattern which has often been used by white soldiers in Indian campaigns

quite different from the medicine teepee illustrated in this paper. An excellent picture of the open structure appeared about a year ago in *The Open Court*, in the article on "The Cross Among the North American Indians" (Vol. XIII., p. 302).

The honor of grand-medicine is now and then conferred upon 'pale-faces," and the writer received this recognition from the Ojibways at White Earth Reservation, in 1879. The initiation reminds one who is a mason of the ceremonies in one of the bluelodge degrees, and certain mysterious signs have strangely enough led masons to believe that our North American Indians are not wholly unacquainted with ancient rites *closely* resembling the masonry of early times.

Among people so intelligent and so competent it follows that much would be expected of the medicine-man, occupying as he does a position of dignity and influence and oftentimes of wealth. We cannot study our aborigines in a spirit of fairness without discovering among them characters which in old Biblical times were regarded as "wise hearted" men. The Indian in peace or in war is the true son of nature, a believer in God, a loving father, a devoted, enduring friend, and a consistent enemy; in other words, he is a true man.

THE CRISIS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

BY THE EDITOR.

A^{MONG} the great nations of the world England is the pathfinder of constitutional government, and historians therefore frequently regard her as an ideal country, the prototype of liberal government; and rightly so, for she has discovered the method by which in administrative affairs liberty may be combined with law and order.

In her political and diplomatic career England has been neither more nor less blameable than other nations. She has time and again been guilty of high-handed procedures, especially in dealing with weak peoples and savage tribes; and there obtains a feeling of bitterness against the English which is most strongly marked on the European continent. Nevertheless, the sober, liberal-minded element of Germany, Austria, the United States, and even of France, Italy, Spain, and the Latin republics of Central and South America, has always given credit to England for her fairness and love of liberty, as promoting everywhere the liberal cause and progress and peace. The situation has gradually been changed, and England has entered a crisis through which she can pass unscathed only by great circumspection and moderation. Her conquests and her power being upon the whole based upon the development of her industries and the expansion of trade, her wars were incidents only, partly due to adventitious conflicts which perhaps could not be avoided, and partly to bungling diplomacy. But the balance of England's greatness and good qualities was quite sufficient to compensate for occasional mistakes, and so she increased in power and was regarded, together with the United States, as the hope of humanity, the refuge of liberty, and the support of progress.

During the last decade a reaction has set in all over the world, which threatens to turn the wheel of progress backward. The Dreyfus affair in France is a symptom of it; Germany shows her mailed fist; and even the United States have taken an attitude in their conquered provinces which makes the world suspect the honest intentions of the great Republic of the West; but the most lamentable affair has been the war in South Africa against the Afrikanders. Much has been written for and against England, for and against the Transvaal; a justification of the war on moral grounds has been attempted with quite plausible arguments for both sides. And no doubt, attorneys on either side can make a fair showing on the basis of reliable statistics, so long as they restrict themselves to pointing out the faults of the other party and its lack of consideration for other people's rights.¹ Upon the whole, the people almost everywhere are upholders of the Boers, while the governments stand by the British. The hostile feeling toward the Boers is no more than lukewarm, while the enemies of England are in the habit of condemning indiscriminately every step of the British government, even though they themselves would have done the same thing if they had been in England's place.

The moral question of the Boer war is an intricate problem, and we do not propose to touch it; but it seems advisable to point out that as a rule the fundamental question is usually left out when critics of either party deal with it. It is this. At the bottom of right and wrong lies the possession of power, which should never be lost sight of. Right is not based upon priority of ownership, for possession itself constitutes a right only on the supposition that the possessor is in the position to maintain his possession. In this sense the proverb of Latin law holds good, beati possidentes, happy are those in possession, which means, "possession is nine points of the law." He has the right to govern a country who has the power to keep order and preserve the peace. He who has no power has forfeited his title. The Hottentots may be the aboriginal inhabitants of the Cape land, but not having the power to protect themselves, let alone peaceful settlers who pursue a legitimate trade in their territory, they have forfeited their right to government, and the party that is able to maintain order without friction is by the law of nature entitled to rule.

The conflict in Africa is ultimately a conflict of might. The Boers have failed to take into due consideration certain rights of both their black subjects and their white guests. They provoked a

¹See, e. g., Selected Official Documents of the South African Republic and Great Britain. A Documentary Perspective of the Causes of the War in South Africa. Edited by the Williams, M. A., B. L. S., Library of Congress, and Frederick Charles Hicks, Ph. D., Library of Congress,

war the consequences of which have proved woful and disastrous. But let the worst be said against the Afrikanders, it does not as yet justify the English cause. England can justify her policy only by establishing law and order and showing that she is capable of maintaining it. One element, however, of maintaining a good government in a civilised country is the consent of the governed, which again is a question of might, not of right in a technical sense, i. e., being in agreement with some written statute. It is the unwritten law of nature that the nation which is strong enough to resist foreign invaders, even though it be a nation of brigands, is entitled to its liberty. No one doubts the right of Abyssinia to freedom, because they drove the Europeans out and slaughtered a whole army of invaders.

Now it appears that the war in South Africa is a very unfortunate affair, because it was undertaken frivolously and without considering the consequences. Whatever legal title England may have had to interfere in the Transvaal, the step she took was, considered solely from the standpoint of British interests, most unwise, and she has had to pay dearly for the lesson. It has been calculated that fifteen British soldiers perished to one Boer killed, and the expenses are incredible. Mr. Chamberlain comforted the members of Parliament with the thought that the subjected territory is immeasurably rich, and that it will pay the war indemnity as soon as order has been restored. That may be true, but the prospect of a restoration of order is very poor.

The English are in a desperate position. They have taken the capital of the country, and driven the president, poor old Oom Krüger, into exile; they hold the open field and have disbanded and disorganised the Afrikander armies. But scattered Boer forces are still in the field and prevent the restoration of order. No train can run without being exposed to attack or being in danger of being derailed and wrecked. And this condition of things has become chronic. How is it possible to develop the country, establish industries, work the mines, if a handful of unruly marauders have the sympathy of the population, while the authorities in spite of their best intentions are hated as foreigners, invaders, conquerors, and usurpers?

The British government ought to have foreseen the difficulty of the situation and the temper of the Dutch settlers before venturing into the war. But they, like Napoleon when marching against Russia, cherished the fond illusion that the whole affair would be ended within a fortnight; for they thought all would be over when they had taken the capital of the country. They should have listened to the warning voice of some of their prophets at home who pleaded for peace. A few of them went even so far as to openly advocate the cause of the Boers. It is now too late, and it seems that England must wade through blood to fulfil her destiny. Whatever the final outcome may be, the situation is critical, and a clearheaded, wise man at the helm is the first desideratum to steer the ship of state past the cliffs and rocks that threaten her destruction.

How many soldiers have bled to death on the battle-field, how many officers have fallen! There is scarcely a family in the three kingdoms that has not suffered from the loss of a brother, or son, or cousin, or nephew in South Africa. And even that might be passed by if there were only an end of the affair now, or if the prize were worth the sacrifice. But there is not even the bubble reputation in it, and it seems as if even now after having gained an apparently complete victory the best course would be to grant selfrule to the subject Afrikander republic; for, indeed, *the easiest way to govern a country is by giving it home-rule.* It does not pay to rule a people with guns and bayonets.

England's power has, upon the whole, been built upon peace and liberty. She learned a lesson when trying to bring her American dependencies into submission, and thenceforth made it a rule to grant independence to all her colonies. The question is now whether by a bellicose policy she will be able to maintain the acquisitions of the past. It seems that there is no nation in the old world that ought to fear a disturbance by war more than England, and the situation is extremely complicated. England has great interests at stake in India and in China, and while she is engaged in a desperate struggle in South Africa her hands are not free to wage a war against Russia either in Afghanistan or in Manchuria.

In the Transvaal the difficulties would have adjusted themselves peaceably in favor of the English. It would have taken some time, but the result would have been unfailing. The Uitlanders outnumbered the Boers in the proportion of three to one before the war, and would after twenty years, if peace had been preserved, presumably have been ten to one. At the same time, the English language had begun to supplant the Dutch taal and the final result would have been that city interests would have come into collision with the prerogatives of the farmer aristocracy. The settlement of their disputes would have become a purely local affair and the colossus of the British Empire would not have been obliged to risk its reputation in a warfare of such strange odds that no laurels could be plucked and where even a brilliant victory would have been devoid of honor.

Why was not the peaceful course pursued? Heaven only knows; but the people say that Cecil Rhodes had no patience. He wanted the control of Africa during his life and did not care to leave the completion of his grand enterprises to his children and grandchildren. He gained the confidence of Chamberlain, and Salisbury does as Chamberlain wishes. Thus the British interests were actually jeopardised by the war and the prospect of a slow but certain conquest of the country was surrendered for the doubtful hope of bringing it at once to subjection by force of arms. The probability at present is that the country will remain in an unsettled condition and whatever its natural resources may be, the former flourishing state will not be re-establised, for the necessary confidence in England's fairness is lacking. The Boers are to be pitied, but it seems as if the British were in no less pitiable a plight; and at any rate have not gained anything.

The sentiment in England seems to be divided. The Unionists have their way and run the ship of the government. They are supported by two elements, by the old-fashioned Tory of the proud old English aristocracy, and the rabble. The rabble are always for war. They have nothing to lose, they can only gain, or at least they think so. They have no property and are not worried with the idea of an increase of taxes. If they have relatives in the ranks, they do not mind whether they are dead or alive. If men are needed in the army, they can enlist or expect that wages at home will rise. The rabble in England have helped to make sentiment; they have shown their force in riotous demonstrations and have broken up the meetings of the friends of peace.

The middle classes have not shown any great enthusiasm in the present war. The last elections resulted in favor of the Unionists because the war was in progress and it seemed the best policy to let the government finish what it had begun. The time seemed least appropriate for making radical changes in the administration, for in a critical situation it is always better to have a bad government, that is assured to be constant, than a succession of good governments each of which follows a different plan. Therefore we must not assume that all who voted the Unionist ticket were advocates of Chamberlain's policy. There are many who went to the polls with heavy hearts and thought it best, *under the circumstances*, to let the government have a free hand.

When the writer travelled in England last October, he was im-

pressed with the fact that though English sentiment is very strong in condemning Oom Krüger and the policy of the Transvaal, the people by no means feel sure that the course which the British government has taken is the best and wisest. That the Irish are openly avowed friends of the Boers is well known. But there are quite a number of Englishmen who do not hesitate to denounce British politics in the severest terms.

Many bitter words were written and said of the English on the European continent, mostly in France, but the hardest things I have heard were uttered in London. One of the Irish members, I believe it was Tim Healy, used the expression "John Bull, Thieves, and Co." in Parliament and his remarks passed without a rebuke from the chair; there was not even a ripple of indignation among the conservative members of the House. The Irish members have blunted their weapons by using them without discrimination. The House no longer listens to their invectives because they have become monotonous, and they speak now to the galleries only. Their speeches are read by their constituents in Ireland who take delight in the strong language of their representatives, and their re-election can be assured in no other way.

One evening the writer of these lines attended a meeting of the Pharus club, consisting of liberals, perhaps radicals, and other dissatisfied elements of London and its vicinity. The speaker of the evening had just returned from Africa where he had served as a reporter for one of the great English dailies. He was not Irish, but purely English, but the tales of woe he told were heartrending and not to the credit of the English administration of the Transvaal. The remarks and questions made after the lecture indicated the prevalence of an unusual indignation against the British government which was denounced as the most tyrannical government on earth. As a guest from beyond the sea, I ventured to make a few comments on the subject under discussion and tried to say that though the English government had made some grievous mistakes, the English nation had yet some great redeeming features which ought not to be lost sight of; there was in England a love of liberty which made a meeting such as that of the Pharus club possible where English people would grant justice even to an enemy. But I was interrupted and voices from the audience shouted that I could not have been long in England, otherwise I ought to know that there was more freedom in any other country than in Great Britain. Several persons spoke of peace meetings that had been broken up and other methods by which free speech had been suppressed. It

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was an interesting experience to find myself, a foreigner, isolated before an English audience in saying a good word for England. I was far from defending Chamberlain's policy; I only insisted that England was a country where love of liberty prevailed as in no other European state, except perhaps Holland and Switzerland.

The boldest advocate of peace is Wm. T. Stead, the well-known editor of the *Review of Reviews*. He has fearlessly written and spoken on the subject and has expressed his opinion without reserve. But he is so severe that his countrymen will not listen to him, and he is commonly characterised as an unbalanced man without any influence. Nevertheless his position is well known all over England and may in time become a factor that has to be taken into consideration.

When the Peace Conference met at the Hague, Mr. Stead on some occasion said that, being an Englishman, he would have to apologise for the atrocities of the British government—a speech which was at once misrepresented in the English press as if he had apologised for being an Englishman. The truth is that Mr. Stead's feelings as to the criminal mistakes made by the British government are so intense because he is a good Englishman, and, whatever erratic notions he may otherwise cherish, he is certainly carved of the same wood as Hampton who resisted the government when infringing upon the rights of the people and preferred to bankrupt himself rather than submit to the payment of an illegal tax.

Mr. Stead, whatever his antagonists may say against him, is a man who has the courage of his convictions. He is not afraid to call a spade a spade. He has been called unpatriotic, but at heart he is a good Briton. He is as truly British as Junius was in the days of the revolution of the American colonists. His patriotism is different though from the common type: it is no jingoism. His patriotism rebels at the thought of having a blot on the escutcheon of England, and he insists on having it removed.

Some speak of the decline of England; and undoubtedly English prestige has suffered greatly of late. But so long as England breeds a Junius *redivivus*, such as Stead, we need not despair. Mr. Stead represents the national conscience, and though he may be a voice crying in the wilderness, still his voice is heard and may be regarded as a symptom of the health of the national life and as an indication of the strong reserve of moral power. The British government may forbid Mr. Stead's writings to circulate in South Africa, but they would not dare to suppress them in England.

In order to appreciate the truth of this observation we must

bear in mind how vigorous and how uncompromising is Mr. Stead's criticism of his own country. He does not hesitate to warn his countrymen of the danger they are running in South Africa by quoting Bismarck's prophecy that South Africa will be the grave of English power. He went so far as to publish a paper entitled *War Against War in South Africa*, bearing the motto "Deliver us from Bloodguiltiness, O Lord!" and his programme was formulated in the following six propositions, printed in bold capitals in large type legible at a long distance:

PROGRAMME.

1. What do you want to do? Stop this war!

2. When? Immediately!

3. Why? Because we are in the wrong.

4. How? By confessing our sins and doing right.

5. What sins? Lying to cover conspiracy. Fraud in making false claims. Bad faith in going back on our word. Wholesale slaughter.

6. And to do right ? Expose and punish criminals. Compensate their victims and make peace !

Mr. Stead's peace-propaganda made no impression upon the leading men of the British government. His programme was read in the House, not for considering it but for denouncing him.

In the meantime the war was waged first with fluctuating success until at last the Boers were outnumbered by the British. The capital was taken and the country annexed for the sole purpose of having the legal title of calling the Boers in the field rebels. All organised resistance is broken, but scattered forces remain in the field and it is extremely difficult to suppress them. We need not wonder that the British commander is in despair, for the enemy's appearance and disappearance has become a matter beyond the possibility of computation. The Boers come and vanish like ghosts; and a small number of men can do enormous damage before they are caught. The natural result is that the British resort to desperate means, and have begun to burn farm houses and commit other outrages which are usually condemned by civilised nations as barbarous. We must not blame the British commander too much, for he is driven to despair; and the method pursued by Weyler in Cuba is the sole remedy that is left to him. It is the inevitable policy of an invader who tries to maintain himself against the wish of the large masses of the population. But of this policy the natural result will be that in the long run either the whole population will be wiped out and the end of hostilities will be the peace of the church-yard, or the invader will by and by learn that the

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cost of his conquest is higher than the booty, and the losses which he endures bleed him slowly but surely to death. This is the alternative of the present state of things.

Mr. Stead has denounced the methods of the British commanders vigorously, calling it "Hell let loose." Here are some comments on the subject:

"Any house in which a gun is found is given over to the flames. But every white man's house in that wild black man's country needs a gun as part of its indispensable equipment, and they are specially needed when only women are left in charge. But wherever a rifle is found the house is burned.

"What does this mean?

"Levying war upon women and little children. Mr. E. W. Smith, correspondent of the *Morning Leader*, writing before this last Draconian order was issued, gives a terrible picture of the kind of work we have been doing in the Orange Free State, even before this savage order was issued. He says:

"'The column commanded by General French, with General Pole-Carew at the head of the Guards and 18th Brigade, is marching in, burning practically everything on the road. It is followed by about 3500 head of loot cattle and sheep. Hundreds of tons of corn and forage have been destroyed. They have seized over 1000 rifles at various farmsteads and destroyed thousands of rounds of cartridges. I hear, too, that General Rundle burnt his way up to Dewetsdorp. Some painful stories are told of the march of the devastating armies by officers in charge of the execution. At one farm burned yesterday only women were left at work upon it. The troops were told that the owner had been captured with Cronje. Still, rifles were found hidden under the mattress of the bed. So the place had to go. Orders were inexorable in all cases where arms came to light. The woman, who swore that her husband had been in commando for four months, threw her arms round the officer's neck, and begged that the homestead might be spared. It had to go When the flames burst from the doomed place the poor woman threw herself on her knees, tore open her bodice, and bared her breasts, screaming : "Shoot me, shoot me. I've nothing more to live for now that my husband is gone, and our farm is burnt, and our cattle taken !"'

"Another officer told me of a similar case. 'I am a hard-hearted fellow,' he said, 'but I couldn't stand the women crying, and in one instance I did leave a farm standing that I ought to have destroyed.' A third case has been related to me of a farm where the property was confiscated while the owner was lying dying in another room. As the soldiers ransacked the place they heard a pitiable voice crying from an inner room : 'What are they doing? What are they doing?' and as the firing parties withdrew from the ruined homesteads they were frequently followed by groups of weeping women and children, who covered them with epithets of bitter complaint and denunciation. I hear that Lord Roberts had given preliminary warning that any burghers not found on their homesteads would be treated as hostile, and their property dealt with accordingly. The execution of a whole district was, of course, accompanied by strange scenes, some of bloodthirsty violence.'"

These are the sentiments of an English officer who is a gentleman and may be accused of sentimentality. But the rank and file of the men, although they may by nature be kind-hearted, are necessarily brutalised by a war of this kind. One brief instance must suffice, for it would smack of sensationalism to enter into details:

"Mr. C. Williams, the *Morning Leader*, quotes from a sergeant's letter from Norvals' Point :—"It is a splendid sensation to know that one can help himself to anything that is worth looting.""

The British government might have suppressed the rebellion of the American colonists if it had limited its methods of warfare to attacks upon General Washington's army. But unfortunately for the British authorities the English commander lost patience and began to make war upon the inhabitants themselves. The burning of farms and the punishment of peaceful citizens, not excluding women and children, simply because they sympathise with the enemy, is a symptom not of strength, but of weakness, not of energy but of despair, not of victory but of a final defeat; it is the external expression of a presentiment dimly dawning upon the invading party that their position has become untenable.

Mr. Stead sees the situation in this light, and in one of his publications, entitled *The Candidates of Cain*, he says, p. 108:

"What is the best that can be hoped for?

"If the present policy is not reversed, and the policy of absolute coercion replaced by one of absolute conciliation, the best that we can hope for is that in ten or twenty years we may be able to maintain our hold upon Capetown, and Simon's Bay, as a naval base of the Empire, in the same way that we hold Gibraltar as a naval base at the extremity of Spain. We shall be lucky if we can save that from the general shipwreck of British interests that has been brought about by the statesmanship of Joseph Chamberlain."

It is a grave mistake to think that Mr. Stead is not a good Englishman because he opposes the policy of the present ministry. He claims to be, and I do not hesitate to say that he is, at least as good an Englishman as are his opponents. He claims, with a show of good argument too, that neither the Boer nor the friend of the Boer is a rebel, but Chamberlain, for he violates the law of the land and opposes the most sacred principles of English traditions. Mr. Stead says:

"Every one recognises to-day that it was George Washington and the American colonists who last century vindicated the true principles of English liberty against the Tory Ministers of George III., who were the rank rebels of last century, as Mr. Chamberlain and his friends are the rank rebels and traitors of to-day."

In calling Mr. Chamberlain a rebel Mr. Stead follows no less an authority than that of Edmund Burke, who says :

"'We view the establishment of the English Colonies on principles of liberty, as that which is to render this kingdom venerable to future ages. In comparison of this, we regard all the victories and conquests of our war-like ancestors, or of our own time, as barbarous, vulgar distinctions. This is the peculiar and appropriated glory of England. Those who have and who hold to that foundation of common liberty... we consider as the true and the only true Englishmen. Those who depart from it, whether there or here, are attainted, corrupted in blood, and wholly fallen from their original rank and value. They are the real rebels to the free constitution and just supremacy of England.'"

The present situation becomes more complicated by the crisis which has come over the affairs of China. England suffers Russia to take Manchuria because she needs her armies in South Africa and could not leave India exposed to a Russian attack. Yet there is more at stake in China than in the Transvaal, and Russia will have her way unless she be checked by the bold attitude of Japan, which has the advantage of being on the spot and may be willing to fight for the great prize that may be gained by an increase of her power in Eastern Asia.

Would Great Britain lose in power if she gave back to the Transvaal her independence? Certainly not. She would gain in power; she would fortify her position in South Africa, and would have her hands free to assert her influence in other quarters of the globe. Besides she would rehabilitate her credit as a liberty-loving nation, and the precedent of the victor voluntarily rendering justice to a conquered adversary would redound to her glory for ever.

What England needs is a new man at the helm. Lord Salisbury has given Mr. Chamberlain too much rope, and considering the many former mistakes he made during his administration which have been too easily condoned by the English voters, such as his protection of Dr. Jameson and his blunder in the Venezuela question, he ought to be replaced by a man who is at once firm as Lord Beaconsfield and considerate as Mr. Gladstone. When Edward VII. mounted the throne he had a good chance to make a change without doing any harm to the dignity of Great Britain, and the opportunity has not yet slipped away. The sooner it be done the better, for the time will come when the voters in England and Sotland will resent the great sacrifices of precious lives as well as the the British government will be compelled to do what it might do now voluntarily and graciously.

But where is the right man to take the helm?

MISCELLANEOUS.

CARUS STERNE'S GREAT WORK ON THE MODERN SCIEN-TIFIC WORLD-VIEW.

The popular expositor of science *fur excellence* of Germany is Carus Sterne. Not only have his works contributed as much as Haeckel's to the spread of Darwinistic views, but unlike Haeckel his literary labors have not been limited to biology, and every science the advancement of which has contributed to the intellectual and religious enfranchisement of mankind has been made the subject of his luminous expositions. With exuberant eloquence and imagination he combines astonishing erudition, and his researches in the field of classical and Northern mythology, for example, rival even those which he has made in the history of science. Nor is Carus Sterne an expositor of science purely; science has become for him first a philosophy and then a religion; and his works have accordingly assumed a deeply ethical and religious tone, which puts them, in spirit at least, quite in harmony with the teachings of *The Ofen Court*. Several of his essays appeared in the early volumes of *Science Ofen Court*, and last year (July, August, October, November) translations of selections from his book on the history of civilisation were published.

Carus Sterne's greatest work, and that on which his fame chiefly rests, is his well-known *Werden und Vergehen*, or the story of the coming and the passing away of worlds and of life. Having been long exhausted, it has now appeared again in its fourth edition,¹ revised and enlarged, profusely illustrated with cuts, lithographic color-plates, etc., from the entire literature of science, and equipped in every way with the modern paraphernalia of exposition. It has the reputation in Germany of being the finest existing presentation of those results of scientific research which bear upon the great fundamental problems of life, and in its present improved form there is every reason to believe that it will sustain in other countries the credit which it enjoys at home. We can give in so brief a notice but a general idea of the luxuriant wealth of material contained even in the first volume of this work, which now lies before us. The first chapter treats of astronomy and cosmogony and is prefaced by a beautiful reproduction of the photographs of Mars by Schiaparelli. The second is devoted to geology and bears the title "The Diary of the Globe"; it has a fine colored picture of a coral archipelago, a photograph of

¹Werden und Vergehen. Eine Entwicklungsgeschichte des Naturganzen in gemeinverständlicher Fassung. Von Carus Sterne (Dr. Ernst Krause). Vierte neubearbeitete Auflage, mit zahlreichen Abbildungen im Text, vielen Karten und Tafeln in Farbendruck, Holzschnitt, etc. Two volumes, io marks each. Berlin: Gebrüder Bornträger.

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the Armand cave in the Lozère, and of a lagoon in the Great Barrier reef of Australia. Chapter III. is entitled "The Forms of the Mineral Kingdom" and gives an account of the formation of crystals and precious stones. Chapter IV, treats of the origin and development of terrestrial life (colored plate of siphonophores; photographs of the moon, the Colorado canon). The fifth chapter describes the kingdom of the Protista; the sixth, the "Youth of the Plant-World" (colored plate of minicry of crustacea; photographs of basalt scenery). Chapter VII. has for its subject "Animal Colonies"; Chapter VIII. is devoted to "The Predecessors of the Higher Animal Colores"; Chapter VIII. is devoted to "The Predecessors of the Higher Animal Forms" (colored lithograph of minicry in insects); Chapter IX. to the echinoderms, etc.; Chapter X. to the Mollusca, etc., "The First Landlords" (photographs of the carboniferous period, etc.). The title of Chapter XI. is "From the Multiped to the Quadruped"; of Chapter XII., "The Vesture of the fauna and flora of the geologic periods. The volume ends with Chapter XII., and besides 28 plates above indicated contains 396 cuts in the text.

The book, which is dedicated to Ernst Haeckel, contains a notable preface in which the author states his position with respect to the relations between religion and science, the responsibility which rests on every creed of sloughing off its superstitions as these are revealed by growing science, and above all the education of our youth from the point of view of absolute verifiable truth. The picture of the world here so beautifully portrayed by Carus Sterne is the picture that has been revealed by the patient toil of countless investigators extending through many centuries; it is that of science, philosophy, and religion in one; whoever wishes to contemplate the truth about the world in which we live, as that truth is shaped today, will do well to consult its pages, and they will find that their quest has been not in vain and that their efforts have been amply and pleasantly repaid.

ANCIENT CIVILISATION IN EASTERN TURKESTAN.

A great sensation was created at the last international congress of Orientalists at Rome, in 1899, by the exhibition of a magnificent collection belonging to the British government, of antiquities gathered in the western part of Eastern Turkestan, and by a report of the important discoveries made by a Russian expedition in the eastern provinces of the same territory. These discoveries and explorations have acquainted us with the astounding fact that up to nearly one thousand years ago Eastern Turkestan was the seat of a luxuriant and thriving civilisation which reflected in its extraordinarily composite character the influence of the neighboring Chinese, Indian, and Græco-Asiatic civilisations.

The English collection consists of manuscripts and woodcuts, coins and seals, terra cottas and similar sculptures which were found in graves, towers, and other buildings, and dug up from localities covered with driftsand.

The most important find of the Russian expedition (1898) was the discovery of not less than 160 artificial caverns, which in some cases were connected with surface buildings in imitation of the various Buddhistic subterranean cloisters and temples of India. Many of these buildings are decorated with Chinese, Indian, and Turkish inscriptions, and with religious and secular frescoes.

The inscriptions are the most important of all these antiquities, for the reason that they are nearly all written in unknown characters and languages, which have quite unexpectedly placed Oriental research before an astonishing set of problems the solution of which will greatly enrich our knowledge of Middle-Asiatic chirographic lore, languages, and history.

Of the highest importance also are the works of sculpture and painting, for the reason that they represent interesting and scientifically significant relationships between Chinese, Indian, Persian, Græco-Roman, and Western Asiatic art.

Yet, valuable as the results of the English and Russian explorations are, they represent nevertheless but a comparatively small portion of the discoveries in chirography, painting, and sculpture which might be brought to light by a more thorough and systematic exploration of the region in question. To this end, the excavation of cities which have been covered by sand-storms will be necessary, and the equipment of a scientific expedition to Eastern Turkestan for this purpose would require considerable money. There is a movement on foot in Germany to equip such an expedition, and all persons who are interested in promoting the enterprise should communicate with Dr. Georg Huth, care of Kgl. Museum für Völkerkunde, Königgrätzer-Str. 120, Berlin, S. W., Germany.

A FREETHOUGHT INSTITUTE FOR LONDON.

The freethought circles of England and America will be gratified to learn that their movement is recently showing indications of taking a more enduring and prominent form. We learn from a communication from Mr. Charles A. Watts, of London, that a philanthropic friend of the cause, Mr. George Anderson, who is approaching eighty years of age, and whose benefactions in behalf of free thought have in the past years been considerable, has invited Mr. Watts, "in conjunction with a few trusted friends, to arrange for the building of a Freethought Institute in London, to the cost of which he will contribute the handsome sum of 15,000 pounds sterling if an additional 15,000 pounds be subscribed for completing and endowing the building. Negotiations," the circular continues, "have already commenced with a view to acquiring a splendid site in a most populous centre, but no final decision will be arrived at pending the response to this proposal. The intended Institute will consist of a large hall, a minor hall, club and class rooms, a library, and residential accommodation. It is desired to establish a comprehensive Society, embracing all sections of the Freethought and Ethical movement, and in which the ideal and the practical aspects of Rationalism will be equally represented. The Sunday meetings will comprise organ recitals, readings from works of rational and ethical interest, addresses from well-known and representative speakers, and singing. A systematic endeavor will be made to enlist the support of women. A Sunday School for children and young persons will be a prominent feature, and social gatherings will be held regularly each week. Various courses of lectures will be delivered and classes held, according to the needs of those frequenting the Institution. Among other subjects, it is hoped that logic, philosophy, literature, psychology, ethics, and sociology will be dealt with, while opportunities will be provided for discussions to take place each week. There will also be classes for the study of elocution and the dramatic art, and of the other fine arts, should a sufficient demand arise. It is also intended to afford facilities to students who contemplate devoting their energies to the propagation of rational thought, and in this way a valuable educational centre may be established. There will be a large book shop in connexion with the Institute, and from this department a fair revenue is anticipated. Not only rationalistic, scientific, ethical, and educational works, but also standard books in other departments of literature and selected periodicals will be on sale."

It has been decided by the promoters to limit the cost of the land and the building to 20,000 pounds, leaving 10,000 pounds for carrying on the work of the Institute. Persons in sympathy with the project are requested to communicate with Mr. Watts at his address, 17 Johnson's Court, Fleet St., London, E. C., and to state whether they will support the undertaking in any of the following ways: (1) By donation; (2) By annual subscription; (3) By shares in a Limited Liability Company; or (4) By bequest.

WUNDT'S GREAT WORK ON SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY."

The second part of the first volume of Professor Wundt's colossal work on social psychology comprises over 600 pages, and is a continuation of his analysis of language, to which the entire first part of this volume also was devoted. The present second part is made up of four chapters, viz.: the sixth, treating of verbal forms; the seventh, treating of syntax; the eighth, treating of changes of meaning; and the ninth, treating of the origin of language. The encyclopædic knowledge of the great psychologist is exhibited here to the best advantage, and the reader will find in the present volume the subject of language treated with unusual copiousness as well as analysed in every form in which it can possibly enter into consideration as a socio-psychological factor. The digests presented of linguistic researches, together with the bibliography indirectly given in the references, will render Professor Wundt's book a reference work of the highest order, and make it for many purposes a substitute for special works. It is impossible to do full justice to its contents without detailed analysis, and we shall consequently limit ourselves to a reproduction of some of the general considerations which Professor Wundt has advanced regarding the psychological conditions and causes of the exceedingly interesting phenomena presented by the historical changes of the meanings of zvords. This will render his mode of investigation clearer perhaps than a mere descriptive account.

The phenomena connected with changes of meaning are dependent upon conditions the thorough investigation of which in every single instance would be an absolutely impossible task, leading back as it does to the countless remote influences which have affected the historical development of speech, and encountering also formidable obstacles in the form of individual creations which, like all arbitrary acts, defy our attempts to disclose their originating motives. In fact, the infinite range of the conditions determining changes of meaning is manifestly the reason for the wide-spread opinion that such changes are invariably a product of accident and caprice. It is overlooked that even among the simplest, the most universal, and the most rigorously determined of natural phenomena, no concrete fact can be predicted with absolute precision as it actually is at a definite period of time and in a definite configuration of external circumstances. And so here we must content ourselves with showing that the changes in question arise necessarily from the conditions which are immediately given and which immediately precede; and since these immediate conditions are in their turn also natural phenomena likewise dependent on their spatial and temporal environment, we may regard it as

Völkerpsychologie. Eine Untersuchung der Entwicklungsgesetze von Sprache, Mythus und Sitte. Von Wilhelm Wundt. Leipzig: Verlag von Wilhelm Engelmann. 1900. Pages, x, 644. Price, bound, 18 marks.

THE OPEN COURT.

perfectly justified from a logical point of view to assume that no phenomenon exists that is not uniquely determined throughout its entire chain of occasions and causes. The application of this assumption to the phenomena of changes of meaning is directly corroborated by the facts themselves. In the case of the great majority of the phenomena of psychic life, particularly those which form part of some connected intellectual development, definite motives admit of being disclosed which, while they do not always constitute the absolute and conclusive reason for the event, still point distinctly enough to it to justify us in concluding that the reason for its occurrence could be adduced if the antecedent motives were discoverable. For example, the word gas is one of the most arbitrary verbal creations imaginable. It was invented about the year 1600 by a Belgian physician and mystic, Baptiste van Helmont, as he himself expressly admits, "paradoxi licentia." It was not fully adopted until the nineteenth century, qualified forms of the word air still being used throughout the eighteenth century to describe the various gases,for instance, "the fixed air" of Black for carbonic acid gas, and "dephlogisticated air" for oxygen. Yet despite the seemingly arbitrary character of Van Helmont's invention, we are nevertheless able to point very definitely to the associations which led him to the formation of the name. He tells us himself that he believed he had discovered in gas a sort of primal matter which was intimately related to the chaos of the ancients; and that, further, the word gas and another word blas (meaning blow) designated for him two parallel concepts,-blas was derived from the Dutch cognate of the German verb blasen, to blow, and was used by Van Helmont as a descriptive name for the cold air or ethereal fluid which according to the conception of the day emanated from the fixed stars. But the consonants ch and g in Dutch are phonetically almost the same as an aspirated gh, and consequently the word gas is distinctly revealed to be a resultant creation of the two associations chaos and blas (blow). It is not impossible that the association of the idea with the Dutch word for spirit (the cognate of the English ghost) may also have influenced the alteration of the initial consonantal sound of the word.

Now, concludes Professor Wundt, if the inventor of this new term had not himself definitely pointed to the causes and conditions of its creation, we to-day should be very likely to look upon the word as an absolutely capricious and arbitrary product.

Taking it for granted, accordingly, that there is by analogy a presumption in favor of conformity to law also in the growth of phenomena which have not been investigated as to their origins, we are led to distinguish two species of determining conditions, viz., the general occasions or conditions, and the causes proper. The notion of conditions is the more general and vaguer notion, while causes are conceived as the *immediate* determining conditions of an event, without which the event would either not have taken place or would have taken place differently. But as the conditions so called are in their turn dependent also on other more remote conditions, the range and compass of the conditions are in each individual case infinite in extent. Therefore, wherever there is occasion to go beyond immediate causes, the search for conditions must necessarily be limited to such as stand in some immediate connexion with the causes.

As contrasted with the vague and shifting notion of conditions, the notion of cause is rigorously circumscribed. Causes are such conditions only as are, when assumed, absolutely sufficient for the explanation of the phenomenon. For example in the instance above adduced, the associations with the word *chaos*, with the hypothetical substance *blacs* (blow) and with the word *spiril* (ghost), are the three

MISCELLANEOUS.

sufficient causes of the term gas. The fantastic notions which led our alchemist to think of the primal chaos of the ancients; the origin of the views which were widely diffused in his time of an ethereal fluid emanating from the fixed stars; the origin of the designation spirit (ghost) for volatile substances,—all these are not causes in the restricted sense of the word, but conditions which, if they were followed farther, would lead the inquirer back to a vast domain of mystic concepts and mythological survivals and through these finally to the ultimate and boundless expanse of relationships subsisting between our civilisation and that of these remote epochs.

The situation is not otherwise with the phenomena which constitute normal and historical changes of meaning. In the case of the history of the word *fecunia* (money) among the Romans the sufficient causes are given in the fact that the notion of a medium of exchange was first associated with cattle (*fecus*), which were used for this purpose, and that afterwards the notion of other media of exchange, bronze and the precions metals, was successively associated with the same conception. On the other hand, the mutations of civilisation, the transition from trade in kind to trade in money, and all the other historical transformations upon which these changes depended, are part and parcel of the broader province of the "conditions" so called, which, if we exhausted them utterly, would comprise in the last instance all of Roman history and would go back even to still more remote prehistoric social movements and cultural conditions.

Accordingly, if the interpretation be restricted in the present case, as it is in others, to the most exact possible establishment of the causes, coincidently with which reference to the general conditions is only secondary and roughly possible, then the method of this interpretation will consist exclusively in a retrogressive and never in a progressive procedure. That is to say, in every case the causes can be sought only from the phenomena that are given; and effects cannot conversely ever be deduced from causes assumed or given. As a matter of fact, we are almost invariably obliged to employ this retrogressive procedure even in the investigation of natural phenomena, whenever an explanation is required of complex processes which have arisen without our deliberate interference or experimental control. Now, in the case of the development of the significance of words, we are concerned with phenomena the conditions of which we never control but which we can only investigate in the forms in which they are exhibited to our view in the course of their natural growth. Here, therefore, interpretation of the retrogressive sort only is possible; and not until we have actually accomplished such an interpretation in many cases and under varying circumstances are we able to obtain enlightenment as to the general nature of the causes. An auxiliary deductive procedure accompanying the inductive process here indicated is indeed possible, and consists in bringing the complicated facts which we are investigating into connexion with other more simple psychical processes, particularly with those with which we are acquainted from our experimental analysis of sensory images and their course of development. But owing to the great complications involved, certain peculiarities are intermingled with the effects which could not have been foreseen from mere analogy with simpler known facts, and in this way the domain of linguistic phenomena affords an important extension and complement to the results which inquirers have reached in the field of general psychology, and so claims the closest attention.

Finally as to mechanism, the immediate causes of changes of meanings are always elementary processes of association, such as are regularly exhibited and

traceable in their manifold forms from simple sense-perceptions through the ordinary operations of sensual recognition, to acts of memory performed by the individual consciousness. The conditions under which these causes operate are complex external circumstances which in many cases are definite historical facts and in others proceed from the action of the intellect itself as exerted upon its own vehicle, language. But if associations constitute the causes into which changes of meaning are resolved when we reduce them to their ultimate elements, nevertheless the entire causal field is not exhausted by them. On the contrary, the very function is neglected in this analysis which alone renders the coherent action of the elementary associations possible, the function which combines them into definite and single consolidated results. This function is apperception. No other domain of psychical phenomena affords so favorable an occasion for analysing the relation which obtains between these two unceasingly interacting psychical operations, the associative and the apperceptive, as language. And it is to the illumination of these fundamental processes that the results of the present investigation particularly redound.

BOOK NOTICES.

The International Globe Co., of Chicago, have published a flat globe, that is to say, a map of both hemispheres printed on either side of a large circle. The colors of the different countries are prominent, which has the advantage of bringing out their boundary lines boldly so as to be impressive to children. Around the equator the difference of time is marked by clock dials at intervals of fifteen degrees. The cable and steamer lines are indicated and, in addition, in the empty spaces of the oceans on the Southern Hemisphere the fauna and flora of the five zones are pictorially represented. The whole arrangement is a very convenient substitute for a globe, and has the advantage of taking no room. Along with the map is sold a geographical manual as a help for the teacher. The main drawback to this world's chart is the price, which is \$2.00. (International Globe Co., Room 415 Continental National Bank Bldg., Chicago.)

A new magazine has been established in Chicago bearing the title School Science, which is designed to furnish knowledge and assistance to the science-teachers of our secondary schools. The editor, Mr. C. E. Linebarger, is a man of competence and thorough training, his specialty, physical chemistry, peculiarly fitting him for his labors. From its announcements the little journal would seem to have the support, not only of able educators in our own country, but also of scientists abroad. We wish the venture every success. The contents of the first number are as follows: Associations of Science Teachers, by Charles Skeele Palmer; High School Astronomy, by George W. Meyers; Metrology, a Foreword, by Rufus P. Williams; Research Work for Physics Teachers, by E. L. Nichols; Quantitative Experiments in Chemistry for High Schools, by Lyman C. Newell; A Teacher's Index of Current Physical Literature, by George Flowers Stradling; The Teaching of Physical Geography, by William H. Snyder; Some Ways of Depriving Germinating Seeds of Air, by Louis Murbach; A Neglected Feature in Fern Study, by J. A. Foberg; A Convenient Method of Determining the Density of Air, by A. W. Augur; Experiments on the Removal of Oxygen from the Air, by O. Ohmann; A Simple Form of Sciopticon, by C. W. Carman; Notes-Zoölogy, Biology, Geology, Chemistry; Book Reviews, Correspondence, etc. (School Science, A Journal of Science Teaching in Secondary Schools. Published Monthly, September to May inclusive. Unity Building, Chicago. Price, \$2.00 per year. 25 cents per copy.)

NOTES.

A school has been established in New York City for the benefit of a small number of abnormal children whose individual needs require physical, mental, and moral development by experts. The founder of the school is Dr. Maximilian P. E. Groszmann, who was formerly superintendent of the well-known Ethical Culture Schools established in New York by Dr. F. Adler, and who until recently has conducted in Virginia an establishment similar to the one of which he is now the head. He has been fortunate enough to acquire the co-operation of several prominent physicians, among them being Dr. Nathan Oppenheim, the author of several works on child-development, and Dr. Franz Torez and Dr. William Hirsch, two other eminent specialists. The location of the school, near Ft. Washington, is one of the finest and healthiest on Manhattan Island, overlooking the Hudson and commanding a view of the Palisades. The work of instruction is based on the soundest modern educational and psychological research, and the curriculum will include school-gardening, manual training, art instruction, sport and gymnastics of all kinds. The object, however, is not instruction but education, and the main stress is laid on psychological and physiological influences. Interested persons may address Dr. Groszmann at "The Pinehurst," Corner Fort Washington Ave. and Depot Lane, Manhattan Borough, New York, U. S. A.

The Buddhist Mission, located at 807 Polk St., San Francisco, California, founded mainly for the Japanese and Chinese Buddhists of San Francisco who are in danger of losing their religion, and supported chiefly by the Buddhists of Japan, is now publishing a religious magazine called *The Light of Dharma*, which is "devoted to the teachings of Buddha," and will be published bi-monthly. The first number, being the "Buddha Birthday Number," lies before us, and is ornamented with a frontispiece representing the famous Buddha statue of Kamakura. The contents are an editorial, "Buddha and His Religion," and in addition a few editorials, such as "The Ethics of Buddhism," by Sister Sanghamitta; an "Address at the Buddhist Mission," by Col. Olcott, who after an absence of many years in India arrived in San Francisco on February 25th last; an article by S. Nagao entitled, "Why There are Various Doctrines in Buddhism"; "Buddhism," by T. Mizuki; a poem by Miss Albers, "Nature's Voices"; and a letter from the Anagarika H. Dharmapála. The price of this little periodical is 10 cents per copy or 50 cents per year.

PHILOSOPHICAL CLASSICS.

The third volume to appear in the cheap paper-bound reprints of philosophical and scientific classics which The Open Court Publishing Co. has begun to issue in its Religion of Science Library is David Hume's famous *Enquiries Concerning the Principles of Morals.*¹ This work, which is the keenest and most lucid exposition of the utilitarian theory of ethics in philosophical literature, is a companionpiece to the *Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding*, which should be read

1 An Enquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals. By David Hume. Chicago: The Open Court Pub. Co. 1900. Pages, 169. Price, paper, 25 cents.

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in connexion with it, and which has already appeared in this same series with biographical and critical remarks.

Descartes's Discourse on Method has also appeared in the Religion of Science Library: Berkeley's Principles of Human Knowledge and his Three Dialogues Between Hylas and Philonous, and Kant's Prolegomena are in preparation. These books are being all favorably received and have been adopted in some colleges and universities for collateral reading. Their cheapness and convenience



DAVID HUME (1711-1776.) From a painting by A. Ransay in the Gallery at Edinburgh.

will probably lead to their supplanting other more expensive series in the libraries of students who wish to go to the sources. The type of the books is large and clear, the paper good. Recently an illustrated cover has been designed for the series. Each volume has a good portrait of its author, and usually contains an index, besides introductory historical or critical matter. The portrait of the present volume is the Hume of Sir Joshua Reynolds, The portrait here reproduced is by Ramsay and formed the frontispiece to the reprint of the *Human Understanding*.

ESSAYS ON NUMBER

I. CONTINUITY AND IRRATIONAL NUMBERS. II. THE NATURE AND MEANING OF NUMBERS.

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An Enquiry Concerning Human Understanding, By DAVID HUME. Reprinted from the edition of 1777, with Hume's autobiography and a letter from Adam Smith, usually prefixed to the *History of England*. Frontispiece, portrait of Hume by Ramsay. Pages, 201. Price, paper, 25 cents. World's Congress Addresses. Delivered by the President, the HON. CHARLES CARROLL BONNEY, LL. D., to the World's Parliament of Religions and the Religious Denominational Congresses of 1893. Printed as a Memorial of the Significant Events of the Columbian Year. Pp., vi, 88. Price, paper, 15c (9d.).

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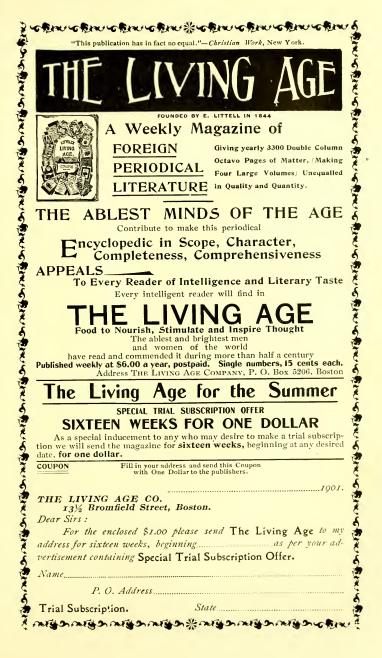
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