The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by Edward C. Hegeler



OEDIPUS BEFORE THE SPHINX. (See pages 169-170.)

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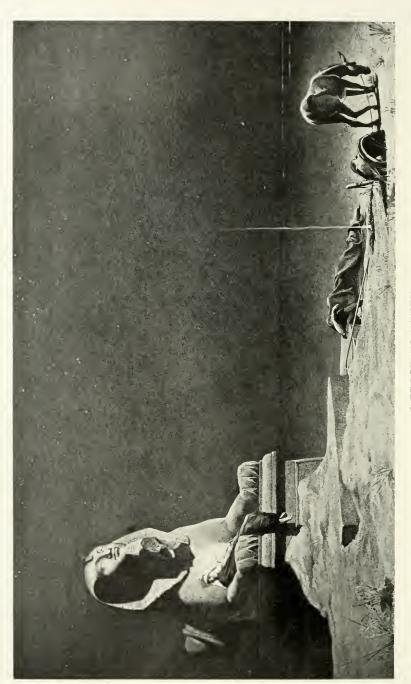
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REPOSE IN EGYPT. After the painting of L. Olivier Merson.

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THE EGYPTIAN ELEMENT IN THE BIRTH STORIES OF THE GOSPELS.

BY W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN.

THE first century, the age of the Gospels, is perhaps the most interesting epoch that can engage the student of history. The legions of Rome had conquered the uttermost parts of the earth and established communication with the most distant portions of her empire and seemed to her subjects to have united the ends of the earth. The thought of the east and west met, now in conflict, now in friendly embrace; and the stage for the enactment of this intellectual drama was Alexandria.

Alexandria was the asylum of all the old tradition of the Orient and the intellectual mart or clearing-house for the wisdom of the whole world. Here the romance and mysticism of the east encountered and blended with the precise thought and philosophy of the Greek world. It was at Alexandria that the school of Philo represented Hellenizing Judaism, and it was at Alexandria that the Gnosis synthesized all the thought of Syria, Chaldea, Persia and blended with Greek philosophy as well as Christianity and Judaism.

It was into this Pentecostal assemblage of thought—this world's conference of intellects—that the simple creed of the Galilean teacher, Jesus of Nazareth, was introduced about the year 70 A. D. The effect on this new-born system was such as might be expected; it did not succumb, but underwent such modifications and changes as to render it indeed a new system and better fitted for the conflict of the battle of intellects. Christianity came at an opportune moment and in a measure met a long-felt want and fulfilled a world's desire.

Of the atmosphere of the first century no better description can be found than that given by Zeller in his History of Greek Philosophy (Vol. V, pp. 391-392): The time was one of great strain, physical, intellectual and spiritual, a time when the nations had lost their independence, the popular religions their power, the national forms of culture their peculiar stamp, in part if not wholly; a time in which the supports of life on its natural side as well as its spiritual side, had broken asunder, and the great civilizations of the world were impressed by their downfall and with the particular sense of the approach of a new era; the time in which a longing after a new and more satisfactory form of spiritual being, a fellowship that should embrace all peoples, a form of belief that should bear men over all the misery of the present and tranquilize the desire of the soul, was universal. Christianity claimed to, and did eventually, fulfil this world's desire, but it was a Christianity modified in the fire of intellectual conflict, and equipped with weapons from many different workshops. The rapidity with which Christianity, with that strange faculty of adaptibility so characteristic of Semitic thought, became changed and influenced in the school of Alexandria is best shown by the rise of Christian gnosticism. Basilides flourished in the reign of Hadrian (117-138 A. D.) some half-century after the advent of Christianity and the change had begun. The school of the Alexandrian Fathers raised Christian thought to a height it was not to surpass, and which was to cause terror in the orthodoxy of the councils. Basilides, Valentinus, SS. Clement and Origen opened up for the Christian mind new vistas of thought and unveiled for it mysteries which a Plato or an Aristotle had never fathomed."

The heterogeneous and polyglot nature of the population of Alexandria is most graphically described by the Greek philosopher Dion Crysostom in an address to the Alexandrians in the time of Trajan (52-117 A. D.). He says: "I see among you not only Hellenes, Italians and men who are your neighbors, Syrians, Libyans and Cilicians; and men who dwell more remotely, Ethiopians, Arabs, Bactrians, Scythians, Persians and Indians, who are among the spectators." The description of this orator is amply confirmed by the discoveries of Professor Petrie at Memphis, where he found statuettes of all the nationalities mentioned above and many others.²

In relation to the development of Christianity in Egypt there is a most important element in the religious and intellectual life

¹ James Kennedy on Buddhist Gnosticism in J. R. A. S., Vol. 1902, p. 386.

^{*}Petrie's Discoveries at Memphis.

of the period to be now considered, that is the religious life of Egypt at the time of the first century.

Egypt was par excellence the home of magic; and indeed there is a saving in the Talmud that "Ten measures of magic came into the world, and that Egypt received nine of these." The magicians of Pharaoh will go down to all time as pre-eminent wonder-workers. Egypt was also the birth-place of the novel or popular romance and many of these have been preserved to us. Such are the Tale of the Two Brothers in the Daubeney Papyrus, and the old groups of Magical Tales of Pyramid times in the Westcar papyrus, the Tale of the Doomed Prince and the Adventures of Sinuit, all of which no doubt formed part of the stock of popular literature of the land of the Pharaohs. Such literature took a firm hold on the minds of the populace. No doubt like most popular literatures, poems or romances, such as the Arabian Nights, these tales were for centuries handed down by oral tradition, until finally in some literary age they were collected and committed to writing. This age of oral transmission is common to all ancient literature; in India the Vedic hymns, the poems of the Ramayana, the Gathas of the Zend-Avesta of Zoroaster, all passed through this stage. So in Chaldea the epic poems of the creation and the story of Gilgames, are all stated to have been committed to heart before they took written form. So the legends of Arthur and the sagas of Scandinavia in our own western lands, not to mention the Iliad and Odyssey of Homer, were faithfully passed from bard to bard ere they became stereotyped by the scribe's pen. Like all folktales these popular legends of Egypt grew with the centuries and gathered material from the flotsam and jetsam of popular tradition throughout the centuries; legends from all or any source being fish for the net of the popular raconteurs of Thebes and Memphis, and later of Alexandria. The vitality of these magic and wonder tales is unlimited, and when religion and priestly tradition had lost their power and faith grown dim, these popular tales survived when canonical literature had ceased to exist. The decadence of the Egyptian state religion after the fall of the Theban hierarchy of Amen, and in turn followed by the overthrow of the priests of Sais, caused the sacred literature of the Egyptian religion to be obliterated. The Book of the Dead, a vast compendium of mythology and magic, gave place to shorter rituals, such as the Book of Breathings or the still shorter compilations of Greco-Roman times. The twilight of the gods had set in and the priest gave place to the magician. Under the Ptolemies there was a great revival of the love of these tales, tales of the things

that those of old time knew, and such legends were carefully sought for and committed to writing generally in the Demotic script, the writing of the people. Tales of the wise men of old led to their worship, and in those days the wise man and magician were raised to the level of the gods, as I-m.hotep,³ the wise medical man, architect and minister of King Zeser was deified as a son of Ptah, and Amen-hotep, the son of Hapi, the wonder worker and dream seer of the court of Amenophis III was deified in Greco-Roman times.⁴

Chief among the cycles of tales which were collected and committed to writing was a group which were associated with Prince Kha-m-Uast (Manifestations in Thebes) who had an immortal reputation as a magician and was high priest of Ptah at Memphis. He was the eldest son of Rameses II, the Pharaoh of Moses, and is said to have founded the Serapeum or tombs of the Apis bulls at Memphis. He is recorded in the earlier tales as spending most of his time in the necropolis at Memphis searching for magical books and charms. He is known to us, too, from several monuments and especially by a fine statue in conglomerate stone in the British Museum. On this statue is inscribed the XXXIVth chapter of the Book of the Dead, a great magical formula, a charm against serpents; and on the back the inscription is written in secret or magical writing and cannot be deciphered. Throughout the cycle of tales we find him mentioned by the name of Setme or Setne, a name derived from his title as high priest of the god Ptah of Memphis, but in some cases his full name and title being given there is no doubt or difficulty as to the identity of the priest-magician and prince.

Of the tales relating to this wonder-working prince we possess two manuscripts. The first is in the Khedival Museum at Cairo and was first published by the late Dr. Brugsch and since by Dr. Hess and more recently by Mr. F. Llewellyn Griffith, Reader in Egyptology at Oxford. The date of the first manuscript is uncertain, but it undoubtedly belongs to the Ptolemaic age (B. C. 323-300). The second and in many respects more important document is now in the British Museum and has recently been published by the Oxford Clarendon Press with a transcript, transliteration

^{*} I-m.hotep was deified as the son of Ptah and called by the Greeks Imouthes and identified with Æsculapius. He became a special god of the scribe caste who poured out a libation from the water jar they used to moisten their paints before commencing their work.

⁴ Amen-hotep, the son of Hapi, is probably the sage mentioned in the Logos Hiebræcos, a Hebrew magic charm published by Dr. Gaster, J. R. A. S., Vol. 1901, pp. 109 ff.

and translation by Mr. Griffith, under the title of Tales of the High Priests of Memphis. Of this document we are able to fix the date with a considerable degree of accuracy. It is written on two large sheets of papyrus on the recto of which are written a series of land registers and fiscal accounts of the city of Crocodilopolis; and these are dated in the seventh year of the Emperor Claudius, that is in the year 46-47 A. D. The reverse of the papyrus left blank has been cleaned and on it has been written in Demotic of a very cursive character a series of tales of Setme Kha-m-uast and his magician son. Judging from the time of the re-usage of the papyri in the Fayoum according to Drs. Hunt and Grenfell, the interval between the two writings may be placed at from twenty-five to thirty years, making the date of the Demotic document 72 or 76 A. D. That would be from five to nine years after the mission of St. Mark to Alexandria, which on the authority of St. Jerome is usually placed at 67 A. D.

The contents may be divided into two portions: (1) The narrative of the birth of the wise son of Kha-m-Uast named Se Osiris and the wonders he performed, and (2) An account of the contest in magic and miracle between Se Osiris and the two magicians from Ethiopia, which resembles very closely the traditional contest between Moses and the two magicians Jannes and Jambres. The contest here described takes place at the court of Rameses II, an interesting point to note (2 Timothy iii. 8). The papyrus, slightly mutilated, opens with an account of the birth of the miraculous child,—Se Osiris. Kha-m-Uast and his wife are old, a fact which several references in the text indicate. The wife's name is Mehusekht. The first complete portion of the papyrus commences with the dream of Setme, when we read:

"Setme laid down one night and dreamt a dream, they speaking to him saying, 'Meh-usekht thy wife hath taken conception in the night. The child that shall be born shall be named Se-Osiris, for many are the marvels that he shall do in the land of Kemi (Egypt)."

Here at the very commencement we strike a well-marked similarity to the Gospel narrative. To continue:

"Her time of bearing come, she gave birth to a male child. They caused Setme to know it (and) he named him Se-Osiris according to that which was said in the dream."

In both these sections we have striking parallelisms with the New Testament, especially with Matthew i. 20, 22, 24.

"But when he |Joseph) thought upon these things, behold an angel of the Lord appeared to him in a dream saying, 'Joseph, thou

son of David, fear not to take unto thee Mary thy wife, for that which is conceived in her is of the Holy Ghost and she shall bring forth a son, and thou shalt call his name Jesus, for it is he that shall save people from their sins."

We may now pass to another episode in the life of this miraculous child during his youth:

"It came to pass that when the child Se Osiris was one year old, people might have said that he was two years and he being two years old they might have said he was three years. He grew big, he grew strong, he was put to school and he rivalled the scribe whom they caused to give him instruction.

"The child Se Osiris began to speak magic with the scribes in the House of Life [Temple of Ptah in Memphis]. Behold the boy Se Osiris passed twelve years and there was no good scribe or learned man that rivalled him in Memphis in reading or writing a charm."

Here again we are in touch with St. Luke's Gospel (ii. 40) where we read:

"The child grew and waxed strong, filled with the wisdom and the power of God was upon him. And when he was twelve years old they found him sitting in the temple, in the midst of the doctors both hearing and asking them questions. And all that heard him were amazed at his understanding and his answers."

The agreement here is not only verbal, but the incidents agree, the growth in strength, wisdom and the resort to consult learned men in the temple all are similar. In the "Gospel of the Infancy" we have the wisdom of the child Jesus mentioned. There we are told:

"At the age of twelve Jesus discourses to astronomers on the heavenly bodies, also to philosophers skilled in natural sciences."

This gospel is essentially a gnostic work.

In the story of St. Luke of the birth and infancy of Jesus there are similar points of detail which show striking indications of Egyptian influence. We may take for example the expression "the power of God." This is a most important phrase in Egyptian magic, the *nekht.p.neter* or "power of God" was the means by which most deeds of magic and miracle were performed. Kha-m-Uast by his skill in magic was able to call down from heaven the "power of God to aid him in his magical deeds."

So also according to the papyrus was his son Se Osiris able to control the power of divine miracle working. The ancient Egyptians do not appear to have had any idea of angels in the Christian sense, but the divine will and messages were conveyed to earth by the Nekht.p.neter, who appears to have taken some immaterial or spiritual form and been able to perform such acts as passing through the water to divide the waters like Moses and to have been exactly the same in its functions as the Christian angel. These conceptions and functions of the "power of God" would seem to have been known to the writer of St. Luke's Gospel who entrusts the announcement of the birth of Jesus, and his forerunner the Baptist, to the angel Gabriel, whose name is an exact Hebrew equivalent of the Egyptian Nekht.p.neter or "Power of God." The annunciation of the birth of the divine child is also in touch with Egypt. The Theban kings claimed in ancient times, as did the Ptolemies later in imitation of them, to be the divine offspring of Amen. To make this known to their subjects they built at Thebes, Esneh, Philae and other great temples small temples known as "birth-houses." Here were depicted the events preceding and following the birth of the divine child: Khnum moulding the divine child and his double: Thoth, as the chief embodiment of the "power of God" and the source of all magic and miraculous power, announcing to the Oueen Mother the name of the child to which she will give birth. Then follows the birth and the presentation of the child to his divine father.⁵ One cannot read the New Testament account of the annunciation with a knowledge of these Egyptian beliefs, without thinking that the writer of the Gospel was cognisant of the Egyptian belief in the annunciation or pre-natal naming of a divine child.

There is another birth story of Jesus which must also be taken into consideration in this paper, that given by Celsus in his controversy with Origen. Origen writing (Contra Celsus, Bk. I, xxxii) says:

"The Jew of Celsus, speaking of the mother of Jesus, says when she was pregnant she was turned out of doors by the carpenter to whom she had been betrothed, as having been guilty of adultery, and she bore a child to a certain soldier named Panthera." In the Talmud we get some further details for the story of the supposed Jew of Celsus based on Talmudic legends. The passages are obscure: He was not the son of Stada (Joseph?) but was the son of Pandora." Rab. Chisda says: "The husband of Jesus's mother was Stada but her lover was Pandora." In the Talmud also Miariam, the mother of Jesus, is called Miriam, the hairplaiter or tirewoman (Magdil'ya). It is this last expression that

Lyayet, "Le Temple de Luxor." Mémoires de la Mission Française au Caire. Pt. XV, pp. 62, 68, 75.

helps us to a clue to the source of the story of Celsus. In the Gospel narrative Mary the mother of Jesus is lost sight of after the night of the crucifixion when St. John took her to his own home (John xix. 27) but in Jewish and Christian legend the place of the Virgin Mary is taken by Mary Magdalene, who became the center of a large cycle of legend and most of these legends are derived from the stories of Isis, who became, at least in Egyptian Christianity, the Virgin. Lagarde suggested some years ago that the name of Mary Magdalene was not derived from a somewhat mythical town of Magdala but was connected with the Hebrew word Magdila'ya, "the hair-plaiter" derived from magdila, "braider," from gadal, "to plait or twist." Considered in the light of Egyptian Isis stories this becomes perfectly tenable.

There is a story of Isis which must be quoted here. It is true we do not possess the ancient Egyptian version of the story but the substance of the authoritative narrative is so well confirmed otherwise by the monuments that we may conclude that the statements are based on some Egyptian authority-either monumental or on a papyrus not yet recovered. Plutarch in his treatise on Isis and Osiris gives this legend: "Isis having heard that the chest in which Osiris was enclosed had been carried by the waves of the sea to the coast of Byblos (not the Phenician city but a town in the Nile Delta) hastened thither. On arriving there she sat herself down beside a well and refused to speak to any excepting the queen's women who happened to be there; these indeed she saluted and caressed with kindest manner plaiting their hair for them and transmuting into them part of the wonderful grateful odor which issued from her own body." Here, then, I believe we see clearly the source of the "Miriam, the tirewoman" of the Talmud and the Jew of Celsus in the Egyptian legend of Isis quoted by Plutarch of which we do not as yet possess the original.

Many suggestions have been made for the name of the supposed father, Pandera or Panthera. Some see in it a play on the Greek parthenos ($\pi a \rho \theta \acute{e} \nu o s$), "virgin," but this is hardly tenable, as it requires a reversal of the order of the consonants. Others connect it with the panther ($\pi a \nu \delta \eta \rho \tilde{a} \nu$) sacred to Dionysus and regarded as an emblem of sensualism and suitable to the adulterous intercourse of Miriam and the soldier.

Another solution, I submit, can be found from an Egyptian sense, and as we see from the epithet "tirewoman" the Talmudic writer was not acquainted with Egyptian folklore. In the Kha-m-Uast papyrus which is the basis of this article, the wonder-working

child is called "Se-Osiris," son of Osiris. This name is a name of the son of Osiris and Isis, but not frequently used, he generally being called Heru-se. Asi or Horus the son of Isis which passed into Greek and later Egyptian as Horsesi. In Ptolemaic and in Christian times Osiris was called p'neter, "the god," or p'neter aā, "the great god," and indeed this title was often used instead of his full name. Thus in the stela of Ta.hebt of Ptolemaic times, formerly in the collection of Lady Meux, the deceased lady is made to say, "From the days of childhood I walked in the path of the God (Osiris) upright as Ra." This path is explained by the beautiful hymn to Osiris in the XVth chapter of the Book of the Dead, which takes the form of a litany with the repeated refrain, "Show thou me a path whereon I may walk in peace for I am just and true." To the Egyptian of the centuries preceding and in the early ages of the Christian church in Egypt Osiris was "the god." The explanation of Panthera or Pandora seeems to be perfectly clear in this Egyptian light.

We take the general title of Osiris *p'neter-aa*, "the great god," and we have the essential radical of Panthera, PNTRA, and even the final A is long, being the Egyptian aā, "great"; Horus or Se-Osiris was the son of Isis the "hair-plaiter" by Osiris *P'neter-aā*.

In regard to the birth stories in the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Luke, the verbal and incidental parallels are so striking as not to be easily explained away as coincidences. It is to be noticed that in the parallelism quoted above there is not one associated with the Gospel of St. Mark, only with St. Matthew and St. Luke.

Now if, as I believe, the writer of St. Luke's Gospel was a Greek-speaking Christian, the parallels would be quite possible from the existing material around him, the stories of Setme Kha-m-uast and his wonder-working child Se-Osiris must have been as well known to Alexandrians and Christian Egyptians as the stories of Antar or the Arabian Nights are to the modern dwellers in Cairo and Alexandria.

When we consider the atmospheres of the early days of Christianity in Egypt such a utilization of Egyptian material would seem not at all impossible. St. Mark left Rome on his mission to Alexandria about B. C. 67 taking with him, as St. Jerome states, a simple or elementary gospel—the *Ur-Mark* of the German critics of which we have an enlarged edition of the first Gospel. Both St. Matthew and St. Luke knew of and used this ground text and enlarging elaborated it in text and in incidents. If the date of the papyrus of

Kha-m-Uast is A. D. 74 or 76 as I make it, the tales would be accessible to both writers, but not to St. Mark, except in oral form.

St. Mark went to Alexandria to the Hellenist Jew community who had, as instanced by Apollos the Alexandrian Jew, received some elementary instruction in the way of the Lord, and it was the Greek-speaking Jews who founded the first Christian church. After a time the native Egyptian population, of whom some knew Greek, would be attached and desire to know something of the new and wonderful faith; they would be followed in due course by the non-Greek-speaking people, whose language was Coptic and a demand arose for translations of a simple gospel story of the life and death of Jesus and the scriptures which testified to him. By the latter part of the second century, when bishops were appointed and the native congregations had native teachers, this demand became very general, and by the third century a great literary activity had been developed in the native Coptic church. Of this activity we are now reaping the fruit in the valuable Coptic translations of the Scriptures which are being recovered from the earliest Christian cemeteries of Egypt, such as the versions of the books of Deuteronomy and Isaiah and the Acts of the Apostles, recently published by that great Coptic scholar, Dr. Budge of the British Museum. These works cannot be assigned to a later date than the latter part of the third century A. D.

The native Egyptians when they did become cognisant of the teaching of Christianity embraced it in no lukewarm manner; they threw themselves en masse into the arms of the church. They did not, however, wholly abandon their old creed and its beliefs. This strange compromise between the old religion and the new lasted for a long time and left its mark indelibly on the literature of the period. The Christian hell changed nothing of the Egyptian Amenti in the west of Heaven with its rivers and lakes of fire, to punish and purify the wicked, and the visit to Amenti is a stock incident in every Coptic saint's life or in the denunciations of Coptic homilies. The judgment still took place in Amenti with Osiris the great god seated on his throne and Anubis standing by the scale. with Thoth, the scribe of the gods recording the verdict and Amma, the composite devourer waiting to destroy for ever the damned. The Egyptian Christians still honored the old creed by calling themselves by names compounded with those of the old Theban gods. Thus Pachomius, the founder of one of the largest monasteries with 1300 monks is Pa-Khnum, after the creator god of the cataracts, the ram-headed divinity. Others like Serapamon, a compound of Osiris, Hapi and Amen; Pet-Osiris, the gift of Osiris; or Pet.Bast, gift of Bast; or Horsesi, Horus, son of Isis. The great Coptic saint Shenuti has a name the exact equivalent of Se-Osiris for it is but the Coptic form of Se-neter, "son of the god," "son of Osiris."

To put the matter in plain terms, in adopting the Christian creed the native Egyptians of the first century, had little to renounce and nothing to learn. How close the conception of Osiris approached that of the Christian Christ is now evident.

The rule of the later Egyptian life was to follow in the path of Osiris, to do that which he did, thinking thus to attain eternal life. The belief in the god-man who died and rose again from the dead and who thereby opened the way to eternal life was the faith in which millions on millions of true believers had died in past time in Egypt.

"Osiris," says Dr. Budge, "only obtained the sovereignty of Heaven and life among the gods, because of his innocence from evil, his surpassing merit, and he who wished to enter Heaven must be innocent, just and righteous. He must have done as Osiris did, set right in the place of wrong, as far as in his power lay. His hand must have been purified by the Matter of his seat (Osiris). A man must have lived in such a way that it could be said of him as was said of Osiris, He hath done no evil." Had the native convert anything to learn in accepting the doctrine of the risen Christ through whom men gained eternal life? He believed that in Heaven he would have a perpetual communion with the Saviour, be it Osiris or Christ, feed to all eternity on the bread which was incorruptible, because it proceeded from the body of Osiris and drink the wine which came from the body of God.

In an atmosphere such as this it is not surprising that the writers of these gospels, who had a groundwork in the writings of St. Mark and were familiar with the story of the life of Jesus, should utilize the material of Egyptian origin about them in their accounts which in the first case were to appeal to their fellow Greek-speaking Egyptians. The opinion I have come to and set forth as clearly as possible in the above pages, is the result of more than twenty years' study, and I am convinced that not only these two gospels are derived from Egypt, but the same is true of a large element in all Christian teaching.

Osiris and the Resurrection, Vol. I, p. 313.

THE MYSTERY SURROUNDING THE DEATH OF JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU.

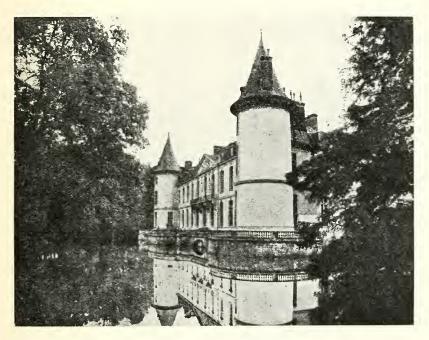
BY JULIEN RASPAIL.

[During the last spring and summer, the French newspapers and periodicals fairly teemed with articles concerning Jean Jacques Rousseau, the bicentennial of whose birth occurred at the end of June. The government, several municipalities and many private individuals held ceremonies of different sorts in honor of the event, which naturally brought again to the fore the old question of how Rousseau met his death. Perhaps the most striking and original contribution on this subject is the one given below, written at my suggestion by a distinguished physician of Paris, who is in a position to speak with authority and who is at the same time an ardent admirer of the celebrated philosopher.

Dr. Julien Raspail belongs to one of those notable families, rare in all countries, whose various branches during several generations are marked by distinction. Dr. F. V. Raspail (1794-1878), chemist, vegetable physiologist and earnest republican agitator at a period when holding radical opinions meant imprisonment and exile, was the first to render the name famous. One of the fine new boulevards of Paris bears this patronymic. Dr. Raspail had four sons and one daughter. Benjamin Raspail (1823-1899), painter and engraver of talent, was a deputy under both Republics and shared exile with his father during the Empire. Camille Raspail (1827-1897) was a physician and a deputy. Emile Raspail (1831-1887) was an industrial chemist and a politician. Marie Raspail (1834-1876) devoted her life to her father and accompanied him to prison, where the last time, at the age of eighty, he was confined for his political ideas; she took cold and died there prematurely. Xavier Raspail, born in 1839, still lives, an able physician and a well-known naturalist. Eugène Raspail (1812-1888), a nephew, was a deputy and learned scientist. Of Dr. Raspail's children, Emile alone left descendants, the author of this article being the only one who has attained a reputation; but as there are five great-grandchildren of the founder of the house, the name of Raspail may soon again be celebrated in the political and scientific history of contemporary France. THEODORE STANTON.]

JEAN Jacques Rousseau died at Ermenonville, a village near Paris, on July 2, 1778. On the morning of his death he rose very early, as was his habit, and took his customary walk in the beautiful park

of the castle where he was residing, returning home in a perfect state of health. He breakfasted and then retired to his apartments with his companion, Theresa Levasseur. About ten o'clock, the Marquis de Girardin, his host, heard cries coming from the room where Rousseau was, and hastening thither, he found the body of the philosopher lying motionless on the floor, with Theresa, all covered with blood, at its side. At first, it was thought that Rousseau had died from an attack of serous apoplexy. The different accounts given by Theresa, the only person who saw Rousseau die, and by



THE CASTLE OF ERMENONVILLE.

one or two of his close friends, including the Marquis de Girardin, as well as the death certificate and the record of the autopsy, all pronounced the death to have been a natural one. But soon ugly rumors began to spread about. It was hinted that Rousseau had shot himself in the forehead with a pistol. There seemed some ground for this statement, for all those who saw the body—the servants of the castle as well as the inhabitants of the village—noticed a large wound on the forehead. But Theresa, M. de Girardin and one or two others declared that this wound came from the fall from his chair, face forwards, on the bare floor, which occurred when the

sudden attack happened. The general public, however, clung to its belief in suicide, and during the whole of the nineteenth century the discussion went on, one side holding to a natural death, the other to a self-inflicted one.

On December 18, 1897, a new fact was added to the controversy. Rousseau's body was at first buried in the park of the castle at Ermenonville. But when the Convention decreed that the Pantheon at Paris should be made the burial place of the great men of France, Rousseau's remains were solemnly transferred there in October, 1794. When the Empire fell and the Bourbons returned, the Pantheon was returned to the church, when it soon became common report that overzealous priests had violated the tombs of Rousseau and Voltaire, and had thrown their bodies into some unknown potter's field. So the Minister of Public Instruction appointed in 1897 a commission who should examine and report whether the remains of Voltaire and Rousseau were still in the crypt of the Pantheon. On December 18, the two tombs were opened in the presence of this commission, and here is what was reported concerning Rousseau: "The skeleton of Jean Jacques Rousseau is in a perfect state of preservation, the arms crossed on the breast, and the head slightly inclined towards the left like a man sleeping. The skull is intact; there is no indication of it being perforated or fractured."

At first blush it would seem that this report settled beyond question the fact that Rousseau died a natural death and put an end to the accusation that he had committed suicide. But the truth is it did nothing of the kind, for the commission made no scientific identification of the alleged Rousseau skeleton. In fact, the very day after this report was made public, Dr. Hamy, the learned professor of anthropology at the Paris Museum of Natural History, published in the newspapers a letter in which he expressed his doubts as to the authenticity of the skeleton found in Rousseau's tomb. So the polemic continued as passionately as ever and the mystery which surrounds the death of Jean Jacques Rousseau remains as impenetrable as before. For instance, M. Jules Lemaître, in his brilliant lecture on Rousseau, delivered at Paris in 1907, said: "It will never be known for a certainty whether he killed himself or died a natural death"; and two well-known French physicians-Drs. Cabanès and Fabien Girardet—have recently published two long essays on this subject. Though both of these medical men pronounce in favor of a natural death, another distinguished authority, Dr. Archard, of the Paris Medical School, writes at the same moment: "We can safely say what Rousseau did not die of, but we cannot say what illness killed him."

A document of the highest importance, which can throw an entirely new light on the subject, has been neglected by nearly all the students of the problem. I refer to the death-mask of Rousseau, made the day after his decease by the celebrated sculptor Houdon, famous in the United States for his busts of several distinguished Americans. Now, I have the good fortune to own this historic mask, which has been in my family since May 14, 1861, and a careful study



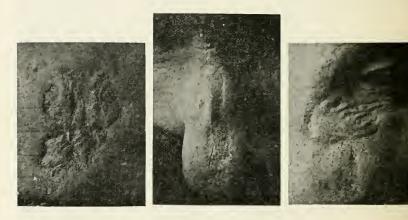


DEATH-MASK OF J. J. ROUSSEAU. Moulded by Houdon. (Photograph by Dr. Raspail.)

of it has enabled me to come to new and very unexpected conclusions concerning the death of Jean Jacques Rousseau. In the first place, the wound already referred to comes out very clearly on this mask and has been noticed by others and especially by my grandfather; but what has never been remarked and to which I am the first to call attention is the fact that the face shows two other wounds, which those who have examined the mask have passed over unperceived. One of these is near the right eye. Now, the two eyes of the mask are very dissimilar. The lids of the left eye are much

more open than those of the right eye, the lower lid swelling out very noticeably. The right eye is quite different. The lids are much less open, the palpebral interspace more elongated, the swelling out of the lower lid is scarcely visible, and this same lid shows a slight ectropion. These very marked deformations of the external parts of this eye are fully explained by the neighboring contusion. Rousseau's right eye in its normal condition showed none of these characteristics, as is proved by Latour's excellent pastel portrait of the philosopher. In this portrait, the two palpebral openings are the same, the swelling out of the lower lids is equally pronounced in both eyes, and there is no ectropion of the lower lid of the right eye.

The third wound is on the nose. Just below the root of the nose a slight depression of the skin is noticeable, which is seen on both



WOUND ON FOREHEAD. WOUND ON THE NOSE. WOUND ON THE EYE.

sides of the bridge. The upper portion of this wound is of a horse-shoe shape and descends along the left side of the nose, where the fractured bone is laid bare. Here, as in the case of the two other wounds, there is a narrowing at the middle part. The traumatic origin of this disfigurement cannot be doubted. In Latour's pastel, the nose is well drawn and comes out clearly. No deformity of any kind is visible. We know that Rousseau had a well-formed nose. For instance, Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, in his detailed description of Rousseau's physiognomy, refers to his "well-made nose." But in this death-mask, one is struck by the deformity just mentioned.

When one considers these three wounds, the first peculiarity which occurs to the mind is their parallel direction; the second is their respective situation. If, as was stated by Theresa Levasseur

and M. de Girardin, the wound on the forehead was made by falling forward from his chair, the salient parts of Rousseau's face would alone have shown the effects of this fall. But nothing of the kind is found on Rousseau's very high eyebrows nor on the point of the nose. The contrary is the case, as we have seen. It is the receding parts of the face which were hurt—the retreating forehead, the side of the nose, and the still more protected parts, the base of the nose and the under part of the right eye. Again, two of these wounds are on the right side of the face, while the third is on the left side. Now, it is stated that when Rousseau fell from his chair, he fell dead, and so could not have made the movements necessary to produce these wounds. The similarity in the shape of the wounds is also remarkable. This is strikingly shown by superposing the outline figures of the three wounds. In the case of the forehead and eye wounds, it will be noticed that the upper portion of both is transversally oval, that both grow more narrow towards the middle.

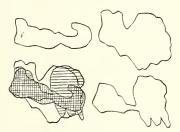


DIAGRAM OF THE THREE SCARS.

that the lower portion of both becomes more elongated and is not so large as the upper portion.

The difference in the contour of these two wounds is explained by the nature of the tissues hurt and by the unequal violence of the two blows. As regards the wound of the forehead, the hurt surface is nearly a plane, the soft tissues very thin, with a hard bony resisting surface underneath. A hard blow was given here and the imprint of the instrument which gave the blow is large and clearly marked. It is a serious wound; the crushing of the soft tissues and the crashing in of the bony plane. This I show further on. The blow in the region of the eye was much less hard. The wound is more on the surface, a simple bruise, an ecchymosis in the upper part, that is in the portion where an infiltration of the flesh is produced rapidly. The alteration of the tissues is still less in the lower part of the wound, in the region of the cheek.

I explain in the same way the difference between the nose wound

and the two others. The two first were occasioned by a blunt instrument which struck against relatively large and resistant surfaces. But the nose is of an entirely different formation, both as regards shape and tissues, and so a blow there should not produce the same kind of wound as a blow on the forehead or under the eye.

Though it is evident that the blows were produced by the same blunt instrument, it is not so easy to say what this instrument was. It might have been the small end of a hammer flattened by long use.

What was the gravity of these wounds? That of the right eve was not serious. That on the nose was deeper; but, though it made an impression on the bony structure, it did not produce dangerous results, nothing beyond an abundant hemorrhage. The only one of the three wounds which counts was that of the forehead. Did it effect only the soft tissues or did it effect the structure of the cranium? If it had been but a simple surface trauma, a slight abrasion of the epidermis, as it was declared to be by Theresa Levasseur, the Marquis de Girardin, and the signers of the autopsy, the contour of the wound would be quite indistinct, whereas the outline is very clearly marked. The border of the wound is formed of several sharp protuberances which separate very distinctly the portion of the bony surface broken through by the blow from the portion left intact. Other evidence enables me to be very affirmative on this point. If you look at the Houdon mask from above in such a way that the two frontal bumps are seen in profile so that their silhouettes cross the middle of the wound, it is evident that there is a depression. a sinking in, a breaking in of the right frontal bump at the point where is the wound. But Latour's portrait presents both of the bumps alike. It is plain that this blow crushed in the skull at this point and caused Rousseau's death. In other words, Jean Jacques Rousseau was assassinated.

Theresa Levasseur, was, as we have already seen, the only person who saw Rousseau die, and she has given four different versions of the event. But it is impossible that a woman of her mental calibre could have constructed the long accounts which she is said to have furnished of what Rousseau said and all the incidents preceding his death. Her memory could not have held them and her mind could not have coordinated them. All those persons who were intimate with Rousseau and his household agree in pronouncing Theresa to have been dull to a degree. Rousseau himself in his "Confessions" paints her in these same colors. The statements given out at the castle must have emanated from M. de Girardin. Now, it is well known that his word could not be depended upon

and it has often been shown that many things which he said about Rousseau were inexact. In this respect, Theresa Levasseur was still more unreliable. She was a woman without morals and was never



THERESA LEVASSEUR.

sincerely attached to Rousseau. His friends paint her in the very worst light. She was not faithful to him and he complained of this more than once and even threatened, on this account, to put an end to their relation. Just before his death, her conduct with a

valet in the service of M. de Girardin was especially open to criticism and caused Rousseau the profoundest sorrow. Statements coming from such a source are worthless.

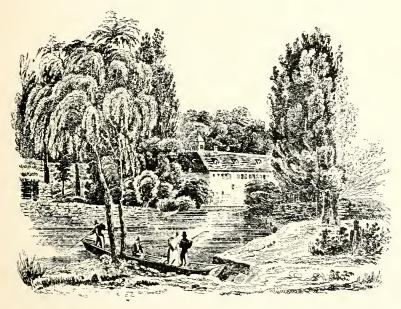
The assertion that Rousseau poisoned himself is no longer



JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU.

made. That he shot himself with a pistol cannot be accepted after an examination of Houdon's death-mask. It reveals none of the well-known signs of a pistol shot, none whatsoever. Nor is there any solid proof that he died a natural death. In the description by those who were near him of the cause of his death, of his state of health at that moment, are none of the symptoms of serous apoplexy, called to-day an acute attack of uræmia. And the clumsy statements of the autopsy also render this explanation improbable. Assassination is the only way out of the difficulty. But who would and could have killed Rousseau? Why, Theresa Levasseur, of course.

I have already shown that Theresa's life at Ermenonville was almost a public scandal. Rousseau finally learned of her abominable conduct and forthwith resolved, as I have already said, to carry out



ROUSSEAU'S HOME ON THE ISLAND OF ST. PIERRE IN THE LAKE OF BIENNE, SWITZERLAND.

a determination which he had arrived at in 1769 under similar circumstances—he was determined to break off all relations with her. It was with this in view that he was found alone with her on the morning of July 2, 1778, when she must have lost control of herself and killed him in a fit of anger. Referring to this fatal interview, Mme. de Girardin wrote as follows to Rousseau's friend, Olivier de Corancez:

"Frightened about Rousseau's position, I went to him and saw him. 'Why do you come at such a moment?' he asked me, and then continued: 'You will be much affected by the scene and the catas-

trophe with which it will end.' He begged me to leave him alone and go away. I did so, when he locked the door behind me."

When Rousseau returned from his morning walk, he did not complain of any illness; so it could not have been his state of health that frightened Mme. de Girardin. She went to Rousseau's room without being asked, for she knew what was going to happen between Rousseau and his mistress; she felt that there would be a stormy scene and she feared the consequences. If she had found him ill or if she had supposed him about to commit suicide, she would not have retired quietly as she did. And when her husband reached Rousseau's room after the tragedy, his first purpose was to hide the real facts and prevent a public scandal. So he and Theresa prepared together the account as given above. But the only logical and satisfactory explanation of what happened is that which I advance, viz., that Rousseau was assassinated by Theresa Levasseur.

If we accept this view, how are we to account for the fact that the skeleton found in the Pantheon is intact? In a very simple fashion. When the priests removed Rousseau's body they put a skeleton in its place. Several facts point to this as having been done. In the first place, the commission found no fracture of the bones of the head and face, whereas there should have been two. one on the forehead and another on the side of the nose. Further proof is to be found in the general condition of the skeleton. Rousseau, we have seen, died in mid-summer 1778. The body was not embalmed. In 1794, the coffin was exhumed and carried some thirty miles over bad roads from Ermenonville to the Pantheon in Paris. The coffin was again moved twice after having been put in the crypt of the church, in 1821 and again in 1830. This last removal occurred fifty-two years after Rousseau's death, when all the soft tissues of the body which hold in place the bones must have long been entirely decomposed. Each time the coffin was disturbed, it was carried up and down staircases. Under all these circumstances the different parts of the skeleton must have been displaced. But the commission of 1897 informs us that even the smallest bones were in their proper position! This perfect order proves beyond doubt that the commission was not in the presence of the body of Jean Jacques Rousseau.

Up to the present day, an almost impenetrable mystery has enveloped the death of Rousseau. The minute examination of the death-mask made by Houdon shows that it is possible to lift at least a corner of the veil and reveal what really happened in the philosopher's apartments at Ermenonville. But as I have also made plain

that another part of the mystery lies hidden in the Pantheon tomb. This too can be easily cleared up. A scientific examination of the supposed skeleton of Rousseau should be made. It should be compared with the death-mask by Houdon. In fact, there should be repeated here what was done in 1905 by the Anthropological School of Paris for General Porter at the time when he identified the body of John Paul Jones and when a bust of the Commodore by Houdon played the leading part.

THE LEFT-HANDED BACON.

BY NATHAN HASKELL DOLE.

CIR Edwin Durning-Lawrence, Bart. published in 1910 a little O volume entitled Bacon is Shakespeare and sent a copy of it to every library in the world. He has now supplemented it with a brochure entitled The Shakespeare Myth in which he adduces additional arguments to lay the ghost which is continually rising when a Baconian kills and buries William of Stratford. He first calls attention to the portrait prefixed to the Folio of 1623 and claims to be the first to show conclusively that it is a dummy. almost inconceivable," he says, "that people with eyes to see should have looked at this so-called portrait for 287 years without perceiving that it consists of a ridiculous, putty-faced mask, fixed upon a stuffed dummy clothed in a trick coat." By "trick coat" he means "an impossible coat composed of the back and front of the same left arm." He fortifies this argument by an extract from The Gentleman's Tailor Magazine which in March, 1911, called the attention of the trade to the fact that "the tunic, coat, or whatever the garment may have been called at the time, is so strangely illustrated that the right-hand side of the fore part is obviously the left-hand side of the back part; and so gives a harlequin appearance to the figure, which it is not unnatural to assume was intentional and done with express object and purpose."

Sir Edwin then analyzes the ten lines facing the title-page and usually ascribed to Ben Jonson; he argues that instead of extravagant praise of a figure which Gainsborough damned in 1768, declaring that he never beheld a stupider face, Rare Ben, in language perfectly comprehensible at the time, praised the engraver for having "done out the life," that is to say covered it up and masked it. He retranslates the lines to read in modern English:

TO THE READER.

The dummy that thou seest set here Was put instead of Shake-a-speare; Wherein the graver had a strife To extinguish all of Nature's life. O, could he but have drawn his mind As well as he's concealed behind His face, the print would then surpasse All that was ever writ in brasse. But since he can not, do not looke On his masked picture, but his Booke.

Sir Edwin finds 287 letters in the poem as printed in the Folio and that coincides exactly with the prophetic number of years which have elapsed since the Folio was published up to the time of this great discovery. Now 287 is a Masonic and Rosicrucian number, as mysterious as the number of the Beast in the Revelation. Sir Edwin says; "This important fact which can neither be disputed nor explained away, viz., that the figure upon the title-page of the first Folio of the plays in 1623 put to represent Shakespeare is a double left-armed and stuffed dummy, surmounted by a ridiculous putty-faced mask, disposes once and for all of any idea that the mighty plays were written by the drunken, illiterate clown of Stratford-on-Avon, and shows us quite clearly that the name 'Shakespeare' was used as a left-hand pseudonym behind which the great author Francis Bacon wrote securely concealed."

Sir Edwin next flies over to Holland and discovers there various editions of Bacon's works adorned with engraved title-pages which symbolically proclaim that Bacon was the great playwright. In that belonging to the ninth volume of *De Augmentis Scientiarum* there is a portrait of Lord Bacon seated and poring over a book which hides another (evidently the plays) while he lays his left hand on a theatrical figure in rags (evidently Shakespeare) holding up a book with a symbolical cover signifying a mirror: hence "The Mirror up to Nature," in other words, "The Book of the Immortal Plays." This is dated 1645.

Another dated three years earlier and ornamenting Bacon's "History of King Henry VII" contains five figures: one is a winged woman, Fame, standing naked on a globe and holding over Bacon's head in her right hand (to teach us that Bacon was 'the wisest of mankind') a salt-cellar, typical of human wit, and a mystical scroll which "it is absolutely certain....is a bridle without a bit, which is here put for the purpose of instructing us that the

future age is not to curb and muzzle and destroy Bacon's reputation." Fame with her left hand turns a wheel like that of a yacht the rim of which is decorated with the mystical mirror, the rod for the back of fools (such fools as still believe that the clown of Stratford was the author of the plays), the "bason that receives your guilty blood," that is, the symbol of tragedy, and a fool's rattle or bauble. On the left side of the globe facing the philosopher Bacon who touches Fame with his right hand, is another figure of Bacon who holds the handle of a spear stopping the revolution of Fame's wheel, while an actor shaking the handle of the spear with his right hand, touches the globe with his left and wears a spur (Shaxpur) on his left boot.

Sir Edwin next demolishes the six so-called signatures of Shakespeare and proves to his own satisfaction—with the authority of Magdalene Thumm-Kintzel—that not one of them could have been written by anyone else than the law-clerks who prepared the documents. He then declares that the number 53 was selected by Bacon as the key to the mystery of his authorship and sure enough on various pages numbered 53, or which should have been 53 if they had been numbered at all—the lack of a number not being the printer's fault but a part of a deep-laid plot—one finds the letters H, O, G or P, I, G or S, O, W, or even the word "hang-hog" which of course is Bacon, or the phrase "Gammon of Bacon." (Here the non-Rosicrucian is inclined to say Gammon!). In the third edition of Shakespeare's plays are found two pages folioed 53 and on each of these occurs the name St. Albans—which is significant, since Bacon was Viscount St. Albans.

Sir Edwin reproduces in modern script folio 1 of the Northumberland manuscript which he is confident was written by Bacon. On this occurs the name of Bacon written again and again, also the words "By Mrffraunces William Shakespeare" over the names "Richard the Second" and "Richard the Third." Then lower down "William Shakespeare" written at least half a dozen times not counting tentative efforts. We also find the word honorificabilitudine which instantly suggests Shakespeare's honorificabilitudinitatibus and the mysterious phrase "revealing day through every crany peepes."

Sir Edwin, like all Baconians, writes most enthusiastically and with perfect assurance. He fully believes that Shakespeare, a man so illiterate that he could not write and probably not even read, was paid a thousand pounds to allow his name to be put on the title-page of the plays. He argues that it strains credulity to the breaking

point to believe that this ignoramus, who never earned more than a few shillings a week, should have composed the works of Shakespeare which contain fifteen thousand words, or almost four times as many as are at the disposal of the average well-educated person, almost twice as many as Milton used. Sir Edwin goes even further. He thinks he has good proof that Bacon not only wrote the plays but also the Introduction to the King James version of the English Bible and besides that edited and unified it.

The "Promus of Formularies," now in the British Museum, the Northumberland manuscripts, and much interesting evidence, undoubtedly work together to constitute a tremendously strong case in favor of Bacon's interest in the Shakespearean plays. Whether it is philosophically possible that a mind so intensely analytic as Bacon's works show him to have been could also have been so intensely synthetic as was the author of the plays, is a difficult question. It seems also impossible to believe that the known examples of Bacon's verse which are prosaic and woodeny to the last degree could have proceeded from the same fountain as the sonnets and the immortal lines in the Midsummer Night's Dream.

Is it not, rather, more likely that Shakespeare, as a clever stage-manager, may have enlisted for his theater a syndicate of playwrights and have also utilized the brains of Bacon, who was chronically hard up, who was notoriously interested in the drama? Bacon may have furnished the raw material, as it seems likely from the Promus he did, and Marlowe who was a poet of high degree may have put them into poetic shape, while Shakespeare himself, knowing the demands of the stage, may have had the genius to combine all the materials into their present unity. We must remember that there were ten years of Shakespeare's life which are an absolute blank. What may he not have accomplished in the way of experience and even education in that decade?

The thorough-going Shakespearean thinks that the advocate of the Baconian theory is afflicted with literary measles or mumps and is certain to recover from that comparatively harmless disease. Nevertheless there is apparently a constantly increasing number of people, too old to have the measles or the mumps, who find it difficult to conceive the possibility of Shakespeare's having been the author of the plays. The opposite horn of the dilemma is almost as inconceivable. The theory here broached for the first time in print that the plays were syndicated and that Lord Bacon was the most important member of the syndicate seems to reconcile the two contentions and is at least worthy of being offered for discussion.

SHAKESPEARE DOCUMENTS.

BY THE EDITOR.

ASSUREDLY not the least important discoveries of facts that are apt to throw light on the question of Shakespeare's identity, or perhaps will add to the prevailing confusion, have been made by Dr. Charles William Wallace of the University of Nebraska, who when searching in the Public Record Office of London found several documents in which the name Shakespeare occurs. There is first a decree in a chancery suit of Bendesh vs. Bacon in which Shakespeare is involved as a defendant. Further, in the suit "Osteler vs. Heminges" Shakespeare's name is mentioned in the testimony with reference to the value of his holdings in the stock of the Black Friars and Globe theaters from which we may approximately calculate the income he derived from his theatrical interests. however, there is an account of the Taylor-Heminges litigation in which the same holdings of Shakespeare are concerned. But the fourth discovery is the most perplexing to the current conception of Shakespeare traditions, for it proves that in 1612 and thereabouts Shakespeare was an apparently permanent lodger with a Huguenot wig-maker, Christopher Mountjoye. Here Shakespeare figures as a witness in a suit between Mountjoye's son-in-law Belott, also a wig-maker or, as one said in those days, a tire-maker. His testimony proves that years before 1612, Mountjoye's lodger Shakespeare made a successful go-between for the match on the side of the bride's father. At that time our tire-maker promised his prospective son-in-law a dower of 50 pounds, but he never paid them. Nevertheless so long as the mother-in-law was living the relations of the family seemed to have continued friendly. But according to the parish register Madame Mountjoye died in Oc-

¹ In this condensation of the facts we follow *New Shakesperiana*, IX, Nos. 1-3, May--September, 1910. The documents are reprinted in the same periodical, pages 34-40.

tober, 1608. Belott and his wife left the paternal household and stayed at an inn belonging to George Wilkins, who has been identified by Dr. Williams as the dramatist with whom Shakespeare is believed to have collaborated. The house in which the Mountjoyes and their son-in-law lived is standing at the corner of Silver and Mugwell (now Monkwell) streets which is situated (as one authority states) "within three or four minutes" walk of the residence of Hemings and Condell, editors of the folio of 1623, and within a short distance of the houses of Ben Jonson and Thomas Dekker. In the document itself the witness is spoken of as "William Shakespeare of Stratford super Avon in the County of Warwick, gentleman, of the age of forty-eight or thereabouts."

His profession is not mentioned. He is simply styled "gentleman," which at any rate does not exclude his being a playwright and would make his birth year 1566, two years later than that of William Shakespeare of New Place. However the addition "thereabouts" renders the identity of the two not impossible. The signature of the document is abbreviated to "Willm. Shaks.," but within the document itself the name is always plainly spelled out "Shakespeare" in the form used by the poet himself who sometimes even inserted a hyphen in the middle of the word so as to insure the pronunciation of the long a in place of the common traditional and etymologically correct form "Shaksper," for we must remember that the name means Jacques' Pierre, that is, Jack's son Peter. Hence even the spelling "Shaxper" prevailed until the poet chose to follow his own romantic etymology, a knight shaking his spear, and so relegated the former interpretation to oblivion.

Nothing is known of how the Belott-Mountjoye suit ended except that the court appointed as a referee the pastor of the French Huguenot church of which the litigants were members.

There is a similarity between the signature "Willm. Shaks." and those of the will, but there is also a similarity between Shake-speare's signature and the handwriting of the clerk. These similarities are not sufficient to prove that they are all of the same hand, for they bear traces of the style of writing of their age. Especially the capital S is the common form of writing of those days, and it would be venturesome to derive any conclusion from this similarity. But the main fact is that there was a certain William Shakespeare living as a lodger at the corner of Silver and Mugwell streets in the vicinity of well-known friends of the poet Shakespeare, while according to tradition the praywright had his home in New Place. It is not impossible that this London lodging may have been a tem-

porary city residence because if the traditional view be correct, business must have called him frequently to London.

* * *

Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence has published a little pamphlet entitled *The Shakespeare Myth*, of which one chapter is on "The Shakespeare Signatures" and contains statements of general interest. Whatever the truth may be with regard to the playwright Shakespeare's personality, we have certain documents, such as the will and papers of real estate transactions, which have played an important part in solving the Shakespeare riddle. We take pleasure in publishing what Sir Edwin has to say on this subject, quoting literally from his pamphlet, pp. 16-18.

"The next (so-called) signatures in order of date are upon the purchase deed now in the London Guildhall Library, and upon the mortgage deed of the same property, which is in the British Museum. The purchase deed is dated March 11, 1613, but at that period, as at the present time, when part of the purchase money is left on mortgage, the mortgage deed was always dated one day after the purchase deed, and always signed one moment before it, because the owner cannot part with his property before he receives both the cash and the mortgage deed. About twenty-five years ago, I succeeded in persuading the city authorities to carry the purchase deed to the British Museum, where by appointment we met the officials, who took the mortgage deed out of the show-case and placed it side by side with the purchase deed from Guildhall. After a long and careful examination of the two deeds, some dozen or twenty officials standing around, every one agreed that neither of the names of William Shakespeare upon the deeds could be supposed to be signatures. Recently one of the higher officials of the British Museum wrote to me about the matter, and in reply I wrote to him and also to the new librarian of Guildhall that it would be impossible to discover a scoundrel who would venture to swear that it was even remotely possible that these two supposed signatures of William Shakespeare could have been written at the same time, in the same place, with the same pen, and the same ink, by the same hand. They are widely different, one having been written by the law clerk of the seller, the other by the law clerk of the purchaser. One of the so-called signatures is evidently written by an old man, the other is written by a young man. The deeds are not stated to be signed but only to be sealed.

"Next we come to the three supposed signatures upon the will, dated March 25, 1616. Twenty or twenty-five years ago, on several

occasions I examined with powerful glasses Shakespeare's will at Somerset House, where for my convenience it was placed in a strong light, and I arrived at the only possible conclusion, viz., that the supposed signatures were all written by the law clerk who wrote the body of the will, and who wrote also the names of the witnesses, all of which, excepting his own which is written in a neat modern looking hand, are in the same handwriting as the will itself.

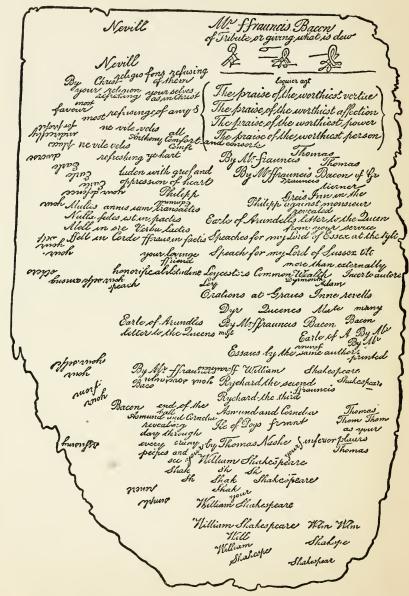
"The fact that Shakespeare's name is written by the law clerk has been conclusively proved by Magdalene Thumm-Kintzel in the Leipsic magazine, Der Menschenkenner, of January, 1909, in which photo reproductions of certain letters in the body of the will and in the so-called signatures are placed side by side, and the evidence is conclusive that they are written by the same hand. Moreover, the will was originally drawn to be sealed, because the solicitor must have known that the illiterate householder of Stratford was unable to write his name. Subsequently, however, the word 'seale' appears to have been struck out and the word 'hand' written over it. People unacquainted with the rules of law are generally not aware that any one can, by request, 'sign' any person's name to any legal document, and that if such person touch it and acknowledge it, any one can sign as witness to his signature. Moreover the will is not stated to be signed, but only stated to be 'published.'

"In putting the name of William Shakespeare three times to the will the law clerk seems to have taken considerable care to show that they were not real signatures. They are all written in law script, and the three 'W's' of 'William' are made in the three totally different forms in which 'W's were written in the law script of that period. Excepting the 'W' the whole of the first so-called signature is almost illegible, but the other two are quite clear, and show that the clerk has purposefully formed each and every letter in the two names 'Shakespeare' in a different manner one from the other. It is, therefore, impossible for any one to suppose that the three names upon the will are 'signatures.'

"I should perhaps add that all the six so-called signatures were written by law clerks who were excellent penmen, and that the notion that the so-called signatures are badly written has only arisen from the fact that the general public, and even many educated persons, are totally ignorant of the appearance of the law script of the period. The first of the so-called signatures, viz., that at the Record Office, London, is written with extreme ease and rapidity."

Another document of great interest which Sir Edwin makes

use of in the interest of the Baconian cause is the scribbling on the cover of the Northumberland manuscript.



The Duke of Northumberland possesses a collection of manuscripts discovered at Northumberland House in London in the year 1867, the cover of which shows much scribbling without any ap-

parent connection or sense. In a book entitled A Conference of Pleasure (1870) Mr. James Spedding publishes a full size facsimile of this cover, and Sir Edwin Durning-Lawrence reproduces a transcription of it in a more legible modern script in his Shakespeare Myth (Gay and Hancock Ltd., 1912). We here reproduce the same because this page of scribbling promises possibly to become of some significance in the Shakespeare problem.

Having no clue as to the origin and meaning of the scribbling nor knowing anything about the writer we cannot say whether the many repetitions of the names of both Bacon and Shakespeare is accidental, and we are at the same time puzzled to find the word "honorificabilitudine" which recalls at once that grotesque word "honorificabilitudinitatibus" mentioned in Love's Labour's Lost, Act V, Scene 1, in ridicule as an example of a ponderous word formation. Strange though this scribbling may appear it does not prove anything beyond the fact that the writer was a man who took an interest in both Shakespeare and Bacon.

MASSAQUOI AND THE REPUBLIC OF LIBERIA.

AN ECHO OF THE PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS.

BY C. O. BORING.

A RECENT series of experiences has brought to mind one of the signal events of the Parliament of Religions in 1893. Those familiar with the addresses of notables on that occasion will probably recall Momolu Massaquoi who represented Liberia. This young man appeared in the robes of an African chieftain and was not only spectacular but attracted attention by his figure and intelligence.

A brief history of Massaquoi might be interesting at this time. His mother was chieftainess, or as we say queen, of the Vai tribes consisting of several associated tribes situated about five days journey east of Freetown. When twelve years of age he had his choice of accepting his mother's religion, Voodooism, or his father's religion, Mohammedanism. However, he had met a lady missionary of the established Church of England and had been warmly attracted to Christianity, and therefore at this crisis chose to abandon his country for the time being. He made his way through the desperate forests (and Sir Samuel Baker says they are indeed desperate) which lie between his country and the coast. There he succeeded in reaching an American vessel whose captain took pity on him and at his earnest request carried him to America.

The captain brought him to the Bishop of Baltimore of the Episcopal Church, who sent him to the Gammon School at Nashville, Tenn., a Methodist institution for colored students, where he received a liberal education.

While attending the Parliament of Religions he was a guest at my home for a time and I enjoyed my association with him. He gave me a number of illustrations of their life and manners and among other incidents related one which I believe worth repeating.



MOMOLU MASSAQUOI. From a recent photograph.

The Voodoo doctors were greatly perplexed and angered by the impression Christianity was making upon their people. Three of these wise men met by appointment and told the people that it had been stated by the missionaries that Jesus was three days in the grave and then arose from the dead. They would demonstrate that they were more powerful than Jesus for one of their number. would be forty days in the grave and would then rise from the dead. After a series of incantations and ceremonials one of their number was selected and was put into a deep sleep. His tongue was turned back in his mouth, and the body being now in a perfectly rigid and apparently lifeless condition, he was placed in a box. The people were requested to bring stones to cover this box and then to set a guard so that there might be no deception. At the end of forty days the stones were removed, the box opened, and the Voodoo priest taken from it. Various incantations were resorted to, and then one blew into his nostrils and commanded him to return to life. To the great surprise and terror of the natives he did so.

When this anecdote was reported to Professor Starr he stated that he had heard similar stories regarding India and that in every case the tongue was always reported as being turned back in the throat.¹

During the Parliament of Religions, the Liberian government cabled Massaquoi that his mother had been killed and it was necessary for him to return. I received one letter from him after he had

¹ The experiment of burying people alive in a state of stupor is founded on a principle similar to the hibernation of bears and other animals during winter; but it is difficult to perform in so far as this state is not a state of life but of suspension of life which has been called lifeless, but not dead. This suspension of the vital functions is not absolutely complete but nearly so. The history of fakirs, by no means religious or even pious men, has been repeated on good evidence, and many of their tricks have been reviewed in detail in a former number of The Monist (X, p. 481) by the German Sanskritist, Dr. Richard von Garbe, in an article "On the Voluntary Trance of Indian Fakirs." These fakirs who allowed themselves to be buried for a money consideration, after fasting for a time, would subject their bowels to a rigorous expurgation so as not to leave the slightest vestige of material that could cause putrefaction, and then would cause all the openings of the body to be closed with wax and finally the tongue to be put back in the mouth, so as even to cut off the air supply from the windpipe. In this state the man was put into a coffin, buried, and grass was sown over the grave. Sentinels were kept at the grave day and night, and among the witnesses of one case in particular there were British officers and magistrates of high standing. After a fortnight, or even longer, the fakir was exhumed, and the resuscitation to life began with gentle massage and warming the body. The first symptom of returning life appeared when the wax stoppers blew out of the ears with a slight explosion and the tongue regained its natural position, whereupon the lifeless fakir began to breathe again. Nourishment was given carefully, beginning with very small doses, and the buried man would live many years and never show signs of having received any injury.—ED.

returned to his tribe, which was to the effect that the people had been greatly broken up by the inroads of savage tribes. He had been furnished firearms by the Liberian government and was drilling his people in their use with the hope of repelling invaders.

We heard nothing from him after that letter until this winter. When Prof. Frederick Starr of the University of Chicago started for Africa I wrote him urging that he attempt to find Massaquoi, and by a curious accident he did so just as he was about to leave Liberia. The following letter relates the incident:

"Freetown, S. L., Oct. 31, 1912.

"My dear Mr. Boring:

"Just by chance, the last day I was in Liberia, I had a long talk with Mr. Massaquoi—Prince M. of whom you wrote me. Depending upon the information I had, I wrote discouragingly to you in June. Prince Massaquoi is all right, although he does not use his title. He ruled his people for quite ten years after you knew of him as Paramount Chief. He now lives in Monrovia, and is the second man in the Department of the Interior—well known as a faithful, hard working and reliable official. He is a man of great influence with his people, the Vai, and the government depends much upon him. When I realized who he was, I got out your letter and read it to him to his sincere pleasure.

"Very truly yours,

Frederick Starr."

Two months later I received a letter from Massaquoi himself, written from the office of the Interior Department of the Republic of Liberia:

"Monrovia, December 31, 1912.

"Dear Mr. Boring:

"I was much pleased when calling upon Professor Starr, to be handed a letter written by you in which you inquired of me! I have felt all along that some of my American friends still remember me but not knowing their addresses I could not write them.

"Since I left Chicago many changes have taken place. I succeeded both my mother and father in different chiefdoms—my father's country being the largest. I removed there (in the British Protectorate) but for what Great Britain calls "political reasons" I was deposed by the British Government in 1906.

"I am now in Liberia where my late mother ruled a (native)

tribe, and his Excellency the President has appointed me a native expert and Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

"When I hear from you, I shall write again. Professor Starr will show you a letter on some business which I trust you will find time to help attend.² I am trying to turn many people to America if possible, and this is one of the ways to do it.

"With kind regards to self and family, I am, dear Mr. Boring, "Yours sincerely,

"M. Massaquoi."

Upon Professor Starr's return to Chicago I met him by appointment and we reviewed many incidents. He has also furnished me with an interesting communication by Massaquoi to the *Journal of the African Society* with reference to the character writing of the Vai tribes.

The Vai characters which they use in writing are phonetic and extremely characteristic. Massaquoi informed Professor Starr that the people generally were well acquainted with these characters and read the Koran and the Bible readily in them. He tells an interesting anecdote of Dassia, a chieftain of the Tama country in Liberia, who once visited a school at Cape Mount where Massaquoi was teaching a Vai class. A copy of a portion of the Iliad was handed to Dassia which he readily perused and was greatly affected by it. The tears rolled down his cheeks while he turned to the teacher and made the inquiry which thousands of students of all languages have asked: "And where were Helen and Paris all of this time?"

The family of Massaquoi inherited the chieftainship and were an old family who had been long upon the ground. In explaining the classification of his country Massaquoi tells the story of the Maui tribes (Mandingo) who once occupied the plain from Tuba to Wasara and beyond. They were a tall, handsome and enterprising race of people with a knowledge of agriculture, cattle raising etc. They heard stories about the great body of salt water and started an emigration to it. On the way the tribes divided and one portion found the sea. One of these thrust his spear into it and said, Mausa

² It seems that in Liberia there is a species of pygmy hippopotamus weighing only about 400 pounds, though otherwise identical in character with the larger form. It is therefore a real curiosity that would be appreciated in menageries connected with circuses and municipal parks. These animals are easily cared for and readily domesticated when they become tame. They were formerly very difficult to capture, but Massaquoi has learned an easier method and would therefore undertake to furnish one to any city or firm that would desire it. He estimates that the cost of procuring and transporting one animal to New York would be about \$8000.

mu ila goi, "Truly thou art a ruler." This was the founder of the family which afterward was known as "Massaquoi" and which became the ruling dynasty of the northern part of the Vai territory known as the Galinois country. Other branches settled elsewhere but they have all remained acquainted with one another.

When Professor Starr met Massaquoi in Monrovia he learned much that was of great interest to me and will probably be to others at this time. In Monrovia they are much alarmed over the possibility that the government of the United States under the new administration may practically abandon Liberia to its fate. This Massaquoi states would not only be a great wrong in itself but would result in much harm to that country.

In order to comprehend the situation it must be understood that there are now living in Liberia about 12,000 fairly educated persons who are descendants of the original American negroes sent to Liberia. In addition there are about 30,000 Africans who have been affected by the outside world, making in all about 42,000 persons who form the ruling and advanced class in that country. Behind these are about 1,000,000 natives who look to Liberia for their protection, for *Liberia is the lone star of liberty in Africa*. If it were understood that the United States had withdrawn its protection, either Germany, France or England would certainly make some excuse to intervene and possibly to take possession of that land.

* * *

Since writing the above, a significant despatch from Monrovia under date of February 5, informs us that the Liberian troops under the command of Major Ballard, a United States officer loaned to the Liberian government, defeated the Kroo natives at Rock Call. The same dispatch states that "the recalcitrant Kroos were responsible for the recent arrival of the German gunboats Panther and Eber, to defend German colonists who had informed the German government of their danger."

In all probability another and more important reason for the presence of gunboats at this time is the anticipated change in the attitude of the new administration of our government upon the question of defence of Liberia from so-called civilized nations. Let us remember that England has a force on the east, France on the north in Niger and on the south in Sierra Leone. Not alone to save Liberia from annihilation, but also possibly to save a war of nations our policy should be a determined stand for the little republic of black men.

A word of warning at this time may be very valuable, and this Professor Starr is giving to all he can reach. We sincerely hope that what he says may be heard and that our nation may find it possible to protect this country from invasion in the future better than it has in the past.

THE SPHINX.

BY THE EDITOR.

THE sphinx has become to us an emblem of an unsolvable problem. Indeed we often mean by it the problem of problems, the riddle of the universe.

In ancient history we find the first traces of the sphinx in this sense in the Œdipus legends whence the name has been derived, for sphinx means "throttled." According to Hesiod, Sphinx was the daughter of Chimaera and Orthrus; according to others, of Echidna and Typhon. Hera (or, as some accounts have it, Ares or Dionysus), in anger at the crimes of Laïus, sent her to Thebes from Ethiopia. She took up her abode on a rock near the city and gave to every passer-by the well-known riddle, "What walks on four legs in the morning, on two at noon, and on three in the evening?" She flung from the rock all who could not answer it. When Œdipus explained the riddle rightly, as referring to man in the successive stages of infancy, the prime of life, and old age, she flung herself down from the rock.

The origin of the sphinx idea seems to have come originally from Egypt, and when the Greeks came to Egypt they called the strange figures of humanheaded lions by the name of the mythical creature with which they had become familiar in their heroic legends.

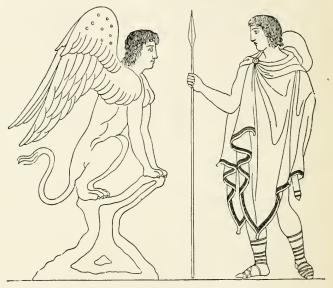
Professor Wiedemann says (Religion of the Ancient Egyptians, 194-200):

"The sphinx of the Egyptian had little in common with the sphinx of the Greeks, beyond the name given to it by the latter people. When the Greeks first came into the valley of the Nile and there saw figures of human headed quadrupeds, they remembered that at home also there was the tradition of such a creature, and that it was named 'sphinx.' This name they bestowed, therefore, not unnaturally, upon the creature of Egyptian myth, undis-

¹ Harper's Dictionary of Classical Literature and Antiquities, p. 1487.

turbed by the fact that there was no real similarity between the two conceptions.

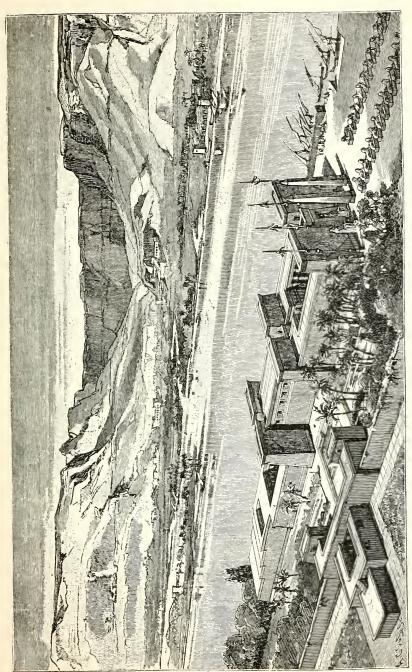
"The Egyptian sphinx plays the part of guardian of a temple or deity, and hence the god Aker, the watchman of the underworld and the guardian of the god Râ during the hours of the night, is generally shown as a sphinx with the body of a lion when represented as going forth to destroy the enemies of the sun-god. As the image of the winged solar disk over the door of a temple by its mere presence prevented any evil thing from entering within the sacred halls, so the couchant sphinxes guarding the approach served to keep back any enemy of the god of the place from the gates of the



OEDIPUS BEFORE THE SPHINX. From a red-figured vase picture.

divine abode. In tombs also, especially those of later date, sphinxes were placed in the capacity of guardians. In one such instance the sphinx is made to address the deceased as follows: 'I protect the chapel of thy tomb, I guard thy sepulchral chamber, I ward off the intruding stranger, I cast down the foes to the ground and their arms with them, I drive away the wicked one from the chapel of thy tomb, I destroy thine adversaries in their lurking place, blocking it that they no more come forth.'

"Primarily the sphinx represented an imaginary quadruped living in the desert, human headed, and supposed to be the favorite incarnation assumed by Râ the sun-god when he desired to protect



THE TEMPLE OF LUXOR WITH ITS AVENUE OF SPHINXES.

Restoration by Gnauth in Erman's Life of Ancient Egypt.

his friends and adherents. This is the conception embodied in the gigantic sphinx near the pyramids of Gizeh, hewn out of the living rock and standing seventy-five feet above the plain of the desert. Sculptured in remote antiquity, here it couched even in the time of Khephren, builder of the second pyramid, guarding the necropolis against the approach of evil genii. It faced the east and the rising



THE GREAT SPHINX OF GIZEH.

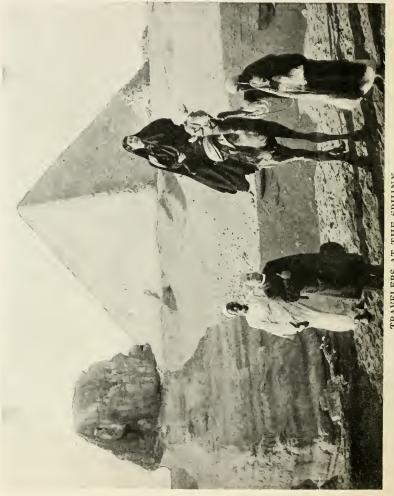
sun, being itself one of the manifestations of the sun-god, and more especially dedicated to the sun of the morning, banisher of the mists of the night. Hence it bears the name of Khepera as well as Râ Harmakhis. Between the fore feet was a small temple approached by a flight of steps and containing stelae and inscriptions relating to the worship of the sphinx; but the temple was by no means always

accessible, for in ancient times as now it was repeatedly buried by the whirling sands of the surrounding desert. An extant stela tells us how one day when Thothmosis IV was out hunting and took his siesta in the shadow of the great sphinx, the god Râ Harmakhis himself appeared to him in a dream, ordering him to clear away the sand from the divine image. But the work of the king was of no lasting avail; the sands soon drifted back again, covering the stela erected to commemorate the royal excavation. Later the sphinx would seem to have been cleared by Rameses II, for his name frequently recurs in the inscriptions of its temple; but again the sands swept back. No mention of the great image is to be found in Herodotus, although reference is made to it by later Greek writers. More than once in the present century the sand has been cleared away, only to return as of old. Nothing is now to be seen but the face, gazing out over the desert, still majestic, though sorely mutilated by the Arabs. To them the sphinx is known as the 'Father of Terror,' as if in recollection of its ancient significance. And so obviously does the figure produce the impression which it was intended to convey that, long before its exact office was made known to us by the decipherment of the hieroglyphics, the great sphinx of Gizeh was described by travelers as the guardian of the necropolis near the pyramids.

"Few indications of the existence of sphinxes in the old kingdom remain; the predilection for them prevailed chiefly from the time of the XIIth dynasty to that of the Ptolemies. The face of this manifestation of the deity was generally modeled after that of the reigning sovereign, for similar reasons to those which led the Egyptians to represent their gods in the likeness of their Pharaohs (p. 183); and since the sovereign was usually a king, as a rule the sphinxes were male sphinxes, as in the case of the Amasis sphinxes at Sais mentioned by Herodotus. But the sphinxes of a temple founded by a queen might well be female sphinxes, more especially if they were also intended to serve as representations of a goddess. For a sphinx was not regarded as belonging exclusively to Ra: its form was not only adopted by the god Aker in his capacity of guardian to the sun-god, but also by various other tutelary deities, as, for example, occasionally by Isis when she appears as the guardian of her spouse Osiris.

"This fact further explains how it came to pass that a sphinx was sometimes sculptured with other than a human head—for example, the head of a hawk or of a jackal—the animal head substituted being that ascribed to the sacred animal of the deity who

was supposed to have chosen the sphinx for his incorporation. But the stone rams, lions, etc., which we find as amulets, or which in many instances occupy the same position before Egyptian temples as the sphinxes, must by no means be confounded with the sphinxes: each was simply an image of the sacred animal of the god of the



FRAVELERS AT THE SPHINX

place, of the creature in which he took incarnate form, and each was therefore the equivalent of the statue of the god. There is no authority whatever for calling these objects by the name of sphinxes, and the mistaken nomenclature has arisen only from the fact that their office was the same, architecturally speaking."



NAPOLEON BEFORE THE SPHINX. By Gérôme.

The sphinx has been utilized by modern artists in the sense of the problem of life, once by Gérôme who represents Napoleon as halting before the sphinx as if he, the great man of his age, with his unlimited ambition was the typical, perhaps even the ideal, man whose object is the riddle of the sphinx. This solution is contrasted in another picture of no less significance painted by L. Olivier Merson who shows us as the solution the Christ-child sleeping peacefully in the arms of his mother between the paws of an Egyptian sphinx. (See the frontispiece to this number.)

SONGS OF JAPAN.

POEMS OF MADAME SAISHO ABSUKO.

TRANSLATED AND EDITED BY THE LATE ARTHUR LLOYD.

[Madame Saisho was for many years a lady in attendance on the empress, being appointed to the imperial household almost immediately after the marriage of the emperor and empress. She won the esteem of all who knew her, and was often consulted about matters of importance, for her judgment was very sound. She died several years ago.]

The Woodman's Return in the Evening.

With faggot on his back, and hook in hand,
The weary woodman leaves the upland slopes,
And seeks the cot that nestles, like a child,
Close to the mother-mountain's peaceful breast.
The gentle moon then rises from her lair
Behind the hill, to guide him on his way,
Through woods and darkling valleys, till he reach
That well-loved home where he may take his rest.

Moon and Stars.

[The thought underlying this poem is that of the restoration. Soon after it had been accomplished, the *daimyō* or barons of the various provinces surrendered their fiefs and territories to the central government, and thus made possible the unification of the country.].

The imperial moon with splendor fills the skies, And earth rejoices. But the lesser lights That ruled, each in his sphere, have hid themselves For very shame, and modestly refuse To match their paler fires with her bright beams.

The Cries of the Wild Geese.

[This poem also refers to the confusions of Japan in the seventies of last century, until the restored imperial power was able to make its influence effectively felt.]

What time the evening fell upon the land With deepening shades, and wild disordered clouds, We heard the wild geese crying in the fields; But could not see them, till the imperial moon Broke through the clouds and ordered all the sky. Then o'er its face we saw them flitting by, Or mirrored in the placid pool, and knew How sovereign worth brings out the subjects' praise, And servants shine in the true master's light.

A Moonlight Night.

My neighbor, poor prosaic soul, is going to bed: I hear the shutters rattle and the bolts Creak in their sockets. But this heavenly night, With silver moonlight flooding all the air, I cannot go to bed—I simply won't.

Kamenaga Shinnō.

[Kamenaga Shinnō was the son of the unfortunate Godaigo, the Charles I of Japan, who fought so valiantly to maintain the dignity of the crown. When his father's cause was almost lost, Kamenaga ("the Bamboo-Garden's Son") went to Kyushu where, in conjunction with Takemitsu Kikuchi, he raised an army and gave battle against the Daimyos who held by the cause of the rebel Takanji. The loyalists were however defeated by Naouji Isshiki, one of Takanji's generals, and Takemitsu was slain. Kamenaga disappeared after the battle. It is supposed that he lost his life too. Tsukushi = Kyushu.]

The Bamboo-Garden's son, what time his sire Stood long confronting adverse circumstance, Went off to Tsugushi's isle, and lifting there His father's standard, raised a host and fought! Ah! had but Fortune smiled upon his arms, The imperial court had ne'er been desolate.

Taira Munemori.

[Taira Munemori was a son of the famous Kiyomori, the prince of the Heike house. Taken prisoner by Yoritomo he received from his captor a hint

to save himself from disgrace by suicide. The hint was a disemboweled fish placed on a cooking-board and sent in to Munemori's prison. But Munemori was too stupid to understand the hint, or else lacked the courage to take his own life. He met his death therefore at the hands of the common executioner.

"The self-same pine that stood so high," is of course the family of the Heike or Taira, the wars between Heike and Genji being to Japanese history what the wars of the Roses are to English history, both in character and in time.]

Branch of the self-same pine that stood so high On the mount's topmost peak, he knew not how, When all was lost, by voluntary act To save his honor, and so fell at last A victim of the headman's shameful axe.

Fujiwara Fujifusa.

[Just as in the English rebellion the royal cause lost a good deal owing to the light-hearted behavior of the court at Oxford, which had been intoxicated by the few successes at the commencement of the campaign, so the Emperor Godaigo, having succeeded in establishing himself at Kyoto, gave himself up to pleasure of all sorts and speedily lost all the advantages that he had gained. Fujiwara Fujifusa was Godaigo's faithful counsellor, and repeatedly warned his master of his folly. But his admonitions were unheeded, and at last one day he suddenly disappeared, having retired from a society which refused to hear him.]

A cuckoo crying in the undergrowth Fringing the imperial lawns, and when men stop To pick up stones to scare th'importunate bird That vexes ears august with petulant cries, No bird is to be seen: but still the sound Of "cuckoo! cuckoo!" floating in the air.

Hōjō Yoshitoki.

[Hōjō Yoshitoki belonged to the family of the Kamakura regents who were mere vassals of the shogun, just as the shogun in the fourteenth century was a mere vassal of the emperor. The fact remains, however, that the Hōjō regents actually held in their hands the supreme sovereignty, both emperor and shogun being mere puppets in their hands. Hōjō Yoshitoki is credited with having designed to put an end to this anomalous state of affairs by raising himself to the imperial dignity, another instance, if one were required, of the shameless unveracity of the modern Bushidoists who maintain that such a thing as rebellion against the sovereign has never been known in Japan].

That crooked pine that grew upon the slopes Of Kamakura's heights, what mind was his To be transplanted to the cloud-girt throne, And there to flourish?

Tomoe.

[Tomoe was the concubine of the brave warrior Yoshinaka, daimyo of Kiso, whose broken fortunes she followed to the very end. When Yoshinaka saw that no hope was left for him he persuaded Tomoe to leave him, which she did, demonstrating her faithfulness by retiring into a nunnery and refusing to form any fresh connections. For love of Yoshinaka, she was contented to be thrown aside and neglected like a worthless faggot.]

"Leave me," he said, "my faithful follower,
Comrade in arms, sharer in all my woes,
My day is done. I will not have it said
That in the hour of black calamity,
My thoughts were of my pleasures and of thee:
Leave me." They parted: he to meet his death,
She, widowed yet no widow, to a life
Of cloistered solitude and chaste desire,
A half-charred faggot, made of worthless twigs
From that great pine that grew on Kiso's heights.

A Chinese Tale.

"The king will wed, let maids who fain would win His favor send their pictures, that the king May look upon them, and so make his choice." Then all the painters in the land were set To making flattering portraits for the king, Of ladies beautiful in form and face, In hair, in dress, and with enchanting smiles. But one alone declined the painter's arts, "Paint me," she said, "to life." And when the king Beheld the daub, hers was the foulest face. Then from the northern marches, from a chief Of savage hill-men came a message rude: "Send me," it said, "one of thy courtly dames To be my wife, or else"—No need was there To read the rest: the king and all his court (Effeminate, unnerved, unskilled in arms) Turned pale to think of that most fearful threat. And then the king, "That woman, foul of face, That pleased us not, we'll send her," and they laughed, And forthwith bade her pack her things and go.

Yet ere she went, the king, in kindlier mood,
Seeing she went to save the king from harm,
Resolved to see her, and so sent for her
To come into his presence, when, behold,
Her face was found the loveliest of them all,
As lovely as her deeds; and so she passed
Into the north. And ever and anon,
A sound, as of a ghostly four-stringed lute,
Sweeps through the palace chambers, and a voice,
"Fair in my face, and fairer in my deeds,
I go to save my Lord—speak well of me."

Fulfilment of Desire is Not Always Happiness.

All day the sky lowered with leaden clouds, And some said, "Good: the snow will come and change Our world to silver."

So it came, and lo!
They looked not at it, but round the fire
Sat shivering, till the sun should melt the snow.

The Mist on Lake Hakone.

[Madame Saisho was an attendant on the empress during the early days of the present reign, when the restoration of the imperial power had not yet been fully effected; and when there reigned in the country a confusion of which very few foreigners had any conception. This poem (or rather these poems, for I have here put together two songlets) shows that at headquarters there was always a feeling of confidence in the ultimate restoration of tranquility and peace.]

Thick lies the mist upon the mountain lake,
And all the lower heights are shut from sight
Behind me and before: perplexed in mind,
I stay my foot and ponder. Lo! I see
Kingship in Fuji raise his royal head
Far over all the mists, and on the lake
A boat with bellying sail is scudding fast
Before the wind. Soon this life-giving breeze
Will clear the mists, and show the mountain's base.

Human Happiness.

Ah! deem not human happiness to lie In Fortune's singling thee above thy mates To special privilege. Yon grasshopper,
Whom Fate elected to his high estate,
And placed to sing in yonder gilded cage,
Think'st thou he's happy? Nay, although thou bid
Him sing his native song in that strange place,
He can't forget his freedom, and be sure
He's yearning all the time for those lost fields
Wherein, a humble citizen, he took the air,
And chirruped as he leaped for want of thought.

Life's Oases.

Ever and anon,
Life's wint'ry path o'er snow and ice is cheered
By fair oases in the wilderness,
Like kindly Uji with its sheltering screen
Of kindly mountains where the flowers bloom
In cold midwinter and defy the blasts
Of all the jealous crew of winter winds.

A Japanese Lucretia.

He told his wicked love, and she, who knew
His brutal nature, feigned to give consent.

"But first," said she, "my husband must be slain;
This night he lies alone." In the dark hours,
His cruel blade in hand, the ruffian crept
To where a single sleeper lay outstretched,
Struck one swift blow, and gazed upon the dead—
Not him, but her. And he, the wicked earl,
Moved by the sight of one that gave her life
To save her lord from death, herself from shame,
Fled from the world, assumed monastic garb,
And sought by penances austere to gain
Heaven's grudging pardon for a deed of shame.

The Long Nights of Autumn.

How long I thought the evenings when, at home, My mother made me spend my leisure hours In darning, mending, or embroidery! And yet not half so long, methinks, as these Dull autumn nights which never seem to end.

Yet why complain that the long autumn nights Drag slowly through th' appointed tale of hours, When cruel Fate stands ready with her shears To cut, with one sharp snip, my thread of life?

Autumn Nights in a Fishing Village.

[The home-made cotton cloth, which is manufactured all over Japan, has to be beaten with wooden mallets to give it smoothness and gloss.]

The autumn days draw in, the nights are long, And early gathering darkness drives men in To fireside and hearth. Industrious hands Bring out the mallet, and prepare the cloth With much monotonous thumping for the mart. A weary sound, yet one I love to hear: It tells of honest work, that seeks to add A well-earned penny to the household stock; It tells of patient watching, when the wife Waits for her lord's return from storm-tossed seas, And scorns to wait with idly folded hands. And, when the nights are cold, and reed-built huts Let in the frosts, it tells of glowing cheeks, And bodies warmed with healthful exercise That gives contented minds and peaceful sleep.

Autumn.

'Tis not yet winter by the almanac: But when old folks get full of aches and pains, They don their winter clothes in autumn time, And scorn appearances.

The Autumn Moon,

The white chrysanthemum is gemmed with dew; Yet who would know it, if the imperial moon Shone not to put the sparkles in the drops?

Quail in Autumn.

[This and the previous poem both refer to the common Japanese conception of the emperor as the motive power of all that is good in the nation.]

The quail are stirring in the grass; the breeze Which wafts the sounds is fragrant: can it be

That, as when some great man, by nature shaped For honored place, but forcibly constrained By envious Fate, graces a lower sphere, Ennobling all he touches, so there lurks 'Midst humbler weeds, some tall chrysanthemum, Filling the waste with its august perfume?

Autumn.

What time the summer sun upon the plains
Scorched all the lower lands, and parched our throats
With burning thirst, how oft we climbed the hill,
And dipped our vessels in the ice-cold spring
That bubbles from the mountain, fresh and cool.
It bubbles still, but men forget its use:
Only the moon, constant in heat and cold,
Mirrors herself on its unbroken face.

The Palace Moats in Winter.

[The wildfowl on the palace moats are protected against the hunter.]

The palace moat is full of fowls to-day.

Perhaps the rising tide has swamped the ice

That fringed the beach, and the poor worried birds

Have fled from Nature's persecuting hand

To try the vaunted clemency of man.

Hawking.

- a. In rain and snow, in wet or shine, I go
 Hawking with my good lord; and habit makes
 A second nature, so without a thought
 I don my rain-coat now, and sally forth,
 Because he wills to have me go with him.
- b. I hear them singing over on the moor:
 Presumably they've killed, and now my lord
 Has given the men the wherewithal to drink
 Success to huntsman, horse, and keen-eyed hawk.

¹ This may refer to Madame Saisho's husband, but more probably to the Emperor. Hawking is a sport still practised in aristocratic circles, and Madame Saisho was all her life attached to the court.

c. They've had a good day's hunting on the moor:
The huntsmen are not weary, nor the steeds;
And e'en the hawks are fresh. 'Tis not success
That wearies, but the disappointed heart.

A Flutter Among the Birds.

The water fowl along the river's bank Rise with excited cries and flutterings, And much confusion, long drawn out,—and ere They settle back again, the raft which caused The hubbub, gently gliding on, has passed Far down the river, out of sight and mind Like some forgotten cause that, passing, leaves Nought but a hollow party-cry behind.

The Cricket.

- a. The farmer in his barn, these short cold days, Threshes his rice, the while the cricket's song Chirrups around. He knows, the artful knave, On which side of his bread the butter lies.
- b. The storm-cloud burst, and every other sound
 Was silenced by the voice of wind and rain:
 The storm hath ceased, and everywhere around
 The dauntless cricket 'gins his song again.

The Cry of the Stags.

- a. 'Tis sad to hear, upon the montain-side,
 The stag call to his mate, and with that cry
 To start from sleep; but lonelier far, to lie
 Tossing at anchor in a little boat,
 And hear the stag's cry o'er the darkling wave.
- b. Just hear that stag that's calling to his mate Upon the mountain side, now here now there; I fear his wife is gadding—poor old boy!

[I believe these to refer to times when the husbands ("stags") were away on military service, e. g., the war with China or the Saigo Rebellion.]

Flowers in December.

Behold! 'Tis yet December, but the stalls That line the streets at fair-time teem with plants Already half in bloom, as though for them Winter were past and gladsome spring had come. Thus happy Hope grasps at the coming good, As though 'twere hers already.

Preparing for the New Year.

Just now, in every house throughout the land, The housewives ply relentless brooms and mops To clear the soot and rust that, through the year, Have clung to walls and rafters. Would they could Sweep off my load of tiresome years as well.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE NEEDS OF LIBERIA.

BY FREDERICK STARR.

The situation of Liberia is critical. Her long-troubling boundary questions with Great Britain and France are not permanently settled; they have been re-opened and both countries are pressing.

We did well to come to her financial aid; but we did badly in needlessly inflicting upon her an *expensive* and *complicated international* receivership instead of an *economical*, *simple* and *national* one.

Liberia's crying needs are:

a. Training of her native frontier force to protect her boundaries and maintain order there;

b. Development of existing trails, with their ultimate transformation into roads and railroad beds:

c. Restoration and development of agriculture—now neglected;

d. Education, especially along lines of manual and technical training.

Liberia's greatest asset is her native population; only by imbuing it with the feeling of common interest and by securing its hearty cooperation can the government of Africa's only republic hope to maintain itself and prosper.

AN INTERVIEW WITH NAPOLEON.

The personality of the first Napoleon has been transfigured by the awe in in which this extraordinary man was held in his lifetime and also in history, so as to make it almost impossible to see or know him as he really was; for even his enemies could not help describing him with features which superadded to his appearance characteristics which were foreign to him. To some he was a hero, to others a demon and anti-Christ, the scourge of God.

With the appearance of the memoir of Lady John Russell (edited by Desmond McCarthy and Agatha Russell, and published by John Lane of New York) we have come into possession of a close view of Napoleon which is remarkably realistic. It was written by Lord John Russell, who visited the banished emperor on the Isle of Elba on Christmas eve in 1814. The Memoir says of him: "Lord John was always a most authentic reporter. His description of the emperor, written the next day, is so characteristic of the writer himself that it may be quoted here." It is a pity that the interview breaks off in the middle of a sentence. The account in Lord John's journal reads as follows:

Porto Ferrajo, December 25, 1814.

At eight o'cock in the evening yesterday I went to the Palace according to appointment to see Napoleon. After waiting some minutes in the ante-room I was introduced by Count Drouet and found him standing alone in a small room. He was drest in a green coat with a hat in his hand very much as he is painted, but excepting his resemblance of dress, I had a very mistaken idea of him from his portrait. He appears very short, which is partly owing to his being very fat, his hands and legs being quite swollen and unwieldy; this makes him appear awkward and not unlike the whole length figures of Gibbon, the historian. Besides this, instead of the bold marked countenance that I expected, he has fat cheeks and rather a turn-up nose, which, to bring in another historian, made the shape of his face resemble the portraits of Hume. He has a dusky grey eye, which would be called a vicious eye in a horse, and the shape of his mouth expresses contempt and derision—his manner is very good-natured, and seems studied to put one at one's ease by its familiarity; his smile and laugh are very agreeable—he asks a number of questions without object, and often repeats them, a habit he has no doubt acquired during fifteen years of supreme command-to this I should attribute the ignorance he seems to show at times of the most common facts. When anything that he likes is said, he puts his head forward and listens with great pleasure, repeating what is said, but when he does not like what he hears, he looks away as if unconcerned and changes the subject. From this one might conclude that he was open to flattery and violent in his temper.

He began asking me about my family, the allowance my father gave me, if I ran into debt, drank, played, etc.

He asked me if I had been in Spain, and if I was not imprisoned by the Inquisition. I told him that I had seen the abolition of the Inquisition voted, and of the injudicious manner in which it was done.

He mentioned Infantado, and said, "Il n'a point de caractère." Ferdinand he said was in the hands of the priests—afterwards he said, "Italy is a fine country; Spain too is a fine country—Andalusia and Seville particularly."

J. R. Yes, but uncultivated.

N. Agriculture is neglected because the land is in the hands of the Church.

J. R. And of the Grandees.

N. Yes, who have privileges contrary to the public prosperity.

J. R. Yet it would be difficult to remedy the evil.

N. It might be remedied by dividing property and abolishing hurtful privileges, as was done in France.

J. R. Yes, but the people must be industrious—even if the land was given to the people in Spain, they would not make use of it.

N. Ils succomberaient.

J. R. Yes, Sire.

He asked many questions about the Cortes, and when I told him that many of them made good speeches on abstract questions, but that they failed when any practical debate on finance or war took place, he said, "Oui, faute de l'habitude de gouverner." He asked if I had been at Cadiz at the time of the siege, and said the French failed there.

J. R. Cadiz must be very strong.

N. It is not Cadiz that is strong, it is the Isle of Leon—if we could have taken the Isle of Leon, we should have bombarded Cadiz, and we did partly, as it was.

J. R. Yet the Isle of Leon had been fortified with great care by General Graham.

N. Ha—it was he who fought a very brilliant action at Barrosa.

He wondered our officers should go into the Spanish and Portuguese service. I said our Government had sent them with a view of instructing their armies; he said that did well with the Portuguese, but the Spaniards would not submit to it. He was anxious to know if we supported South America, "for," he said, "you already are not well with the King of Spain."

Speaking of Lord Wellington, he said he had heard he was a large, strong man, grand chasseur, and asked if he liked Paris. I said I should think not, and mentioned Lord Wellington having said that he should find himself much at a loss what to do in peace time, and I thought scarcely liked anything but war.

N. La guerre est un grand jeu, une belle occupation.

He wondered the English should have sent him to Paris—"On n'aime pas l'homme par qui on a été battu. Je n'ai jamais envoyé à Vienne un homme qui a assisté à la prise de Vienne." He asked who was our Minister (Lord Burghersh) at Florence, and whether he was honnête homme, "for," he said, "you have two kinds of men in England, one of intrigans, the other of hommes très honnêtes."

Some time afterwards he said, "Dites moi franchement, votre Ministre à Florence est il un homme à se fier?"

He had seen something in the papers about sending him (Napoleon) to St. Helena, and he probably expected Lord Burghersh to kidnap him—he inquired also about his family and if it was one of consequence.

His great anxiety at present seems to be on the subject of France. He inquired if I had seen at Florence many Englishmen who came from there, and when I mentioned Lord Holland, he asked if he thought things went well with the Bourbons, and when I answered in the negative he seemed delighted, and asked if Lord Holland thought they would be able to stay there. I said I really could not give an answer. He said he had heard that the King of France had taken no notice of those Englishmen who had treated him well in England—particularly Lord Buckingham; he said that was very wrong, for it showed a want of gratitude. I told him I supposed the Bourbons were afraid to be thought to depend upon the English. "No," he said, "the English in general are very well received." He asked sneeringly if the Army was much attached to the Bourbons.

Talking of the Congress, he said, "There will be no war; the Powers will disagree, but they will not go to war"—he said the Austrians, he heard, were already much disliked in Italy and even at Florence.

J. R. It is very odd, the Austrian government is hated wherever it has been established.

N. It is because they do everything with the baton—the Italians all hate to be given over to them.

J. R. But the Italians will never do anything for themselves—they are not united.

N. True.

Besides this he talked about the robbers between Rome and Florence, and when I said they had increased, he said, "Oh! to be sure; I always had them taken by the *gendarmeric*."

J. R. It is very odd that in England, where we execute so many, we do not prevent crimes.

N. It is because you have not a gendarmerie.

He inquired very particularly about the forms of the Viceregal Court in Ireland, the *Dames d'honneur*, pages, etc.; in some things he was strangely ignorant, as, for instance, asking if my father was a peer of Parliament.

He asked many questions three times over.

He spoke of the Regent's conduct to the Princess as very impolitic, as it shocked the *bienséances*, by which his father had become so popular.

He said our war with America was a guerre de vengeance, for that the frontier could not possibly be of any importance.

He said, "You English ought to be very well satisfied with the end of the war."

J. R. Yes, but we were nearly ruined in the course of it.

N. Ha! le système continental, ha—and then he laughed very much. He asked who was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland at present, but made no remark on my answer.

I asked him if he understood English; he said that at Paris he had had plenty of interpreters, but that he now began to read it a little.

Many English went to Elba about this time; the substance of their conversations is still in my recollection—April 2, 1815. He said that he considered the great superiority of England to France lay in her aristocracy, that the people were not better, but that the Parliament was composed of all the men of property and all the men of family in the country; this enabled the Government to resist the shock which the failure of the Duke of York's expedition was liable to cause—in France it would have destroyed the Government. (This is an opinion rather tinged by the Revolution, but it is true that our House of Commons looks to final results.) They were strong, he said, by "les souvenirs attachants à l'histoire"; that on the contrary he could make eighty senates in France as good as the present; that he had intended to create a nobility by marrying his generals, whom he accounted as quite insignificant, notwithstanding the titles he had given them, to the offspring of the old nobility of France. He had reserved a fund from the contribution which he levied when he made treaties with Austria, Prussia, etc., in order to found these new families. "Did you get anything from Russia?"

N. No, I never asked anything from her but to shut her ports against England.

He wished, he said, to favour the re-establishment of the old fam-

ilies, but every time he touched that chord an alarm was raised, and the people trembled as a horse does when he is checked.

He told the story of the poisoning, and said there was some truth in it—he had wished to give opium to two soldiers who had got the plague and could not be carried away, rather than leave them to be murdered by the Turks, but the physician would not consent. He said that after talking the subject over very often he had changed his mind on the morality of the measure. He owned to shooting the Turks, and said they had broken their capitulation. He found great fault with the French Admiral who fought the battle of the Nile, and pointed out what he ought to have done, but he found most fault with the Admiral who fought—R. Calder—for not disabling his fleet, and said that if he could have got the Channel clear then, or at any other time, he would have invaded England.

He said the Emperor of Russia was clever and had "idées libérales," but was a veritable Grec. At Tilsit, the Emperor of Russia, King of Prussia, and N. used to dine together. They separated early—the King of Prussia went to bed, and the two Emperors met at each other's quarters and talked, often on abstract subjects, till late in the night. The King of Prussia a mere corporal, and the Emperor of Austria very prejudiced—"d'ailleurs honnête homme."

Berthier quite a pen-and-ink man—but "bon diable qui servit le permier, à me témoigner ses regrets, les larmes aux yeux."

Metternich a man of the world, "courtisan des femmes," but too false to be a good statesman—"car en politique il ne faut pas être *trop* menteur."

It was his maxim not to displace his Marshals, which he had carried to a fault in the case of Marmont, who lost his cannon by treachery, he believed—I forget where. The Army liked him, he had rewarded them well.

Talleyrand had been guilty of such extortion in the peace with Austria and with Bavaria that he was complained against by those powers and therefore removed—it was he who advised the war with Spain, and prevented N. from seeing the Duke d'Enghien, whom he thought a "brave jeune homme," and wished to see.

He said he had been fairly tried by a military tribunal, and the sentence put up in every town in France, according to law.

Spain ought to have been conquered, and he should have gone there himself had not the war with Russia occurred.

Lord Lauderdale was an English peer, but not of "la plus belle race." England will repent of bringing the Russians so far: they will deprive her of India.

If Mr. Fox had lived, he thought he should have made peace—praised the noble way in which the negotiation was begun by him.

The Archduke Charles he did not think a man of great abilities. "Tout ce que j'ai publié sur les finances est de l'Evangile," he said—he allowed no gaspillage and had an excellent treasurer; owing to this he saved large sums out of his civil list.

The conscription produced 300,000 men yearly.

He thought us wrong in taking Belgium from France—he said it

was now considered as so intimately united that the loss was very mortifying. Perhaps it would have been better, he said, to divide France—he considered one great advantage to consist as I——(End of Journal.)

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTES.

The Science of History and the Hope of Mankind. By Benoy Kumar Sarkar, M. A. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1912. Pp. 76. Price, 90c net.

The author is a lecturer in political science at the Bengal National Collegt, Calcutta, and is apparently of Hindu nationality, but the book shows an unusually broad conception of history not commonly found in scholars of Oriental birth. The main tendency of this little book is to show the paramount importance of the world forces for the development of every single nation. Our author says: "The prosperity and adversity, growth and decay, as well as freedom and subjection of each individual community at any time. in one word, the destiny of each nation acts and is acted upon by the conjuncture of all the forces of the universe. And this is created by the international relations of the epoch and indicated by the position of the political and social center of gravity of the world brought about by them. Hence, for a proper understanding of any of the conditions of a single people, it is absolutely necessary to realize the whole situation of the human world at the time, and minutely study the array of world-forces that has been the result of mutual intercourse between the several peoples in social, economic, intellectual, and political matters.....It is impossible that a nation should be able to acquire or preserve freedom and prestige solely on the strength of its own resources in national wealth and character. Every people has to settle its policy and course of action by a careful study of the disposition of the world-forces, and the situation of the political center of gravity at the time." The advance which naturally follows is for every single individual as well as nation to study the world centers and identify his interests with that of humanity. He concludes: "So long as there is one man in this universe capable of opening up new fields and discovering new opportunities by making the necessary modifications and re-arrangements, so long humanity's cause will continue to be broadening from 'precedent to precedent,' and the interests of mankind widening through revolutions and transformations to 'one increasing purpose' with 'the process of the suns.'"

Mathematicians and people interested in mathematics, especially teachers, will welcome the appearance of *Mathematical Wrinkles* by Samuel I. Jones, professor of mathematics in the Gunter Biblical and Literary College of Gunter, Texas (published by himself at Gunter, Texas, price \$1.25 net). It contains a large collection of arithmetical, algebraical, geometrical and other problems, exercises and recreations, mostly appropriate for high school pupils, collected from many sources with an admixture of some original ones by the author himself. No one will object to finding among them some old well-known puzzles because there is no harm in finding these repeated in several books of the same nature. The book covers 320 pages, not counting the index.

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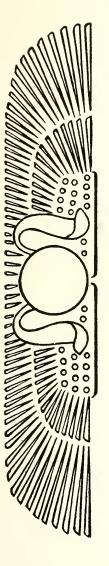


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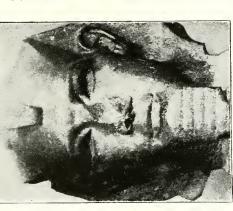
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