The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

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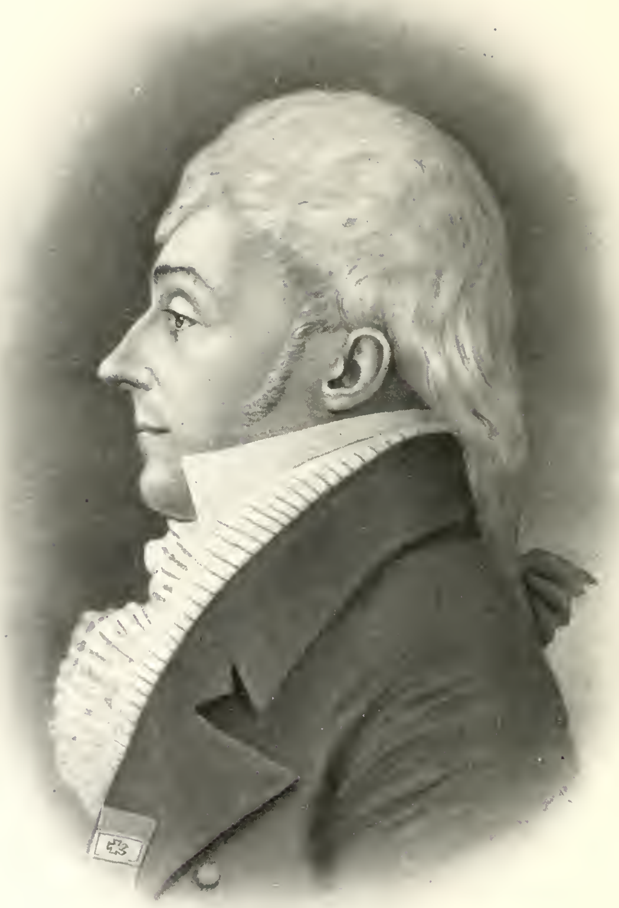

MAINE DE BIRAN.

French Psychologist.

(1766-1824.)

From a Physionotrace Engraving by Quenedey, Paris, 1811.
Courtesy of M. Naville, of Geneva.

Frontispiece to the August, 1899, Open Court.

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THE GOSPEL ON THE PARISIAN STAGE.

BY MONCURE D. CONWAY.

ABOUT thirty years ago there was a revival in Paris of the mediæval "Mystery." The "Deluge" in one theatre competed with "Paradise" in another, and there was a third, whose exact title I forget, though I remember Abraham kneeling before a luminous trinitarian triangle in the sky, and the descent of ballet angels who danced around him. In "Paradise" Abingdon gained much praise by the refinement of her Eve, and there was an accomplished Satan who, borrowing an item from Pandora's box, began his temptation of the first new woman by offering her a hand-mirror. Those spectacles had no religious purpose, and yet they did not admit of the comic and grotesque features found attractive in holiday times, and so the playwrights have since repaired, as in England, to the Old Testaments of pre-Christian religions, as represented in fairy tales. But of late there has been a revival of the Miracle Play, which it is now usual to call the Passion Play, and as it adheres to sacred seasons, beginning with Christmas time and ending with Easter, it may be supposed to appeal to pious sentiments. I was rather startled one day early in the year to see the walls about Montparnasse placarded with the name "Jesus." It announced a performance for the benefit of some charity (apparently Catholic), in a horticultural hall. It represented (1) The Nativity, (2) The Crucifixion, (3) The Resurrection. Another Passion Play, composed by Edmond Harancourt, was accompanied by Bach's music. At the *Nouveau Théâtre* I witnessed *La Passion*, of which the musical composer, Henri Giuletti, has also arranged the words, which follow the New Testament pretty closely. I was struck by the contrast between the conventionalism of Giuletti's text and that arranged by the priests at Oberammergau. The great impression produced by the latter, which I have repeatedly witnessed, is largely due to the purely human motives emphasised. The opposition to Jesus originates in his attack on the merchants who have secured from the municipality licenses to sell at the temple articles needed for individual offerings. They bring their complaint to the Council where a momentous discussion takes place, in which Nicodemus and Joseph of Arimathea counsel moderation. At Oberammergau the miracles of Jesus are omitted. But at the *Nouveau Théâtre* the scenic display was by no means servile to the scriptures. For instance in the scene of the Resurrection Christ is seen in the air just above his sepulchre, a crowd of his followers are present, and are ranged on either side, the centre of the stage being reserved for the Mother, who kneels alone, her arms stretched out as if on a cross, adoring her son. In the scene of the Supper the movements were unpleasantly automatic, but perhaps I am not able to judge this tableau from a merely artistic standpoint. Just as I was thinking how much more striking it would be if those ladies who probably paid for the supper (Luke viii. 3) were at the table,--just then was heard from behind the scene a woman's voice, very sweet and touching, singing of the greatness and compassionateness of incarnate love. From time to time this thrilling voice broke out again, with pathos or with triumph, and formal masculinity, its functional hardness, was relieved. Jesus seemed to be surrounded by the faces of the women who "ministered to him of their substance," and who never "forsook him and fled," as his disciples did.

But it was clear to me that the audience, mainly well-to-do people, were not really moved by the representation of the Passion. There was no sign of emotion. A history can only acquire superhuman conventionalisation by parting with its human accents. Is it not a merely perfunctory sorrow this, of mourning over the few minutes' pain by which a man once passed to the throne of the universe? The French priests who drape their churches on Good Friday, and portray so vehemently the sufferings of Jesus, have generally shown indifference if not satisfaction at the four-and-a-half years' agony of another Jew entombed on Devil's Island. What were the momentary sufferings of Jesus as he passed to Paradise compared with the sufferings of Dreyfus?

It has for some time been a problem with cultured Christians, eloquent divines, artists, how to portray a Jesus not too far, yet not too near,—not beyond human sympathies, not within the sphere of ordinary human sufferings. The most important artistic attempt of this kind has been made by the young French dramatist, Edmond Rostand, whose play *Cyrano de Bergerac* has placed him at the head of all living playwrights. This is the second year in which his religious drama has come amid the Fairs,—"Ham Fair,' "Bread and Spice Fair,"—and the merry festivities which have long preoccupied Easter time, and breathed some divinely human sentiment into the sacred season. His play is entitled *La Samaritaine: Évangile en trois tableaux.*

This play was, I believe, the first serious work of Rostand, and it bears some marks of youth. For example: it is one of the most striking things about the narrative of the Samaritan woman (John iv.) that Jesus does not utter or even hint the slightest reproach to her for having had five husbands, and for then living with one not her husband. In this play Jesus does utter a reproach, and even suggests that all of her "marriages" were sinful. Although it was necessary for the plot of the play that this Samaritan woman should have been of that character, it would have been more artistic to preserve the calm words of Jesus as reported, and let the reproaches come from the woman herself when her conscience is awakened. The necessity just alluded to arises from the fact that the legend of Mary Magdalene's having been a courtisan, not supported by anything in the Bible, has gradually become the cherished romance of Christendom, and a dramatist could have little hope of charming an audience without introducing any "woman with a past." Such is Photine, the luminous name here given the Samaritan woman. Saint Mary Magdalene is a Venus baptised and penitent; Photine is a Magdalene turned prophetess. No character could be more perfectly adapted to the genius of Sarah Bernhardt, who surpasses herself in it. A critic in *L'Orchestra* pronounces Bremont "an ideal Christ," but that depends on the individual ideal. Having one of my own I have never found it realised either here or at Oberammergau: the actors are afraid to venture an any spontaneity, and interpret Jesus as an automaton. Bremont was no doubt ideal for those who regard Jesus as one going through certain prearranged functions, without any human or personal freedom at all. Only two of the other figures are conventionalised: Peter has the usual fierce look, and John the feminine, though in the New Testament John is the fierce one, who wished to call down fire on the Samaritans, and whose intolerance Jesus twice had to rebuke. However the acting generally was almost faultless, and no learning or outlay was spared to give the large number of performers rich and correct costumes, and to make every tableau a work of art unusual even in the Sarah Bernhardt Theatre.

A group of leading Samaritans gathered around Jacob's well,—their city Sychar in the distance,—converse in troubled and resentful tones concerning the insults they receive from the Jews, and some propose a resort to arms. This is opposed by young Azriel, who is taunted with being the sixth lover of Photine, the Samaritan beauty. When the Samaritans have gone Jesus appears with his disciples, who fall to denouncing the Samaritans, which elicits from him the parable of the good Samaritan. He then sends them into Sychar to buy food, and while he is alone, waiting, Photine's voice is heard,—though she is not yet seen. She is singing snatches from the Song of Solomon, beginning with "Take us the foxes, the little foxes that spoil the vines." The verses are not given consecutively as in the Bible, but daintily selected, and slightly modified. It is not so much singing as a high recitative, which, accompanied by perfect violins, is thrilling. Then she appears on a path among the trees, the amphora on her shoulder, beautifully and simply draped, and approaches the well, still singing. She does not notice Jesus at all, but having let down her amphora, raised it, gazed into the water as a mirror, and placed it on her shoulder, turns to leave. "Such," says Jesus to himself, "is poor humanity, which grazes happiness and passes it!" She is about to disappear, when he calls "Woman!" Photine turns and looks at him with an insolent air, and he says, "I thirst; for the rays of the sun are intense; will you give me some water?" Photine answers wrathfully, describing the hatred and contempt heaped by his people on hers, and telling him ironically that the water though so limpid is from a Samaritan well, consequently impure. Though his disgust may be diminished by thirst not a drop shall he have.

When Jesus has revealed himself, and Photine, amazed at his knowledge of her life, approaches him as a prophet, she speaks of the controversy between Jews and Samaritans about the sanctity of their respective mountains, and adds that "We, the simple ones, are only troubled between these rival mountains. We ascend neither the one nor the other, but remain below in the vale between them; and the vale has flowers that make us forget God." In reply to this Jesus utters his sublime universalism. "The hour cometh, it is come, simple heart, when neither in Gerizim nor in Jerusalem shall men worship the Father," etc. The dramatist has had the critical insight to omit the spurious fling at the Samaritans (John iv. 22), which contradicts all the catholicity of the utterance. I was also struck by the fact that though this dramatised Jesus is a Messiah he is portrayed as sufficiently human to do a little acting, for when Photine offers him water he says, "I have not thirsted except for thy rescue." This thirst was not caused by the sun's heat.

Photine has poured out all her heart to him, how she had thirsted for beauty, for the satisfaction of heart and life, and found each fountain delusive, her spirit still famished. "Thy words touch me less than the tears in thy eyes," says Jesus. "She says, my words are without value, my eyes without charms." He answers, "To me the most beautiful eyes are eyes filled with tears." Then reclining at his feet she listens, and he enters on his instructions, her refrain being "I listen." So ends the first tableau.

We are next in the Samaritan city, Sychar, the street a bazaar alive with merry crowds in bright colors, who give the disciples an unpleasant reception, and charge them double for food. Peter remarks that the good Samaritans are only in parables, and they go off.

Young Azriel, her lover, knocks at Photine's door and learns that she is still at Jacob's well. Some women observe the handsome youth and talk together angrily of Photine. Life is all honey to that free-lover, they say; while honest women knit and bake bread, her lover is comparing her to a lily of the valley. They are informed to their delight that the authorities mean to banish Photine. Just then the disturbing beauty enters the city gate. Her lover rushes to meet her, and is amazed to find her without her cruse, her veil gone, her face excited.

In her first ecstasy on finding her prophet, Photine had burst out with one of the love songs she had sung on approaching the well—"In thy breath all perfumes, in thy words all honeys, in thy clear eyes all skies, etc.,"—but arrested herself, "Great God, what have I done! the same, O sacrilege, the same song for Him that served me for——" Before she says Azriel Jesus reassures her: "I am always a little in all words of love." The amorous songs were the only hymns Photine knew, and the devoutest psalm could hardly indicate so well how wholly her heart had gone to her prophet. Azriel, who now meets her, will hear no more such songs. She gently untwines his arms. "I come to restore what I have served only to make thee forget. The great hopes thou hast cast away, I bring them back."

Then she cries, "People!" And now Photine has to encounter every variety of obstacle which new ideas have to surmount in every age and region. Of the marvel of his telling her how many husbands she had had but little is made. One can for a franc witness in Paris much more astonishing divinations than that concerning a woman whose many marriages must have made her notorious in all her region. (Williany de Torre is astounding all savants by announcing at a distance any name and address you select in the Paris Directory while you are holding the book close to your eyes, and shouting aloud a sentence you have written and folded away in a bit of paper.) The burden of Photine in Sychar is the choice anthology of all the teachings and parables of Jesus. There where she reclined at his feet beside Jacob's well we are to suppose that after the curtain fell he rehearsed to her all that he had uttered to disciples or crowds. We now behold an inspired prophetess uttering again the most beautiful teachings and parables, and summoning the city to repair with her to the Messiah of their long hopes and visions. Her ecstasy electrifies them: The tradesmen try to silence her; she is drawing attention away from their bazaars. The priest is alarmed; she is calling the people to new doctrines. The priest moves the woman by saying to Photine, "How could the great pure soul of a Christ converse with such an one as you? Go and perfume your door, and sit at the threshold, and prepare for the evening the crafts of your eye." "You treat me only as I deserve," answers Photine, and kneeling in the market-place she cries, "I confess my life and smite my breast, and I desire to entreat forgiveness of all." Then the previously resentful women come to her side. Followed by a crowd she passes to other streets and we hear her voice, fainter, nearer, until when she again appears she is surrounded with a multitude prepared to follow her.

The chief priest and the merchants then raise the cry of sedition, and send for the Roman guard. They come, and Photine is arrested, her hands tied; but a centurion appears, and after hearing what the excitement is about orders Photine's release. "It is all about that handsome carpenter with the blonde head. He will never trouble the world."

Some then begin to oppose because the Roman is inclined to befriend Jesus, but Photine explains that the new movement is related to matters far above the empires of the world. A general curiosity among the religiously indifferent, and a deeper feeling among others, incline them to Photine, and the conquest is completed when a priest says, "Well, I will go too! This man may found a new cult, and make me Chief Priest." The humor is too deep for laughter.

In the third and final tableau we are again at Jacob's well, on the edge of which Jesus is still seated. He appears as if in reverie, while his disciples seated or lying on the ground at a little distance are with difficulty appeasing their hunger with the wretched viands which the Samaritans had picked out to sell them. To their ill humor has been added the scandal of finding Jesus conversing with a woman whose reputation they seem to know. "I would not dare to blame him," says Peter, "but sometimes, it must be confessed, he is of singular imprudence." Presently Jesus makes a remark on what one says, and they lower their voices; at length they are silent but Jesus answers an unspoken thought of Peter. Then they become very thirsty. The water in the well is inaccessible, but Photine has left her pitcher full of water. They declare they will perish rather than taste the accursed water drawn by a Samaritan woman in a Samaritan pitcher, but presently John tastes this water and calls out with surprise and delight. Nathaniel, Andrew, James, follow, and declare that it is nectar. The sweetness of all sweet things is in it, and when all have been refreshed they ask Jesus what the woman left in her cruse when she departed. He tells them that she left there her pride, her sins, her frivolity, but that the sweet savour is "what I found among the faults of a life which they are coming to forget at my feet."

Jesus already hears them coming,—those Samaritans whom his disciples have just been execrating. Presently the others hear, we all hear, at first faint in the distance a sound as of lutes and timbrels, chants of psalmody. All Sychar has followed Photine: they bring flowers and garlands, and when the crowd has met his look there is an eager pressing forward, a stretching forth of hands in homage. The flowers are strewn before him, but after the flowers are the woes of the world. To the blind he says "See!", to the lame "Walk!" to the dumb "Speak," and for the drunkard, for the courtisans, he has words of forgiveness. The priest is scandalised. "Can he be Christ who invites the courtisan and the drunkard to follow him?" For once the anger of Jesus is kindled and he says to the priest, "I will answer you, accursed man!" But just then he hears Peter say, "Take away these children!" The children had been singing a childish round, and Jesus calls them to him, strokes their hair, and asks them to sing him their song. They sing, "When we piped for you merry airs you have not danced, when we piped sad airs you have not wept." Turning to the priest Jesus says, "Their little song furnishes my answer to you." The priest who rejected the Baptist, severe and ascetic, as a madman, now rejected the eating, drinking, smiling, quickly pardoning Jesus as a Sybarite!

This little outbreak of mingled anger and humor against the priest gave Bremont a little more freedom; his tenderness to the children, his gentleness to the courtisans,—one of whom had hidden,—brought forward by Photine, was very fine. But the acting of Sarah Bernhardt in all this was really great. I have often recognised little mannerisms in her, but now they had all vanished: her simplicity, humility, self-forgetfulness, her thinking only of the others—the poor, the little ones, the sufferers,—that they should be healed, cheered, were exquisite suggestions of her new birth. Gazing on the new Photine her lover radiant cries, "I know then what to make of my life." When finally these people gather around Jesus to entreat him to remain with them, offering their abodes, their all—the courtisans, their jewels laid aside—kneeling before him,—there becomes visible that which for ages has moved the heart of mankind. The applause was not such as hands or voices could give; it was given in breathless stillness, bent heads, and flowing tears.

Had *La Samaritaine* been written in unrhymed Greek in the second century it would now be in the New Testament, and what sermons would be preached from sentences quoted from Christ! "Heaven is where all love." "All loves are beautiful save love of self." While listening to the charming play I was not at all surprised at the occasional posings of Jesus, as where he pretends that the hot sun has made him thirsty. It is all legitimate in a drama. And I remember when once witnessing a play of "The Nativity" that the posings and elaborate intonings of carols and prophetic hymns by Mary and others were all in place behind footlights. The "asides" and attitudinisings of Jesus before the resurrection of Lazarus, his affectation of vehement grief, after telling his disciples secretly he was glad Lazarus was dead that he might display his power, etc., led Renan to suspect that Jesus and Lazarus and the sisters had got up a little deception; but it is much better explained if we suppose it all a pious drama made up out of the parable of Dives and Lazarus and performed in rural districts (in the second century) where the people had been accustomed to the sacred Greek plays. It is the belief of many learned men that the Oberammergau play succeeded a sacred pagan play in the same village. There is little doubt that many of the apocryphal gospels are relics of pious performances by which alone the humble masses could be impressed, when there was as yet no printing and little painting, and it is not improbable that various narratives in the New Testament, among them the resurrection of Jesus, were to some extent shaped by dramatic exigencies, and are now as unfairly accepted, or criticised, as literal history as it would be to so treat the dramatic representations of Robespierre and Napoleon now drawing crowds in Paris and London. All of this may be justly pronounced theoretical, but it appears to me more probable than the alternative hypothesis of mere fraud in the composition of certain marvellous narratives which criticism is finding unhistorical and mythical. Of course this would not affect the fact of such dramas being founded on vague popular beliefs, but only account for the definiteness and completeness of their historic shapes in the New Testament. It would also explain the fact that the tremendous miracles are not alluded to by any historian of that era,—not even Josephus. In all dramas there is an element of supernaturalism, though in the modern world it is in the guise of improbability. At least there are few novelists, romancers, or playwrights able to frame a plot which does not at some vital point rest on an improbability. The Greek stage was a nursery of mythology. How is it that we find the Gospels written in or on the eve of the second century so full of Christ's miracles whereas not one is alluded to in the first century writings,—the Epistles? Possibly for the same reason that we find in Rostand's *La Samaritaine* some wonders ("thought-transference") not in the Bible, but well adapted to certain alleged phenomena of our own time. As legends of præternatural events now grow, so grew they of old, and so it appears they will grow until the intellectual soil is too highly cultivated for their nourishment.

MAINE DE BIRAN.

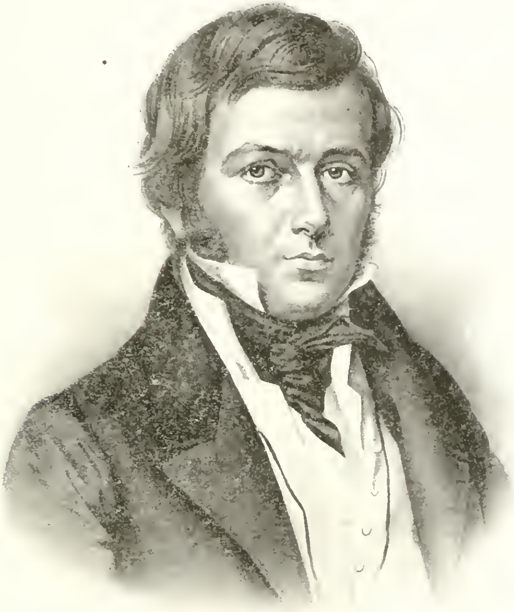
(1766–1824.)

BY PROF. L. LÉVY-BRUHL.

MAINE DE BIRAN was said by Cousin to have been the first of French metaphysicians since Malebranche. This is true, especially, if we understand by a metaphysician, as they did in the eighteenth century, a thinker who studies the origin of our knowledge, and the genesis of our ideas. Yet this original and deep philosopher was but little known to his contemporaries. Maine de Biran, though he wrote much, published but little during his lifetime, and what he gave to the world was not sufficient to make his thought fully understood. It was Cousin, who, in 1834, and afterwards in 1841, edited part of the manuscripts left by Maine de Biran. Since then other unpublished works have been edited, chiefly by M. Naville. If we have not yet the whole of Maine de Biran's writings, we possess enough to feel assured that no essential part of his doctrine now escapes us.

Maine de Biran never taught. Being a life-guardsman to Louis the Sixteenth in 1789, and later sub-prefect, and councillor of State, if he was also a philosopher it was in virtue of a strong natural aptitude and inclination. A sort of instinct irresistibly impelled him to make a study of himself. His health being delicate, he was watchful of the slightest changes in his physical condition and in his consciousness due to surrounding circumstances, and was consequently predisposed to introspection. "When one has little vitality," he writes, "or but a faint conscious sense of vitality, one is more inclined to observe internal phenomena. This is why I became so early in life a psychologist." He heard the springs of the machine creaking, and he felt his thought straining or slackening with them.

His taste for psychology first found food in Condillac, and then in the Ideologists. He became acquainted with Cabanis, and was afterwards his friend; and though later he thought that he had advanced beyond his doctrine, he never completely rejected it. But he also read the Genevese Charles Bonnet, and it was probably by him that he was led to study the philosophy of Leibnitz, and to seek a psychological interpretation of it that would be in harmony with his own tendencies. It was at this time that he wrote his *Mémoire sur l'Habitude* (1805), an original and thoughtful work, which, under a form that suggests Condillac, already manifests many of his own personal and independent views. In the next period he reached the clearest expression of his thought and expounded what he looked upon as his most important theory, to wit, the theory of effort, or of the first fact of consciousness. In this he was seconded by his friend Ampère, the celebrated physicist, whose philosophical work is inseparable from his own. He often enunciated his ideas at philosophical meetings held at his house in Paris. Royer-Collard was wont to be present, and also "young Professor Cousin," who comprehended the thought of



VICTOR COUSIN (1792–1867).

Maine de Biran marvellously well. In later years, when ill, and anxious to find a "firm and steady prop," Maine de Biran inclined towards a mystical and religious kind of philosophy; and he had yielded himself fully to it before the end of his life.

Condillac's psychology had separated, so to speak, consciousness from organism. Convinced that "we never get out of ourselves," he thought himself thus justified in studying only what reflection and analysis can reach and decompose within ourselves. Now this is an abstraction which Maine de Biran constantly finds to be contradicted by his personal experience. Our humor changes, our attention flags, our self-confidence disappears or returns without our knowing how; is it not because a multitude of dim sensations are produced within us, of which we are made aware only by their effects? Thus experimental psychology can as yet describe only the smallest portion of the soul's phenomena. This science begins with clear apperception, and with the distinction between the "self" and its modifications. But how many things take place in the soul before, during, and after the first consciousness of the self, which will never come within the range of our knowledge! These things Maine de Biran calls pure impressions, or simple impressions; they constitute the "affective life." They correspond to Leibnitz's dim and insensible perceptions; or, perhaps more exactly, to Cabanis's "sensibility." "These impersonal sensations, which I shall term pure affections, may be considered as the most immediate results of functions that underlie a general organic life . . . . a state previous even to the birth of a conscious and thinking subject." This was a fruitful thought, which experimental psychology has turned to excellent account in our days. This science admits as a principle, as Maine de Biran did, that "simple impressions may constitute an absolute sort of existence, *sui generis*, apart from any distinct personality or consciousness of self. M. Pierre Ganet, for instance, has returned to this hypothesis in order to explain many surprising cases of hysterical anesthesia and amnesia, of twofold personality, etc.

This part of ourselves which escapes our knowledge also escapes our power. The affective life is independent of our will, though our will depends upon it. It is a purely passive basis of our complex being, from which the Ego can never be separated, and which becomes tense or slack or altered without our being able to interfere, at any rate directly; a sum of organic dispositions we are the less able to modify since they are the very source of our powers and volitions. They result from our temperament, and what we call character is but the physiognomy of temperament—a striking phrase, for which we are indebted to Bichat, the physiologist, and which Maine de Biran made his own by exploring it thoroughly.

At about the same epoch Schopenhauer in Germany was saying the same thing; and though he was in nowise acquainted with the works of Maine de Biran, there is in this more than a mere fortuitous coincidence. Between Schopenhauer's psychology and that of Maine de Biran there lie hidden, under obvious differences, deep analogies. If little attention has hitherto been paid in France to this fact, it is because of a predisposition to see in Maine de Biran one of the founders of contemporary spiritualism,—and he is therefore associated with Cousin rather than with Bichat or Cabanis.

But this interpretation, while not false, is certainly incomplete, and not in harmony with history. Maine de Biran owes nothing to Cousin, and was, especially in his two earlier periods, imbued with the doctrines of Bichat and of the "immortal author of the *Rapports du Physique et du Moral.*" Now this was no less true of Schopenhauer. True, in Schopenhauer the ideas borrowed from Bichat and Cabanis were mingled with other elements taken from Kant, Plato, and Buddhist metaphysics, whereas Maine de Biran contented himself with investigating certain problems propounded by the eighteenth century. Yet both these men alike oppose to the conscious personality of the Ego the dim unconscious background which enfolds it, sways it, and even directs it, and predetermines, unknown to ourselves, our thoughts and actions, our intelligence and character. Only afterwards do their doctrines diverge.

Affective life constitutes in us what Maine de Biran calls "animality." Above it, but linked to it, appears "humanity," i. e., consciousness reflecting on itself and master of itself, personality, or the Ego. This latter begins to exist by itself only when exercising free activity or determined effort. Thus—and Maine de Biran likes to remind us that he is here taking up the thought of Leibnitz—the idea that the human person has of itself is originally the idea of an active force. The Ego is first of all activity and liberty. In other words, the Ego is the soul, insomuch as it perceives its own existence, but this it perceives only when its activity meets (within the body) with a resistance which it endeavors to overcome.

If this observation is correct, the whole structure of Condillacism falls to pieces. Sensation is no longer the first fact of consciousness, the principle of all the soul's life. The very term "sensation" is abstract and ambiguous, because Condillac did not carry the analysis far enough. For, if sensation be conceived as simply passive, then it is only an "affective impression," and the Ego does not yet appear: sensation may take place without consciousness being aware of it. Does sensation imply a motor reaction, conscious and deliberate? Then it resolves itself into a passive and an active element. The latter is intentional effort. In it, and not in any received impression, must we seek the special origin of our active faculties, the pivotal point of existence and the foundation of all the simple ideas we may acquire concerning ourselves and our intellectual activity.

Yet Maine de Biran does not think that the soul appears to itself just as it really is. "I was at first rather inclined," he says, "to mistake the inmost feeling of our individuality, or what I called the Ego, for the very core of the substance of the soul. But Kant has taught me better. We feel our own individuality; but the real substance of our soul we feel no more than any other substance." No doubt the Ego that perceives and judges is the same that is perceived and judged; but this being which is perceived and judged has still an inmost core of substance inaccessible to apperception. It may be endowed, as Malebranche thought, with a multitude of properties or attributes which are unknown or do not come within the range of our inward sense. This inward sense may indeed assure us that *we* are thinking; and on this point Descartes's "I think, therefore I am," is irrefutable. But the most subtle analysis of this inward sense cannot possibly throw the slightest light upon our knowledge of ourselves, "as an object, outside of thought." To believe that, by means of analysis based on purely internal experience, we can at length arrive at the notion of a substantial Ego, is to mistake the psychological fact of what is within us, that is, ourselves in the actual exercise of thought, for the metaphysical notion of the substance which is supposed to remain the same beyond and beneath thought.

Maine de Biran here agrees with Kant, as he says. In Kant, however, the theory of the Ego's knowledge of itself has for its basis the whole of the *Critique of Pure Reason*, and more especially the theory of sensible and intellectual knowledge. Maine de Biran, on the contrary, starts from the analysis of the first fact of consciousness, and on that analysis he afterwards attempts to found a theory of the understanding and reason. In opposition to the doctrine of categories, which is quite *à priori* in Kant, he endeavors to maintain a psychological genesis of the general principles of thought. Thus, because the Ego perceives itself as a cause, Maine de Biran finds therein "the pattern and model of every idea of power, force, and cause." Unity, simplicity, existence, etc., are ideas which the Ego obtains by means of an abstraction wrought upon itself, and which in a way isolates its own attributes. If we find these attributes again in objects, it is because they have been, so to speak, projected by the Ego. In one word, reason is thus held to be the spontaneous result of a sort of self-analysis of consciousness.

But this is rather a sketch than a regular theory, and Maine de Biran was suspicious of everything that might carry him beyond the firm ground of experience. The science he seeks to establish starts from a fact and must lead only to facts and to the laws which they obey. The absolute, as Maine de Biran does not hesitate to confess, is beyond its grasp. How, he says himself, could all things fail to be relative in our eyes, since the very existence of the Ego, the individual personality which is the basis of the thinking being, is relative? The thing called Ego being a compound, or the result of the union and relation between two substances, can conceive or feel nothing but as a compound or relation. The very idea of substance seems suspicious to Maine to Biran. The Ego does not find it within itself, for it apprehends itself as a cause, not as a substance. This idea must, therefore, originate without our knowing it, in the representation of exterior things, space and matter. It was this idea that caused the philosophy of Descartes to tend in the direction of pantheism. It is the secret enemy of personality and liberty; it tends to mingle together in an obscure metaphysical unity the Ego-person in which everything has its beginning, and the God-person in which all things end.

Though an original and deep psychologist, Maine de Biran was a timid metaphysician. No doubt the study of the Ego induced him to think of it as a "hyperorganic" force, while the inward sense assured him of his liberty; but he was fully aware that there are problems, and most essential ones, to which his doctrine gives no direct answer, the moral problem, for instance. Therefore he wished to complete his psychology by a reasoned adherence to a general system of philosophy in accordance with his inmost tendencies. In his second period he felt himself won over to Stoicism, which is, in his eyes, a moral philosophy based upon the dignity of the human personality and upon the energy of active effort. But Stoicism expects too much from man's will; and although

Christianity, in its turn, makes man too weak and helpless, it was to Christianity that Maine de Biran turned in the latter years of his life for the "prop" of which he felt the need. He then wrote his *Nouveaux Essais d'Anthropologie*, which distinguish in man three lives, one above the other, as it were: sensitive life, which is in us that of the animal; human life, that is, the life of action and the struggle of the thinking principle against the instinctive and animal principle; and lastly, divine life, in which animalism is conquered and the struggle ceases because love has united man to the supreme source of all beings and all good. And thus, in a sort of quietism, ended this philosophy which had begun as a continuation of Condillac and Cabanis.

A REVELATOR OF SCIENCE.

BY F. L. OSWALD.

PHILOSOPHERS have long thought it probable that the "monarchical protectorate of art and literature" has been overrated and that the free arena of republican competition is as propitious to the true interests of science, as to the promotion of industrial development.

Progress, as distinct from motion, is, indeed, incompatible with the lack of liberty, though the liberal Condorcet goes so far as to pronounce the "thought-protecting influence of Imperialism a compensation for the character steeling turmoil of democratic institutions."

The truth seems to be that the Chinese wall of paternal monarchies may shelter arts and the literature of conservatism, but that progressive science is favored by the open fields of freedom. A dogmatist, rehearsing his tenets, like a parrot turning a wire-wheel, may bless the absence of competition ; but strong-winged birds rather dispense with cage-food. The eagles of thought rarely appreciate the advantages of a storm-proof bastile, and Louis Büchner, the pioneer of mental emancipation, was given no chance to rejoice in the protective peace of Imperialism. The barriers of prescriptive dogmas bruised his wings again and again, and whenever he contrived to escape their restraint, a swarm of black rooks tracked his flight and forced him to waste his time in the squabbles of self-defence.

The characteristics of the fearless investigator asserted themselves in his very school years. "Little Loo Büchner solved mathematical problems by a sort of intuition," says Professor Habermann of the Darmstadt college, "and could apply the gift of his graceful style to three different languages, but was kept in hot water by his penchant for asking indiscreet questions."

"What made the mediæval nations so much meaner and sillier than their pagan ancestors?"

"How is it that animals can take care of their health so much better than learned men?"

"Is it a duty to believe things that cannot be proven?"

No reply?—What's the use of science if its teachers will not answer questions? thought Master Louis.

One scholastic sage "considered him too forward (*aberwitzig*) to let him take his place at the head of his class;" still, when he graduated in his eighteenth year, they granted him a certificate with a rather liberal endorsement: "The holder of this has distinguished himself by thorough literary, philosophical and poetic studies, and shows remarkable ability in all his compositions."

The curriculum of a German "Gymnasium," or preparatory college, is about nine-tenths language drill; but young Büchner hankered after a different sort of knowledge, and devoted a year to the study of natural science,—especially chemistry, physiology and zoölogical literature. The young truth-seeker clung to the belief that animals can teach us many forgotten facts, "being nearer to the heart of Nature, and to the source of life protecting instincts." In 1843 he went to the University of Giessen. The new high school had attracted many foreigners by the fame of Justus Liebig, the Copernicus of Chemistry, and Büchner divided his time between philosophy and modern language studies. His moral ideal, at that time, seems to have been a system of natural philosophy with an ethical by-purpose, but Büchner Senior, a shrewd old burgher, with social theories of his own, had witnessed the success of moonshine metaphysicians and the neglect of philosophical sun-priests, and persuaded his son to turn his attention to medicine.

The young philosopher compromised the difficulty by enlarging the scope of his studies. His prodigious memory enabled him to brave a risk which Benjamin Franklin avoided by exemption from the *par-force* training of a routine college, and he could enter the field of free inquiry with a mind uncrippled by the deadweight of scholastic ballast.

Instead of staggering along the beaten road of the anxious office-seeker, he found time for exploration trips into by-trails and wayside thickets, and every now and then ascended a hilltop to verify his landmarks on the horizon of the future. Soon after the winter of 1846 his initials: "F. L. B." begin to appear under various magazine articles, as entertainingly digressive as Richard Burton's Letters from Ultima Thule. Incidentally, and often as on the suggestion of a mere chance for banter, he throws out hints that kindled the fires of international controversies or sowed the seeds of fruitful scientific theories. Thus, in an essay on "Moral Freaks" he remarks that "the mental influences of heredity may awaken echoes from the experience of pre-human, as well as of pre-historic, ancestors, and that the dread of darkness, for instance, is perhaps an after-effect of the midnight panics of treetop-dwellers, treated to frequent surprise-parties of giant cats."—"which cats," he adds, "perhaps furnished the prototype of Old Scratch and the night-prowling Lamias." A geological dissertation tempts him to a "Fable for Teleologists,"—the zealots of the "Design in Everything" School.

"In the foothills of the southern Alps," he says, "granite blocks have tumbled into gravel, which, in the course of ages has hardened all around into a solid conglomerate, and one can imagine the elders of the Piedmont frogs pointing out the closeness of the fit as an indisputable proof of an intelligent *demiurgus*. 'See how every protuberance of the rock corresponds with an indenture in the outline of its wisely-prepared receptacle, and vice versa,' they will argue, 'examine it on all sides,' the sagacious adaptation is perfect, all around. Here and there it might be a work of chance, but in its totality the arrangement should not, it cannot, be ascribed to accident

"Evidences of unitary cosmic laws" (*die Einheit der ewigen Gesetze*) he says, "abound, but the opposition to arguments of probability has no limits whatever. On the borders of the Arctic Circle the summer sun often merely dips below the horizon, to reappear a little farther east; and I have often wondered if the natives can be persuaded to recognise the identity of the setting and rising orb. 'How can you prove that there are not two different suns, mounting guard by turns?' they will probably ask. We see crab-apples turn into pippins and steppe-ponies into race-horses; we can trace the ascent of roses from thorn-blossoms; we cannot doubt that the most civilised nations of the present world have sprung from brutal barbarians, but the connecting link between those barbarians and their still lowlier fellow-creatures is gone and till its remains have been recovered to the last fragment of bone-splinters our conservative friends will defy us to prove the continuity of the development."

Two years after Büchner's arrival in Giessen, a storm-wave of political party-strife swept over western Europe, and a number of patriotic students founded the progressive association known as the

"Allemania Bund," with a club for the promotion of sociological studies and political reform. To the literary propaganda of those societies young Büchner contributed several pamphlets that foreshadow our best latter-day protests against the meddle-mania of paternal governments.

"Apron-string policy" (*die Gängelband-Politik*) says the keen-sighted young patriot, "is always liable to two great objections: It obstructs the natural path of progress and is apt to foster the growth of mischievous monopolies. And what is almost worse, in their eagerness to regulate the food, drink, dress, holiday amusements and metaphysical opinions of their subjects, our rulers often neglect duties pertinent to the legitimate purpose of government, viz., the prevention of trespass upon natural rights. Their own system sets a baneful example by meddling with private rights and ignoring public nuisances. The same political moralists who force hardworking wage-earners to support drunkards and loafers, permit the owner of a glue-factory to poison the atmosphere of a populous city with pestilential vapors."

Some of these Circulars were published without Büchner's signature, but the trenchant style of the young Darmstadter had by that time become too well known to escape identification, and the regents of the university twice sent him a *dehortatorium*, or admonition to desist. Handle the theory of coal-ferns in any way you please, but don't get tangled in the beards of our aldermen.

Büchner had friends at court, too, and might have risked the consequences of a third warning; but his relatives were getting uneasy, and a family council decided to send him to Strassburg, under the pretext of giving him a chance to attend a course of French lectures.

In 1848 Louis Büchner received his medical diploma, and it required the influence of all his friends and the triumphant results of a public examination to carry his testimonials across the cliff of the theme he had ventured to select for his inaugural address, the *thesis*, namely, that "a personal soul is inconceivable without a material substratum."

The new M. D. then retired to his native city, where his rooms on the Reis-Market speedily became the headquarters of all local reform-clubs. His pen, too, was in constant request, and even his practical father could not help feeling proud of his prestige, and amidst the premonitions of an impending storm consoled himself with the reflection that his son had outgrown the necessity of dependence on government patronage, and in stress of circumstances would be abundantly able to get along in France or North America.

Still, when the storm did burst, with all the fury of a savage political reaction, the significance of the alternative was brought home to the young patriot with unexpected force, and he decided to seek counsel in solitude and communion with the spirit of Nature. From Wuerzburg, Bavaria, where he had taken refuge in the house of a friend, he went to the highlands of the Austrian Alps, and after a week's struggle with conflicting passions, came to the conclusion that duty required him to stick to his post, and in hopes of better times to come, purchase peace at the price of temporary silence.

His fame as a leader of mental emancipation, however, continued to rise, and in 1854 he published the work which Claude Bernhard described as a "Catechism of secular science, a Magna Charta of our constitutional rights as thinkers and rationalists."

In Germany, France, Austria and the Netherlands, "Matter and Force" created a sensation exceeding that produced in England by the novel theories of Darwin's "Descent." It formulates principles which former writers had hardly ventured to imply in diffident conjectures. Its publication marks a new era in the history of cosmology, and its theories not only indicate the advanced standpoints of physical science, but outline the road of progress for centuries in advance. It is the record of a philosophical revelation.

Three editions of *Kraft und Stoff* were published in 1855, four in 1856, and several excellent translations insured the cosmopolitan fame of the work; but for the social interests of the author he might as well have circulated a treatise on the scientific application of dynamite bombs. Scores of reactionary journals shrieked out their alarm; opposition pamphlets fluttered in flocks, and before the end of the year all the hirelings of conservatism were up in arms against the daring deviator from conventional lines of thought. A government cage-bird had ventured to leave his prison, and the hue and cry became so deafening that the lovers of peace advised the defendant to seek refuge in exile, till public attention had been diverted by other topics, -perhaps by the electric flashes of the war-cloud which about that time began to gather around the Crimean seaports.

Büchner tried the effect of banter to silence some of the most obstreperous alarmists, but the many-voiced owl-swarm would not down, and the German Huxley was actually forced to cancel the arrangements for a permanent engagement at the University of

Tuebingen, where he had been recording the proceedings of a meeting of German naturalists.

He had bought posthumous fame at the expense of his temporal interests. The menace of a heresy trial finally died down to the growls of bigots, but Büchner's name remained on the official blacklist. The precarious tolerance of his government was understood to imply the condition of abstinence from dogmatic controversies. In other words, his metaphysical organs of speech were now gagged as effectually as his sword-arm of political reform had been shackled in 1848, and henceforth the great thinker limited his publications to topics of physical science. His "Physiological Sketches" appeared in 1861; "Nature and Science" in 1862; "Conferences on Darwinism" in 1869; "Man in the Past, Present and Future" in 1870; "Light and Life" in 1882. These works open out new vistas of thought in a surprising number of different directions, and like the predictions of astronomical discoveries and Humboldt's forecasts of mineralogical treasure-troves, prove that the gift of augury is an attribute of all earnest thinkers.

In 1883 Crown-prince Frederick, the victor of Wörth and champion of all liberal reforms, visited Büchner in Frankfort-on-the-Main, and when his untimely death blighted the hopes of his nation, the old patriot mourned as the philosopher Libanius had mourned for the loss of the Divus Julian.

"It was the hand of Nemesis," he says, "the stroke of Fate that waits upon every excess of good fortune. Once more, since the days of Trajan and the Antonines, philosophy, philanthropy and heroism were wedded to supreme opportunities for national redemption,—the prospect was too bright to escape the doom of a total eclipse. Is it always thus? There may be only apparent exceptions, for Marcus Aurelius perhaps paid his debt to fate in the anguish of his family-sorrows, and Frederick the Great in the purgatory of the Seven Years' War."

Time soon justified his misgivings. The reflux-tide of national exaltation set in. As in France, after the collapse of the Napoleonic Olympus, the immortals had to pine in exile; the gazettes that had heralded a hundred victories were now forced to record an endless series of lese-majesty trials. Like Bismarck, Büchner had to seek solace in the recollections of the past. Flunkey orators of national jubilees found it expedient to avoid his name. It became fashionable to sneer at the theories of the German Aristotle. Graduates with an appetite for rapid promotion endeavored to circulate refutations of "Matter and Force."

The old philosopher smiled; but became more reticent from year to year, and at last retired to the hermitage of his little Darmstadt garden cottage,—"where my green lawn," he writes to the editor of *Dageraad*, "is all the better for the absence of crowds, and where occasional visitors are not distressed by the clanking of my shackles."

The silence of that retreat was perhaps more propitious to the place of a wounded soul than the storm and stress of a great commonwealth, but it might be questioned if in a land of freedom its balm would have been needed. Our restless republicans might have found no time to sit at the feet of the Grand Master of Science, but they could not have failed to recognise the value of his labors, and, moreover, would have broken his fetters, as surely as they would break the skull of Grand Inquisitor Pobodonotscheff.

THE CROSS OF GOLGOTHA.

BY THE EDITOR.

CRUCIFIXION was comparatively rare among the Greeks, but it was frequently practised in the Orient, and also by the Romans after they came into contact with Carthage.

The Israelites knew in their law several methods of capital punishment, which were: stoning,[1] burning to death,[2] strangling,[3] slaying by the sword,[4] and "hanging on the wood."[5] The latter was more dreaded by the Jews than any other death on account of the curse which was attached to it in Deuteronomy (xxi. 20–23), where we read:

> "If a man have committed a sin worthy of death, and he be to be put to death, and thou hang him on a tree: his body shall not remain all night upon the tree but thou shalt in any wise bury him that day; for he that is hanged is accursed of God; that thy land be not defiled, which the Lord thy God giveth thee for an inheritance."

The Israelites were surrounded by nations which worshipped solar deities and practised the cruel rites connected therewith. They were still, as we learned in a former article, under the awe of crucifixion as a religious rite, in which guilty persons and also innocent victims were offered to God for an atonement or for the fulfilment of a desire. It is but natural that for this very reason the lawgivers of Israel placed a special check upon that kind of capital punishment which was still practised as a human sacrifice by their neighbors; and it was but natural that that which was a sacred offering to a pagan deity became accursed before Yahveh. Crucifixion was not abolished but limited, that the land be not defiled. It is this passage that has proved the most objectionable stumbling-block with orthodox Jews of all times to the acceptance of Jesus the Crucified as the Messiah.

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[1] Deut. xxi. 21. Lev. xx. 2, 27.

[2] Gen. xiii. 15. Lev. xx. 14, and xxi. 9.

[3] Ex. xxi. 14–17. It is assumed that "putting to death" means strangulation.

[4] Deut. xiii. 15.

[5] Deut. xxi. 22–23. Translated in Christian versions "hanging on the tree."

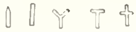
Criminals were frequently hung up on a cross (i. e., they were exposed on a tree or a pole after their death as a *post mortem* disgrace), and the passage in Deuteronomy (xxi. 22–23) is sometimes interpreted in this sense, which, if true, would have limited in Palestine the exposure of the dead body to a few hours or at most one day.

As to the form of the cross of Christ we have no definite information whatever. The cross is called in the New Testament σταυρός (i. e., rood, stake, or pole) and ξύλον (i. e., wood).[1] The latter is apparently a Hebraism, being a literal translation of עֵץ.

THE SHAPE OF CHRIST'S CROSS.

Judging from the report that a short hyssop stalk[2] was sufficient to reach up a sponge filled with vinegar to the crucified Jesus, the cross of Calvary cannot have been high. The soldiers, it appears, broke the legs of the two thieves and pierced the side of Jesus with a spear while their bodies were still hanging on the cross.

Christ was crucified by the Romans and according to Roman fashion, but the Roman mode of crucifixion varied and was apparently left to the executioner's pleasure who devised all kinds of horrible tortures for his victims. Sometimes criminals were simply tied upon a dry tree or a pole; sometimes they were placed across a sharpened stake (σκόλοψ)[3], which would gradually pierce and tear the vital organs of the body; sometimes the delinquent was seated on a pointed pole which then from below was forced into the body; sometimes the condemned were hung up with extended arms, sometimes with their heads downwards. If natural trees were used, the branches offered good points of attachment, and the hangman selected with preference a bifurcated trunk which constitutes the Y-shaped cross. Whenever such a tree was not at hand, a transom or cross-beam (called *patibulum*) was nailed to a pole. This yielded a figure of which we commonly think when Christians of later generations speak of a cross.

Thus we have the following forms of the cross: .

Christian artists of later centuries have upon the whole adopted the Latin form of the cross, but not to the exclusion of the others, almost all of which are represented in various illustrations of the crucifixion.

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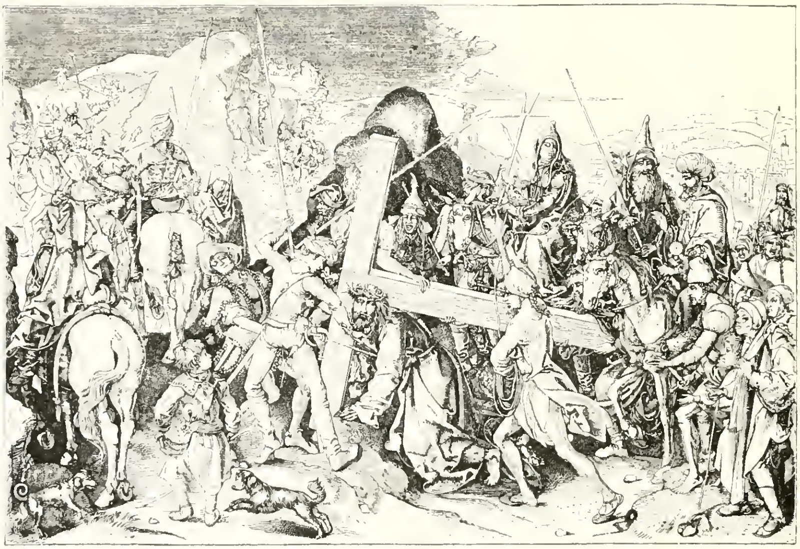
[1] For instance, Acts v. 30. John xix. 29.

[2] See also 1 Cor. i, 23. Gal. v. 11, vi. 12.

[3] This was an Assyrian mode of execution. See Layard, Nin., p. 379, and Fig. 58. Compare Bonomi, Nin., p. 276, and Fig. 162.

Before crucifixion the delinquent was stripped of all his clothes which became the property of his executioners. The loin-cloth which for reasons of propriety always appears in Christian crucifixes, has no foundation in history, and it is not probable that the rude Roman soldier ever made an exception to the rule. The legend that Mary, the mother of Christ, used her veil as a loin-cloth is of a late origin.



The Tau Cross in Martin Schön's Picture "Christ on the Road to Calvary." XV. Century. (After L. Veuillot.)

The transom of the cross (*patibulum*) and sometimes the whole cross, had to be carried by the delinquent himself to the place of execution.[1] In addition a tablet was hung round his neck on which the crime was written for which he was condemned. This tablet was nailed to the cross over the head of the sentenced person.

The cross with *patibulum* and tablet renders the figure of a vertical pole crossed by two smaller horizontal lines, thus ‡.

Christian illustrations represent Christ as bearing the whole cross, while the two rogues carry only their cross-beams. The idea that lies at the bottom of this conception seems to be that Christ's sentence had been spoken on the same morning and no preparation for his execution had been made. The tablet with the inscription of the crime for which the condemned was executed is specially mentioned in the Gospels, and Pilate, not without a touch of irony toward the Jewish authorities that clamored for the execution of the Galilean prophet, wrote on it in three languages: "Jesus the Nazaree, King of the Jews."

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[1] Plautus: "Patibulum ferat per urbem deinde affigatur cruci."

As it is difficult to keep a body in position on a cross, the delinquent was seated, as on a saddle, upon a projecting cleat called in Latin *sedile*, which, however, was not intended for an alleviation of his suffering, but simply as a convenience for the executioners.

Illustrations of the cross with tablet and cleat are sometimes made in the Russian Church thus ⳨.

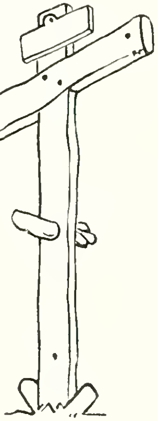
Justinus Martyr, who is apparently well informed about the details of crucifixions, mentions the seating cleat (*sedile* or πῆγμα) on which Jesus was placed, like one sitting on horseback, and he compares it to a projecting horn.[1]

Irenæus, when speaking of the mystic value of the number five, having mentioned the five-lettered words saviour (σωτήρ), father (πατήρ), love (ἀγάπη), etc., says (*Adv. her.*, II., 24, 4):

> "The very form of the cross, too, has five extremities, two in length, two in breadth, and one in the middle on which the person is placed who is fixed by nails."

Tertullian (*Ad nat.*, I., 12), when defending the Christians against the accusation that they were worshippers of the cross, says:

> "An entire cross is attributed to us; viz., with its transverse beam (*antenna*) and with that projecting seat."[3]



THE CROSS OF CALVARY ACCORDING TO STOCKBAUER.[2]

The seating-cleat is indicated in ancient symbols,[4] but the thought of it has been dropped entirely by later Christian writers and also by artists, obviously for æsthetical reasons, and has been supplanted (although not before the seventh century) by a foot-rest (*suppedaneum lignum*, ὑποπόδιον), which, however, has no justification in history or archæology.[1]

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[1] καὶ τὸ ἐν τῷ μέσῳ πηγνύμενον ὡς κέρας καὶ αὐτὸ ἐξέχον ἐστίν, ἐφ' ᾧ ἐποχοῦνται οἱσταυρούμενοι.

[2] *Kunstgeschichte des Kreuzes*, p. 37. Confer Gretses *De Cruce*, lib. I., c. 3.

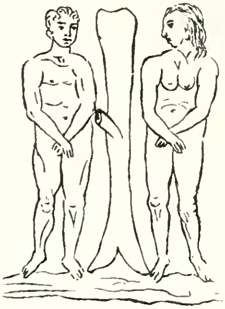
[3] "Sed nobis tota crux imputatur, cum antenna scilicet et cum illo sedilis excessu."—The word *antenna* originally means a sail-yard.

[4] Münter, *Sinnbilder und Kunstvorstellungen der alten Christen*, Vol. II., illustration 28. Reproduced from Bosio, p. 411.

ST. PAUL'S CONCEPTION OF THE CROSS.

Christianity is the religion of the cross and Paul is the preacher of the Gospel of the cross.

Paul is thoroughly historical, and his Epistles (with few exceptions) are accepted by the most scrupulous and infidel critics as genuine. Even the Acts of Paul and Thekla, formerly regarded as spurious, turns out to be, at least in its original form, one of the earliest Christian books, containing correct local coloring and a great deal of reliable contemporary information.



THE CROSS WITH THE CLEAT AS THE TREE OF LIFE BETWEEN ADAM AND EVE.

The history of this interesting document and its later additions which placed it under the suspicion of critics is quite instructive.[2] The accretions are evidences of a gradual growth of the eagerness to tell stories of miracles in glorification of martyrs. The more Christianity spread the more did it reach the masses of the people, and thus the influence of the uncultured increases in proportion to its external success.

The author of the Acts of Paul and Thekla describes the personality of Paul in these words:

> "A man of middle size, and his hair was scanty, and his legs were a little crooked, his knees were projecting (*or* far apart); and he had large eyes, and his eyebrows met, and his nose was somewhat long; and he was full of grace and mercy; at one time he seemed like a man at another he seemed like an angel."

When Paul, then the Pharisee Saul and a persecutor of Christians, witnessed the heroism of Stephen, when he heard him say, "Behold, I see the heavens open and the Son of God standing on the right side of God," when he saw him die unflinchingly, he began dimly to feel the significance of a martyr's death. Though Stephen died as a criminal, he ended his life happily and with a prayer for his persecutors on his lips. No doubt that he died with the assurance of inheriting the bliss of the world to come. Being of a delicate constitution, the pangs of conscience which naturally rose in Saul and which he suppressed for a while, made themselves felt in spite of himself and he succumbed at last to a severe attack of epilepsy while travelling on the road to Damascus. Seeing a flash of light, he fell to the ground and heard a voice speaking in Hebrew, "Saul! Saul! Why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks!" When he asked who it was, the voice continued, "I am Jesus whom thou persecutest."[1]

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[1] See Stockbauer, *Kunstgeschichte*, pp. 37-39; and Dr. O. Zöckler, *Das Kreuz Christi*, pp. 437-439.

[2] For further details as to the genuineness of the Acts of Paul and Thekla, see Conybeare's *Monuments of Early Christianity*, pp. 49-60.

This event is the turning-point in Saul's life. Henceforth Saul, who later on called himself Paul, became a Christian, who gloried in the cross of Christ.

The story is psychologically so probable that with all the documentary evidence of Paul's Epistles,[2] we have good reason to accept it in all of its main features as historical, and need not be concerned about the contradictions that have been pointed out in the details of the reports of the event.

Paul's experiences in prosecuting the Christians taught him the lesson of Golgotha, and keen as he was to comprehend truths by contrasts, he recognised at once a transcendent glory in the ignominy of the cross. The present world is "perishable;" it is a life of "the body of death." But "the perishable" implies "the imperishable," and the present life a life to come. If we die with Christ on the cross we shall be resurrected with him.

The resurrection of Jesus is to him a fact, for the vision on the road to Damascus is taken as the real Jesus, and while from the standpoint of a modern alienist the identification of both in the sense in which Paul understood it cannot be conceded, we would not hesitate to say that there is a truth at the bottom of Paul's belief. When a man dies his soul is not annihilated; it continues as a living factor in the minds of the people. His words and the example of his deeds live on, and the deeds of a man constitute a living presence among the people whom he impressed, which is his spiritual self.

It happens that a dead enemy may be more powerful than he ever was during his life. Brutus was victorious in battle and yet he committed suicide in despair of success because he was haunted by the ghost of Cæsar. Cæsar was not dead to his murderer. The hangman can slay the bodies of innovators, but not their ideals: he cannot dispatch their souls. Spirit cannot be quenched. A cause will thrive with the greater power the more its representatives are made martyrs. Thus we would not hesitate in this sense to say that it was the soul of Jesus that spoke to Paul on the road to Damascus.

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[1] Acts ix. 3; xxii. 6; xxvi. 13, 14.

[2] 1 Cor. xv. 9; Gal. i. 13; Phil. iii. 6; 1 Tim. i. 13.

On the strength of his vision on the road to Damascus, Paul regarded himself as an apostle and prides himself on having received the Gospel from Christ directly. For, says he:

> "I neither received it (the Gospel) of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Christ."

When Christ died the death of a criminal the little Nazarene congregation was overwhelmed with fear and grief at the sad fate of their leader. The belief that he was still alive, that he had been seen in various places in Jerusalem and in Galilee, did not take away the curse pronounced on him that hung on the tree.[1] It was the Pharisee of Tarsus who saw the blessing of the curse and the power of salvation in him who bears the punishment of sin.

If the Pharisee Saul had been a child of our century, he would at once have proceeded to Jerusalem to learn as much as possible about Jesus of Nazareth from the Apostles who had seen him face to face and were familiar with his doctrines. Saul does nothing of the kind; on the contrary, he avoids contact with the Apostles and retires into Arabia; and not until he had become clear himself about his conception of the Gospel did he go up to Jerusalem. Yet even then he limited his exchange of thought to the very pillars of the Church, Peter and James, the Lord's brother. St. Paul says:

> "For ye have heard of my conversion in time past in the Jews' religion, how that beyond measure I persecuted the Church of God, and wasted it:
>
> "And profited in the Jews' religion above many my equals in mine own nation, being more exceedingly zealous of the traditions of my fathers.
>
> "But when it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace,
>
> "To reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the heathen; immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood:
>
> "Neither went I up to Jerusalem to them which were apostles before me: but I went into Arabia, and returned again unto Damascus.
>
> "Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days.
>
> "But other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother."

The difference of doctrine was considerable, for St. Paul regarded the communism of the Nazarenes and their strict observance of the law as unessential; nevertheless Peter found no objection to the new Apostle so long as he promised not to create a disturbance in his own little flock. The Apostles at Jerusalem recognised the success of St. Paul in the prosperous towns of the

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[1] Deut. xxi. 23.

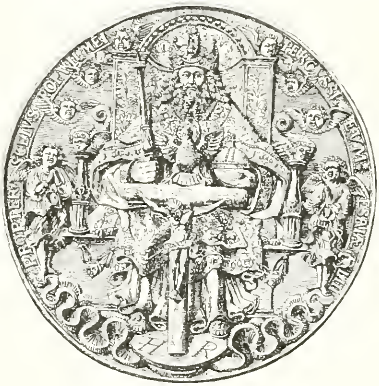
Gentiles, whose sympathy appeared in the very substantial form of pecuniary contributions, which were quite welcome to the impoverished communistic society at Jerusalem. St. Paul says:

> "When James, Cephas, and John, who seemed to be pillars, perceived the grace that was given unto me, they gave to me and Barnabas the right hand of fellowship; that we should go unto the heathen, and they unto the circumcision.
>
> "Only they would that we should remember the poor."

While Jewish Christianity proved unacceptable to the world, the Gentile Church spread and increased; and it was Paul's gospel of the cross that conquered the world for Christ. Paul says:

> "But God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world."

The power of the Gospel of the cross consists in the recognition of the truth that this world is a world of suffering, and that only by sacrifice for a higher purpose than self can man attain peace and solace. Many details of Paul's doctrines, his gnostic notions of the spiritual body and the arrangements as to the bodily resurrection, his prophecy of the coming of the day of the Lord during his own lifetime, and the transfiguration of the bodies of those who will be left, were at the time of great importance but faded from sight at the non-fulfilment of the prediction, leaving in the foreground and even increasing the great burden of his message of the Christ, crucified and therefore glorified.



The Tau Cross on the Trinity Dollar.[1]

It is noteworthy that Paul says nothing whatever concerning the form of the cross of Christ, whether it must be regarded as a simple pole, or as two intersecting beams, as a T, or as being of any other shape. The shape of the cross is indifferent. To Paul the cross means the ignominious and painful death of Christ by which he set us an example; and this conception of the cross has dominated the whole history of the Church, although there was no one of his successors who was his equal in spiritual comprehension and earnestness. On the contrary, there is a constant falling off, which finally resulted in the crudest idolatry and the revival of pagan superstitions.

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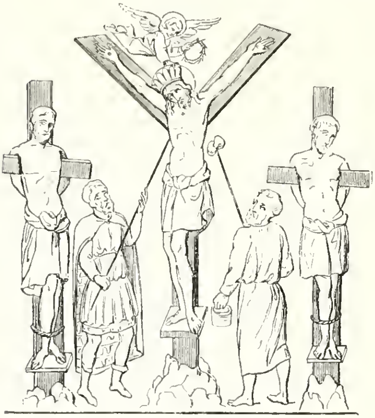
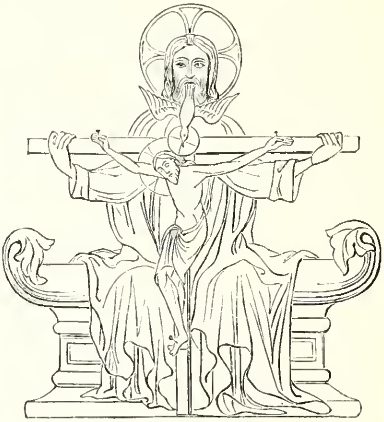
[1] The original, which is preserved in the Museum of the Royal Mint at Berlin, is cast in silver; some of the figures being soldered on and the details having been finished with the chisel. Its size is more than four times the size of our illustration. The inscription reads "*Propter scelus populi mei percussi eum esaiae LIII.*" It was made in 1544 on the order of Maurice, Duke of Saxony, by Hans Reinhard (See O. Henne am Rhyn *Kultur Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, p. 112).

THE EARLY CHRISTIANS.

St. Paul's conception of the cross is spiritual; it is the significance of Christ's death and nothing besides, but the Church-fathers descant upon the occult meaning of all kinds of forms of crosses, the simple pole, the tree, the wood, the three-armed cross as a Y and as a T, the four-armed cross (equilateral as well as with a prolonged foot), the slanting cross, and finally the five-armed cross, which is done frequently in one and the same sentence, as though the cross of Christ might have possessed all these shapes at once. The Church-fathers at any rate rejected no analogy that could possibly be found in nature and tried all methods that could in any way indicate the mysterious powers of the cross.



THE Y CROSS.[1]



THE T CROSS IN A PICTURE OF THE TRINITY.[2]

The cross as the raw wood of a tree is called the tree of life and becomes thus related to the ancient idea of a world-tree, which plays an important part in various mythologies, especially as the Teutonic Ygdrasil and the Chaldean cosmic tree, an echo of which still vibrates through the words of the prophet Ezekiel.[1]

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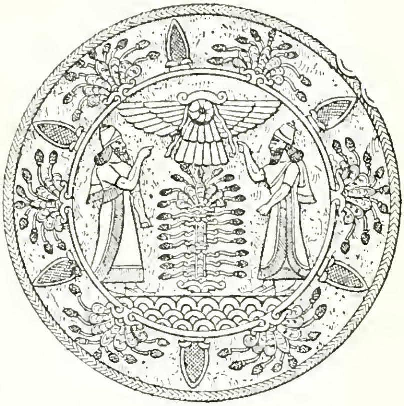
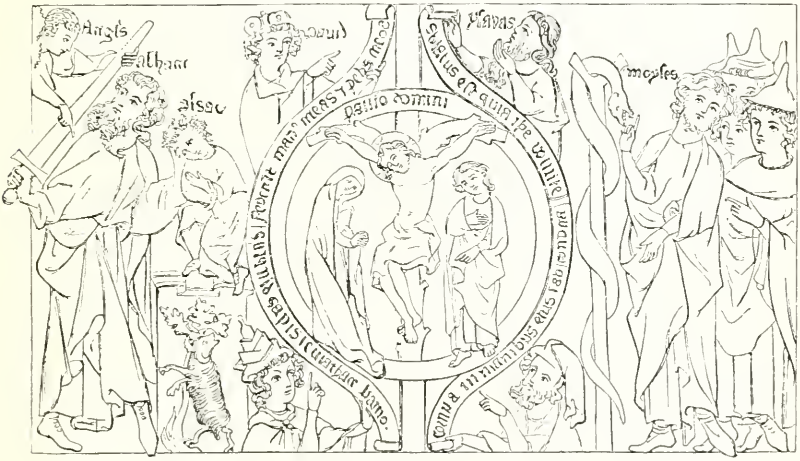
[1] From D'Agincourt, plate CI. Fresco in the chapel of St. Silvestro near the church of the Quattro Incoronati at Rome. Painted probably in 1348. See *The History of our Lord*, by Mrs. Jameson and Lady Eastlake, p. 175.

[2] Popularly known as the Italian Trinity and frequently painted in this style between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries. See *The History of our Lord*, by Mrs. Jameson and Lady Eastlake, p. 351.

One thing is sure, that from the traditions transmitted by the Church-fathers there is no way of settling the question of what shape Christ's cross might have been. The first centuries seem upon the whole to favor the T cross, while since the age of Constantine the four-armed cross begins to be more and more accepted. While the Greek Church adopted the erect equilateral cross (+), the Latin Church finally accepted the high standing four-armed cross (†) as the symbol of the Christian faith.


CHALDÆAN TREE OF LIFE.

Professor Zöckler, summing up all that can be said in favor of the theory that Christ's cross had the shape of a T, says:



THE PASSION OF CHRIST ON THE CROSS AS A TREE WITH BRANCHES.
Mediæval Bible Illustration.

"In favor of the three-armed form of the cross is the typical cabalistic explanation of the number-value of the letter 'T,' which is 300 among the Church-fathers. Barnabas (*Epistles*, IX) mentions the number of the servants of Abraham as being three hundred and eighteen, and expresses them by the letters I. H. T. I=10 H=8, and T=300. Barnabas says that the number 318 (= *ιητ* or Ιησους, T)

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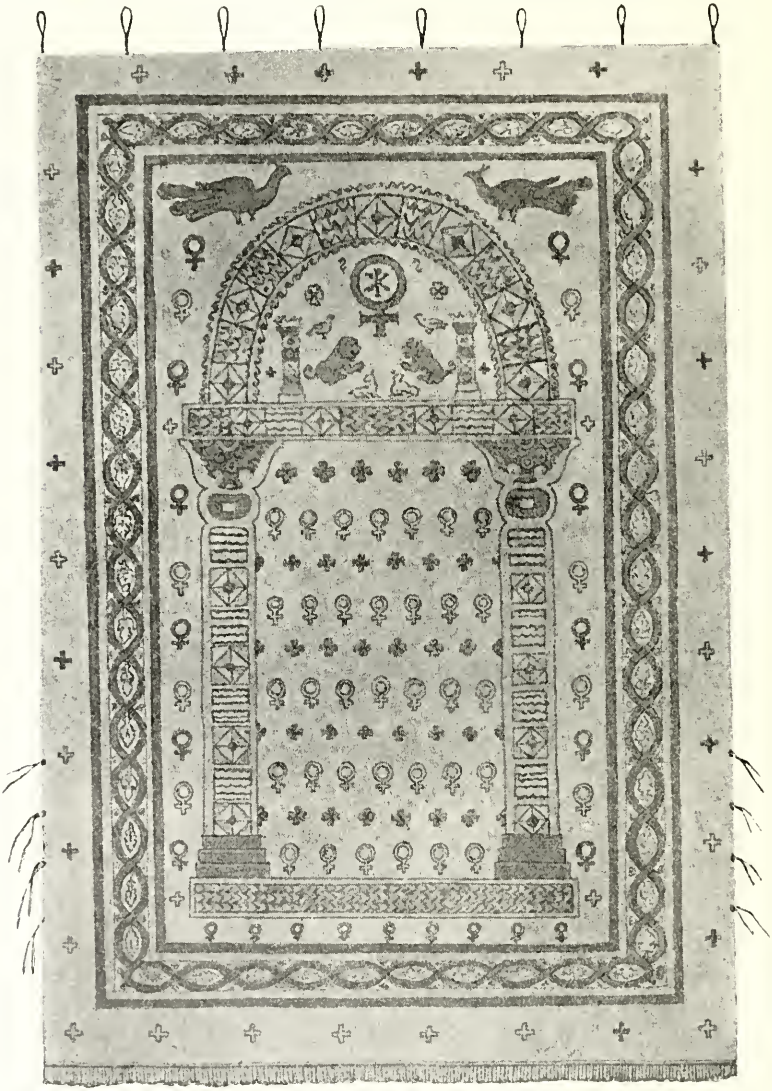
[1] In Chapter xxxi. the prophet compares the Assyrian to the world-tree, which is described in mythological terms so as to leave no doubt that he follows Assyriological prototypes.



Curtain of an Early Christian Church of Egypt. (Restored by Swoboda.)[1]

is a prophecy on the cross of Jesus. In a similar sense, Clement of Alexandria (Strom., VI., 4–11), Ambrosias (Defide Ad Grat., I., 3), St. Augustine (Serm., 108

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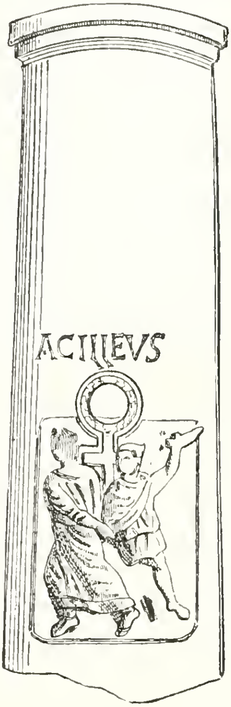
[1] Reproduced from Franz Xaver Kraus, *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, I., p. 532.

De Temp), Paulinas (*Epistles*, XXIV., 23) repeat the same explanation, and also allude to the three hundred warriors of Gideon, the conqueror of the Midianites as well as to the three hundred years of the saving ark of Noah (Genesis, vi. 15) Finally, Tertullian (Adv. Marc , III., 22), Origen (Hom. in Ezech., IX., 4).

The Egyptian cross, the so-called key of life, served the Christians of Egypt for a long time as the symbol of Christianity, and was used for a long time promiscuously with other forms of the cross, among which the equilateral Greek cross seems to have been most conspicuous. Some Egyptian representations of the crucifixion indicate the transition from the pagan to the Christian interpretation of this ancient symbol, the handle of the key of life being changed into the head of Christ while the transom bears his outstretched arms. The execution of these pictures is very crude but (as Kraus says, *l. l.* p. 537) highly interesting to the historian of Christian iconography. They illustrate the rule that ancient symbols are preserved even when radical changes set and become adapted by acquiring a new meaning.

The Egyptian key of life has also been carried to Italy probably through the influence of Egyptian Christians. We find it for instance on a ciborium-column in S. Petronilla (discovered in 1875) in a bas-relief representing the martyrdom of St. Achilleus. Here the form of the Egyptian cross is so changed as to give to the handle the appearance of a wreath, suggesting the interpretation of a crown of life which will be the reward of the Christian martyrs who take the cross of their master upon themselves.



The Egyptian Cross on the Martyrdom of St. Achilleus.[1] Ciborium Column in S. Petronilla (Fourth Century)

Whether or not the Egyptian key of life plays a part in the formation of the Chrisma, the monogram of Christ (☧) which in some of its oldest forms frequently exhibits the shape of a standing cross (thus ⳨), remains an open question which we hope to discuss in a special article.

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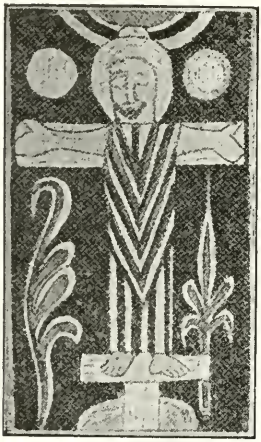
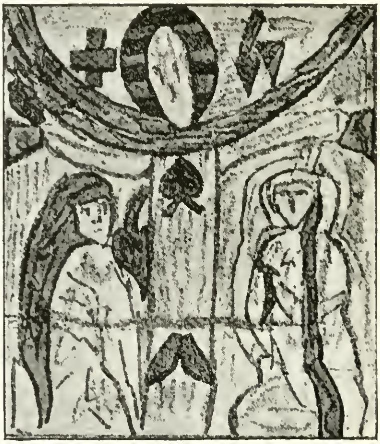
[1] Fr. X. Kraus. *Geschichte der christlichen Kunst*, I., p. 198.

In spite of the frequent references of Church-fathers to the tau-form, the four-armed cross became more and more the typical symbol of Christianity, partly because people began to believe that this was the shape of Christ's cross, partly because the four-armed cross was more pleasing to the eye and appeared more complete partly perhaps because it was more cosmopolitan, being more frequently met with in nature and admitted of more interpretations.



THE CRUCIFIXION ACCORDING TO THE EARLY CHRISTIANS OF EGYPT.[1]



THE EGYPTIAN KEY OF LIFE CHANGES INTO A CHRISTIAN CROSS.[1]

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[1] Forrer, *Die frühchristlichen Alterthümer von Achmim-Panopolis.*

ITALIAN ANARCHISM.

BY PROF. G. M. FIAMINGO.

WE might search in vain perhaps for a better definition of anarchism than that just given by a little girl twelve years old. She is the child of one of the men taken a few weeks ago at Alexandria in Egypt, as an accomplice in the plot prepared against the German Emperor's life. Asked by a person who did not know the facts, what her father was doing abroad, the little girl replied:

"He is working for Anarchy."

"But do you know, little one, what Anarchy means?"

"O yes, it means hating God, the Government and the rich!" It is obvious to a philosophic student of life that the anarchism defined in such terms by its own apostles must be regarded as a purely pathological phenomenon, in lieu of being treated as a simple strange ideal or as a paradoxical social organism. Anarchism rebels against each and every form of authority. Now ere anarchism was heard of there already existed in Italy another social institution which has this same character, and that was brigandage. Carefully scrutinised to their fundamentals, anarchism and brigandage are both the violent expression of certain individual passions, of inherent social tendencies: anarchism, be it clearly understood, as it manifests itself in Italy, where it rarely, almost never, assumes the character of scientific anarchism that can boast in other lands distinguished adherents such as Prince Krapotkin and Elisée Reclus. In Italy anarchists are almost wholly to be sought among the most ill-informed of the populace. They are guided by the spirit animating the proverb that has long been very popular in Southern Italy and which runs: "I would rather be a bull for two years than an ox for a hundred!" In this popular saying we behold in brief a condensation of the philosophy of life that results in brigandage or anarchy as the case may be, or as the social fashion runs. There was a time, until quite recently, when this brigandage, traditional and almost historic in Italy, presented certain features that could be invested with a cloak of heroism and romance, and brought into existence certain types that assumed in the popular mind, epic and legendary characters, such as the noted chieftains Tiburzi, Fioravanti, Menichino etc., who were almost mourned when captured or killed. By an easy transition, as the spiritual heirs of this movement, anarchy took birth, and under the burning sun of the South were hatched, as by magic, such creatures as Caserio, Angiolillo, Acciarito, Luccheni and others. Such anarchists would some thirty years ago have been dubbed brigands, and in lieu of over-running Europe in search of sovereigns to kill, would have retired into the thick tangles of the woods that crown the mountains of the Basilicata or the Romagna, organising a band of ruffians whom they would lead on to attack and plunder the postal diligence or even some helpless hamlet.

In short, in anarchism, as it exists in Italy, we are face to face with an interesting social phenomenon, that enables us to study the effects of the nineteenth century civilisation upon a secular Italian institution, for as such brigandage must be regarded. The result is a transmutation into anarchism. The outlaw, proud, and of boundless audacity, fiercely individualist, unyielding, and consenting to no matter what form of government except his own, found some pretext, no matter what—a vendetta to carry out, an unhappy love affair, a pretended persecution—in order to betake himself to the woods; and amid the hills, this voluntary exile from society established his reign. No one better than these Italian brigands has reduced to their utmost limits of absurdity, certain modern individualistic doctrines, perversions of the doctrines of Frederick Nietzsche. Now contemporary Italian anarchism is equally unconscious. Almost instinctively, by an imperious excessive expansion of their own individuality, the followers of anarchism have become the ignorant apostles of a misconceived version of the German philosopher's theories.

For their apostolatry cannot be called intelligent, since Caserio, Angiolillo, Lega, Acciarito, Luccheni, and all the rest of these notorious assassins, are absolutely deficient in education, and barely able to read and write their native tongue. Further, until a few weeks ago, not a single one of Nietzsche's works had been translated into Italian, and even educated readers took their views of him at second, third, and fourth hand, resulting in strange misconstructions of his meanings. Yet, so much are the ideas of nations intertwined and mutually affected in these latter days of quick communication and rapid spread of news, that even the most ill-educated and abject are affected by the spirit of the times to such a degree that it is possible that a violent revolutionary movement should unconciously be formed in Italy, making a species of disrespectable vanguard to an intelligent movement in favour of unrestricted individuality. Its adherents are much more excessive in their doctrines than those who in France are called the "*libertaires*," for the Italian individualists look to Max Stirner and Nietzsche as their popes, both of which thinkers,—and this fact cannot be too much insisted upon,—they neither know at first hand nor grasp in their real significance. The leading and much gifted contemporary Italian novelist, Gabriele d'Annunzio, has made himself the mouthpiece of theories à la Nietzsche, but a Nietzsche again so ill understood that D'Annunzio's works might take rank as a perverted caricature of the German philosopher's views.

In D'Annunzio's footsteps follow a long line of romance writers and literary men who ape his style and repeat his crude, ill-digested social views. A more serious personality, a real thinker, is the greatest living Italian poet Giusuè Carducci. He too is an individualist, and one of so pronounced a type that he almost leaves the German Nietzsche behind, and since Carducci is Nietzsche's contemporary in age, he is therefore no follower, but has evolved his own individualism out of his inner consciousness. Carducci's influence too, has been far-reaching over the whole younger generation of students and readers, making them all preachers of the gospel of individualism, a task in which they have been further aided by the Italian sociologists and economists.

It is in this wise that the garden of Europe endeavors to heal the truly deep and terrible evils that have been inflicted upon it by an excessive leaning toward the perverse German philosophic theories of Karl Marx and his followers, i e., by the method of reverting to another German thinker who stands at the opposite pole of their first leader. Francesco Ferrara, a leading spirit among living Italian political economists, the recognised worthy peer of Frederick Bastiat, as early as 1870 charged Italian University professors with Germanising and corrupting Italian youth. And in very truth, thanks to the philosophic and economic theories of government dear to Prince Bismarck, Italy has plunged herself into a bottomless pit of State-socialism, which has ruined the peninsula and is the real cause of its present sufferings. The functions assumed by the State and the local public institutions to the detriment of liberty and individuality, have been constantly increasing, until in this year of 1898 the public expenses of the peninsula amount to twenty-four hundred million (2,400,000,000) francs while the most trustworthy Italian political economists, such as Signor Bodio, the Director General of the office of State Statistics, Professor Pantaleone, Signor Stringher, calculate the average public riches produced annually in Italy at no more than five milliards (5,000,000,000) of francs. Thus the exigencies of the Government in Italy absorb every year the half of that which is produced by its 32,000,000 inhabitants.

In no European country are the ideas of Karl Marx and Ferdinand Lasalle so much to the fore as in Italy, nowhere have their socialistic programmes been so much put into practice. And now, just as the theorists had foreseen, the socialistic and social organisation gives as its immediate result the most violent anarchistic reaction. The most intelligent section of Italian youth has become the standard bearer of the most uncompromising individualist theories, and has adopted as its gospel Frederick Nietzsche's "*Also sprach Zarathustra*" though it can rarely read this book in its original tongue and has to approach it by a French translation. And the cause for this must be sought in nothing more nor less than an instinctive need to react against that State socialism that out of Germany has invaded Italy devastating its length and breadth. As a recoil from this terrible State socialism, that suffocates all individual liberty of action, just as by excessive taxation it has sterilized every economic activity, Gabriele d'Annunzio writes his novels and Giosué Carducci makes his verses, and those men who have intelligence and know how to write or speak imitate their example. But neither Caserio nor Angiolillo nor Lega nor Luccheni knows how to write or speak, so instead, by means of a stiletto or a pistol, they give violent and often unconscious expression to the popular protest against the cruel ills under which Italy groans.

It must not however be inferred for a moment that there exists a moral solidarity between those who write books calculated to react against the corrupt and vexing State-socialism that obtains in modern Italy and those who think they can remedy the evil by committing execrable political crimes more to be deplored even than those ills they hope to heal. Yet it is nevertheless true that the causes that induce these two methods of expression are absolutely identical, causes that have made Frederick Nietzsche to be regarded as an almost popular philosopher in latter day Italy and that have brought about for the fair peninsula, a sad supremacy in anarchist crime.

Nevertheless, anarchist criminality, like the Nietzschian philosophy, is the last and *fin de siècle* manifestation of phenomena that are not new in Italy, for the mal-government of this land is of long standing. An accurate record of the political crimes committed in Europe in this century places their figure at about one-hundred and fifty in number. Of these purely political crimes more than a third go to the account of Italy alone. Now it is manifest that so many assassins are not born in Italy for the same reason that causes the olive and the orange to flourish on its soil. Italy has had so many assassins because already in 1860 there existed a Government which Mr. Gladstone classified as standing below the Turkish in infamy and justly stigmatised as the "negation of God." In those days, for such as had criminal tendencies, there was not lacking the occasion to become a political criminal, while the intelligent and cultured classes professed liberal doctrines, or formed themselves into Republican or Federalist factions.

All social movements in Italy instantly transform themselves into political factions, into protests and oppositions to the Government, which for centuries had been tyrannous. The aim of the movement in favor of national unity was the supression of little states. It is noteworthy that the socialism of Karl Marx never found followers in Italy; while ever since 1860 the socialistic revolutionary views of Michel Bakounin spread the length and breadth of the peninsula, and this no doubt, because these doctrines enjoined the overthrow of the new *régime* which had instantly proved that it was of as tyrannous a complexion as that which it had superseded. To throw off the yoke of governmental omnipotence and individual slavery is equally the goal steered for by all the other Italian political parties, be they republican, democratic, federalist or what not.

Hence the anarchism personified by beings like Caserio or Luccheni represents that which forty years ago was simply called political crime, that is, it is the exaggerated expression of a large section of society who hold very opposed political and social views but are all agreed in severely condemning the action of the Italian Government that opposes every form of individual liberty and paralyses all the activity of the country by forcing everything under a bureaucracy. Political as well as anarchistic crimes are not possible in an essentially liberal government like that of England. In Italy, on the other hand, they are the spontaneous and necessary product of the reactionary and tyrannical *régime* that pertains in the peninsula. If the saying of Adolphe Quetelet be paradoxical that it is society which puts the knife into the assassin's hand, it is surely not going beyond limits to incriminate the Italian Government as the fomenter of anarchist crime.

Indeed it would be hard to find in Italy a single person who does not hate and despise in words the action of the Government. Taxes have reached such an excessive limit, and are exacted in such a vexatious way, that they almost assume the character of theft. Justice is a myth. Magistrates can be bought and sold with the greatest facility and for a low price. Public security is null and the most treacherous crimes can be committed in the very centres of the largest cities. All governmental action is shamelessly corrupt and partial. Hence the populace detests their rulers and their actions as profoundly as does the *bourgeoisie* and if the present governmental *régime* is not upset, it is due solely and only to the force of social inertia, which is great and traditional in Italy. Now the hatred of the Italian populace against its tyrannous government is increased whenever it is able to draw comparisons. It is not an accidental fact that Caserio, Angiolillo, Lega, Luccheni and the rest have been wandering through Europe for a while, residing, above all in the free Swiss Republic, since they could not return to Italy. Indeed, the Italian laws concerning anarchy are so severe that it might almost be asserted that no Italian anarchist can be found in the peninsula. The Code punishes anarchy by means of the so-called *domicilio coatto* (forced residence) that is by relegating all persons known to hold these views to rocks in the Ionian Sea or to a penitentiary at Assab in Africa, where the malarious climate takes care that the capital punishment clause, erased since some years from the Italian Statute Book, shall nevertheless come into speedy action.

Now the sole aim of the International Anarchist Conference to which Italy has invited all the Powers has been to restore to Italy its anarchists, scattered over the whole of Europe. Thus in Italy at the end of the nineteenth century there have been rehabilitated those ideas of collective responsibility in crime such as are still held by the Bushmen and the Kaffirs. Solely because Lega, Luccheni and the rest commit horrible crimes, for which they are punished with death, or life-long imprisonment, their punishment is extended to hundreds of persons who up to that moment had given no proof of being animated by murderous desires. And even an assassin in Italy has the benefit of a legal trial. For those condemned to *domicilio* *coatto* on the other hand, there is lacking even the semblance of judicial equanimity. The police in every town draws up a list of these presumed to be anarchists and sends this list to the central committee for the *domicilio coatto*. The individual thus incriminated has no possible means of exculpating himself against this secret denunciation, and one fine day, when he least expects it, he receives a visit from the *carabinière* who will arrest him and send him off to die on some distant shore. This method is closely related to that of the Inquisition of infamous memory. There is only one difficulty that stands in its way and that is the extraordinarily large number of persons whom they could strike. Thus, for example, a secret report presented by a Governmental Inspector of Schools in the province of Trapani in Sicily, affirmed that in the Lyceum of that city, out of eight professors, four were anarchists and of the thirty-two students at least twenty held the same views. Now if the persons in that Lyceum who held subversive views were to be sent to *domicilio coatto* it would have been needful to close the establishment. And this is only an example of many similar cases.

It is thus that Italy hopes to drag into the most deplorable political reaction all those Powers whom it has invited to its anarchist conference. It is needful to note this fact. The blind and misoneist reaction that to day directs the course of the Italian Government, does not spring from the murderous deed committed by Luccheni on the Empress of Austria, but rather from the revolutionary acts that saddened Italy in the May days of 1898. These revolutionary deeds, above all at Milan, were a serious attempt at overthrowing the actual political order. The populace, famishing, and groaning under the most burdensome and excessive tariff on on foreign cereals that exists in all Europe, made a heroic and courageous attempt to shake of their burdens. This cost the lives of two hundred and fifty people and achieved nothing. In that revolution the anarchists practically did not appear. The great mass of the uprising was composed of socialists, republicans and democrats, or simple liberals, all men thoroughly discontented with the present state of things and all animated by the same hatred of the Italian Government, which they regard as the root of their economic misery. The chief leaders of these disorders were all condemned to hard labor for terms varying from twelve to fifteen years, though in some cases it was scarcely possible to establish the precise nature of the responsibility the men had incurred. Indeed the military tribunals themselves had to recognise the lack of a preconceived plot.

Since all these persons attempted the life of the Italian Government and rebelled against constituted authority, in the eyes of the Government they were all anarchists. It is to purge the land of this sect, who are its uncompromising enemies, that it has convened the Roman International Conference. And not the land of Italy only but the neighboring lands, whither Italian political culprits fly for refuge and whence they carry on their political propaganda.

It was to please a friendly nation that England gave its adhesion, in the first instance, to this idea, but on mature consideration and with a better understanding of the facts England has not participated. In any case, every clear-sighted politician knows that no practical result can spring from such a conference. Nor is the proposal to legislate internationally against anarchy new, but one that has already failed in several instances. The first project saw the light and then passed into the darkness of State archives at the initiative of Count Benst, Minister of Foreign Affairs for Austria-Hungary. Since thirty years the prospectus slumbers among the portfolios of the various Embassies and Ministers. Then followed a similar project elaborated by the Spanish Government, and after a Russian attempt at the same thing, the work of Gortschakoff. Even Prince Bismarck's proposition met with the same scant favor, elaborated after the great attempt made at Niederwald to blow up the German Emperor and the Princes.

The main difficulty in averting anarchistic attempts springs from the fact that anarchists, besides committing crime, also commit suicide and it is almost impossible to prevent suicide. The men who committed the recent murders, so fresh in all memories, the slayer of Carnot, the Austrian Empress and Castelar did their deeds for causes not dissimilar from those which animated Emanuel Jobard who stabbed a poor lady sitting next him in a theatre. Emanuel Jobard, interrogated concerning the reasons that pushed him to this crime, stated that he wished to die, but being a good Catholic he felt that he could not commit suicide, hence he had killed the first person that came in his way, certain that he would be condemned and killed in his turn, and yet should find time to repent and make his peace with God before appearing at the Throne. In the same way Caserio, Lega, Luccheni have taken strange roads whereby to become suicides. For each of these men did his deed under conditions that made detection certain and escape absolutely impossible. Nor did they attempt to fly. Angiolillo murdered Castelar in a public bathing establishment at San Juan, and his deed done, stood by to see the result. Caserio struck the President of the French Republic in the most crowded street of Lyons. With the sole exception of the plot hatched against the life of the German Emperor in Alexandria, all the other anarchistic attempts committed by Italians, were the work of isolated individuals.

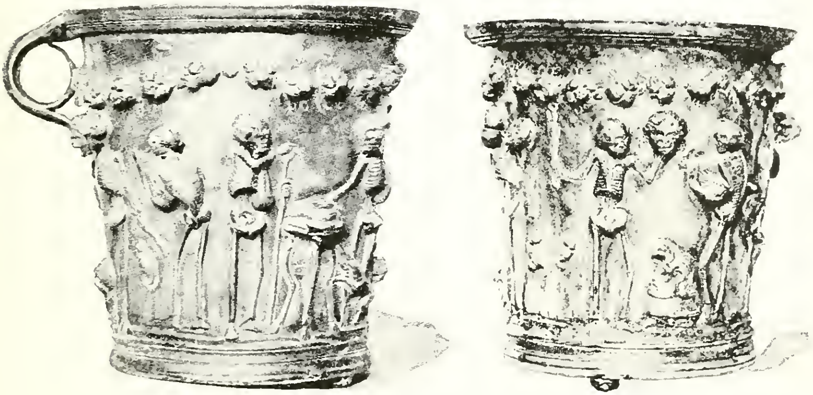
These anarchists who feel impelled to political crime are perfectly lucid as to what they are doing and the certain consequences of their actions. They are fatalists, led by a principle which they express thus; "Ideas must be watered with blood." From their point of view their own death is absolutely required in order to help on the progress of anarchistic theories; that is, liberty, and the general social welfare imposes on them a mission that costs their life. Nor do they quail or falter in the face of this necessity, acting just like the early martyrs to the Christian faith, who suffered torture and death, looking for their crown of glory in Heaven in return for their fidelity to their creed on Earth. The fact is patent that the Italian anarchists of to day, at least in their youth, made excessive professions of religious devotion and showed a leaning to mysticism. Both Caserio and Angiolillo, as boys, served the mass in their parish churches. But growing up in a sceptical age and environment, their souls, which were made to animate the fanatic apostles of a Divine Law, turned away, by a reversion, from all religious sentiment, and took from the social *milieu* in which they found themselves, an ideal, which they substituted for the God of the elder faith. For love of humanity, these mystic beings of unbalanced intellect became enamoured of the thought that to them was confided a murderous mission. Science has demonstrated that the anarchist assassins are nearly all affected with epilepsy, and beings who would not steal a pin nor break a single law, impulsively do the most atrocious deeds that cause the world to shudder with horror. In nearly every case tried, witnesses have testified to the kind-heartedness of the accused.

It is therefore obvious that we are dealing with persons who have been led into crime by the force, overwhelming in the case of their weakened brains, of that hypnotic suggestion which lies concealed in the social ideas they have accepted. And so sure are they of themselves, so tranquil in their conscience, that they do not even quail when led upon the scaffold, nor suffer from that *delirium tremens* which affects all ordinary criminals when they find themselves face to face with certain death. In short, they are all heroes and martyrs in their own eyes. They have a confused idea concerning the great social and economic evils that afflict their land, and, impotent to comprehend the mechanism of social order and of a number of most intricate causes that determine the adversity of a land, these men impersonate the ills they deplore in one or several individuals. To their unbalanced brains, filled with a belief that a Messianic mission has fallen on their shoulders, the thought of killing a human being, who to them personifies all the social evils, becomes an act devoid of any criminal character, and they carry it into effect with the calmest conscience. It is no personal interest that has impelled them to the deed. They only aim after the happiness of society as the early martyrs aimed after the happiness of the world. And just the same causes which gave to the East so vast a concourse of saints and martyrs, and now-a-days of brigands, that is to say, the hot climate which makes the people easily prone to enthusiasms, and fervid illusions, these same causes, augmented to-day by the general economic and social ill-being with which fair Italy is afflicted, give to the land in this century's end the sad primacy in the production of criminal anarchists.

DEATH AND RESURRECTION.[1]

BY THE EDITOR.

LESSING proved, in his ingenious booklet, *How the Ancients Represented Death*, that the Greek artists did not represent death as a skeleton, but as the brother of sleep, the picture being that of a genius with an inverted torch. In the meantime skeletons have been discovered among the relics of ancient art; but Lessing's contention has for that reason not been refuted. On the contrary, it found thereby further corroboration, for the skeleton is not intended to represent death.


GREEK SKELETON DANCE. SILVER CUP FOUND AT BOSCOREALE.

It is well known that in Egypt the figure of a mummy was passed around on festive occasions, with the words, "eat and drink and be merry, for soon you will be like this." The mummy represented to them the transiency of life, and far from inciting the revelers to ponder over the problem of death, it was interpreted in the sense of Omar Khayyam as a lesson to enjoy life, and to drain the cup of pleasure to the lees.

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[1] This article is in the nature of a supplement to the series of articles on "Death in Religious Art" which appeared in *The Open Court*, Vol. XI., No. 12, and Vol. XII., Nos. 1 and 2.

The skeleton among the Greeks had the same significance as the Egyptian mummy at carousals. Far from making men serious, it was intended to dispel all gloomy thoughts. This interpretation appears most plainly in the silver cup found at Boscoreale among other silverware, the pieces of which show a simple and pure taste, but may belong to a later age of classical antiquity.

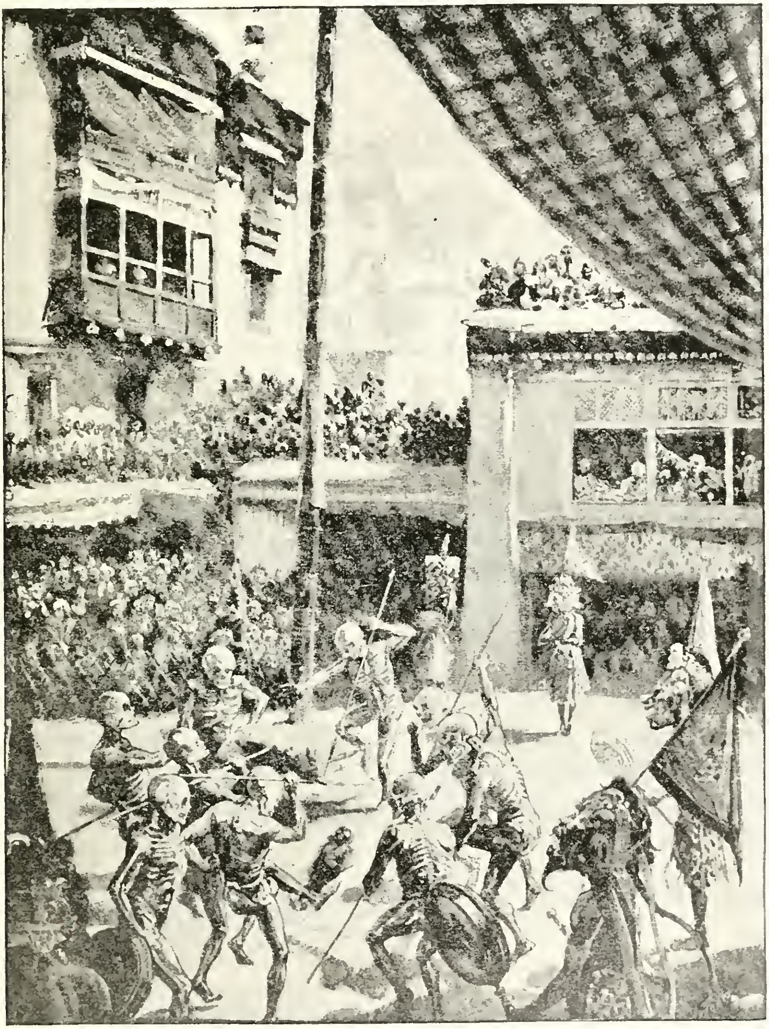
The skeletons represented on this cup are not genii of death, but represent certain sages and poets who have now passed away, and whose present condition would admonish the merry revelers to pluck the rose while it is in bloom, and to enjoy life while it lasts. It is a classical analogue to the Christian Death Dances; in fact, it is a death-dance; but how different is the tendency in the two cases!

There can be no doubt concerning the interpretation of the figures, since the names are inscribed over the skeletons, who represent the philosophers Epicurus and Zeno, and the poets Anacreon, Sophocles, Moschus, Euripides, and Menander.

Very strange performances are the death-dances of the Tibetan mystery-plays, one of which is performed on the last three days of the year and is called "the ceremony of the sacrificial body of the dead year." The effigy of a man made out of dough as life-like as possible and having inside a distinct heart and all the entrails filled with a red fluid, is placed by four cemetery ghouls in sight of the numerous spectators in the center of the yard, and at once bands of skeleton-ghosts rush upon the corpse to attack it. This is the time to display the necromantic power of Lamaism over the evil spirits. Monks and lamas come forth and go through a series of ceremonies, the magic effect of which keeps the fiends away. But a more formidable devil with great horns and possessed of superior powers makes his appearance and takes the field. Whereupon a saint or an incarnation of Buddha himself comes to the rescue, sprays flour on the enemy, makes mystic signs and utters incantations. The skeleton-ghosts and the big fiend grovel before him and implore mercy. He graciously yields to their supplications and allows them to partake of a sacramental meal. While they kneel before him he gives to each one of them a little flour to eat and a drink out of a vessel of holy water.

This concludes the day's performance.

The corpse, however, is not destined to be preserved. On the next day the fight is renewed, and after a cannonade with blessed mustard-seed and other exorcisms, an awful demon appears whose title is "the holy king of religion." He wears the head of a bull, a dagger in the right and the effigy of a human heart in the left hand. This strange figure seems to represent the main deity of the ancient Tibetans, when they were still in the habit of offering human sacrifices, not in effigy but in reality. The demon god has



TIBETAN SKELETON-DANCE.[1]

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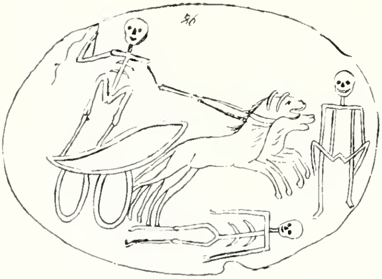
[1] Reproduced from E. F. Knight's *Where Three Empires Meet*. London, 1893.

been converted by Buddha and become a protector of Buddhism. He is now satisfied with human sacrifices in effigy, and the man made of dough, being supposed to be an enemy of Tibet, is surrendered to him. He dances round the figure of the man on the ground, stabs him, binds his feet in a snare, and at last cuts off his limbs, slits open his breast, takes out his bleeding heart, lungs, and other intestines. At this moment a horde of monsters falls upon the remnants of the dismembered dough-man and scatters them in all directions. The pieces are collected again in a silver basin and the Holy King of Religion, eating a morsel, throws them up in the air. This is the signal for the *finale*: the pieces are caught and fought for by the demons, and at last the crowd of spectators joins the general scramble for pieces of dough, representing human flesh, which they either eat or treasure up as talismans.

Similar ceremonies are executed by different sects in different ways, but all of them indicate survivals of practices which antedate the institutions of Buddhism.



King Death. Gnostic Stone.[2]

Another interesting relic of skeleton-representation is preserved by Gori[1] in a crude inscription which no longer belongs to classical antiquity but dates from the first Christian centuries. It is scratched on a magnet stone, and represents Death as a skeleton, according to some such conception as is represented in the Gospel of Nicodemus, where Death in communion with Satan is said to have power over the world, as the great monarch to whom everything that lives is subject. The picture shows Death riding on a chariot drawn by lions; at least this is the interpretation which Bishop Münter[3] gives of the strangely-shaped and ill-drawn animals, which gallop over another skeleton while a third skeleton to the right contemplates the scene.

The illustration is accompanied by unintelligible inscriptions similar in character to the Ephesian letters so frequently found on Abraxas gems. The probability is that this strange device, which unequivocally belongs to the period of Gnostic thought, was used as an emblem by some secret religious society, and represented an idea that was communicated to the members in "mysteries." The absence of any Christian emblem would lead us to conclude that it is pagan-Gnostic.

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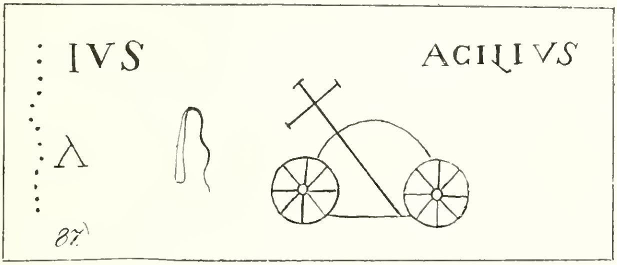
[1] *Gemmae Astriferæ*, II., p. 248.

[2] After Münter's reproduction (I., 86) from Gori's *Gemmæ Astriferæ*, II., p. 248.

[3] *Sinnbilder und Kunstvorstellungen*, p. 110.

Death as a rule is not represented in the Christian catacombs, except perhaps by palms and wreaths, or allegories of rest. Boldetti[1] found in the cemetery of Calixtus and Praetextatus a crudely-wrought slab representing a wagon, the tongue of which is carved in the shape of a cross, and is turned backward, as a sign of its no longer being used. The driver and horses are not seen, but the whip appears by the side of the wagon. The inscription is mutilated beyond recognition, but the name of the man buried, Agilius, is legible.

While death itself is not represented by the early Christians, the thought of death was not foreign to them; and the main thing on which their interest is concentrated is the hope of resurrection.



Death as the End of a Journey.
Tombstone in the cemetery of Calixtus and Praetextatus.[1]

The idea of immortality among the early Christians was not a preservation of the soul, but a resurrection of the body; and this is one reason why they preferred burial to cremation. Prudentius says (*Cathemerinon Hymn*):

> "There will soon come a time when genial warmth shall revisit these bones, and the soul will resume its former tabernacle, animated with living blood. The inert corpses, long since corrupted in the tomb, shall be borne through the ether [*auras*], in company with the souls. For this reason is such care bestowed upon the sepulchre: such honor paid to the motionless limbs—such luxury displayed in funerals. We spread the linen cloth of spotless white—myrrh and frankincense embalm the body. What do these excavated rocks signify? What these fair monuments? What, but that the object intrusted to them is sleeping, and not dead. . . . But now death itself is blessed, since through its pangs a path is thrown open to the just, a way from sorrow to the stars. . . . We will adorn the hidden bones with violets and many a bough; and on the epitaph and the cold stones we will sprinkle liquid odours." (*The Church in the Catacombs*, by C. Maitland, pp. 45-46.)

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[1] *Osservazioni*, p. 349.

[2] Reproduced from Münter after Boldetti, p. 349.

The immortality of the soul, such as it was taught by Plato, whose Socrates scorned to identify himself with the corpse that would form his bodily remains, would not have satisfied these simple-minded people, and so the doctrine was officially adopted by the Church and incorporated into the Apostolic Confession of Faith, where it reads: "I believe . . . . . . in a resurrection of the flesh." The fear of death therefore is repelled by the thought of resurrection, which is interpreted literally and in a materialistic sense, and thus we find a great number of bas reliefs and pictures directly or indirectly representing the idea of a reawakening to life.

The Christians of later centuries clung tenaciously to the belief in resurrection from the grave, the reanimation of the dust, the revival of the body—or howsoever the doctrine was expressed; only of late this crude and materialistic conception begins to give way to a more spiritual belief in the immortality of the soul. The most favorite German funeral hymn begins with the words:[1]

"Auferstehn, ja auferstehn
Sollst du mein Staub nach kurzer Ruh."

The hymns of the English-speaking world give expression to the same hope. American Christians sing:

"Thus shall they guard my sleeping dust
And as the Saviour rose
The grave again shall yield her trust
And end my deep repose."

Robert Pollok, a Scottish religious poet of great fervor and a faithful believer in Calvinism,[2] describes in detail how every atom of the body will be raised on the day of judgment. He says:

"The doors of death were opened, and in the dark
And loathsome vault and silent charnel-house

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[1] This song is probably kept alive through its beautiful tune. It is a sign of the times that one of the verses of *Jesus meine Zuversicht*, which emphasises bodily resurrection, has recently been dropped from the *Würtembergische Gesangbuch*. The verse reads:

"Dann wird eben diese Haut
Mich umgeben wie ich gläube.
Gott wird werden angeschaut,
Dann von mir in diesem Leibe
Und in diesem Fleisch werd ich
Jesum sehen eviglich."

It is obvious that the ideas of the resuscitation of "this skin of ours, these eyes, this body this flesh" have become objectionable to the ever increasing intelligent portion of Christianity,

[2] Robert Pollok was born at Moorhouse, Renfrewshire, Scotland, in 1798, and died at Southampton, Sept. 17, 1827. His chief work was *The Course of Time*, a poem which has passed through many editions, and is still a favorite in serious households in Scotland. The poem treats of the spiritual life and destiny of man. It was published March, 1827, and at once became popular. It is written in blank verse in ten books, in the poetic diction of the eighteenth century, but with abundance of enthusiasm, impassioned elevation of feeling, and copious force of words and images. See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Vol., XIX., p. 403.

Moving were heard the mould'ring bones that sought
Their proper place. Instinctive every soul
Flew to its clayey part: from grass-grown mold
The nameless spirit took its ashes up. . . .
Wherever slept one grain of human dust—
Essential organ of a human soul,
Wherever tossed—obedient to the call
Of God's omnipotence, it hurried on
To meet its fellow-particles, revived,
Rebuilt, in union indestructible.
No atom of his spoils remained to death.[1]

A new and higher conception of life appears when the immortality of the soul is insisted upon without reference to a revival of the dust. Still mythological but less offensive are the lines

"There is no death in heaven;
But when the Christian dies,
The angels wait his parted soul
And waft it to the skies."

Theodore Parker boldly cuts himself loose from the traditional belief in the resurrection of the flesh and objects to the immortality of "risen dust," saying:

> "In the creed of many churches it is still written, 'I believe in the resurrection of the flesh.' Many doubted this in early times, but the Council of Nice declared all men accursed who dared to doubt it. . . . This doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh seems to me impossible and absurd. . . . When the stiffened *body* goes down into the tomb, . . . I feel that there is no death for the *man*. That clod which yonder dust shall cover is not my brother. The dust goes to its place, the man to his. It is then that I feel my immortality. I look thro' the grave into Heaven. I ask no miracle, no proof, no reasoning. I ask no risen dust to teach me immortality. I am conscious of eternal life."[1]

As to the early Christians, we shall easily pardon the crudeness of their conception of immortality when we consider the crudeness of their philosophical knowledge and general education. To them religion was still a kind of magic. Thus Jesus is in the most ancient pictures of Christian art commonly represented after the fashion of a magician, wand in hand, to indicate his power of working miracles. The belief in miracles simply served in those times, as it does to-day, to feed the yearning for a resurrection of the dead. If miracles are possible, why cannot a corpse be resurrected to life? No doubt, in the bas-reliefs on sarcophagi where Jesus is represented as multiplying the loaves and fishes, the artist thought of him in the sense in which Christ is regarded in the Fourth Gospel, as being the bread of life. Further Christ is represented as Orpheus with the lyre that moved the heart of the pitiless king of death; as Jonas who was hidden in the interior of the whale; and especially as the master over life and death, which power he proved in the resurrection of Lazarus.

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[1] Quoted from an unpublished book, *Faiths of Famous Men*, by the Rev. John K. Kilbourn Philadelphia, Pa.

The crudeness of the old conception of immortality need not blind us to the germs of truth which are contained in it. We no longer believe in a reawakening to life of the corpse, but we know that there is a preservation of the soul.

Our life is in our thoughts, our sentiments, and in our endeavors, and they are spiritual, not material. The material particles which do the work while we think are discarded in the process as waste-products, and are replaced by new material of the same kind. Our thoughts are preserved as memory by *a preservation of form.* The form remains in the metabolism of our physical system and preserves the continuity of our spiritual life. In the same way as the waste products of the process of thinking are not our thoughts, the corpses of the dead are the remains of those who have consummated their lives, not the men themselves, not their aspirations, their thoughts, their deeds. The body dies and is doomed to disintegration; but the significance of a man, his life-work, his soul, the new formations which he has called into being, are not annihilated in death; they remain a living factor with the living and a real presence the bliss of which continues in its individual and personal significance according to the worth of each individual soul.

* * *

May I be allowed to add a suggestion:

Our funerals still show traces of the old belief in the resurrection of the body and are not yet free from the superstition of corpse-worship. The dead are often addressed by funeral orators as though they were the men themselves who have passed from us. The grave is called their resting-place and is visited and decked with flowers in honor of the deceased. The very ritual suggests these thoughts; and the reverence with which we naturally deal with human remains naturally corroborates a materialistic conception of immortality. We should replace the funeral ceremony by a memorial festival. The funeral should be arranged in the simplest possible manner, not with a showy parade of flowers and music, but let it simply be a disposing of the remains, perhaps in the presence of a few witnesses, but not as the last official occasion at which the sympathy of friends should be revealed. This, now so prominent a feature of funerals, should be reserved for a memorial which might be celebrated on the first birthday of the deceased after his death, or on memorial day, or on some other appropriate occasion, and it should not be a day of wailing over the deceased's death, but a day of thanks for his life and the good he has accomplished, in a word, not a lugubrious day of lamentation, but a memorial day, a thanksgiving, a harvest festival If there are tears, let them be tears of gladness in remembrance of the blessings which the survivors enjoyed while he lived among them and which in part they still enjoy after his bodily form has been taken away.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE PHILIPPINE IMBROGLIO.

We are quite inclined to believe that serious mistakes were committed in the Philippine Islands when the sovereignty of Spain passed to the United States. The Filipinos were somehow unnecessarily offended, and did not at once receive a sufficient assurance of the intentions of our government to grant them the independence to which they were entitled. President McKinley might very well have received the messenger of Aguinaldo at Washington without acknowledging thereby the existence of a Filipino Republic. But while we acknowledge that mistakes were made by the representatives of our country, we cannot say that the Filipinos are blameless, and that it would be the patriotic duty of American citizens to support their cause and hamper our government in re-establishing peace in the Islands. The claims of Aguinaldo could not be granted, for that would have involved a suppression of the colonists and other peaceful inhabitants of Luzon to the arbitrary dictatorship of one man.

Our government has certainly tried to come to terms with the Filipinos allowing them a perfectly free home government, but Aguinaldo proved uncompromising and has refused the fairest propositions. Under the present circumstances, there is no choice for the United States but to continue the struggle until under peaceful conditions such a Filipino Republic can be established, as would not interfere with the independence of the white colonists.

Our government is bitterly criticised by a number of well-intentioned liberty-loving men but few of them consider that if the claims of Aguinaldo and his followers had been granted, we should have been guilty of neglecting the rights of others who are entitled to our protection. It is not impossible, that if the management of our affairs had been left to the loudest critics and defenders of peaceful methods, the imbroglio would be worse than it is now. American sympathisers with the cause of the Filipinos, as a rule, consider only the rights of the Aguinaldo party who are ready to defend their claims with gun in hand, and do not consider the rights of the non-combatants whose interests should not be neglected.

While the present warfare is lamentable, the more so as it is to a great extent based upon misunderstandings of the intentions of the American government, and while we should like to see the establishment of a Filipino Republic, we cannot countenance the methods of propagandism which a great number of prominent American citizens make in behalf of Aguinaldo. It seems to us that William Lloyd Garrison misinterprets the situation when he addresses Aguinaldo with these words:

"Thou hast unmasked a nation falsely clad
In altruistic garb, revealed a land
Blind to distinctions between good and bad,
And smiting Liberty with ruthless hand."

The accusation is neither fair nor just, and can only be uttered by one who has no idea of the difficulty of the situation.

We repeat that our government made mistakes in the very beginning; but there is no justification for going to the extreme of slandering President McKinley by saying:

"Whether as tool or tyrant History's pen
Upon the nation's scroll of lasting shame
Shall pillory in letters black thy name,
Time can alone adjudge."

It is the duty of our nation to establish order in the Philippines, and to give the Filipinos full liberty of home government, retaining for the United States government nothing except perhaps the possession of Cavite together with other strategic points of the harbor of Manila, and the recognition of a protectorate. Yet the latter should be drawn up in the form of an alliance, as an older brother would treat a younger brother, with rights similar to those the territories of the United States possessed, and nothing should be contained in the treaty which might savor of imperialism or indicate the conception that the Filipino republic is subject to the United States.

The best plan may prove to be a division of the territory of the Philippines into various states with different constitutions according to local requirements, ethnological as well as religious. The Mussulmans, the various mountain tribes, the Filipinos, the European colonists of the city of Manila, the Chinese colonists, etc., are too disparate elements to enter as homogeneous ingredients into the plan of a comprehensive Philippine Republic. But the various districts might be independent and might form a loose confederacy under the presidency of the United States; and a federal supreme court should be instituted as a court of last appeal in all affairs, civil litigations and criminal proceedings. It would be the duty of the latter so to construe the laws of the different states that they would not lead to collisions and would be interpreted in the spirit of modern civilisation and humaneness.

κρς.

BOOK-REVIEWS.

EIN DEUTSCHER BUDDHIST. Oberpräsidialrat Theodor Schultze. By *Dr. Arthur Pfungst.* Stuttgart: Fromman's Verlag (E. Hauff). 1899. Pages, 51.

This pamphlet is the memorial of a prominent German official and author of considerable influence, who not only played an important part in German history, especially with reference to the fate of the Duchies of Schleswig Holstein, but was also widely known in certain circles as a man deeply interested in the religious problem, with a strong inclination toward Buddhism.

Theodor Schultze was born in Oldenburg, Holstein, June 22nd, 1824, and died at Potsdam, April 6th, 1898. Educated at Lübeck, he studied jurisprudence at the Universities of Kiel and Berlin, and entered the Danish service of his native country in Holstein. When Holstein was occupied by the Prussians in 1864, he was retained by the conquerors for his special work, but he saw fit first to be released from his oath by the king of Denmark. This request being granted, he returned to Holstein to resume his work, but the Prussian authorities discharged him. Schultze sought and found service in the Duchy of Oldenburg, and succeeded in pressing the succession-rights of the Duke of Oldenburg to the duchy of Holstein. The question was settled by the payment of a million dollars indemnity by Prussia to the duke of Oldenburg. Now his services were again sought by Prussia and he was appointed in 1866 as a member of the government of Kiel. On account of his executive ability, Bismarck called him to Berlin, but Schultze declined the honor because he saw danger in being too closely allied with Bismarck who (as Schultze declared) did not encourage independence and manhood among his co-workers. After having advanced to the high posttion of *Oberpräsidialrat*, he retired from active service in 1888, and devoted himself to religious problems. In 1898 he began to suffer from a cancer in the throat which soon made swallowing impossible. The patient refused artificial nourishment and thus actually died from lack of food after a fortnight's starvation. He attended to his daily routine work to the very end of his life, and although unable to eat attended even the common meals until the third day before his death. In accordance with his request there was no announcement of the funeral, no presence of a clergyman, no marking of his grave by a monument or tombstone, and no mourning dress among his friends and relatives.

Schultze remained unmarried, and led a very retired life. His career as a writer began only three years before he retired from public life, and after he had passed his sixtieth year. His first work was a translation of the *Dhammapada* in verse, which brings the spirit of this canonical book home to the reader much better than prose translations.

Two other books of his entitled, "The Christianity of Christ and the Religion of Life" and "The Rolling Wheel of Life, and the Firm Condition of Rest," are now published as one work under the title "Vedanta and Buddhism" as "ferments for the future regeneration of the religious consciousness of Europe." Schultze believed that the dry bones of Christian churchlife in Germany could receive new life impulses by a study of the Eastern religions.

Schultze accepts Pfleiderer's view that Christ, finding it impossible to realise his aim of founding a religion of life by energetic efforts, came to the conclusion that he could attain his aim through suffering, which induced him to submit to his innocent death on the cross. Schultze accepted the original Christianity as the religion of love, but repudiated the later development of dogmatism, and declared that we ought not to speak of the triumph of Christianity over the Greek or Roman paganism, but of that of the Greco-Roman paganism over Christianity. In comparing Buddhism with Christianity, he says:

"It is remarkable that while we send missionaries to India, our scholars study Brahmanism and Buddhism, not for the purpose of refuting them, but for profiting through a knowledge of them."

In a controversy which is the last literary production of Schultze, he said:

"Although I never thought of being a Buddhist missionary, I must own that if according to my opinion Christianity and Buddhism are compared impartially as factors of human culture, and questioned according to their real value for mankind, one must give the preference to Buddhism; and I hope that this view will be recognised more and more in Christian countries whose inhabitants are, after all, only nominally Christians."

Professor von Schroeder made a reply to Schultze, and insisted on giving the preference to Christianity. Schroeder said: "Buddhism is the grandest attempt of mankind to attain civilisation by one's own power; Christianity, however, is the religion of the revealed love of God, which gives us salvation and a life of eternal bliss as a gift . . . . In Christianity, everything depends upon the person of Christ in Buddhism, upon the right doctrine . . . . The lack of Buddhism is that it is without God, without the service of God, and without prayers." In fact, Schroeder adds that Buddhism is not a religion at all, for "what is religion but a belief in a higher spiritual being (or beings) who live in a sphere above man?"

Schultze wrote that Buddhism does not so much deny the existence of gods but denies man's dependence upon them. It is not so much godless as free of gods.

In addition to the above-mentioned works, Schultze translated Ashvagosha's *Buddha-Charita* into German vesses, and also John Locke's *Essay on the Human Understanding* from the English.

No one could have been more competent to write the memorial of Theodor Schultze than Dr. Arthur Pfungst of Frankfort, a poet of some repute who not only sympathised with his religious views but was one of the few men with whom Schultze remained in constant correspondence to the end of his life.

THE METAPHYSICS OF CHRISTIANITY AND BUDDHISM. By *Dawsonne M. Strong, C. B.* London: Watts & Co. 1899. Pages, xv, 128. Price, 2s. 6d.

Any publication having a purpose akin to this work by Gen. D. M. Strong is to be welcomed, for through such efforts the misunderstandings between Christianity and Buddhism will gradually be reduced to a minimum, and the conception of a universal religion of humanity, now apparently Utopean, may one day be actually realised on earth.

All religious biases originate in the false conviction on the part of each religion that it alone is in the possession of the truth. This arrogant and intolerant spirit sometimes urges its devotees to do great and good deeds, but as a rule, and particularly in the intellectual field, it does more evil than good. The misunderstanding between Christianity and Buddhism, the two greatest religious systems of the world, each of which, while proclaiming the doctrine of universal love, despises the other as false, heretical, atheistic (in the sense of being immoral), is chiefly due to just this mental prepossession and false religious conviction. But there is annother cause which tends to create misconceptions. I refer to the difference of terminology. Symbol is the key to things spiritual, and since we mortal beings are not capable of communing with one another as pure spirits, we must make use of symbols or words, which, however, being subject to differences, may in spite of their helpfulness become at once the source of serious misunderstandings.

Now, Buddhistic terminology is so different from that of Christianity that all superficial students of it invariably fail to grasp its significance, and, not being conscious of their lack of knowledge, they are only too willing to ascribe their misconceptions to the religion itself. One of the gravest misinterpretations thus formed is the Anâtman theory of the Hînayâna system, which corresponds to the Çûnyatâ doctrine of the Mahâyâna. Dr. Carus in his *Buddhism and Its Christian Critics* has endeavored to make this point clear for Christian readers, and General Strong in his present work shows no hesitation in joining him. In connexion with this point let me say a few words about the Çûnyatâ theory of the Mahâyâna.

"Çûnya" means void, empty, lack of characteristics, etc., but let us see how it is used by Buddhists. Açvaghosa, forerunner of the Mahâyâna philosophy, divides his system into two departments, that which treats of Suchness (= Bhûtatathatâ), and that which treats of Birth-and-Death (= Saṃsâra); and Suchness is stated by him as devoid of or transcending all forms of individuation, namely as

Çûnya. (See his Mahâyânaçraddhotpâda-çastra.) Nâgârjuna, from whose marvellous genius the Mahâyâna Buddhism received its finishing touches discriminates two kinds of truth in his Mâdhyamikaçâstra, practical truth (= saṃvrtisatya) and pure truth (= paramârtha). The practical truth is a naîve realism, while the pure truth is unconditioned, absolute, infinite, in another word, çûnya.

Next, let us examine what the Vijñânavâdin, otherwise called Yogacaryâ, says about çûnya. According to the Vijñânamâtrati-siddhi çâstra by the famous Vasubandhu, there are three kinds of world conceptions: (1) that which is founded on imagination (= parikalpita-laksaṇa); (2) that which sees the relativity of existence (= paratantra-laksaṇa); and (3) that which conceives the real reality (= parinispanna-laksaṇa. And this real reality is practically neither more nor less than Açvaghosa's Suchness and Nâgârjuna's Pure Truth, for Parinispanna-laksaṇa is defined as the middle path between existence and non-existence, while the Çûnya is recognised both by Açvaghosa and Nâgârjuna to be a name provisionally given to the Truth which transcending relativity and conditionality is out of the sphere of verbal description.

Now suppose that they used the term çûnya in the sense of nothingness, having in view a nihilistic conception of the world; how could we then reconcile this term with such words as Suchness, Pure Truth, or the Middle Path, all of which convey a positive sense? It seems to me that those who ignore what is really meant by Çûnya and who almost wilfully denounce the Mahâyâna philosophy as a nihilism or a system which recommends one to sit down and idly contemplate the nothingness of existence, are simply declaring their utter ignorance of one of the greatest intellectual movements that ever appeared in our Manusyaloka. Let those who are broad-minded and keen-sighted make an honest inquiry into the truth of the matter.

To return to our book, General Strong considers that there are three prominent features in Christianity and Buddhism,—the metaphysical, the ethical, and the biographical. The latter two having been exhaustively contrasted in connexion with these systems, he says, he has confined himself to a consideration of the first point. The book consists of an introduction, five chapters, and an appendix. The first chapter treats of Jesus and Gotama; the second of God and Cosmos; the third of Soul, Self, Individuality, and Karma; the fourth of Heaven and Nirvâna, which he agrees with Dr. Carus in considering to be synonymous with enlightenment; the fifth is the concluding chapter, in which the author proclaims the fundamental identity of the two greatest religions in the world, adding a hymn taken from the Samyutta-nikâya. In the Appendix we have his versification of some of the Buddhist legends.

The book abounds with quotations from many important Buddhist works compiled or written by Western scholars, and all these materials are happily disposed of. Those who have read Dr. Carus's *Buddhism and Its Christian Critics* will be glad to find a companion-work in Gen. D. M. Strong's present contribution to Buddhist literature.

T. SUZUKI.

SOURCE-BOOK OF AMERICAN HISTORY. Edited for Schools and Readers by *Albert Bushnell Hart, Ph. D.* With practical introductions. New York and London: The Macmillan Company. 1899. Pages, xlvi+408. Price, 60 cents.

"This little book is an attempt to do for the study of American history what the photographer does for the study of art,—to collect a brief series of illustrations which, without including a hundredth part of the whole field, may give examples of the things most important to know." It is designed, not to supplant the text-book, but to accompany it. Its author hopes that the brief records which constitute it "may awaken interest in the books from which they came and in the men who wrote them; that a clearer idea of what our ancestors did and thought and suffered may be had from their own writings; that the book may serve as a part of the material necessary for topical study; and, above all, that it may throw a human interest about the necessarily compact and factful statements of text-books."

The work consists of brief selections from the authors and the books of all periods of American history, including even the Spanish War. The following are some of the titles of the chapters: (1) Discoveries; (2) Conditions of Settlement; (3) First Era of Colonisation; (4) Second Era of Colonisation; (5) Colonial Life in the Seventeenth Century; (6) Rivals for Empire; (7) Colonial Life in the Eighteenth Century; (8) Colonial Government; (9) The Revolution; (10) The Confederation and the Constitution, etc., etc. Typical selections are, for example: extracts from the letters of Christopher Columbus; from the history of Captain John Smith; from the history of John Winthrop; from Cotton Mather's records of the witch-trials of New England; from Besse's records of the persecution and execution of the Quakers in New England; from the ordinances of New Amsterdam; from the memoirs of Tonti; from the letters of Washington; from the papers of Franklin; from the Boston town records; from the papers of the presidents; from the newspapers and the public proceedings generally; and in more recent times from the principal poems and the political writings of our great authors; from the magazines; and so forth, and so forth.

Some very typical fac simile illustrations have been incorporated in the book, with a view of suggesting to young people the kind of manuscripts and other materials which historians are obliged to study. The frontispiece is a reproduction of a part of the original Mayflower Compact, 1620. There are also reproductions of specimens of Continental paper currency, 1776; of Charles Carroll's letter on fugitive slaves, 1826; and lastly, extracts from the final Proclamation of Emancipation, by Abraham Lincoln. Practical introductions have been added: (1) on the use of sources in history-study, by the author, giving bibliographies and a list of reprints of old documents available for schools; (2) on the sources in secondary schools, and by Dr. R. G. Huling, of the Cambridge, English High School; (3) on the sources in normal schools, by Prof. Emma Ridley, who has drawn up a long list of subjects for topical study from sources.

Dr. Hart's book is a valuable addition to the historical literature of the schoolroom, and cannot fail to give to the students of our high schools and academies some idea of the scientific methods which are now employed the world over in writing history.

The field of Year-Books seems to be a province pre-eminently French. As there is no department in America or England in which there is not a *Review of Reviews* (the latest that has come to our notice being *The Psychic Digest; or, the Esoteric Review of Reviews*), so in France the mania for epitomising has found embodiment in the establishment of a dozen or so *Années*, there being a philosophical *Année*, a biological, a psychological, a political, a scientific, a literary, and several other *Années*. The latest is *L'année de l'église*, which is the year-book of the Catholic Church and has been compiled by M. Ch. Égremont (Paris: Victor Lecoffre). It is a handy volume, and will for the statistics which it contains be of value to publicists and theological writers. It is more than a chronology; it is a running comment upon all the significant events which have taken place within the Catholic Church for the year 1898; the compiler having sought to emphasise the idea and moral import of each of these events, rather than to give their details A section is devoted to each of the countries of the world, one to the Holy See, and one to missions The acts of the Sacred College and the Encyclicals of the Pope are discussed, as are also such subjects as pilgrimages, Leo XIII. and the social question, the relations of the Holy See with the various powers, etc It will be interesting both to the friends and the enemies of the church to learn that Cardinal Gibbons puts the number of conversions to the Catholic Church in the United States at 30,000 annually. The number of Catholics in the United States in 1898 was 9,500,000, and the number of churches nearly 8000. We hope that the second volume of the *Année* will have an index.

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The readers of *The Open Court* are perfectly familiar with the career, and partially also with the religious and philosophical views, of Victor Charbonnel. (See *The Open Court* for May 1898). The best-known of the books of Victor Charbonnel is his *La volonté de vivre* which tells how he passed from Catholicism to "the religion of the ideal," the free Christianity of Channing and Tolstoi. The book caused no little stir in France, and has now been translated into English under the title of *The Victory of the Will* by Emily Whitney, daughter of the late Professor Whitney of Yale College, and has been published in attractive form by Little, Brown & Co., of Boston. We may characterise M Charbonnel's views by one or two brief quotations. "We have only to close the sanctuary of our soul,' he says, "and accustom our eyes to its shades, in order to see splendors shine forth, to hear voices that inspire and counsel." It is the gospel of introspection, "the assertion of the spiritual man over temporal conditions," the cultivation of character and of right conduct in life by a constant exercise of the will. Life should be a "continuous effort of will." "Let us be at every moment masters of ourselves" It is an eloquent book, rather rhapsodical in parts, and with a slight tendency to mysticism. The translation of the book has been well done, and an introduction has been supplied by Lilian Whiting Miss Whiting is quite unrestrained in her admiration of the author, has called M. Charbonnel "the Emerson and Mæterlinck of France," and predicts that his book will arouse the same enthusiasm in America as it did in his own country. The enthusiasm which is accorded to the book, however, may perhaps be qualified by the spiritualistic, telepathic, and otherwise ghostly interpretations which Miss Whiting has placed upon the utterances of M. Charbonnel; the burden of her entire message being that the spiritual truths which the author has enunciated are finding their substantiation (and even a thin material substratum) in the discoveries of contemporary science. But her review of these discoveries will hardly be accepted by scientists. Miss Whiting has said many beautiful things, but the "unseen world" makes too many demands on her science, and the beauty which is the characteristic of truth is wanting to it

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The Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1897 contains the usual large number of original scientific memoirs, digests of scientific progress in the various sciences, and reprints of important scientific researches. We mention the following articles as important: (1) The Aspects of American Astronomy, by Simon Newcomb; (2) The Evolution of Satellites, by G. H Darwin; (3) Electrical Advance in the Past Ten Years, by Elihu Thomson; (4) The X-Rays, by W. C. Röntgen; (5) Cathode Rays, by J. J. Thomson; (6) Story of Experiments in

Mechanical Flight, by S. P, Langley : (7) On Soaring Flight, by E. C. Huffaker: (8) The Revival of Alchemy, by H. C. Bolton ; (9) Diamonds, by William Crookes; (10) The Discovery of New Elements Within the Last Twenty-Five Years, by Clemens Winkler ; (11) An Undiscovered Gas, by William Ramsey ; (12) Fluorine by Henri Moissan ; (13) The Age of the Earth as an Abode Fitted for Life, by Lord Kelvin ; (14) Crater Lake, Oregon, by J. S. Diller ; (15) Recent Progress in Physiology, by Michael Foster ; (16) The Law Which Underlies Protective Coloration, by Abbott H. Thayer ; (17) Recent Research in Egypt, by W. M. Flinders-Petrie. The illustrations of these articles are also good, and students will find in the Reports a rich store of material for investigation and reference

Dr. Alfred Espinas, of the University of Paris, the author of the well-known work *Animal Societies*, has published within the last two years a very readable book on the *Origin of Technology*.[1] Properly speaking, it is a study in sociology, but it may also well be ranked as a philosophical work "The philosophy of knowledge," he says, "has had its historians ; it will therefore not be out of place, to attempt to write the history of the philosophy of action." His point of view is that one general law dominates the development of technology : a theory of facts is not possible until the facts have been in existence for a certain period of time ; we constantly see the philosophy of action following upon the development of industries and of the practical arts. The development of philosophical technology is traced in the history of religions, especially in that of Greece. In fact, general technology goes hand in hand with theology and ethics. There is a valuable chapter upon tools and machines, which follows the theory of organic projection enunciated by Kapp, that the tool or instrument forms a unit with the operator ; it is the continuation the projection without, of an organ. The operator uses it as he would some prolonged member, without hardly ever thinking of its structure or of inquiring how its different parts are adapting themselves to their work. The labor produced by its assistance may still be regarded as natural. But the machine stands upon a higher plane, involving the reasoned realisation of some unique aim. It is largely the result of reflection, and the adaptation of its articulated parts is perfect.

Two of the most recent issues of the Library of Contemporary Philosophy, published by Alcan, Paris, are : (1) *La timidité*, by Dr. L. Dugas, who has sought to distinguish timidity from fear, and has given a psychological analysis of its conditions and an ethical discussion of its rôle in character and society ; (2) *Les fondements de l'éthique*, by Prof. E. De Roberty, of the New University of Brussels which is the third essay of his series on "Morals Considered as Elementary Sociology," which was announced some years ago. Dr. De Roberty's writings have been mentioned several times in *The Monist*, to which we refer readers who would know something of their contents. He is the author of many books, and is pursuing every philosophical question zealously.

NOTES.

The Clark University, of Worcester, Mass., in celebrating the tenth anniversary of its existence last month, wisely followed the precedent which was set by Princeton some years ago at its sesquicentennial celebration by making the main feature of the program an exhibition of scholarship rather than one of pageantry

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[1] *Les Origines de la technologie.* By Alfred Espinas. Paris : Félix Alcan, 108 Boulevard Saint Germain. 1897. Pages, 295. Price, 5 francs.

There was a series of lectures delivered at the university by distinguished representatives of science from each of the leading countries of Europe. Émile Picard, Professor of Mathematics at the University of Paris, gave three lectures on subjects connected with his specialty; Ludwig Boltzmann, Professor of Theoretical Physics at the University of Vienna, delivered four lectures on the principles and fundamental equations of mechanics; Angelo Mosso, Professor of Physiology at the University of Turin, lectured on Conscious Processes and Bodily Exercise; Santiago Ramon y Cajal, Professor of Histology at the University of Madrid, spoke of his latest investigations on the texture of the human cerebral cortex, giving practical demonstrations; and August Forel, late Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Zürich, and director of the Burghölzli Asylum, lectured on hypnotism and the habits of ants. Professors Picard and Cajal spoke in French, and Professors Boltzmann Mosso and Forel in German. The courses were free.

The significance of such courses in strengthening the bonds of international scholarship and educational good-will cannot be overestimated, and our universities are to be congratulated on the wise and systematic policy which they are pursuing in this direction.

While going to press, the news reaches us of the demise of Col. Robert G. Ingersoll, the great agnostic—a powerful orator, and a man who had the highest courage of his conviction. He passed away in peace, without pain, without agony, without even a groan or a sigh. There is no need of our praising the virtues of the Colonel for he is well known throughout the country and has in his career been constantly before the public. His family life was exceedingly happy and perhaps the most beautiful lines he wrote, and those which expressed his religious views in positive terms, were dedicated to his grandchild; the whole having been published in elegant form with pictures of grandfather and grandchild.

Our readers know that *The Open Court's* attitude toward religion is different from that of the Colonel. We have repeatedly discussed our differences in the most amicable way both at Dobbs Ferry, N. Y., and at Mr. E. C. Hegeler's residence, La Salle, Ill. Colonel Ingersoll was quite ready to accept the *Religion of Science* as his own and actually said so in public when at the request of the Rev. Mr. Rusk he addressed an orthodox Christian congregation in Chicago; but he could not be induced to change his aggressive tactics for a more constructive method. It was not his field, and he was too much of a fighter to show a conciliatory spirit.

The soul of his father was re-incarnated in him, only turned in the opposite direction. The champion of the church militant, direct and unreserved in his faith, had become an uncompromising iconoclast; but the character remained the same. And when we consider the work which he has accomplished, we think that religious people ought to be grateful to him; for to a great extent we owe to him the disappearance of much narrowness and thoughtlessness in our churches, and his merit for the purification of religion cannot be doubted even by his bitterest enemies.

New Publications and Announcements

The Ethical Problem. Three Lectures on Ethics and Science. By *Dr. Paul Carus.* Second edition, enlarged by a discussion of the subject by William M. Salter, John Maddock, F. M. Holland, Prof. Friedrich Jodl, Dr. R. Lewins, Prof. H. Höffding, and Prof. L. M. Billia. With replies by the author. Pp., 351. Cloth, $1.50.

Buddhism and Its Christian Critics. By *Dr. Paul Carus.* 8vo. Pp., 311. Price, cloth, $1.25. New Religion of Science edition, paper, 50c. Contents: (1) The Origin of Buddhism; (2) The Philosophy of Buddhism; (3) The Psychological Problem; (4) The Basic Concepts of Buddhism; (5) Buddhism and Christianity; (6) Christian Critics of Buddhism.

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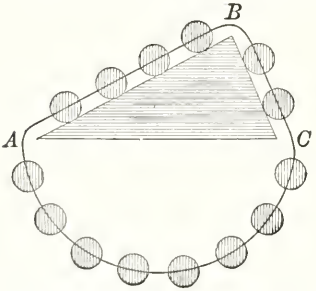

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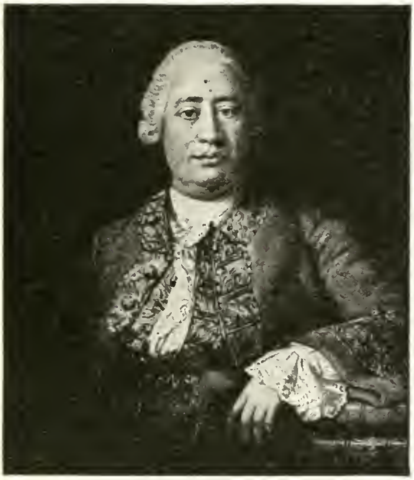

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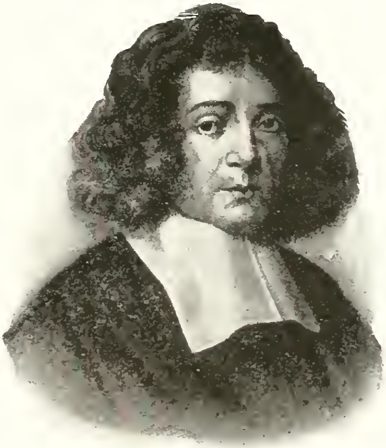

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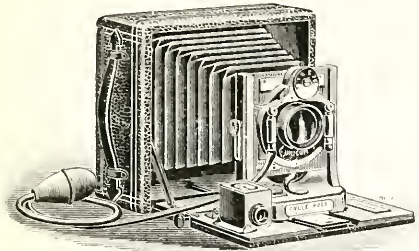

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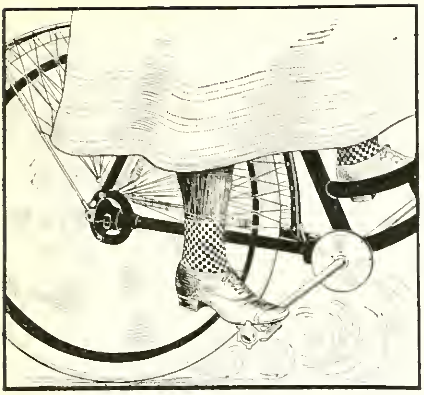

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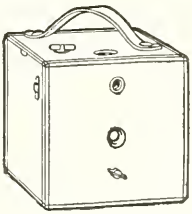

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