

# The Open Court

A MONTHLY MAGAZINE

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

Founded by EDWARD C. HEGELER

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FRANCESCO PETRARCHI

*Frontispiece to The Open Court.*

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## THE HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF PETRARCH'S LETTERS

BY BIRGER R. HEADSTROM

ON THE history of human affairs there is probably no man who has been less understood or appreciated than Francesco Petrarch. To the student of history he is known merely as the father of Humanism and as the leader of a great intellectual movement; while to the world at large, his chief claim to renown is his incomparable sonnets of Italian verse. But, to the keen and acute student of mankind, there is a greater, a deeper, more infinite side to this great man which, unfortunately, the world has either overlooked or underrated by his ultimate gift to the service of humanity. It is the man himself; his inner spirit, that is so well manifested as to be a perfect example of God's greatest creation.

We cannot gain an insight into the extraordinary nature and remarkable personality of Petrarch in his practical achievements, or in his sonnets, but in his letters—the mirror of his soul. And as his position in history is estimated by the influence he exerted on the destinies of mankind, so in turn do his letters have a vast historical significance, as they are the reflection of his character, his ideals, his inspirations, but above all else his human nature—*suus humanitas*, in which his great inspiration was to find expression.

There is no questioning Petrarch's position in history; his place is secure for all time. As a shaper of human affairs and the destinies of mankind he will take rank with Napoleon. His great inspiration exerted a profound influence on the development of intellectual activity and thought, and his beliefs and ideals were of such a significant importance that they laid the foundations of modern culture.

Petrarch, besides his estimable worth to the service of humanity, is the greatest mirror of his age. He reflects, as no man does, the times of the transition period between medieval learning and modern erudition. He is, in some respects, the typical product of the Middle Ages. He was acquainted with the culture of the Latin Christian fathers, and shared his contemporaries' ideals and beliefs in some measure, but unlike his contemporaries he saw the fearful future that lay in wait for mankind should the depraved and chaotic state in which intellectual activity had fallen during the fall of the Roman Empire be allowed to continue. He saw the beauties and interests in the culture of Hellenistic Greece, and sought to awaken men's eyes to the inspiring and spiritual ideals of the Old Masters. He loved the past for its own sake. Not that it supported his ideas of theology or Christian morals, but that it was to him inherently interesting. He found a love in antiquity that tended to become almost an ecstatic enthusiasm.

Petrarch saw in the wisdom of the Hellenic Greeks an escape from the fruitless subtleties of a dogmatic scholastic theology. He saw a way out of the dark and gloomy superstition of the Middle Ages into the light of love and beauty, the casting off of all despotic authority of religion, and the assertion of the right for a man to think and act for himself. He felt, as no man had felt since the pagan days, the "joy of living." He believed the Greek and Latin writers of antiquity, provided they became the object of a profound and passionate study and emulation, were potent to bring a new life into a paralyzed world; a world that had become sickened and diseased by a continual strife and turmoil, by the pestilence and famine that had followed, and by the biased and imperious intellectual learning that had been allowed to exist in the weird and mystic asceticism of the monasteries. He was obsessed with the idea that the civilization of the Greeks and Latins was not a thing of the past, but that poets and thinkers of antiquity lived with him—that they were his neighbors.

That was the secret of his inspiration. Obsessed with that dominant thought that the culture of Hellenistic Greece was the open sesame to a new life, a life of love and beauty, the door to a great and bright future, of man's independence and self-reliance, he preached the revival of the classics. He became the foe of ignorance and superstition, the champion of culture and learning, the counsellor of princes, the leader of men, the prophet of

a new and glorious age. He was the light that showed the path to glory.

Petrarch exerted a vast and profound influence on his contemporaries. He knew everyone worth knowing, and he constantly strove to enlighten their minds to the vision he had seen until there gradually grew a firm conviction that there was a certain preciousness in the culture of antiquity that was much better than anything produced since the invasion of the German Barbarians. Scholars became imbued with the same spirit and began to carry on the work he had shown them. The germ which they strove to develop they knew as "humanitas," the culture to which man alone is able to aspire. To them it was a familiar intercourse with the best writers of ancient Greece and Rome.

There is no estimating the value of the service the ancient classics have given to the development of mankind. Their significance in lifting humanity out of the dark and chaotic Middle Ages to a life of higher and better ideals is most noteworthy, but the ultimate position of human-kind today, and the progress of thought and learning in modern culture, can only be attributed to the inspiration and genius of Petrarch.

Petrarch's ultimate gift to mankind is not his only claim to our attention. His chief charm lies, perhaps, in his own humanism, which is so exquisitely reflected in his fascinating and interesting letters. They are a perfect mirror of his great soul. They are a true revelation of the wonderful spirit that was constantly battling to attain the ideals to which he aspired. In them we learn to become acquainted with the man himself, his character, his ideals, his loves. They are the reflection of the man who sought to open men's eyes to the beauties and interests of life, who sought to lift mankind from a state of depravity and corruption to a higher plane worthy of all that is good and true: who sought to instill into men's hearts an appreciation of that sublime sense of a higher idealism that is the rightful heritage of all human-kind.

Petrarch wrote his letters not only to serve a practical end but also with the aim that they should bring him enduring fame. They are an artistic creation, executed to that degree of perfection that can only be attained by one who is endowed with the gifts of genius. And though Petrarch disavowed any intention of writing them for posterity, or that he took any pains with them, no one can fail to see that each one is a carefully prepared

and developed Latin essay with all the observance of the rules of good literature. And, furthermore, these letters were not to be treated lightly. "I desire," he writes, "that my reader, whoever he may be, should think of me alone, not of his daughter's wedding, his mistress's embraces, the wiles of his enemy, his engagements, house, lands, or money. I want him to pay attention to me. If his affairs are pressing, let him postpone reading the letter, but when he does read, let him throw aside the burden of business and family cares, and fix his mind upon the matter before him. I do not wish him to carry on his business and attend to my letter at the same time. I will not have him gain without any exertion what has not been produced without labour on my part."

Through them all runs that strain of a self-consciousness, which is apt, at first, to give an unpleasant impression, but beneath a thin veil of vanity and a sensibility of self-importance, we discover the secret of his great soul which was constantly grappling with the mysteries of life. We recognize him across the gulf of centuries to be a man with passions and emotions like ourselves, who, tossed on the stream of life, met with the contradictions he felt within himself, and baffled by the emotions he experienced, vainly strove to attain a new ideal of a temporal existence. Petrarch knew himself; and all his writings are pervaded with a self-revelation; he lays bare a human soul, with its struggles and sufferings. As Gaspary says: "Petrarch was a master in one respect at least, he understood how to picture himself; through him the inner world first receives recognition; he first notes, observes, analyses, and sets forth its phenomena."

Petrarch had aspirations to be both a scholar and a poet. He executed his works with the finesse of a master, making the utmost of those extraordinary abilities which he had at his command. Yet it is not his great works on which he spent years of toil and labor that have served to keep his name alive, but it is rather by his incomparable sonnets in Italian verse which he composed as a youthful diversion that he is still remembered by the world at large. They earned an enviable reputation for him among the illiterate, but such a notoriety he despised. They were not the deep and profound results of a scholar's meditation that could be the foundation for a scholar's enduring fame, but rather cheap and common poetry the results of an idle entertainment. Of the *Canzoniere*, "these trivial verses, filled with the



false and offensive praise of women," he has this to say, "I must confess that I look with aversion upon the silly boyish things I at one time produced in the vernacular. Of these I could wish everyone ignorant, myself included. Although their style may testify to a certain ability considering the period at which I composed them; their subject matter ill comports with the gravity of the age. But what am I to do? They are in the hands of the public and are read more willingly than the serious works which with more highly developed faculties, I have written since."

Yet, it is just that his lyrics, those "popular trifles in the mother tongue," are the chief claim to his popular renown for in them he finds his best literary expression. It is true that they reveal a great spirit expressing its ideals in a literary form, attainable only by a genius, but they, nevertheless, fail to give us the picture of him as do his letters; they are his sentiments beautifully expressed, but they do not reveal to us the reviver of a forgotten culture and the prophet of a future age of brightness and splendor, the direct result of his great love for intellectual activity.

As to his scholarly aims, Petrarch has this to say, "Among the many subjects which have interested me I have dwelt especially upon antiquity, for our own age has always repelled me, so that, had it not been for the love of those dear to me, I should have preferred to have been born in any other period than our own. In order to forget my own time I have constantly striven to place myself in spirit in other ages, and consequently I have delighted in history."

Therein lies the secret of the great influence which he exerted on his contemporaries. He was an indefatigable scholar, and by his own untiring efforts to discover the lost works of the great writers and thinkers of antiquity, he stimulated a widespread interest in the establishment of the intellectual world in its rightful patrimony. And by his own ceaseless striving to open men's eyes to the beauties of Hellenic culture, he fostered the ambitions of the scholars with whom he came in contact. The ancients were human who delighted in sensuous beauty and who enjoyed life for the sake of it, who trusted nature and its natural impulses. Petrarch was above all else human and he saw in the classics the personification of his own loves. It is not then very difficult to see why he became the guiding star of the transition period between the learning of the Latin fathers and

the modern scholars. He was possessed with the spirit of one who has an ideal which nothing can prevent him from attaining. Petrarch was imbued with the spirit of love for an ideal; his emotions knew no bounds on his finding or unearthing a lost or forgotten work. It was a rare find to him that gave him a great inward satisfaction; and which set him aglow with the inspiration of a spiritual pleasure that so enabled him to continue his work with that ecstatic enthusiasm so characteristic of his love for learning. No wonder then that he could sway men's minds to his way of thinking. No wonder then that his great inspiration was to have a lasting effect on the destinies of mankind, and was to be the impulse that was to set human affairs in the channel that was to lead human-kind into an age of resplendent light.

Petrarch was aware of the task he had before him, and in his letters he tells us of the corrupt and depraved state of the texts of the Old Masters which had been allowed to become so by the disgraceful and intolerable conditions that had existed during the Middle Ages. He even went so far as to say that had Cicero or Livy returned and read his own writings he would have vehemently declared them to be the works of some barbarian. And we find the high regard he had for the preciousness and estimable worth of the works of the writers of antiquity when he says, "Each famous author of antiquity whom I recall places a new offence and another cause of dishonor to the charge of later generations, who, not satisfied with their own disgraceful barrenness, permitted the fruit of other minds and the writings that their ancestors had produced by toil and application, to perish through insufferable neglect. Although they had nothing of their own to hand down to those who were to come after, they robbed posterity of its ancestral heritage."

Petrarch was naturally very much aware of the intellectual predilections of his time, but he was as little in sympathy with them as Voltaire was with those of his age. We find in his letters a perfect mirror of his nature when he rejects and discards the educational ideals of his times as utterly disgraceful and unendurable. Scotus and Aquinas he held in cheap estimation, and he regarded nominalism or realism as valueless, having no foundation for an existence whatsoever. Such a disregard did he assume towards them that he preferred to obtain his religious doctrines and beliefs from the Scriptures and the almost forgotten church fathers, especially Augustine and Ambrose.

But his total disregard for medieval culture finds its greatest expression in his assertion of his aversion and contempt for Aristotelism. He ventured to say, that although Aristotle was a scholar of high and esteemable repute, he was inferior, at least, to Plato, and that many of his views were quite worthless. This antipathy in Petrarch is a natural outcome of his repugnancy towards medieval learning. Intellectual activity had fallen, since the invasion of the Vandals, to such a low plane that it had practically become enshrouded in a superstition and fanaticism, which were simply the fruit of an ignorance born of an eremitical separation from the world's affairs. Aristotle was the dominant influence in all thought during the Dark Ages, and his authority was virtually despotic on all matters of learning. He held a fascination for the medieval mind that amounted almost to worship. He was "the Philosopher" whose knowledge was omniscient, and whose dicta were unquestionable; he was "the master," as Dante terms him, "of those who know." Theology, the fruit of the Middle Ages, was, if not dominated, at least, affected to an appreciable extent by him in fact, so much so that Luther began his revolt by a tirade on "that accursed heathen."

It was natural then that Petrarch should have had such a strong antipathy towards the "great thinker of antiquity." A foe of medieval learning was a foe of Aristotle. He has this to say of the supreme authority of his age when suggested a discussion on some point of Aristotelism; "I would then either remain silent or jest with them or change the subject. Sometimes I asked, with a smile, how Aristotle could have known that, for it was not proven by the light of reason, nor could it be tested by experiment. At that they would fall silent, in surprise and anger, as if they regarded me as a blasphemer who asked any proof beyond the authority of Aristotle. So we bid fair to be no longer philosophers, lovers of the truth, but Aristotelians, or rather Pythagoreans, reviving the absurd custom which permits us to ask no question except whether "he" said it. . . . I believe, indeed, that Aristotle was a great man and that he knew much; yet he was but a man, and therefore something, nay, many things, may have escaped him. I will say more . . . I am confident, beyond a doubt, that he was in error all his life, not only as regards small matters, where a mistake counts for little but in the most weighty questions, where his supreme interests were involved. And although he has said much of happiness . . . I dare assert

. . . that he was so completely ignorant of true happiness that the opinions upon this matter of any old pious woman, or devout fisherman, shepherd, or farmer, would, if not so fine-spun, be more to the point than his."

Such a strong opposition to the supreme authority of the Middle Ages implied the prophecy of an intellectual revolution. It was not arrogance or a manifestation of his sense of his own importance, that led Petrarch to take such an attitude towards the culture of his age, but rather his instincts and training that made it impossible for him to worship the Stagirite in the same respect as the Schoolmen had for their master.

And towards natural science he had also a strong aversion, declaring that it was not worthy the attention of a man of learning; he says of those who were interested in natural phenomena: "They say much of beasts, birds and fishes, discuss how many hairs there are on the lion's head and feathers in the hawk's tail, and how many coils the polypus winds about a wrecked ship; they expatiate upon the generation of the elephant and its biennial offspring, as well as upon the docility and intelligence of the animal and its resemblance to human-kind. They tell how the phoenix lives two or three centuries, and is then consumed by an aromatic fire, to be born again from its ashes. Even if all these things were true they help in no way toward a happy life, for what does it advantage us to be familiar with the nature of animals, birds, fishes, and reptiles, while we are ignorant of the nature of the race of man to which we belong, and do not know or care whence we came or whither we go?"

But in spite of the extreme antipathy he held toward the culture of his period he remained essentially a child of the Middle Ages. He accepted the beliefs of the Church and never questioned its authority. He never became separated from the monastic theory of salvation, although he many times questioned its implications.

The reading of pagan literature had agitated the Church from the very beginning. There were many who had defended the "heathen writers" and there were also many devout followers of the Church who harshly condemned "the idle vanities of secular learning" for the reason as Gregory says, "that the same mouth singeth not the praises of Jove and the praises of Christ." Petrarch's profound and passionate study of the pagan works, however, in no wise affected his sense of the religion of the

Church. He remained always a devout Catholic, being extremely pious and filial in his views, and having a strong dislike for heretics. He accepted the ascetic ideal, and believed in the superiority of the monastic life, feeling that it is the only sure road to Heaven. And though in a letter to Gherardo, his brother who had become a monk, he begs that he become not discouraged and despair of salvation, though his spirit belong to this world, he nevertheless, writes that his reflections are not wholly his own but those of another self, of a "monastic pen." Petrarch, though he saw some virtues in monasticism, had really no love for the seclusion and routine of the monastic life. He loved life too well, and the pleasures it offered. His earthly ambitions were too strong for him to devote his life to follow the vows of an ascetic. He lived with a preoccupation of his own aims and ideals. Was not life an opportunity for something more than merely a brief period of probation in which man prepared for the beatific reward in another world? as was the medieval conception of mortal life.

Although Petrarch accepted the monastic view, he never thoroughly embraced it. His ambition for posthumous fame burned with undying fervor within his breast. There were higher, more worthy secular aims than merely doing the routine labors of the monastery with the expectation of a commensurate spiritual reward. Was it not something to obtain the approbation of his own generation and of those to come? Was not an ambition for an earthly reputation and an undying fame a noble and imperial instinct to which he should bend his energies? Assuredly he reasoned; were not the great masters of antiquity, whose names will go down in the generations to come, inspired with a beatific vision? The problem that confronted him was not a simple one for the Old and the New waged their incessant battle for supremacy within him. And in a letter to Boccaccio he presents his views that religion does not necessarily require one to give up literature. He says in part: "Neither exhortations to virtue nor the argument of approaching death should divert us from literature; for in a good mind it excites the love of virtue, and dissipates, or at least diminishes, the fear of death. To desert our studies shows want of self-confidence rather than wisdom, for letters do not hinder but aid the properly constituted mind which possesses them; they facilitate our life, they do not retard it."

Petrarch could never see the monastic advocacy of the dis-

carding of all secular pursuits. He was always the champion of the classics, and always ready to defend his ambitions. He was imbued with the spirit of mortal man who desires something that cannot readily be had. And the proud boasts of Horace and Ovid, who had claimed (and had taken a certain pride in doing so) immortality for their works, spurred him on in his striving for personal glory which he termed as a "splendid preoccupation." He tells us frankly of his longing for the fame which he hoped to secure by his Latin writings, but he was quite aware of the difficulties in store for him when, in a letter to one Messina, he writes on the impossibility of acquiring fame during one's lifetime. He says in part: "Let us look for a moment at those whose writings have become famous. Where are the writers themselves? They have turned to dust and ashes these many years. And you long for praise? Then you, too, must die. The favour of humanity begins with the author's decease; the end of life is the beginning of glory."

It is unfortunate that in his letters we find no reference, barely two or three allusions, to Laura, the woman who was the inspiration of his life, and who is the theme of nearly all of his Italian sonnets. She exerted a great influence on him in his youth, and we find in his Confessions that his love for her tormented him. It was so deep, so pure, that he feared, according to his monastic views that it would be the obstacle to eternal salvation. Yet he was passionately fond of her, and in his letter to posterity he says: "I struggled in my younger days with a keen but constant and pure attachment and would have struggled with it longer had not the sinking flame been extinguished by death—premature and bitter, but salutary."

On the fly-leaf of his favorite copy of Vergil there is written: "Laura, who was distinguished by her own virtues, and widely celebrated by my songs, first appeared to my eyes in my early manhood . . . in the year 1348, that light was taken from our day. . . . Her chaste and lovely form was laid in the church of the Franciscans. . . . I have experienced a certain satisfaction in writing this bitter record of a cruel event, . . . for so I may be led to reflect that life can afford me no farther pleasures; and, the most serious of my temptations being removed, I may be admonished by the frequent study of these lines."

It is regrettable that so little is known of her, and though much has been made of her descriptions in the Canzoniere, they

are simply poetical and allegorical. Unlike Dante who worshipped Beatrice, and made the world know it, Petrarch is exceedingly reserved in letting the world know of his affection for Laura.

The genuineness of the passion that pervades his sonnets gives us a great insight to his soul and shows us his human nature which found such a fine expression in his devotion and love for a woman. His love for her tortured him constantly. Petrarch was forever engaged in trying to unite the two opposing ideals, moral and intellectual, to which he felt himself drawn. Within his heart there was constantly waged the battle between the monk and the lover; between the medieval ecclesiastical and the modern secular conception of love. In his *Secret* we see the greatest of his humanistic qualities. Therein he defends the higher conception of love, and though he holds it in the light of all that is good and true, worthy of the noblest instincts of man, he cannot escape from the monkish influence that is so firmly implanted within him. He vehemently and passionately declares that what he loves and admires is the soul—that innate spiritual goodness; and that he owes everything to her who has preserved him from sin, and who has helped him to develop his great powers; but he in turn is forced to confess that it was her virtue that enabled them to maintain a platonic love, and that since he met her his life has been nothing but degenerate. Secular pursuits are too noble to be classed with such a degrading passion as love—that base passion that only seizes the common herd, that the passion of love injures the soul; that it is not compatible with the higher ideals of life.

Such conflicting thoughts of the monk and the lover filled him with apprehension, and the fear that it would prove to be the barrier to eternal salvation. Flee from the temptation rang in his ears, find a remedy in travel, but alas! the burden Petrarch bore was too heavy to be so easily flung off.

Petrarch, like so many of his countrymen from Marco Polo to Columbus, was passionately fond of travelling. He saw the beauties and pleasures of the outside world. "Would that you could know," he writes, "with what delight I wander, free and alone, among the mountains, forests, and streams." His frequent journeys to various places gave him the opportunity of making friends everywhere and exercising his influence on them for the purpose of attaining the ideal he cherished. He made friends

with kings and princes, with popes and scholars, and he tells us in his letters his intercourse with them was such as to excite the envy of the less fortunate. His letters exhibit a deep interest in public affairs, but like those of many of his contemporaries his political views are broad with that total disregard of human nature which finds such an extraordinary expression in Machiavelli's Prince. His international fame brought him into association with the greatest men of his age. It was not only the estimable worth of the gospel he preached, but it was also his charming personality that made him the idol of his time. He was honored and feted, as he tells us with becoming frankness and unblushing pride, by rulers and potentates who vied with each other in showering honors upon him. He was courted by Kings and Popes, and even enjoyed the friendship of the far-away Emperor. Even the King of France claimed the honor of his presence at the French court, as Voltaire was sought by Frederick the Great.

But it was among the men of letters that his influence was the greatest. He was the supreme ruler among them. And of his work he writes to Boccaccio: "I certainly will not reject the praise which you bestow upon me for having stimulated in many instances, not only in Italy but perchance beyond its confines, the pursuit of studies such as ours, which have suffered neglect for so many centuries. I am indeed one of the oldest among us who are engaged in the cultivation of these subjects.

The secret of this great influence that made him the greatest figure of his period and the leader of an unsurpassed intellectual movement, lies not only in his profound insight and moral and intellectual sagacity, but in the fact that he was above all else essentially a child of his age. He was the most typical product of his time, and though he was in advance of his world he was of it. He was not only a prophet of a future age, with ideals and inspirations, but he was a human being with all the humanistic qualities that are essential, with a personality that brought him wide popularity, and that raised him high above his contemporaries, making him the hero of their worship and the idol of their admiration. He belonged to the medieval as well as the modern world, to the present and the future. There was a certain sympathy between him and his age. He understood the world, and he was essentially a part of it. Like Luther and Voltaire he was to address a generation that was waiting for a leader to guide



it into a new era, a new future of glories and triumphs, and that was ready to obey his summons when it should come.

The importance of Petrarch's letters can never be appreciated; their scantiness, and the fact that they are the only reliable mirror of the man and the period preceding the Renaissance, give to them an intrinsic worth that no one can fail to cherish as one of the world's greatest treasures, even though we seem to have lost sight of their influence on contemporary events and modern **culture**.

## THE CRISIS IN INDIA

BY BASANTA KOOMAR ROY

INDIA is in the midst of a tremendous crisis. The problems of that distant land are so complex that it is exceedingly difficult for Americans to realize the real significance of them. The currents of political, social, economic and cultural upheavals are of such dynamic strength and titanic proportions that it needs deep study and unbiased minds to understand their nature and the scope of their activities. The revolt in India is not against the British alone. India is in general revolt against anything and everything, both internal and external, that stands in the path of progress. The British feel the force of this general revolt the most, because they are the worst impediment in the path of progress in India. The alien rule, in order to exist for the exploitation of India for England, has naturally to align itself with the darkest forces of reaction, superstition and retrogression in that country of 320,000,000 people with an area as large as the whole of Europe without Russia.

For the last twenty years I have been closely in touch with India's fight for freedom. But the longer I study the problem the more convinced I am of the fact that the British could not stay in India as rulers for a single day if the people of India were not so servile through political and economic slavery. Their abject poverty and fear of British persecution doom them to the hated condition to which they are consigned today. And again, thorough disarming of the people has emasculated them beyond words. One English soldier with a rifle or a cane can scare away 10,000 Indians. I have seen thousands of Hindustianees run away from a handful of British soldiers or police like so many frightened sheep. The flagrant miscarriages of justice in the British courts help to keep the people in such a state of mind. The progressive political leaders of Egypt, Ireland and the Philippines are for complete independ-

ence of their countries. They are too honorable to make any secret about the matter. But the recognized political leaders of India have sunk too low in the slough of slavery to ask even for the freedom of the country that gave them birth. They would be willing to keep India in the heterogenous harem of the British empire.

The non-revolutionary India is in revolt against British tyranny, but not for India's liberty. But it is still hopeful that lethargic India is in revolt against British tyranny. Once awakened she will see newer visions and she will hear newer calls. Proofs of this are already in evidence; for India is also in revolt against the tyranny of the Brahmins; it is against the tyranny of the greedy Hindustanee manufacturers and landlords; it is against the tyranny of Hindu and Moslem fanaticism in religion; it is against the tyranny of savage cast system; and it is in revolt against the crushing tyranny of India's cultural stupor.

The organized revolt against the British in India began on the 10th of May, 1857, when the sepoys of Hindustan, backed by the patriotic princes and peoples of India, rose in revolt against the British. Had it not been for the Sikh support to the British during that crisis the British would have been out of India in 1858. The Indian National Congress was started in 1885 to petition the government for the redress of wrongs. But in 1905 a new life began in India with the partition of Bengal by Lord Curzon. This year saw the birth of the new revolutionary movement in India. Groups of young men all over India began to feel that according to the lessons of history no country ever became free from an alien yoke without an armed struggle. The stories of America's fight against the British, Italy's fight against Austria and Russia's fight against the Czars became very popular with the young. Revolutionary societies were organized, and soon bombs and revolvers were used against the British officials. During the war an abortive attempt was made by the revolutionists to bring about an armed uprising. After the war was over the British, who won victories in different war fronts with India's soldiers and India's money, began new oppressions which resulted in the Punjab disturbances and the Amritsar massacre of April 13, 1919. This taught a great lesson to the leaders of all schools of political thought in India.

Soon after the death of Balgangadhar Tilak, Mahatma Gandhi became the leader of the congress, and declared his famous non-violent non-co-operation, i. e., an absolute boycott of everything British—British schools, colleges, courts, goods, titles, honors, social

functions, etc., etc. This widespread agitation and the uprising of the Moplahs in the south frightened the British to a great extent. Thousands upon thousands were arrested and put into prison. But the movement collapsed on account of lack of vision of the leaders



RANEE LACHMI BAI, of Jhansi.

Dressed as a man general, she led different armies against the British during the Sepoy war of 1857-58.

led by Mahatma Gandhi. At last the great Mahatma was imprisoned. During his prison days the Congress, of which he allowed himself to be appointed as the dictator, divided itself into two distinct factions. The new party, led by Chittaranjan Das advocated

entry into the British legislative councils and to break them from within. This party was called the Swarajya Party. It did succeed in harassing the governments of two different provinces into autocratically dissolving the legislatures. Even the Viceroy's government was defeated by the Swarajists with the help of the members of other parties in the council. Upon his release from prison Mahatma Gandhi deserted his own disciples, and to their utter disgust threw non-co-operation overboard, except the boycott of British goods.

In the meantime the revolutionists who marked time in order to give Mahatma Gandhi a chance with his program of non-violence became active again. Here and there the revolver and the bomb began to make their presence felt. Young India all over the world came to know that the spirit of revolt in India was not dead yet—that there were at least a few in India who did not shrink from giving their lives in defence of the honor of the Motherland.

Lord Reading's government became nervous. He then issued an ordinance of a most amazing character on October 23rd last. This ordinance grants extraordinary power in the hands of the police in peace time. As the Partition of Bengal in October, 1905, united all India as one, similarly this new Bengal ordinance of twenty years later has given a new turn to the national movement in India. In an official statement, Lord Reading explains as follows by way of explanation for his Czarist ukase: "It is a matter of common knowledge that a revolutionary conspiracy existed during the years 1912-1917 which has left the most poignant memories of the misery and terror it created throughout Bengal. It was not suppressed until its leaders were confined under the provisions of Regulation III of 1818, and many of its subordinate members dealt with under Defence of India Act.

"After the Royal Proclamation of 1919, most of these persons were released. During the year 1920 to 1922, they carried on their activities under the cloak of the political movements then in progress, recruiting their followers and perfecting their organizations with a view to future action when opportunity offered. Toward the end of 1922, the leaders of these conspiracies, believing that their objects would not be attained by the methods of the non-co-operation movement, decided to revert to methods of violence. The two main terrorist organizations had been resuscitated; new members in large numbers were recruited; arms and ammunition, partly of a kind which cannot be obtained in India, and must, therefore, have been

smuggled from aboard, were collected; a new and highly dangerous type of bomb was manufactured and projects of assassination against certain police officers and other persons were devised.

“During the year 1923, a series of outrages was perpetrated, including a dacoity with double murder at Kona, near Howrah and the looting of Uttadingi Post Office in May, robbery with murder in July, the Sankaritola tragedy and others which I need not specify. In January of the present year, Mr. Day was murdered in Calcutta, and an attempt was made to murder Mr. Bruce in April, in both cases as it appears mistaken for a prominent and distinguished police official. In March a bomb factory was discovered, and other activities directed to the manufacture of bombs and the illicit collection of arms were detected. It is known that other crimes were planned and that projects of assassination continued and still continue to be devised. I say nothing of other deplorable events which are now under judicial investigation. Evidence has been placed before me which shows to my satisfaction that the movement is deep-seated and dangerous.”

Political agitation has gained an added impetus on account of this ordinance. The ordinance, however, was voted out in Legislative Council. But Lord Reading certified it by his own personal will. By the divine right of the British Viceroy in India it became a law by his mere wish. This has only added insult to an injury. Even Mahatma Gandhi's saintly equanimity seems to have been disturbed by this latest display of British autocracy in India. The Mahatma writes: “The so-called pax Britannica is no compensation for the deprivation of liberty and ever-growing pauperism. In spite of elaborate Viceregal reasoning, I venture to submit that no case has been made out of the arbitrary measures adopted by His Excellency.”

The conservatives like Mahatma Gandhi and Chittaranjan Das are sorry over this Bengal ordinance. But the revolutionists are expressing their joy over it. They claim that the more the oppression, the better it is for recruiting in their ranks. And that the more the disillusionment regarding the platitudes of British honor, British justice, British fair play, and other jargons in connection with British rule in India, Ireland and Egypt the better for the emancipation of these nations from under the yoke of British imperialism.

## II

The task of nation building is not easy in any country. During the last world war we saw even native born American citizens standing divided in warring camps according to the lineage of their fathers and forefathers. Most decidedly there was bitterness, there was hatred, there was unquenchable spirit of revenge amongst the opponents. The feeling still lingers.

Now, India is the international headquarters for world's sects and creeds. Religious antagonism is caused by ignorance. And the condition of education in India is in such a state that after 150 years of British rule only ten men out of a hundred and only one woman out of about 150 women can read and write their names in any language. This dense illiteracy breeds religious fanaticism. And again, the British administrators know that they could not rule over India for one day if the different sects and creeds of India could write against their alien rulers. In order to rule they must be, by all means, kept divided. So the British police agents are continuously busy artificially stirring up troubles, mainly between the Hindus and the Mohammedans. The British government spends money most lavishly to keep up the feuds. During the world war the Hindus and the Mohammedans were united as one. They worked together and suffered together.

Quite unfortunately there have been a few riots between the Hindus and the Mohammedan fanatics. There were riots in cities like Delhi Lucknow, Allahabad, Nagpur, Faridpur, Multan and Kohat. Progressive India refuses to call this a fight between the Hindus and the Mohammedans. The present fight is the fight of ignorance with ignorance, prejudice with prejudice, rowdyism with rowdyism, fanaticism with fanaticism, instigated, backed, financed, plotted and nurtured by paid agents of the British government.

With the exception of renegade and degenerate Hindu and Moslem fanatics the best minds of India are doing everything in their power to bridge the gulf between the two great communities. They all recognize that this is only a passing cloud. They are repudiating all responsibilities of the atrocities of these riots. It must be



MAHATMA GANDHI AND HIS WIFE, KASTURIBAI GANDHI.



said here that during most of these riots Mohammedan families have sheltered Hindu men and women to protect them from the furies of the Moslem rioters. Hindu families have also done exactly the same to the Moslems.

As a penance for the sins of his countrymen as manifested in these religious riots, Mahatma Gandhi fasted for twenty-one days. Then a unity conference was convened in Delhi composed of members of all sects and creeds. They all agreed to a program of action to stop religious riots; and deplored the past riots in the strongest possible terms.

Mahatma Gandhi is doing everything in his power to bring about a real unity between the Hindus and the Mohammedans. He writes: "For me, the only question for immediate solution before the country is the Hindu-Moslem question. I agree with Mr. Jinnah that Hindu-Moslem unity means Swaraj. I see no way of achieving anything in this afflicted country without a lasting heart-unity between Hindus and Musalmans of India. I believe in the immediate possibility of achieving it, because it is so natural, so necessary for both, and because I believe in human nature."

As President of the Moslem League of India, Mr. Jinnah says as follows: "The domination by the bureaucracy will continue as long as the Hindus and Mohammedans do not come to a settlement. If we wish to be a free people, let us unite; but if we wish to continue slaves of the bureaucracy let us fight amongst ourselves and gratify petty vanity over petty matters, the Englishman being our arbiter."

Both the Hindu and Moslem scholars are now busy quoting Hindu and Moslem scriptures against such riots. Thus Prophet Mohammed is quoted: "All human beings are the children of one God and the best of mankind is he who does the utmost good to his fellow-creatures." And again the Koran is quoted: "Oppose evil with good, i. e., do good to him who does evil unto you." On this Rumi is quoted to have commented as follows: "Be like a rose, though you tear it petal from petal it will not give up its smile nor will it hide its fragrance."

The esoteric interpretation of the present Hindu-Moslem discord is that the mild and non-violent Hindu is organizing to strike back in self-defence. This is quite an achievement. This augers well for India, because both the Hindus and the Mohammedans will soon find out that the real trouble is not in cow-killing or in music before the Mosques; but the real trouble lies latent in British

diplomatic victory in managing to make them fight to weaken them so that they may be kept in political and economic slavery. With the dawning of this consciousness which comes from real self-awakening, both the militant Hindus and the militant Mohammedans will militantly unite to strike down British militancy in India for the emancipation of their own country.

### III

The British propagandists and their associates in America, as also the professional saviors of souls that flock to India in unholy numbers from the West are busy telling the world of India's social wrongs. But those of us that have travelled in Europe and America know fully well that there is not a country in the West that is not suffering from some social wrongs or other. There is not a social vice in India which has not its robust counterpart in America and England. India's caste by birth has its counterpart in America's caste of color; India's outrage on the pariahs is more than counter-balanced by American outrage on and lynching of the negroes; the evils of India's early marriage is more than amply counter-balanced by England's open prostitution in parks and streets. Thousands of young mothers in India go through life with shattered health and broken spirits; whereas in America there are 2,000,000 abortions a year. For every social evil in India we can quote a similar one in America; and a few worse ones in England.

But that is not the point. Two wrongs do not make one good. We are sorry that the West has been looking into our social anomalies so absorbingly that it has forgotten to look into its own affairs at home. As a Hindu I know that none but the congenital idiots in India would refuse to admit that we have crying social wrongs that demand immediate attention. I do not hesitate to admit that the besetting social sin of India is the caste system and the most vicious extreme of that caste system is the treatment of the pariah untouchables by the so-called caste people. As in America, one-tenth of her population in the negro is condemned to social ostracism and untold humiliation, similar is the fate of one-sixth of the total population of India in the pariah. The struggle for the freedom of the pariah has been going on for some time. Swami Vivekananda spoke

very strongly against this gruesome social sin of the Hindus more than twenty-five years ago. The Brahmins of the south are the worst sinners in this respect. The social tyranny of the pariahs is so atrocious that they are, here and there, showing signs of revolt. The sweepers and scavengers and other untouchables now quite often go on strike, and thus make the highcaste men realize how potentially strong they really are. A short while ago the pariah workers in the tea gardens of Assam got together and beat to death Mr. Whitten, the manager of the Payang Tea Estate at Sibsagar because he ordered heavy work by way of punishment. Recently serious riots occurred between the pariahs and caste Hindus at Salem. The pariahs are organizing everywhere to fight in an organized way for their social, economic, religious and political rights.

The forward-looking political leaders of India have at last discovered that no substantial progress in national unity is possible until the masses of the untouchables are treated as an integral part of society. Hence, both the followers and opponents of Mahatma Gandhi are working as a unit for the freedom of the pariah. Writes thus the Mahatma: "Untouchability is doomed. It may take time. But the progress made is truly marvellous. It is more still in the thought world. But in action too one notices the effect everywhere. It was a glorious sight, the other day, to see in Mangrol not one of the ladies raising her hand against untouchables sitting side by side with them. And when they were actually brought in none of these brave women moved. It is not a solitary instance. But I know that there is a dark side to the picture. Hindus must unremittingly toil away at the reform. The larger the number of workers the more substantial the result."

As a means for the attainment of this ideal the Mahatma advocates: "We must first come in living touch with the pariahs by working for them and in their midst. We must share their sorrows, understand their difficulties and anticipate their wants. With the pariahs we must be pariahs and see how we fell to clean the closets of the upper classes and have the remains of their tables thrown at us. We must see how we like being in the boxes, miscalled houses, of the laborers of Bombay. We must identify ourselves with the villagers who toil under the hot sun beating on their bent backs and see how we would like to drink water from the pool in which the villagers bathe, wash their clothes and pots and in which their cattle drink and roll. Then and not till then shall we truly represent



MME. BIKBUJI R. CAMA

An eminent Hindu woman, leader of the Indian militants, in exile in Paris.  
She is holding the flag of the Indian Republicans.

the masses and they will, as surely as I am writing this, respond to every call."

As a result of the nation-wide agitation against untouchability, influential men and women are travelling like Crusaders all over India, preaching human treatment for the pariah. This is also being openly advocated from the national and provincial congresses and conferences. Recently at a conference the high cast people openly and defiantly drank water from the hands of the pariahs. It shocked the orthodox; but it was done just the same.

But the fight is by no means over. It has not even begun in right earnest. Hindu orthodoxy in the south is so strongly entrenched that it is most difficult to dislodge it. At present, a bitter non-violent fight is going on at Vaikom in the state of Travancore. At Vaikom there are a few jim-crow streets leading to a temple. These streets are barred to the pariahs. The pariahs, led by India's political leaders, are peacefully fighting to vindicate their right to walk on these streets. Volunteers are coming from all over India to lie down on these streets and thus court arrest and punishment. Mahatma Gandhi has granted his full support to this *satyagraha* (holding on to truth) movement at Vaikom. Quite recently he even went himself to Vaikom, and did his utmost to break the deadlock there, but failed. He returned home disgusted and disappointed. Even the suggestion of a compromise with the orthodox Hindus of Vaikom failed to meet with their acceptance. On the whole the pariahs are still peaceful; but it will be a sad day indeed for the orthodox caste people when the pariahs decide to be militant.

#### IV

As in the south this struggle is going on between the pariahs and the non-pariahs, similarly a terrific struggle is going on in the north between the British and the followers of the Sikh faith. For the past few years the Sikhs are peacefully fighting against the British bureaucracy for the democratic control of their temples of worship known as Gurdwaras. The British government is taking the side of the corrupt Sikh priests and are perpetrating all sorts of atrocities on even the peaceful Sikhs. The Sikh opposition is getting stronger and stronger every day, and every month.

What a change! Yesterday the Sikh was a willing slave of England, today he has mastered courage enough to challenge the British Raj! Yesterday he cheerfully conquered territories after territories for the British in India and in other distant quarters of the globe; today he is beginning to feel at times that he could live a happier, healthier and more prosperous life if he could free himself from under the galling yoke of England. British nervousness is enhanced a thousand fold on account of the fact that there are thousands upon thousands of Sikh soldiers in the British army of occupation in India. When the Sikh soldiers turn against the British, the British rule in India ends in a day.

The Sikh is forcing the world to take notice of him. The Indian and the British papers and magazines are giving considerable space to the burning problems and activities of the Sikh. Almost nothing is known of the Sikh in America. So a short account of the Sikh would not be out of place, and certainly not out of season. The Sikhs form a religious sect of India; and they are about 3,500,000 strong. The founder of the faith was Guru Nanak. He lived during the middle of the sixteenth century. He united the very best of Hinduism with the very best of Mohammedanism. Thus a common platform was formed for the Hindus and the Mohammedans. But the orthodox among the Moghul rulers of India rather resented this encroachment upon their orthodoxy.

For generations the Sikhs were persecuted. Nine of the Gurus (religious leaders) stood for passive resistance, but won nothing but insults and injuries of most atrocious character, and a few merciless executions of their leaders. But the tenth Guru was a man of different character and temperament. He plainly saw the futility of their stupid pacifism. So he declared for militant methods to resist tyranny. His name was Guru Govind Singh. He appealed to the Sikhs to prepare for real sacrifice—the sacrifice of blood. At a mass meeting of his disciples he appealed for five men to offer their lives to be sacrificed right there. None dared. The entire audience was terror-stricken. At last under the magnetic spell of the powerful oratory of Guru Govind Singh one solitary Sikh rose in a corner to part with his life right there.

Guru Govind Singh blessed him, and led him behind a curtain, and returned to the platform with a sword smiling red with blood. The audience became excited and restless, but inspired. The Guru appealed again for another. The second offered himself to be sacrificed without any loss of time; and the Guru repeated the same

process. Thus five were sacrificed. Then many offered themselves to be sacrificed to safeguard the honor of their faith. But their offers were not accepted. At last the Guru went behind the curtain and returned with the five self-sacrificing, heroic Sikhs. The disciples did not understand what it all meant. The Guru then ex-



GURU GOVIND SINGH,

The great Sikh religious and military leader.

plained that he meant only to test the sincerity of the self-sacrificing spirit of his disciples; and that he only smeared his sword with the blood of goats. He told them plainly and emphatically that pacifism would never right their wrongs, they must draw the sword in defence of the honor of their community. Thus the peaceful Sikhs

were dramatically turned into a military confederacy under the far-sighted guidance of Guru Govind Singh.

This new outlook on life transformed the Sikhs morally, intellectually and physically. They fought many a battle, and after the fall of the Moghuls triumphantly entered the city of Lahore in 1758 — a year after the British conquest of Bengal subsequent to their treacherous victory at Pallasy. The Sikhs were the last to be subdued by the British. And the Kohinoor diamond that once adorned Sikh crowns is today cut in two and adorns the crowns of England. The republicans of India, however, are looking forward to an early transfer of the Kohinoor from England to India.

Most of the Sikhs live in the Punjab and follow farming as a profession. They are very religious. The Sikhs organized themselves to control their temples of worship democratically, instead of by the corrupt priests under the patronage of the British government. The British Raj smelled sedition in this movement, and decided to crush the movement by both batons and rifles. Thus the Sikh Akalis came into conflict with the British police and soldiers. There were massacres and murders and beating up of the devout Sikhs by the British soldiers and police. The peaceful struggle went on most bitterly at Nankhana Sahib, at Guru-Ka-bagh and other holy places of the Sikhs. The conflict began in February, 1921, and it is still going on in different parts of the Punjab, specially at Jaitoo, in the state of Nabha.

It was suspected that the Sikh Maharaja of Nabha, Shri Ripudamar Singh, was in sympathy with the Akali struggle for the capture of their places of worship. So the British Raj decided to dethrone the patriotic Maharaja, and it was done one morning by the British soldiers. The Maharaja and the Maharani were forcibly taken out of their palace and motored out of the state. They are in exile now. But the struggle is still going on in Nabha between the Sikh Akalis and the British Raj. The Sikhs are resolved to reach their temple at Jaitoo, but the British are obstructing them with batons and bullets. A second Amritsar was enacted at Jaitoo in the massacre of a group of these peaceful and unarmed Akalis. Since then the struggle is going on more bitterly, more intensely. Thousands of Sikhs are rushing from all sections of the Punjab to reach Jaitoo in different groups. They are no doubt being whipped, kicked, beaten up, arrested and molested most mercilessly. Still the fight is going on.

The more militant amongst the Sikhs decided to follow in the



foot-prints of the tenth Guru—Guru Govind Singh. They discovered that pacifism under the present conditions was another name for cowardice which only degenerated their souls and disgraced



His Highness the MAHARAJA RIPUDAMAN SINGH, of Nabha.

their bodies. Consequently they decide to carry on a campaign of open militant revolutionary activities.

These red-blooded Sikhs are known as Babbar Akalis. The Babbar Akalis most valiantly declared and carried on guerrilla warfare on the British Raj. Their daring deeds of patriotism struck terror into the hearts of the British, both civil and military. The story of vandalism perpetrated by the British in their attempt to break the backbone of these fearless patriots is ghastly reading. Unspeakable terrorism in the shape of bombing from aeroplanes, burning of homes and farms and promiscuous shooting of these Sikhs failed to strike terror into the hearts of these valiant patriots. The conflict went on for a few months. The Babbar Akalis, for lack of proper support from their cowardly fellow-countrymen, were subdued, as were the Moplahs in the south a few years ago. Commenting on the decision on the Babbar Akali Conspiracy Case the United States of India writes: "The Babbar Akali 'conspiracy' case has ended with four of the defendants sentenced to death, nine to life imprisonment and forty-one others to serve sentences ranging from three to seven years' hard labor.

"These men, against tremendous odds, have sought to gain for their country an equal footing with America as an independent nation. In these days of international intrigues, when suspicion is rooted in the hearts of men, the heroism of these brave men will pass unnoticed outside the confines of their own country. Though four of them will soon be buried in a quicklime grave the cause for which they die will live on and prosper. Today Britain takes her toll from the best and bravest of the people of India. Tomorrow another story will be told and the memory of these four Babbar Akalis will be as fresh as the morning dew as the people of another generation pay tribute to the work they started and which others brought to final victory. The Babbar Akalis are worthy representatives of a worthy nation. So long as a country can produce such men, there is a great hope ever living and burning within the country. The cause for which these men die will be enriched by their death. There will be others to take their place for as Thomas Jefferson so ably said: 'The blood of the martyrs nourishes the tree of liberty'."

## V

After the ignoble bursting of the refined and deceitful bubble of the humbug of "self-determination" of nations so glibly talked about during the world war to bamboozle the guileless, the progressive people of India have realized as Byron wanted the Greeks to realize:

In native swords and native ranks  
The only hope of courage dwells.

In the same strain awakened India sings her national song *Bandemataram*:

Mother, hail!  
Thou with sweet springs flowing,  
Thou fair fruits bestowing,  
Cool with Zephyrs blowing,  
Green with corn-crops growing,  
Mother, hail!

Thou of the shivering joyous moon-blanced night,  
Thou with fair groups of flowering tree-clumps bright,  
Sweetly smiling  
Speech beguiling,  
Pouring bliss and blessing;  
Mother, hail!

Though now three hundred million voices thru thy mouth sonorous  
shout,

Though twice three hundred million hands hold thy trenchant sword  
blades out,

Yet with all this power now,  
Mother, wherefore powerless thou?  
Holder thou of myriad might,  
I salute thee, saviour bright,  
Thou who dost all foes afright,  
Mother, hail!

Thou sole creed and wisdom art,  
Thou our very mind and heart,  
And the life-breath in our bodies.  
Thou as strength in arms of men,  
Thou as faith in hearts dost reign.

Lotus-throned one, rivalless,  
Radiant in thy spotlessness,  
Thou whose fruits and waters bless  
    Mother, hail!  
Hail, thou verdant, unbeguiling,  
Hail, o decked on, sweetly smiling,  
    Ever bearing,  
    Ever rearing,  
    Mother, hail!

In spite of all the profession of pacifism by Mahatma Gandhi and his followers, there is no denying the fact that by her social injustices, economic exploitations, and political servitude England is driving India to arms. He who runs can see this. Sooner or later an armed conflict is inevitable. British nervousness as shown in her ordinances and total disarming of the country is only hastening the conflict. Strategic experts are even expecting international complications both in the Afghan and Chinese borders of India. It is too early to predict what form these complications may assume. Whatever they may be, and whatever may be their potency they will not fail to make the crisis in India more critical and more dynamic, both nationally and internationally. The awakening of India is of such a fundamental nature that none need long despair of India taking her rightful place amongst the independent Republics of the world. If America and other liberty-loving nations of the world cannot help India in her fight for independence, let us warn, let none hinder.

THE NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CEREMONY  
OF SACRIFICE, ACCORDING TO HUBERT  
AND MAUSS.<sup>1</sup>

TRANSLATED BY ARTHUR JULIUS NELSON

INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The sacrificial ceremony has long been recognized by anthropologists and students of the history of religion to be a basic one in the evolution of religious rites. There have been a number of theories offered to account for the origin and purpose of this significant rite. E. B. Tylor traced its evolution through the piacular, homage and renunciation stages. Robertson Smith distinguished the honorific, piacular, sacramental and communion rites in sacrifice. Frazer held that sacrifice was designed as a group defence-mechanism against the disasters of death, and as a symbolic aid to the spirit of fertility. Marillier traced the development of sacrifice through the stages of magic rite, piacular sacrifice and communion sacrifice. Westermarck recognized in sacrifice the substitution by man of a non-human victim designed to save man from death, and also the function of the scape-goat to whom, in sacrifice, a curse upon the group had been transferred. While all of these attempts to explain the sacrifice possess some degree of validity, they were scarcely in full accord with the modern dynamic theory of religion and its evolution, based on the concept of *mana* and the sacred, which was postulated by Codrington and elaborated and confirmed by Marett. In the following theory of Hubert and Mauss we have the first thorough effort to explain the phenomena associated with sacrifice in terms of the newer developments in the history of religion. Aside from any theoretical significance, the essay possesses great importance for its lucid and penetrating description of the rite and its execution. It is one of the classic products of the Durkheim School.

<sup>1</sup> Translated from the *Mélanges d'Histoire des Religions*. Par H. Hubert et M. Mauss. Paris, Alcan, 1909.

## I. SACRIFICE: THE GENERAL NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE

WE PROPOSE to define the nature and social function of sacrifice. Our work has already been prepared for us by the researches of Tylor, Robertson, Smith, and Frazer. Other studies, however, allow for a different and more comprehensive theory than theirs. Our theory is only a provisional hypothesis; new facts may cause modification in future, for the subject is vast and complicated.

Theories of sacrifice are as old as religions, but only those of recent years have a scientific color. The English school of anthropologists is responsible for these scientific theories. The first is that of Tylor: according to him, sacrifice is originally a gift, given by the savage to a supernatural being in order to bring favor upon him. When the gods expanded and became more distant, the necessity of continuing to transmit to them this gift gave birth to sacrificial rites, designed to convey the things spiritualized to the spiritual beings.

Next came sacrifice in the form of homage, the sacrificer not expecting anything in return. Thence there was only one step to sacrifice or self-abnegation and renunciation; the evolution lay in the change from the presents to the sacrificer himself as the thing offered.

If Tylor's foregoing theory described the phases of the moral development of the phenomenon, it did not explain its mechanism. It only reproduced in a definite language the old popular conceptions. Without a doubt, it was partially true historically. It is certain that sacrifices were generally in some degree gifts conferring upon the faithful certain claims upon their gods. They also served to nourish the gods. But it was not sufficient merely to establish the fact; it was necessary to give an explanation.

Robertson Smith was the first one to attempt a rationalized explanation of sacrifice. He was inspired by the recent discovery of totemism. Just as the organization of the totemic clan had explained for him the Arabian and Semitic families, so he sought in the practices of the totemic cult the antecedents of sacrifice. In

totemism, the totem or god is the father of his worshippers; they are of the same flesh as he and the purpose of the rite is to guarantee this common life. If need be, it re-establishes unity. Alliance by blood and the common meal are the simplest means of attaining this result. In the common meal, the sacrificers are assimilated into the totem and the totem is assimilated in them. From communal sacrifice Smith derived expiatory or piacular and honorific sacrifices. Expiation consists in the re-establishment of the broken alliance—totemic sacrifice had all the traces of an expiatory rite. Smith finds this virtue in all sacrifices, even after the disappearance of totemism.

It remains to explain why the victim, originally divided up and eaten by the faithful, was generally completely destroyed in the piacular sacrifice. The fact is, from the time when the ancient totems were supplanted by domestic animals in the cults of pastoral peoples, they figured very rarely in sacrifices and only under grave circumstances. As a result, they appeared too sacred to be touched by profane hands: only the priests ate them, or else they were done away with.

In this case, the extreme sanctity of the victim was finally turned into impurity. On the other hand, when the kinship between men and animals ceased to be intelligible to the Semites, human sacrifice replaced the animal, for it was henceforward the only way of establishing a direct exchange of blood between the clan and the god. But then, the ideas and customs which protected the life of individuals in society by proscribing anthropophagy, caused the sacrificial meal to fall into disuse.

On the other hand, the sacred character of domestic animals, profaned daily by the nurture of man, gradually relapsed. Divinity detached itself from its animal forms. The victim, in drawing away from the god, approached man, owner of the flock. Then arose the custom of representing the offering made from the flock as a gift from man to the gods, and thus gift sacrifice took birth.

To Smith's researches the works of Fraser and Jevons are allied. With a little more caution about certain points, the latter's theories are generally the theological exaggeration of Smith's doctrine. While Fraser does not accept the totemic hypothesis, he adds an important development. The explanation of the sacrifice of the god had been rudimentary with Smith. Without misjudging its naturalistic character, he made it out to be a piacular sacrifice of a superior kind. The ancient idea of the kinship of the totemic victim and the gods survived to justify the animal sacrifices:

they communicated and re-enforced a drama in which the god was the victim. Fraser recognized the similarity existing between these sacrificed gods and the rural demons of Manhardt ("Cult of Forest and Field," *Studies in Mythology*).

The totemic sacrifice and the ritualistic murder of the spirits of the vegetable world were brought together; he showed how from the sacrifice and the communal feast came the agrarian sacrifice in which, in order to be allied to the gods of the field at the close of his animal life, the victim was killed and eaten. He establishes at the same time the fact that often the old god thus sacrificed appeared, perhaps on account of the taboos with which he was charged, to carry away with him sickness, death, sin, and play the part of the scapegoat. But although the idea of expulsion was pronounced in these sacrifices, the expiation appeared to come out of the communion. Fraser proposed to complete Smith's theory rather than to dispute it.

The great fault of this system is the attempt to bring together multifarious forms of sacrifice under one arbitrary principle of unity. In the first place, the universality of totemism, the point of departure of the whole theory, is a postulate. Totemism in its pure state appeared only in the less numerous tribes of Australia and America. Besides it is hard to find sacrifices properly totemic. Fraser himself has recognized that often the victim was that of an agrarian sacrifice. In other cases, the assumed totems are the representatives of a species of animals upon which the life of the tribe depends, whether they be domesticated, likeable animals or particularly wild ones. In any case, a minute description of a certain number of these ceremonies would be necessary and that is precisely what is lacking.

But let us assume that the hypothesis of the universality of totemism is true, however doubtful that is. The delicate point of the doctrine is the historical succession and logical derivation that Smith pretends to establish between communal sacrifice and other types of sacrifice. Nothing is more doubtful. All attempts at a comparative chronology of the Arabian, Hebraic and other sacrifices, which he studied, are fatal. The facts of history and ethnography show that the piacular sacrifice existed side by side with the communal sacrifice.

Besides, this vague term of piacular sacrifice permits Smith to describe under the same title and in the same terms purifications, propitiations and expiations, and it is this confusion which prevents



him from analyzing expiatory sacrifice. These sacrifices were generally followed by a reconciliation with the god; a sacrificial meal, a sprinkling of blood, an anointment re-established the alliance. Only, according to Smith, it is in these communal rites themselves that the purifying virtues of these types of sacrifice reside; the idea of expiation is thereby absorbed in the idea of communion. Without a doubt, he establishes, in some extreme or simple forms, something which he does not dare connect up with communion: a sort of exorcism, expulsion of a bad character. But according to him these are magical processes which have nothing of the sacrificial about them and he explains with much erudition and ingenuity their (tardy) introduction into the mechanism of sacrifice. It is precisely that which we cannot grant. One of the purposes of this work is to show that the elimination of a (sacred) character, pure or impure, is a primitive mechanism of sacrifice, as primitive and as irreducible as communion. If the sacrificial system has a principle of unity, it must be sought elsewhere.

Smith's error has been especially an error of method. Instead of analyzing in its original complexity the system of the Semitic ritual, he has rather engaged himself to group the facts genealogically according to the points of analogy which he thought he perceived among them. We do not wish to compile an encyclopaedia which would be impossible for us to make complete and which, coming after those of the English anthropologists, would be useless. We shall try to study typical facts. These facts we shall borrow particularly from Sanskrit texts and from the Bible.

We are far from having documents of the same value for the Greek and Roman sacrifices. We can only build up a separate ritual on the sparse evidence furnished by inscriptions and authors. On the contrary, in the Bible and in the *Hindu* texts we have a body of doctrines which belong to a determined period, the document is direct, edited by its actors themselves, in their language, and in the same spirit in which they accomplished the rites.

Doubtless, when it is a question of distinguishing between the simple and elementary features of an institution, it is unfortunate to take as a starting point rituals which have been probably deformed by a learned theology. But with this species of facts, all research purely historical is vain. The antiquity of texts or of reported facts, the relative barbarism of peoples, the apparent simplicity of rites, are deceiving chronological indexes. It is useless to search in verses of the *Iliad* for an image approximating the sacrifice of

the primitive Greeks—they do not suffice even to give an exact idea of the sacrifice in Homeric times. We gain a picture of ancient rites only through literary documents, vague and incomplete and falsified. Neither can one expect much from ethnography except by facts generally warped by hasty observation or made false by the preciseness of our languages.

We do not propose a history and genesis of sacrifice. Neither will we refrain from the use of classical texts or of ethnography to enlighten our analyses and to govern the generality of our conclusions. Instead of concentrating our study on a group of artificially formed facts, we shall have in the definite and complete rituals which we shall study natural systems of rites which project themselves for observation. Thus constrained by the texts, we shall be less exposed to omissions and artificial classifications. Since the two religions are different, one verging on monotheism, the other on pantheism, it is hoped by comparing them that some general conclusions might be aimed at.

The word "sacrifice" suggests immediately the idea of consecration and one might be led to believe that the two notions blend. It is certain that the sacrifice always implies a consecration: in all sacrifice an object passes from the common domain into the religious; it has become consecrated. But all consecrations are not the same. There are some which expend their effects on the consecrated object, whatever it may be, man or thing. That is the case with unction. Is a king made sacred? Only the religious personality of the king is modified; outside of that, nothing is changed. In sacrifice, on the contrary, the consecration goes out beyond the thing consecrated; it reaches among others the person who stands the expenses of the ceremony. The faithful one who furnished the victim, the object of consecration, is not at the conclusion of the operation what he was at the beginning. He has acquired a religious character which he did not have, or he has got rid of an unfavorable character with which he was afflicted. He has risen to a state of grace, or he has come out of a state of sin.

By the sacrificer, we mean the subject that receives the benefits of the sacrifice or submits to its effects. This subject is now an individual and now a group: family, clan, tribe, nation, secret society. When it is a group, it comes about that the group fills collectively the office of sacrifice; that is to say, it takes part in the ceremony. This is true particularly in the case of sacrifices truly totemic and of those where the group fills the role of sacrificer: kill-

ing, tearing and devouring the victim—sometimes it delegates one of its members to act in its place. Thus, it comes about that the family is generally represented by its head, society by its magistrates.

There are cases where the radiation of the sacrificial consecration does not make itself directly felt in the sacrificer himself, but in certain things which belong more or less to his person. In the sacrifice which takes place previous to the construction of a house, it is the house which is affected, and the quality which it has thus acquired may survive in its actual owner. In other cases, it is the fields of the sacrificer, the river which he must cross, the sermon which he preaches, the alliance he concludes, etc. We shall call the objects of sacrifice those sorts of things by reason of which the sacrifice takes place. The sacrificer himself is affected by his very presence at the sacrifice. The radiating action of the sacrifice is here particularly felt; for it produces a double effect: one on the object for which it is offered and on which it is intended to act, the other on the person who desires and provokes that effect. Sometimes it is efficacious only on condition that it has this double result.

We can see what is the distinctive trait of consecration in the sacrifice; it is that the consecrated thing serves as intermediary between the sacrificer, or the object which is to receive the useful effects of the sacrifice, and the divinity to whom the sacrifice is generally addressed. The man and the god are not in immediate contact. Thereby sacrifice is distinct from most of those facts designated by the name of *alliance through blood* whereby, through an exchange of blood, a direct fusion of the human and the divine lives is produced. There are also certain cases of offerings where the subject who sacrifices is in direct communication with the god. Doubtless there are points of connection between these rites and sacrifice; they must, however, be distinguished.

But this first characteristic is not sufficient, for it does not allow for a distinction between sacrifice and those poorly defined acts which are called offerings. Indeed, there is no offering where the consecrated object is not interposed equally between the god and the one offering and where the latter is not affected by the consecration. But if all sacrifice is, indeed, an offering, there are different kinds of offerings. In some offerings, the objects offered are not destroyed; in others, the offered objects are destroyed, e. g., animals. It is evidently for offerings of the latter type that we ought to reserve the name of sacrifice.

Under these conditions one ought to designate as sacrifice all offerings, even of vegetables, whenever the thing offered or a part of the thing offered, is destroyed, although usage seems to reserve the word sacrifice to describe bloody sacrifices only. It is arbitrary to thus restrain the meaning of the word. All things being equal, the mechanism of the consecration is the same in all cases; there is no reason for making a distinction between them. Thus the *minha* is an offering of flour and cakes; it accompanies certain sacrifices. The same rites are observed. A portion is destroyed in the fire on the altar; the rest is eaten in whole or in part by the priests. In Greece, certain gods admitted to their altars vegetable offerings only there were no animal sacrifices at all. As much can be said of libations of milk, wine or any other liquid. In Greece, these are subject to the same distinctions as sacrifices; sometimes they take the place of them. The identity of these different operations was so often felt by the Hindus that the objects offered in these different cases were identified with each other. They were all equally considered as living and treated as such. Thus when the grains were being crushed during a sacrifice that was sufficiently solemn, they were exhorted not to avenge themselves on the sacrificer for the injury that was done them. When the cakes were put on the potsherds to be baked, they were entreated not to break; when they were cut, they were implored not to hurt the sacrificer and the priests. When a libation of milk was made (and all Hindu offerings were made with milk or one of its products) it was not something inanimate which was offered, it was the cow herself.

Thus we come in the end to the following formula: The sacrifice is a religious act which, through the consecration of a victim, modifies the condition of the person who accomplishes it or the condition of certain objects which said person is interested in.

For the sake of brevity, we shall designate as personal sacrifices those where the personality of the sacrificer is directly affected by the sacrifice, and objective sacrifices those where the objects, real or ideal, receive directly the sacrificial action.

This definition limits not only the object of our research, it fixes for us a very important point; it supposes, indeed, the generic unity of sacrifices. When we criticized Smith for reducing expiatory sacrifice to communal sacrifice, we did not intend to establish the original and irreducible diversity of sacrificial systems. The fact is that their unity is not such as he pictured it. But this first result appears contradictory to the infinite variety which the forms of sac-

rifice seem to present. The occasions of sacrifice are numerous, the effects desired are very different and the multiplicity of ends implicates that of the means. The Germans have taken a particular fancy to arranging sacrifices in a certain number of distinct categories like expiatory, votive, etc. But these categories are indefinite. We shall not make use of any classifications currently employed—in our opinion they do not result from a methodical research. We shall borrow one of the classifications given in the Hindu text.

Perhaps the most instructive one is that which divides sacrifices into the constant and the occasional. The occasional sacrifices are first of all the sacramental sacrifices, that is to say, those which accompany the solemn moments of life, usually of a domestic nature; birth, marriage, etc. Others are concerned with the unction of the king, and the conferring of religious and civil quality which was considered superior to all others. In the second place, there are votive sacrifices, in which the character of the occasional is more marked; finally, there are curative and expiatory sacrifices.

Constant or periodical sacrifices are attached to certain fixed moments, independent of man's will and circumstances. Such are the daily sacrifice, the sacrifice of the new and the full moon, the sacrifices of seasonal and pastoral festivals, first fruits.

One can see on how many different occasions the Brahmins made use of sacrifices. But at the same time they comprehended the unity of them all. Nearly all the texts of the solemn ritual have the same order: the exposition of a fundamental ritual, which they diversify progressively to make it respond to different needs; seasonal celebrations; offerings to the new and full moon, votive sacrifices (offerings of cakes figure in all of them). The same flexibility is found in animal sacrifices. They are isolated or combined with others in most diverse cases: periodical nature festivals and domestic sacrifices.

The Hebrew ritual furnishes no less striking examples of the complexity of the rites and the identity of their elements. The book of Leviticus reduces all sacrifices to four fundamental forms: *ola*, *hattat*, *shelamim*, *mincha*. The *hattat* was the sacrifice which served particularly to expiate the sin which is described in Leviticus, iv., 2, unfortunately vague:

“And the Lord spoke unto Moses and said: ‘Speak unto the children of Israel and say to them: If anyone unintentionally sins against any of the commandments of the Lord, in which something is forbidden, and thereby does something which is forbidden.’ . . .

The Shelamim is a communal sacrifice, votive sacrifice, alliance, vow. The other two terms are descriptive. Each of them refers to one of the particular operations of the sacrifice: the second, to the presentation of the victim, when it is a vegetable; the first, to despatch of the offering to the divinity.

This simplification of sacrificial systems is doubtless the result of a classification which is too arbitrary to serve as the basis of a general study of sacrifice. But the four typical forms are not real types of sacrifice, but rather kinds of abstract elements where one of the organs of sacrifice is particularly developed and can always enter into more complex forms. Sacrifice for the purification of lepers harmonizes with rites analogous to those of the consecration of the priest. Here are two sacrifices, one expiatory and the other communal, which border on similar rites. Even these two irreducible ideas of expiation and of communion, of the communication of a sacred character or the expulsion of a contrary character, cannot furnish the basis for a general and vigorous classification of sacrifices. Perhaps we would search in vain for examples of expiatory sacrifice where no element of the communal would slip in, and vice versa.

The same ambiguity is found in the elementary sacrifices of the pentateuch. The *Zebah shelamim* is a communal sacrifice; however, certain parts of the victim (blood, fat) are always reserved or destroyed. One member is always eaten by the priests. The victim of the hattat may be delegated entirely to the priests; the sacrificer lacking, the participants eat in common. In the hattat, celebrated for the consecration or the purification of the temples or of the altar; the blood of the victim serves to anoint the doors and walls. This gives them consecration.

These examples show what an affinity is presented by practices which by the nature of their object and of their results seem to be the most opposite. There is continuity between the forms of sacrifice. They are at once too diverse and too similar to make it possible to divide them into groups very accurately labeled.

## II. THE PROGRAM OF SACRIFICE

### *The Entrance.*

We cannot think of sketching here an abstract scheme of sacrifice complete enough to cover all known cases; the variety of facts is too large. All that can possibly be done is to study determined forms of sacrifice complex enough for all the important moments of the drama to be united, and known well enough for a precise analysis to be made. The sacrifice which seems to respond best to this condition is the Vedic Hindu animal sacrifice. We do not know of any whose details are better explained. All the characters presented to us from the time of their introduction to their leaving the ceremony.

Sacrifice is a religious act which can only be accomplished in a religious atmosphere, and through the intermediary of agents essentially religious.

Now, in general, before the ceremony neither the sacrificant nor the sacrificatur, nor the place, nor the instruments, nor the victim, have this religious character in the necessary degree. The object of the first phase of the sacrifice is to give it to them. Rites which introduce them into the sacred world and affect them more or less profoundly, according to the importance of the part they will then play, are necessary.

### *The Sacrificer-(sacrifiant).*

Let us take as an example an extreme case which does not belong in the ritual of ordinary animal sacrifice but in which the common rites are exaggerated, and for this reason more easily observable. It is that of the diksa, that is to say, of the preparation of the sacrificer for the sacrifice of the soma: plant sacrifice.

As soon as the priests are chosen, a whole series of symbolic ceremonies begin, progressively despoiling the sacrificer of the temporal being which he has, and causing his rebirth into an entirely new species. All that concerns the gods must be divine; the sacrificer is obliged to become god himself in order to be in a position to

act upon them. For this purpose they build him a special hut, all closed in, for the *diksita* is a god and the society of gods is separated from that of men. He is shaved, his nails are cut (but in the way the nails of the gods are cut; that is to say, in the inverse order to that which men usually follow). This rite, which is found expanded in most religions, is excellently interpreted in the Hindu texts: the hair, eyebrows, beard, the nails of hands and feet are the impure dead parts of the body. They are cut off in order to confer purity. After taking a purifying bath, he puts on clothes of new linen indicating thereby that he is going to begin a new existence. Then after different unctions, he is covered with a black antelope skin. It is the solemn moment when the new spirit is awakened in him. He has become an embryo. He veils his head and closes his fists, for the embryo in its development has closed fists; he comes and goes around the fireplace just as the embryo moves in the womb. He stays in this condition until the grand ceremony of the introduction of the *soma*. Then he opens his hands and takes off the veil. He is now born into a divine existence, he is god. (The term *soma* is untranslatable, for it means at one and the same time the plant victim, the god which the sacrifice concerns, and the sacrificial god.)

But this divine nature once proclaimed confers upon the sacrificer the rights and imposes upon him the duties, of a god, not those of a saint. He must not have relations with men of impure castes, nor with women; he answers no questions; he is not touched. He takes only milk for nourishment. And this existence lasts for many months until his body has become *diaphanous*. Then, as if having sacrificed his old body, having reached the last degree of nervous excitation, he is ready to sacrifice and the ceremonies begin.

It is true that this complicated initiation extending over a long period of time and required for ceremonies particularly solemn, is only an exaggeration. But it is found, though in less exaggerated forms, in the rites preparatory to the ordinary animal sacrifice. In this case it is not necessary that the sacrificer be deified; but he must always be made sacred. That is why, in this case, too, he shaves, bathes, abstains from sexual intercourse, fasts, watches, etc. In rites more simple still, the sacrificer becomes pure by cleansing his mouth, the water being pure.

These rites are not peculiar to the Hindus; the Semitic world, Greece and Rome furnish us examples of them. A certain degree of kinship is at first required of those who wish to be admitted to



the sacrifice. Thus the stranger is generally excluded; also, courtesans, slaves, often women. Besides, momentary purity is required. The approach to divinity is doubtful to whoever is not pure; the people must wash. The sacrifice is preceded by acts of purification more or less long in duration, consisting principally in sprinklings of water and in baths; sometimes the sacrificer must fast and be cleansed. He must put on his own clothes again, or even special clothes which give him the beginnings of sanctity. The Roman ritual prescribed the use of a veil, the sign of separation and consecration. The crown which the sacrificer wore on his head as he dispersed bad influences marked him with a sacred character. The sacrificer completed his toilet sometimes by shaving his head and eyebrows. All these purifications, sprinklings, consecrations prepared the profane one for the sacred act by eliminating from his body the vices of his lax character, by drawing him from the vulgar life, and by introducing him step by step into the sacred world of the gods.

(To be continued.)

## THE GERMAN-AMERICAN AS A CITIZEN

BY ALBERT GEHRING

MUCH has been written concerning the work done in America by individuals of German descent. In the present essay we shall attempt to review the contributions of the German-Americans as a whole, and gauge their value as citizens of our country.

In general their qualities are well known. They are frugal, industrious, law-abiding, and orderly. School teachers will tell you that their children are the easiest to manage. Shopkeepers prefer them as customers. Street car companies make every effort to retain them in positions involving the handling of money.

Said a physician to me the other day: "When a patient reaches down into his pocket before leaving the office, he is almost invariably a German."

These judgments, repeated on every hand, cannot be illusory. Nevertheless, they are merely based on general impressions, and so lack the coerciveness of definite facts and figures. To supply these latter is the purpose of the present essay.

We intend to consider the activities of the German-Americans under the headings of

1. Patriotism.
2. Public Influence.
3. Orderliness.
4. Efficiency.

The United States have undergone two great crises: the Revolution and the Civil War. In both the German-Americans did their full share or even more. Says Bancroft: "At the commencement of the Revolution, we hear but little of them, not from their

want of zeal in the good cause, but from their modesty. They kept themselves purposely in the background, leaving it to those of English origin to discuss the violation of English liberties and to decide whether the time for giving battle had come. But when the resolution was taken, no part of the country was more determined in its patriotism than the German counties of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Neither they nor their descendants have laid claim to all the praise that was their due."<sup>1</sup>

As a special sign of their reliability we may regard the fact that Washington's bodyguard was recruited from their ranks. The battle of Oriskany, won by them, was a decisive conflict. Had this fight been lost, the whole struggle for independence might have taken a different turn. In general, the quality of their service was among the best. The battalion of Peter Muhlenberg, for example, is described by Bancroft as "one of the most perfect" in the American army.<sup>2</sup>

Their merits in the Civil War were equally great. In fact, they deserve the place of honor through the readiness with which they placed their lives at the disposal of the Union.

The following table is compiled from B. A. Gould's "Investigations in the Military and Anthropological Statistics of American Soldiers."<sup>3</sup> The first column represents the number of Union soldiers which the various elements of the population ought to have furnished if all had come forward in the same proportion. We shall call it the Proper Proportion of Volunteers. The second column shows the actual number of volunteers furnished. The Index of Patriotism, supplied by the writer, is obtained by dividing the second column by the first. Canadians are not included in the table. According to Kaufmann, their proper proportion is figured on the basis of those people who were actually settled in the States, whereas the volunteers must have been drawn largely from the big floating class who came here for a season and then returned to their native land.

<sup>1</sup> Friedrich Kapp, *The Life of Frederick William von Steuben*, New York, Mason Brothers, 1859, p. VII.

<sup>2</sup> Bancroft, *History of the United States of America*, New York, D. Appleton and Company, 1887, Vol. IV, p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> Published for the U. S. Sanitary Commission, by Hurd and Houghton. Cambridge: Riverside Press, 1869. The tables drawn upon are on pp. 27 and 28. Although the figures in this table are taken from the source just given, the form of the table is adopted from Wilhelm Kaufmann's *Die Deutschen im amerikanischen Bürgerkrieg*, published by R. Oldenbourg, Munich and Berlin, 1911. See p. 120.

	Proper Proportion of Volunteers	Actual Volunteers	Index of Patriotism
Native Americans .....	1,660,068	1,523,267	.92
English .....	38,250	45,508	1.19
Irish .....	139,052	144,221	1.04
Germans .....	118,402	176,817	1.49
Other Foreigners .....	39,455	48,410	1.23

The showing of the Germans, excellent though it is, must have been even better, for according to Kaufmann's careful computations their numbers far exceeded those given by Gould, being placed by him at 216,000. Probably we can safely compromise at 200,000. To these multitudes we must add all those who were born in this country, but were German by descent. The total contribution of this element is placed by Kaufmann at 750,000, or almost a third of the entire northern army! Surely a display of patriotic devotion that merits something different from the ridicule and hostility which are habitually meted out to the "Dutchman."

In this war, as in the Revolution, the Germans deserve credit for an achievement of the most far-reaching importance. It was the saving of the state of Missouri, without which the outcome might have been entirely different.

As if in derision of those who delight in throwing mud, it is a fact that the two feminine figures whose names are indissolubly connected with our national struggles, and who are typical of the bravery of American womanhood, are Germans: Molly Pitcher and Barbara Frietchie! We do not know how much is history and how much legend about the exploit by which the latter was rendered famous, but the fact is undeniable that both she and the courageous Molly belonged to the Teutonic race.

We pass to the heading of "Public Influence." The term "Political Activity" is avoided because it would confine the subject too exclusively to the sphere of office-holding, and we wish to include the influence which makes itself felt at the polls, and which even precedes the act of voting and shapes the opinions of which the latter is the outcome.<sup>4</sup>

The German-Americans have not been especially prominent as office-holders. To be sure, they have had great statesmen, as

<sup>4</sup> Our treatment of this subject is based on the example of A. B. Faust, in his work on *The German Element in the United States*, Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston and New York, 1909.

is evidenced by men like Wirt, Schurz, and Altgeld. Almost half of the governors of Pennsylvania for a century were German, and in more recent years many of the presiding officials of our big cities have had German names. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the people of Teutonic descent have not been as eminent in this field as elsewhere. There are several reasons for this, prominent among which is the handicap of language. Manifestly, a man with imperfect command of the native tongue can only compete with difficulty in a field where the haranguing of multitudes and preparation of public documents are important duties. Again, office holding in a democracy is not solely a matter of merit, but depends on the will of the majority. A "foreigner" is always at a disadvantage when it comes to an election. But the main reason for the German backwardness is probably to be found in the uncertain nature of the politician's career. One year he is in office, the next he is out; a condition which does not appeal to the Teuton, who more than most other people loves to build up on a firm foundation, and climb steadily from step to step. The unsavory nature of American politics undoubtedly was another deterring feature to men who were accustomed to direct, honest dealing.

All this does not mean, however, that the German's influence was small. The main work in this field is done by the people at the polls, and by public opinion as it decides elections and guides the activity of officials. And here, again, the Germans have been surpassed by none in the quality of their work.

The greatest issue that has confronted the American people since the founding of the republic is the slavery question. From first to last the German-Americans were on the side of justice and humanity in this question. To them belongs credit for the first protest against slavery ever made on the continent. It was drawn up by Pastorius and presented to the Quakers of Pennsylvania in 1688. Although laid aside for the time being, it must have contributed to the agitation against slavery which started soon after in that state. Ever since, the countrymen of Pastorius have remained true to their original convictions. The following table exhibits the number of slaveholding families in the country in 1790:

Nationality	Total Number	White Families Slaveholding	Per Cent
All Nationalities .....	405,475	47,664	11.8
English and Welsh.....	336,651	38,146	11.3
Scotch .....	27,250	4,362	16.0
Irish ....	6,285	962	15.3
Dutch .....	9,399	2,625	27.9
French .....	1,913	589	30.8
German .....	23,300	871	3.7
Hebrew .....	213	33	15.5
All other .....	464	76	16.4

The compiler goes on to say: "It is significant that the smallest proportion is shown by the Germans, who even at this early period were obviously opposed to slave ownership. Had the proportion of slaves for the entire white population of the United States in 1790 been the same as it was for the German element, the aggregate number of slaves at the first census would have been but 52,520 instead of approximately 700,000."<sup>5</sup>

That there was no later deviation from this attitude is shown by the part which was played by the German-Americans in the agitation preceding the Civil War. Schurz, Follen, Lieber, and Heinzen were among those who championed the cause of the negro with impassioned utterances, risking life and position in doing so; and they were supported by multitudes of similar-minded compatriots. It is well known, for example, that a great majority of the prominent "forty-eighters" became enthusiastic Republicans upon the formation of the party. And of eighty-eight German newspapers of those times, we are told, only eight supported the Kansas-Nebraska Bill. But the best evidence of the spirit animating the Germans was given by the war itself. As already pointed out, they furnished from 50 to 75 per cent more union soldiers than were called by their proportion in the population, and thus occupied the place of honor in regard to the number of soldiers, as indeed they did in regard to this whole great question.

The Sunday observance and personal liberty question is another in which their influence has been wholesome. They have helped to moderate the dread austerity of the old American Sab-

<sup>5</sup> *A Century of Population Growth in the United States, 1790-1900*, p. 124. To be perfectly fair, we must state that the big percentage of the French is due to the fact that so many French families lived in South Carolina, one of the most prominent slave-holding states at the time.

bath, when the libraries were closed, games were prohibited, music was put under the ban, and an atmosphere of restraint and oppressiveness chilled the blood. They believed that the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath, and their influence—manifest at the polls, in the press, and in their personal example—gradually helped to bring about a milder and more tolerant attitude on the part of the public. In related ways, too, they contributed greatly to the brightening and sweetening of life. It is to them that we owe

1. The Furtherance of Music.
2. The Cheerful Christmas.
3. The Roof Garden.

A whole book could be written about their influence on music. Suffice it to mention Theodore Thomas and the Damrosch's, to refer to the big symphony orchestras, to draw attention to the great music festivals, and finally to do honor to the faithful teachers who carried the message of this noble art to the remotest corners of the land.

Christmas was greatly enhanced through the introduction of the lighted tree. The ingenious toys brought over from the Fatherland also helped to make it a blessed time for the young. By reason of the transformation of this season effected by the children of Germania, December might appropriately be styled a German month. The roof garden also did its share to enliven the dreary tenor of life characteristic of the old Puritans.

Though without direct connection with the subject, the impetus given to physical culture might likewise be mentioned. While the Germans contributed little to the outdoor games which are in vogue in this country, they deserve much of the credit for the development of indoor gymnastics.

To return to our subject.

The Germans have lent their weight toward the habit of independent voting. Carl Schurz is the individual who was most prominent in this direction. In fact, he was often called the original Independent. But his countrymen, too, have practised the same freedom of judgment. The most notable example is to be found in their wholesale change of party during the decade preceding the Civil War. Though the majority of Germans had previously been democrats, they now joined the organization which championed the cause of the black man.

In addition to these expressions of conviction, the causes of sound money and political reform also received firm support at their hands.

As to the drink question, they followed the sane middle course. The older Americans were heavy indulgers, and their beverage was the fiery whiskey. Opposed to them we find the prohibitionists, who believe in doing away with all drinking whatsoever. The Germans, ever fond of personal liberty, have almost universally opposed prohibition, but their practice was also against the consumption of heavy liquors and in favor of mild beverages like wine and beer. In introducing these they did the country a genuine service, and indicated the path toward a solution of the whole question.

In all the questions mentioned except the last, the position espoused by the Germans, though hotly antagonized at first, finally proved victorious. This is true of the slavery, Sunday, independent voting, money, and reform questions. The result indicates unusual soundness of judgment on the part of the people involved, and leads us to regret that in regard to the temperance question as well, the solution pointed out by them was not adopted.

It may not be amiss to conclude this section, like the former, with a reference to several prominent individuals and their work. The picture which is most celebrated as a representation of national spirit, "Washington Crossing the Delaware," was executed by the German Leutze. The Capitol owes its imposing appearance to a master builder whose grandfather came from the Fatherland. And the Congressional Library was conceived by men who were born under Teutonic skies. The inference is justified that the people who ordinarily are kicked and cuffed about by their "superior" fellows, must after all be called in when something important is to be done.<sup>6</sup>

In the previous sections we have spoken of positive virtues. The present one will be devoted to those which are negative. Society must not only be built up—it must also be preserved. And a nation is judged not only by the number of great men it produces, but also by the number of its criminals. Here, again,

<sup>6</sup> Curiously enough, the Germans were also involved in the origin of our flag and the national anthem. It was before the battle of Oriskany that the flag was hoisted for the first time; and the immortal "Star Spangled Banner" was written while Armistead—of German parentage—was defending Fort M'Henry from the attacks of the British.



the showing of the German-Americans is excellent. They are surpassed only by a single element of the population—the Scandinavians. A table, compiled from the census and showing the number of foreign-born prisoners, will make this clearer. The figures which it contains refer but to a single year (1904), but may nevertheless be accepted as a faithful index of conditions.

	Number of Prisoners Committed for 100,000 Persons
Canada .....	300
France .....	342
Germany .....	162
Great Britain .....	614
Italy .....	442
Norway .....	143
Poland .....	270
Russia .....	288
Sweden .....	179

Again the compiler cannot resist commenting. "Relative to their numerical representation and importance among the foreign born peoples of the United States, he says, "the Germans are the least conspicuous among the foreign-born prisoners."<sup>7</sup>

This time our "prominent" individuals will belong to other races. If asked to name the worst citizens of our country, we should probably unite on the three presidential assassins: Booth, Guiteau, and Czolgosz. Curiously enough, these represent three non-German races—the Anglo-Saxons, Latins, and Slavs. It is as if the Teutons had been purposely avoided in writing this darkest chapter of American history.

A review of the bandits who have made our country unsafe would likely show that they, too, were but rarely of German descent. The feuds which have scarcely ended even in our own day were carried on by "native" families. The lynchings which disgrace our land take place in regions where foreigners are rare. And the rebellion, too, was prosecuted in the main by people of British descent. To be sure, there were special reasons for the last two phenomena, and Germans might have acted similarly if similarly placed. Still it is doubtful whether they would have resorted to quite such radical measures. We must remember that their forebears had no Charles I and no 1789; likewise that there were only three imperial assassinations in the German

<sup>7</sup> *Prisoners and Juvenile Delinquents in Institutions*, 1904, p. 43.

Empire during the long period of 1100 years! In general, orderliness and restraint are characteristic of the Teutonic race.

With these qualities go their traditional efficiency and thoroughness, which brings us to the last of our sections. Many facts could be adduced in illustration, but we shall confine ourselves to a single group—those which deal with the work of high school pupils. Good scholarship and efficiency, of course, are not always synonymous: some pupils with fine school records achieve no success in life, and many achieve success who have won no distinction in school. On the whole, however, the two classes agree; where the numbers considered are large enough, distinction in school may be regarded as an index of efficiency.

An inquiry covering ten of the largest cities in our country shows that of all the elements composing our population, the Germans and Jews make the best showing. A table of "honor pupils" will be advanced in proof, although the general conclusion is based on much more extensive data. The first part of the table includes schools where the honor pupils number from 10 to 20 per cent of the total graduates, the second where they number from 30 to 40 per cent. These schools are not arbitrarily selected, but include all that have come to our notice under the categories mentioned.

#### First Group

	Graduates	Per cent	Honor Pupils	Per cent	Index of Scholarship
Total .....	946	100	137	100	...
English .....	508	53.7	69	50.4	.94
Germans .....	303	32.0	51	37.2	1.16
Jews .....	82	8.7	11	8.0	.92
Others .....	42	4.4	6	4.4	1.00

#### Second Group

	Graduates	Per cent	Honor Pupils	Per cent	Index of Scholarship
Total .....	1,120	100	369	100	...
English .....	638	57.0	182	49.3	.86
Germans .....	306	27.3	120	32.5	1.19
Jews .....	83	7.4	39	10.6	1.43
Others .....	72	6.4	22	6.0	.94

[Racial affiliation is determined by names—an unreliable index in the case of individuals, but safe enough where great numbers are involved. "English" includes Scotch, Irish, and Welsh; also natives of these races as well as foreign born.]

The somewhat poor showing of the Jews in the first part of the table, and their exceptionally good record in the second are both unusual, and represent fluctuations such as might be expected where small numbers are involved. If we strike an average, we shall about get the true position of these people—which is very near to that of the Germans. In general, the investigation shows that the Germans and Jews are in the lead, sometimes one having the advantage, sometimes the other. And the conclusion is plausible that their eminence is the sign of greater efficiency, based either on superior mental endowment, harder work, or both factors.

To sum up our analysis, we find the Germans occupying the first position in regard to loyalty and patriotism, and unsurpassed with reference to public influence. In orderliness and law observance they are excelled only by a single element of the population—the Scandinavians; and in efficiency their leadership is only disputed by the Jews.

Such being the case, it ought not to take great mathematical keenness to figure out their rank in the rivalry of classes. Though inferior to some elements in numbers, they have demonstrated their claim to first place in those qualities which go to the making of good citizens.

## THE FUNDAMENTALIST REACTION

BY HENRY FRANK

THE recrudescence of theological controversy in this age of scientific pursuit is as startling as unexpected. At the opening of the twentieth century it had been generally admitted in all schools of modern culture that the popular mind was wholly indifferent to speculations of whatever character which related to the supernatural. It had been taken for granted that the "proverbial man in the street" had lost all interest in discussions which meandered into metaphysical by-paths of religion, and insisted on preachments applicable to the practical demands of daily life. The ethical had presumably succeeded the theological trend of thought; and man's eyes were now in his forehead and no longer at the back of his head.

In the previous generation an Ingersoll might provoke debates with a Gladstone or a Talmadge, or even assail a Cardinal Manning, entrenched within the citadel of faith; the masses were inclined to read with avidity the long printed debates and crowds were easily lured into the most commodious auditoriums to be overawed by the thunderous clash and lightning gleams of opposing rhetoric. But before the Great War it had been surmised that such possibilities had reached their climax and none was now so peer to do reverence to the most eloquent protagonist of a cause foreign to modern culture and offensive to scientific taste.

Apparently, however, we were grossly in error. Whether the shock occasioned by the great conflict or the return swing of the pendulum of thought be or be not the cause, the amazing fact confronts us that there still exist thousands eagerly interested in supposed meribund issues and avidly devour whatever may appease their appetite for those old age-worn problems: the super-

natural origin of Jesus; the mysterious source of the gospels; the historic beginnings of the Christian religion and the possibility of miracles. The rise of fundamentalism means nothing less than the recrudescence of traditional faith founded on conjecture, historic inaccuracy and legendary lore.

Considering the frail foundation of the historical evidence and the strange intimations of writers contemporary with the advent of the Christian Epoch one marvels that the instigators of Reactionism dare be so bold as to venture an engagement with their fees.

One need but read again the severely shattered arguments of those who were once considered the highest exegetical authorities and proponents of the ancient faith to realize the vanity of those who once more leap into the arena and challenge the defenders of modern research and culture.

During the last quarter century there has not been added one scintilla of evidence which controverts the conclusions of authors up to the middle of the nineteenth century, notwithstanding the immense achievements of archaeology during this period. Heretofore, however thorough were the dredgings and excavations in the Orient and Occident not one iota of historical proof had been divulged which compelled the revision of the modernist deductions. Though in the immediate present the world is standing on tip-toe of expectancy at the tomb of Tut-enk-Ahmen awaiting the final lifting of the ancient lid of the sarcophagus, it is hardly to be presumed that any more verifiable confirmation of the Messaic Epoch, during which he is supposed to have reigned, will be found than had already been unearthed in the nineteen or more disembowelled tombs of Egyptian Kings in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The silence of profane history as to the Biblical Records of ancient Judaism and the advent of the Christian religion, is the most puzzling phenomenon that startles one reared in traditional belief and inculcation. The statement of James Fergusson, the famous historian of architecture, in the latter quarter of the last century, still holds true. He said: "It is one of the peculiarities of Jewish history and certainly not one of the least singular, that all we know of them is derived from their written books. Not one monument, not one sculptural stone, not one letter or inscription, not even a potsherd, remains to witness by material fact the existence of the Jewish kingdom. No museum ever possessed a Jewish antiquity, while Egypt, Assyria, Greece and

all the surrounding countries teem with material evidence of former greatness and of the people that once inhabited them."

All the alleged discoveries of evidential monuments since Fergusson's time, such as the supposed tomb of Absalom, the sight of the temple of Solomon—and the more recent finds of the Palestinian excavators have proved on careful analysis to be ineffective as historical corroborations of the Biblical records. Writing at a far later period than Fergusson, indeed in our own generation, Edouard Dujardin says in *The Sources of Christian Tradition*; "Of ancient Hebraism no monument of the slightest interest has come down to us."

If, then, the battle is to be waged once more in the field of historical and documentary evidence, so far as the Old Testament is concerned, the fundamentalists seem to have before them a campaign of precarious value and which doubtless will end like its predecessors in humiliating defeat.

This conclusion, of course, relates only to the demands of literalness and supernatural revelation; it has no bearing on the value of the possible ethical value of the Bible or its exemplary characterization. The world today stands ready as never before to hold the ancient volume in high esteem so far as its antiquity and noble literature are concerned, however much it may discard its enunciations as standards by which scientific truth and the data of knowledge are to be determined.

But the reaction of the fundamentalists to the intransigence of modern thought and the results of scientific research can lead only to a disrespect for the Book they so eagerly worship and unconsciously disarm.

Nor are the reactionists to fare better when the battle is fought again over the claims of divine revelation for the New Testament. The fact that the Canonical Books contained in this Testament appertain to the life of perhaps the sublimest personage in all history overcasts them with a halo that even the Old Testament does not possess. The emphasis of the Modernist Movement is not against the leadership and spiritual captaincy of Jesus of Nazareth. All schools adore the manliness, kindness, wholesome fellowship and democratic spirit of Him who spake as never man before. Modernism, indeed, vies with fundamentalism in lifting higher still the hallowed personality of one whose greatness inheres in his human sympathy and spiritual supremacy.

But the claim of modernism, as of all psychological appreciation, consists in the positive severance of the personality and precepts of this sublime exemplar of ethical efficiency from the demeaning and derogating tradition with which myth and maudlin adoration have enshrouded and defaced them.

The battle is not waged around the person of Jesus (be that historical or ideal) but around the encystment of false mythology and mystical exaggeration with which it has been encumbered. Fundamentalism means the degradation of a lofty personage from its mountain height of unselfish and humanitarian nobility to a plain level with that of the now discarded heathen gods, whether on Olympus, the Capitoline Hill or beneath the shades of the Himalayas.

To emphasize the mythical birth of Jesus from the virgin womb of immaculate conception; to surround him with apocryphal hallucinations that offend the common sense of mankind; to present him as the dramatic hero who met and assailed the personal devil on the mount or temple-height of temptation; to feature him as an histrionic thaumaturge whose miraculous feats are like to those of the gods and goddesses in the mythical dramas of pagan antiquity; is but to make him a forerunner of some Cagliostro or another Bacchus or Mercury transformed from pagan crudity to the refinement of theological finesse.

One fact must ever be kept before the mind of the studious investigator of the origin of Christianity. That fact is that there is not a single characteristic or act which has been attributed to Jesus but what was already attributed to scores of pretenders or ennobled leaders in the traditions and narratives which were current in so-called heathen annals.

If this be true, then, one is at once startled to discover that He to whom the appellation of the Supreme Deity is attributed could not or did not, when on earth, display a characteristic or perform a distinctive act which had not already been recorded of others. The only originality in the career of Jesus is the sublime personality which he presents. He added nothing to the world's wisdom but he did emblazen and illuminate that wisdom by the nobility of his character and the sublime self-sacrifice of his devotion to truth. Yet even in that it may be questioned whether his sacrifice and service on behalf of humanity are more worthy of admiration and praise than that of Buddha. Around the brow of each the imagination of mankind has cast a halo

through which these superlative beings are magnified into divine proportions.

Comparisons to the conservative traditionalist are of course odious. Nevertheless, the fundamentalist contention compels comparison and when it is made the results in the item of originality are amazingly disappointing. Is it the claim of divine origin and virgin birth that must be conceded the fundamentalists? Alas, there are at least a score of other claimants to such mystical and biologically inconsistent origins which may successfully contest the uniqueness or singularity of such descent. Even in minute details of this birth such as the visitation of the Magi with gifts the event is already in a way anticipated as in the case of Plato whom Eastern hierophants visited to offer incense to a divine being.

Insistence on the virgin birth of Jesus is truly an unhappy claim for a personage so free from authoritative tradition and hypocritical pretense, because it can easily be demonstrated that the conception of the virgin birth of the gods originated in an age of ignorance, savagery and pristine indecency. Instead of having its origin in exalted idealism and spiritual refinement it emanated from a period of physiological perversion and sexual indifference. To prove this I need quote but one authority whose dictum will not be questioned, for he is the prince of writers and investigators on the subject of the origin and habitat of primitive and modern religions.

In his *Golden Bough*, Rev. Dr. J. G. Frazer, referring to the source whence sprang the belief in virgin-births says: "Such tales of virgin mothers are relics of an age of childish ignorance when men had not yet recognized the intercourse of the sexes as the true cause of offspring. That ignorance still shared by the lowest of existing savages, the aboriginal tribes of central Australia, was doubtless at one time universal among mankind. Even in later times when people are better acquainted with the laws of nature, they sometimes imagine that these laws may be subject to exceptions and that miraculous beings may be born in a miraculous manner by women who have never known a man. In Palestine, *to this day*, it is believed that a woman may conceive by a jinnee or by the spirit of her dead husband. There is at present a man at Nebk who is currently supposed to be the offspring of such a union, and the simple folk have never suspected his mother's virtue."



That this belief was current among mankind even in ages of comparative intelligence is proved by the fact that every one of the pagan deities, even in their most refined theogonies, was conceived to have been born of a virgin mother. It was true of Mithras, of Osiris, of Adonis, of Attys, of Bacchus, of Balder, of Buddha, etc., etc.

It may be justly asked why, if it be so common a thing for a deity who appears on earth to have been the offspring of a virgin mother, should this origin be claimed for Jesus as an exclusive and incontrovertible proof of his divine essence and deific supremacy.

The value and imposing characteristic of such an origin must lie in its uniqueness, its singleness, its absolute inimitability. But if before the advent of Jesus, as the God-man, already so many predecessors had reduced the phenomenon to a commonplace, wherein are we to discern the especial supremacy of Jesus because of such origin?

There is another consideration that must give us pause in accepting as authoritative the traditional claim of the supernatural origin and office of Jesus. If at the time of the inauguration of Christianity there had been no rivalry to its claim of spiritual supremacy and supernatural origination, it might have disarmed suspicion of the natural formation of the tradition.

But the strange fact that there was another religion running parallel in progress with the Christian faith, at one time almost wresting world-supremacy from its grasp, and that that rival faith in all its characteristics and tenets was identical with that of Christianity, save only in name, forces upon us the conviction that both these faiths must have had a common origin, and that it was by the mere caprice of fortune that the one survived while the other sank into innocuous desuetude.

The religion of Mithras was for nearly four hundred years the rival and "thorn in the flesh" of the organized Christian church. "Both religions," says a writer in the *Britannica*, "were of oriental origin; they were propagated about the same time; they spread with equal rapidity on account of the same causes, namely, the unity of the political world and the debasement of the moral life."

The struggle was the more obstinate because of the resemblance of the two religions, which were so numerous and close as to be the subject of remark as early as the second century.

Mithra was born of a rock, the marvel being seen by shepherds who brought gifts adoring him. In the early legends of Jesus, we may recall, he also was brought forth in a cave or rock, instead of a manger, a later tradition.

The recognition of this astonishing similarity by the fathers was curiously accounted for by Justin Martyr, of that period, in his first *Apology*. "Having heard it proclaimed," he declares, "through the prophets that Christ was to come, and that ungodly men were to be punished by fire, they put forth many to be called the sons of Jupiter, under the impression that they would be able to produce in men the idea that the things which were said with regard to Christ were mere marvellous tales, like the things which were said by the poets. . . . The wicked Devils have imitated in the mysteries of Mithras the Lord's supper, commanding the things to be done," etc.

Such naive explanations (ignoring the fact that the Mithras religion was already old when Christ made his advent) are almost paralleled by the fundamentalist fanatics even in our own day.

But the fundamentalist contention meets with even more serious obstacles when we learn that many years before the time of Jesus there already existed among the Jews a system of faith which seemed to set forth every tenet and event which the New Testament records of the Galilean. In the *Book of Enoch* we already find a clear and detailed description of the entire drama of the Christ legend.

It is many decades since James Martineau reminded us of this fact. He said: "Here we find, a century before the first line of the New Testament was written, all the features of its doctrines respecting the 'end of the world' and the second coming of 'the Son of Man'; the same theatre, Jerusalem; the same time, relatively to the writer—the immediate generation—the hour at hand; the same harbingers—wars and rumors of wars, and the gathering of the Gentile armies against the elect; the same deliverance of the elect; the advent of the Messiah with the holy angels; the same decisive solemnity—the Son of Man on the throne of glory, with all the nations gathered before Him; the same awards—unbelievers to the pit of fire in the valley of Hinnom, and the elect to the Halls of the Kingdom, to eat and drink at the Messiah's table; the second resurrection and the second judgment of eternity, consigning the wicked angels to their doom; and the same new Creation, transforming the heav-

enly world that it may answer to the paradise below. Here in a Book to which the New Testament appeals, we have the very drama of 'the last things' which appear in the Book of Revelation and in portions of the Gospels."

Here, then, are two curious facts to be considered and answered by the literalistic fundamentalists if they can. The two facts are, first, the existence of an almost identical pagan religion (Mithraism) contemporary with the advent of Christianity, and, second, the Hebraid description of a spiritual epoch, almost a century before the age of Jesus which in every detail foreglimages the drama of his career and the teleology reared around the glory of his name.

Apparently the entire story of Jesus and his tragic fate existed centuries before the advent of Jesus of Nazareth, and that story was woven in legend, ritual, hymnology, and spiritual dramatization, even before the first line of the New Testament was written, whether by Paul or the Synoptists, and ever before the name of Jesus was known.

The remarkable similarity between the careers of the Mithraic and the Christian hero, in doctrines and in dramatic presentation, is altogether too close to be pushed aside as an accident or a hapless coincidence. Each was called the "divine friend," "mediator," "deliverer," "savior"; and each was an incarnation of the God-head—Mithra of the Sun-father (Dyaus-pater), Jesus of the heavenly Father; Mithra was the divine son of Ahura-Mazda; Jesus, the "Lord of Glory" and the divine son of Jehovah; each was born of a virgin in a cave or manger; each enjoined the sacrament of baptism and consecration in entering the warfare with evil; each provided oblations of bread and water mingled with wine, representing the body and blood of the savior; each taught deliverance from sin, the judgment after death and the ascent to heaven. Each is to come a second time and conquer the Devil, pronouncing the general judgment of the whole world, the wicked to be punished in Hell and the good to be raised in heavenly glory when the "Millennial Kingdom of Peace" shall be established. Each was crucified, hung on "the accursed tree." Firmicius, an ancient Christian father, reminds us that "for the destruction of souls the devil had beforehand resorted to deceptive imitations of the cross of Christ; that in Phrygia they fixed the image of a young man to a tree in the worship of the Mother of

Gods, and in other cults did imitate the crucifixion in similar ways." (See *Pagan Christs* by Robinson, p. 318.)

The fact that the Mithraic religion had already existed for a long time before the advent of Jesus and that a hundred years about passed before John on Patmos proclaimed his vision of the Revelation, whose dramatic features were so like to those of the Mithraic dramas, was cause enough to disturb the pristine fathers of the church who sought to account for the startling "coincidence" by the assumption that the Devil had imposed on the credulity and ignorance of the pagan world by forestalling the career of Jesus with vulgar imitation and sacrilegious pretense.

But it is not necessary to assume that there was any direct borrowing or vicious imitation by one religion of another that brought about the curiously similar content and characteristics. The more likely truth may be that the religions which have survived, or whose history is still held in legend and literature, are the offshoots of some primitive faith whose roots lay in the primeval experiences of mankind.

For as Max Muller reminded us many decades ago, we cannot appreciate the value of any single religion save by comparison with all other religions. In the science of Comparative Religion alone have we a method by which bigotry is denuded of its power and the insincerity of seductive perversion.

Any religion which is more concerned about its dogmatic and ecclesiastical authority than about the crystalline purity of its spiritual and ethical virtues is as undeserving the devotion of its votaries as the respect of its adversaries.

If Christianity is to continue to be, or is ever to become, a worthwhile religion it must concern itself less with its well-oiled ecclesiastical machinery, the integrity of its antique formularies, its iron-bound creed and fetishistic rituals; and more, far more solicitous of the alleged truths of its deliverances and the consistent relation between spiritual assumptions and the meticulous realities of Nature.

Till the ethics of Christianity supercede its dogmatics it will never become the faith that commands universal voluntary respect. When any religion ceases to adore the Truth it not only ceases to be free but becomes an encumbrance to itself and the race, both tumbling into pitfalls of error and delusion.

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