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THE NEW COURSE OF GERMAN POLITICS AND THE PURPORT OF ITS WORLD-CONCEPTION.

BY ERNST HAECKEL.

DURING the past two months the civilised world has watched with increasing astonishment the memorable events which have taken place in the German empire. Although we have become accustomed during the two years which have passed since the resignation of Prince Bismarck to political surprises of all kinds, yet the vaunted and marvellous results which were to come from the new course do not appear in spite of many grand and imposing programmes of reform, in spite of many attractive speeches and fine promises. On the contrary, many abnormal variations of the needle were noticeable. Instead of pointing North it points alarmingly South. How much we have lost through this reversal of the course is proved by the rejoicings of our English cousins over our colonial resignation and modesty, by the satisfaction of the French at the dismissal of the hated old Chancellor, by the growing internal perturbations of the empire, by the dismal amiability of the Vatican, and by the triumph of social democracy over the middle classes. These facts necessarily awaken the well-founded fears of many German patriots, and yet they are nothing in comparison with the astounding events of the past two months.

We do not refer here to the speeches of Emperor William II., which aroused in the widest circles, and especially among conservatives, a high degree of excitement. Although they challenge public opinion yet we do not intend to reply to them, the more so as it is impossible to reproduce the opinions of the most moderate journals of foreign countries without being exposed to a charge of felony. We can only regret these conditions in the interest of the monarchy itself, but we cannot alter them. Fortunately we do not stand here before the bacteriological question of investigating the many causes which led to the rapid origin and epidemic spreading of what the people humorously called the "excitement bacillus." When Count Caprivi a few months ago, before he tendered his resignation, made his brilliant speeches against the

excitement bacillus he apparently had no idea that his own cabinet was engaged in producing it wholesale in mischievous perfection—real *Reinkultur*. It would not be fair to measure the successes of the second Chancellor by the mightier triumphs of the first, for aside from the special labors and energies which Prince Bismarck united in his own personality, he has through his rare knowledge of the world and of men, through his historical experience during fifty eventful years of work, and especially through his own merit in founding the independent empire of the German nation, accumulated an immense capital of political power and insight. That any successor of the iron Chancellor, whatever be his name, could inherit only the smaller half of that capital was self-evident, but that his inheritance would be so meagre as it now appears could not be expected.

Every impartial observer must see clearly that the much praised new course is not a continuance of our old course, but means the opposite direction. Up to Canossa is the watchword at Berlin. The first step taken by the Prussian government in ushering in the new counter reformation is the plan of the new public school bill which the cabinet of Caprivi proposed in January, 1892, to the Prussian parliament. As generally known now its vital point lies in this, that the public school which is the basis of national education shall be withdrawn from the control of science and be surrendered to the Papistic hierarchy. Objections might be made that Prussia is a state in which Catholics and Protestants enjoy equal rights, and that they will both exercise their separate authority over the schools, but Protestantism of whatever color it may be lacks entirely, and necessarily must lack, that great hierarchic organisation which has given power to the Roman Catholic church for more than a millennium, and which gives her an unparalleled power in our civilisation at the present day. Therefore Roman Catholicism, or briefly, Papism will conquer in the struggle for dominion any other church that stands with it on equal rights, and as it pretends to be the only saving church, will also claim absolute control over the state. We need only compare the triumphant rejoicings of ultramontane journals with the heavy anxiety of all in-

dependent papers in order to know what grave meaning has the new public school bill.

"Christianity or Atheism," that is the surprising alternative which the new world-conception proposes. What Christianity was meant to be can be learned from the explanation subsequently made. The new Prussian Christianity which it is hoped will save her present civilisation and protect her from the dangers of social democracy is not that purified morality which has greatly developed in the course of nineteen centuries from the simple doctrines of original Christianity. On the contrary it is the naked belief in miracles, its stubborn dogmatism, and its blind faith in traditional legends and in supernatural events of so-called Holy history, the historical reality of which has been long disproved by an impartial scientific criticism.

The remarkable progress of natural philosophy has led the intellectual and spiritual life of civilised nations into entirely new paths. Shall now the fanaticism of different colliding dogmas be reintroduced into our public schools. It almost appears as though the crusades and the Thirty Years war were to reappear in a new Prussian edition. But among all these confusions there is a widely separate opinion propounded with noteworthy ingenuousness that Christian faith will be the best weapon against social democracy. The pure original and unadulterated Christianity however is most ominously interwoven with socialistic doctrines, and its first congregations cultivated pure communism. The fathers have developed those communistic ideas so clearly, that we are only astonished that the social democracy of to-day does not claim the authority and sanction of those primitive Christian institutions. The true and really useful weapons in the struggle against the errors of social democracy are not found in Christian dogmas but in rational science, and especially its latest and most promising offspring, the modern doctrine of evolution. If the socialistic leaders attempt to base their Utopian theories upon the doctrine of evolution, and especially upon Darwinism, the theory of selection appears in the light of impartial criticism as an aristocratic principle. It is based upon the selection of the best. The division of labor upon which more than upon anything else the progressive development of the organised world rests, necessarily produces a constantly increasing diversity of character, a constantly increasing inequality of the individuals, of their education, their activities, and their conditions. Human civilisation the higher it rises makes the various classes of workers which cooperate in the complex machinery of society appear the more different and diversified. Communism and that equality of conditions and of work which is aimed at by social democracy would be equivalent to a return to barbarism and the brutal primordial state of rude savages. The strange

views which Caprivi's cabinet have propounded stand in decided opposition to the results of modern science, they found their strongest expression in the surprising alternative of Christianity or Atheism. The late Chancellor confesses in child-like simplicity to embrace the "Christian" world-conception of the Papistic leaders of the centre with whom "he feels to be in perfect agreement." He has the conviction that religion cannot be taught without dogma, even more, he says, we can have no other dogmas than those which exist.

What shall philosophy, the queen among the sciences, say concerning this confession of faith! According to the theory of the new course all the serious labor performed by the greatest minds of three thousand years has been done in vain. According to that all the philosophy which ought to be studied and which ought to be allowed to be taught is that of the Christian fathers, yet it will be difficult for the government to say which of the many conflicting and irrational opinions shall in the future be considered as the only canon of philosophy.

All the great results of modern science are therefore doomed. Doomed are also all the miserable men who attempted to solve the great problems of existence, not through blind faith but with the assistance of that divine goddess, reason. We should feel disconsolate over the loss of our temporal and eternal salvation if we had not fortunately come into good company. Goethe, Lessing, Kant, Spinoza, Shakespeare, Newton, Humboldt, Darwin, Frederick the Second of the Hohenzollerns, and Frederick the Second of the Hohenstauffens, they all roast eternally in the hell of hopeless atheism. And here we pass over in silence all those non-Christian philosophers and scientists of other civilised nations to whom we look up with reverence as stars of the first magnitude. But more still, even Moses and the prophets, and also Buddha, Confucius, Zoroaster, Mohammed, in brief all the God-inspired founders of non-Christian religions, they also are all miserable atheists for the historical phrase of Caprivi "Either Christian or Atheists" applies to them also.

The public school bill has been withdrawn. But the danger that threatened our educational system is not yet passed, and uncertainty prevails as to what the future will bring, and our souls are still full of anxiety and expectation.

Whatever may happen in Prussia, should the influential party of Conservatives blindly combine with the ultramontane centre, and similar bills be proposed which may be carried with the assistance of those parties who are hostile to the Federal Union of Imperial Germany, we do not believe that the counter revolution will ever sweep over the whole of the fatherland. Prussia is not Germany. We have still in

the German empire many independent princes who are mindful of their duty, their ancestors, and their history, and who understand their mission in the civilisation of our country. There are still the descendants living and ruling in the small state of Thuringia, in the true heart of Germany, the descendants of those glorious princes who were the protectors and promoters of the reformation, and who have been during the period of our greatest literary renown immortal names in the history of our nation.

In the face of a great political mistake, and of the grievous errors which in the last two years have been committed in Berlin we are inclined to undervalue the merit of the second chancellor of the empire. Three great benefits have come unwittingly from his administration.

First. He has reminded the German people to be themselves vigilant in guarding for their own welfare, to comprehend that the nation can preserve its important position in the world, its political freedom, and its national unity only on condition that the people themselves are constantly engaged in preserving their rights.

Secondly. His action has warned us that whatever high value for the preservation of our noblest ideals the German federalism possesses, the independent development of the various states and their individuality must not be sacrificed to Centralism.

Thirdly. By means of his policy the intelligent part of the German nation have again fully recognised the great danger by which our freedom of thought and our civilisation are constantly threatened by ultramontane hierarchies, and by that dark power of the extreme Anti-National party which is called the Centre.

The German Liberal party have often given aid to the Centre, and we cannot spare them the reproach of having strengthened its dangerous position. How much more clear-sighted on this important question was our venerable old emperor, William the First, whose wise, considerate, and strong rule is now so grievously missed! In the beginning of the Kulturkampf in February, 1874, he wrote these memorable words:

"It is now my duty to be the leader of my people in a combat which has been fought by the German emperors of former times against the power whose rule has never been compatible in any country with the liberty and welfare of the people—a power which if it could be victorious in Germany at this time would annihilate all the blessings of the Reformation, and would endanger our freedom of conscience and the authority of our laws."

Those are the words of the experienced, mild, and truly pious emperor who had succeeded in solving the old Sphinx riddle of German unity, and in fulfilling

the old dream of the German nation. And shall we now surrender our independence which has been gained by great sacrifices?

Let us hope that the Prussian Government will still remain conscious of its Protestant mission, and even should it admit the threatening ecclesiastical reaction in the domain of educational institutions we still have the consolation of believing that the rest of Germany would powerfully resist such measures. We have recognised the great merit of the second Chancellor, that he unconsciously antagonised the increasing centralism and that he has revived the right of each state to individuality. Now our German smaller states have again a decisive opportunity to show once more their often proved importance for the spiritual life of our nation's ideals. We expect from the majority of German princes with great confidence that they will not follow the dangerous reaction inaugurated by Prussia, and that liberty of conscience will find an inviolate refuge in their territories.

The high flourishing condition of German civilisation and science has rested for many centuries upon the great number of radiating centres which were sustained by the smaller German princes. The universities of Heidelberg and Freiburg in Baden, of Tübingen in Württemberg, of Munich, Würzburg, and Erlangen in Bavaria, Leipsic in Saxony, Jena in Thuringia, etc., etc., are so many independent workshops of German intellectuality which have preserved their individual character and independence. That which those non-Prussian universities have done for the spiritual life of our nation, sometimes under the most difficult conditions and with small means, is certainly no less than that which the numerous and well endowed Prussian universities of a later growth have accomplished. Therefore even if the ecclesiastical reaction should prevail, even if "the science of dogmatism" should pursue its long proposed retrogressive course, the brighter will shine in the rest of Germany from the altars of the highest ideals of humanitarianism the holy fires of free science and free investigation.

THE RELATION OF THE INDIVIDUAL TO THE COMMUNITY.*

BY WILHELM WUNDT.

[CONCLUDED.]

PERSONALITY AND SPIRITUAL ORGANISMS.

It is a frequent custom to-day to claim *experience* in favor of an individualistic and atomistic conception of the relations of life, while people call the opposite view "transcendental or metaphysical,"—expressions which unjustified as they may be in this case, do not easily lose their effect in our antimetaphysical time.

* This is the substance of a lecture delivered as an oration by Professor Wundt on the birthday festival of the King of Saxony. The oration was published in the *Deutsche Rundschau*.

Naturally, the impossibility of our observing the primitive origin of human life-communities is readily granted. On the other hand it is extolled as the only justifiable empirical procedure, that we criticise the products of a distant prehistoric past according to the experiences which human life furnishes us to-day. And yet it is an undeniable result of historical and psychological experience, that we are not allowed to judge absolutely, according to our own thought and action, the thought and action in a remote stage of human development. And yet it is the principal doctrine, which history can impart to the psychologist, that in order to learn to understand a primitive intellectual life, he must attempt to think himself back into an intellectual world entirely different from the present, although built upon the same elementary, fundamental processes!

The history of mythological theories from the days of the famous Greek mythologist Euphemeros to the present, furnishes many astonishing as well as entertaining examples of the consequences of conceiving man as immutable.

In general, it is a fundamental error to think that the individualistic theory of the community, is free from metaphysical presuppositions. On the contrary, it becomes an irredeemable victim of metaphysics, because it cannot decide to apprehend facts as they present themselves. Thus the strange fate devolved upon the natural philosophy of the seventeenth and eighteenth century, that where it expected to support itself with most certainty upon facts of experience, it was entangled most inextricably in metaphysical presuppositions.

When Thomas Hobbes declared that only the sensible perceptible bodies were real substance; that everything else of peculiar content which the world offers us was to be derived from affections of the body: our perception and will from mechanical movements of the brain, the artificial unions of sentient and volitional bodies, such as states, from the endeavor of those living bodies to maintain themselves, it was obviously not experience but firm faith in a system of materialistic metaphysics, that begot these doctrines.

The spiritualism attaching itself to Descartes, being in opposition to this view, saw in the individual soul a supersensuous substance, that lives its true life only in its separation from the body, and for this reason also, in complete separation from communal life in which it only finds its sensuous existence; yet this view attained the same results, in its conception of the ethical significance of the community, because, according to its historical origin, it was nothing but an adaptation of the natural philosophy demanded by the spirit of the time to dogmatic traditions.

Modern Psychology since Kant defined its course seeks the essence of the soul as did Aristotle in the

very facts of the spiritual life, not in an unknowable "Ding an sich" that produces the spiritual phenomena as a transient sham, by means of its ephemeral interactions on other things, and not in a nominally simple and yet infinitely complex monad, which in consequence of wonderful predetermination, creates a subjective and confused picture of a world entirely different.

Psychology as an empirical science knows nothing of a spiritual life content that stands out of all relation to the content of our real thoughts, feelings and actions. But it may as I think for just this reason be well adapted to the ethical demands, which the real life imposes. Without surrendering the value of the individual existence, and fully recognising the fact that the spiritual powers of the whole originate only in individuals and that a spiritual collective life can be created only when these factors retroact upon individuals, it must be admitted none the less, that this collective life is equally real as individual existence. It possesses a reality even superior to it wherever the actions of individuals are directed to the most important life purposes of the community.

The creative energy of language also with which every valuable activity of the individual is connected, forms a concrete testimony for this superior significance of the community. It seems to me that, practically, the most important proof lies in the fact that the rules of law, can only create that obligatory power, by means of which they assert their unconditional sovereignty over the individual will, from a real collective will. Where else could the penal power of the state, which decides concerning the most important goods of individuals and indeed concerning life itself, acquire its legal title if not from the unconditional superiority of the collective will which springs from the legal consciousness of the community over the individual will?

How inadequate, how contradictory to every natural conception of right appear those rationalistic artifices which would fain justify this enormous power of the law merely from egoistic considerations in the interest of the security of individuals!

If in the last mentioned case, it is not the national community as such, but the political community united by a certain legal order, which becomes the basis of a collective will of regulative power, the capacity for the formation of a political collective will, lies on the other hand, chiefly in the primitive unity of a nation,—a unity of language, customs, and harmonious views of life. If therefore states may originate in other ways in consequence of the multifiform influences of historical conditions, if the normal causal relations may occasionally be reversed so that the nation does not produce the state but the state the nation, yet the first

mode of development seems to us to be the natural mode, not merely because it is the more primitive, but because here alone the formation of the state as the last member takes its place among those creations of the national spirit which find their expression in the language community.

A nation deprived of these different domains of common activity, of which the collective life consists, is a perfectly empty concept. When people in spite of all expressions of their intellectual activity declare the nation itself to be the author of these expressions, the question, of course, is about a mere ideal distinction. Under the term nation, therefore, we understand the community as such without regard to the particular intellectual creations in whose production the community acts as a whole.

Harmony need not necessarily prevail in all the tendencies of life in order to insure to a body of people the character of a nation. Thus the Germans formed a nation, even during times when they lacked a true political union. Thus the Swiss form a nation although they lack the unity of language. In the natural development of collective life, a common language is always the basis of all other common structures. Common conceptions and customs immediately adhere to it, as if necessarily dependent, though capable of greater differentiations. Finally appears the subordination to a political order developed from ethical rules and then determined by historical events.

If one considers, as is indeed conceivable, although not historically permissible, that the nation is the author of all these creations, then the nation is that body which while yet unorganised, possesses the capacity for producing all those creations through an indwelling organising faculty. Yet all products of the national community, language, morals, religious views and the state are true spiritual organisms.

If it pertains to the idea of an organism, that it is a complex life unity of natural origin, and that this unity consists of parts that are themselves unities of similar qualities, and besides ministering members or organs of the whole, who can deny to a language, be it the rudest and most imperfect, the quality of being a spiritual organism created according to fixed laws? Or who can fail to see that the mythological conceptions of a nation, although removed perhaps in a greater degree than language, from external influences and therefore from mixture with foreign conceptions, who I say can fail to see that these, and likewise ethics and ethical conceptions possess a unitary connection, which lends to them the qualities of spiritual organisms capable of further development? Only a materialism that generally ascribes no reality to spiritual productions could deny that the question here concerns true organic creations.

Among all spiritual creations, the state, however, takes a peculiar position. It is that product of the national community, through which all the latter are united into an organic whole. The creation of the state is, therefore, not merely a production of a spiritual organism as perhaps the creation of language is, but it is an act of the self-organisation of the community, and thereby the community from a substratum which produces spiritual organisms, becomes itself an organism. While this organism subjects itself to a unity of will, that regulates the actions of the whole body of citizens as well as of the individuals according to certain binding norms, it obtains at the same time the character of a collective personality.

The ideas of the spiritual organism and of personality are, therefore, by no means obscure. The language, customs, and life-views of a community are organic creations; but only by a phantastic mythological consideration could one expect to see personality in them. Therefore, people have believed at times that they ought to ascribe to the state the character of an organism but not that of personality.

Now the application of an idea, naturally depends upon the definition given it. If the essence of personality be defined to be that direct unity of psychical processes being regulated by an individual will, which is peculiar to self-consciousness, the condition is thereby at once established, that only an individual being can be a person. But if one only demands a harmonious willing and acting according to freely chosen motives as the essential qualities of personality, there can be no doubt that the significance of such belongs to the state. And this is so not merely allegorically as the term "person" is applied to certain corporations and unions, formed for more or less limited social purposes, such as are designated as juridical persons in order to signify their legal capacity. The collective will of the state on the contrary embraces all tendencies of the common life, just as the single will of the individual personality regulates the entire spiritual life of the individual being. In opposition to those legal persons so-called which for certain limited purposes, obtain a significance analogous to those of real persons, the state is the only real collective personality, and its distinguishing characteristic, upon which at the same time its peculiar value depends, consists in just this that in the state self-consciousness and will, although as free and as many-sided as in the individual person, are yet not a unity directly attached to a single physical substratum, but emanate only from the alternating relations of a great number of independent individual beings.

Where divergent conceptions of facts that have developed historically are at strife with one another, the practical consequences resulting therefrom, form a last

instance of decision. Since the contract theory regarded the state as the arbitrary product of individuals, it became inextricably involved in a fate, that speaks an audible language in the revolutionary state-theories of the previous century and in the frightful applications which they found in history. Whatever the sudden and arbitrary act of individuals creates, can be destroyed again just as suddenly and arbitrarily by individuals. The best form of state, therefore, according to this theory, is not that which has developed by historical necessity, from the organising power of a national community, but it is that which seems to correspond best to the immediate accommodation of all its members or since this is impossible at least to the accommodation of the prevailing majority.

How strongly knitted together appears the organically developed state which is rooted in the views of life and customs of a national community, in comparison to the transient state-construction of Utilitarianism, for the latter aspires in vain for the greatest happiness of the greatest number which aim can, in this way, not be secured in the national development with any permanence or certainty.

A MOMENT OF MY LIFE.

1796. BY JOHANN FRIEDRICH HERBERT.

[In glancing over the works of the well-known philosopher and psychologist J. F. Herbert, I struck (in Vol. XII, p. 782, Ed. Hartenstein) the following passage which I suppose is little known, while it ought to be known. It characterises the agonies of an untiring seeker after truth in a moment of weakness, to overcome which it takes all the vigorous efforts of the strong mind he was. Every life has its moments of darkness in which our burdens seem heavier than we can bear, and we must learn to struggle with and to conquer our pessimistic moods.

This disconnected passage in the works of a philosopher, might be called a poem in prose. It is a poem: it is a characteristic image of a certain moment in the soul-life of a thinker. Yet it is more than an artistic picture; it is a photograph, it is true to life, it is life itself; and we can feel that Herbart wrote these lines with his very heart's blood.

So let this little sketch be an exhortation, not to yield to despair, not to be despondent when the struggle of life and thought threatens to overwhelm us, but to be up and doing, to fight bravely and never leave out of sight the ideals of our life. Says Longfellow:

"Lives of great men all remind us
We can make our lives sublime,
And, departing, leave behind us
Footprints on the sands of time;—
Footprints, that perhaps another,
Sailing o'er life's solemn main,
A forlorn and shipwrecked brother,
Seeing, shall take heart again."

Here we see the footprints of a brother surrounded with the dangers of shipwreck. He felt forlorn and was full of despair. Yet he took heart again and made his life sublime by earnest struggle and fruitful work.]

FULL of gloomy thoughts I walked alone by the river. Although nature offered me her friendliest morning-greetings, the green fields smiled upon me in

vain, and in vain the delicate mist of the early day glittered for me in the soft rays of the sun; I stood there ashamed of myself, for I could not possibly return these friendly greetings.

Upon the high bluff I stopped and looked down into the depth. It is only two paces down, I said to myself, only two paces down to the flood! The river is turbid as thy mind! The bright sunlight is not thine element! What means the image of pure humanity in thy breast? Enwrapped in the gloom of night is this image, unadmired, scarcely thought of. If the sun of the truth within cannot break through the night and brighten it with luminous rays, then, let it be shattered upon this rock and let the river carry the fragments along in its wild turmoil, then let it carry down into the wide sea of oblivion and eternal sleep the speculating questions of the mind, the troublesome doubts of the heart!

My glance passed aimlessly from wave to wave. To the middle the river was shaded by the bank. Beyond that I saw my own shadow hanging in uncertain shape, it mocked my unsteady movements. So it is right! Thou, my shadow, wilt vacillate here in my place, wilt mark the spot where I ended, wilt repeat my last sigh unto my friends, wilt stammer unto them my farewell and my wishes, in groaning sounds, wilt tell them how I felt and what became of me; dreadful will be thy sounds and dismal, but willingly they shall listen unto thy warning and heed it; they will not inquire into the infinite, they will not seek untrodden paths for themselves, nor be their own guides; they will remain upon the broad highway, they will enjoy themselves like children with child-like spirits, they will not be desirous of exchanging the gifts of nature for self-won trophies, nor simplicity for wisdom, nor innocence for virtue. O! all ye dear ones, ye parents, relatives, friends, all ye beloved, ye dear ones, near and far! If ye knew—

Whilst I was thus addressing myself and the mind, I had walked on without noticing I had climbed higher, for the bank rose more and more. I turned around to look for my shadow, and behold it was walking along on the opposite shore upon flowery meadows and the sparkling dew-drops upon the near shrub were frolicking with it. I had followed my path, the eminence had been reached and therefore the sunbeams had carried it across the waves. It was a beautiful moment! The fullness of joy and courage and hope returned to me.

"I will strive higher and higher then, will restlessly struggle with fiery zeal until the tomb shall open; Phœbus will then send a beam of his light after me; not in the frail bark, no, in the light of truth I shall soar along over the sacred waters and hail the borders of Elysium."

SPRINGTIDE.

FROM THE GERMAN OF FALLERLESEN BY JEAN W. WYLIE.

In a rosehush love lay sleeping,
 Springtide came and whispered: "Greeting!"
 Love heard, awaked, laughed out in glee,
 Peeped from the rosebuds cheerily,
 Then mused: "'Tis early yet, I ween—"
 And bied her back to sleep and dream.

But Spring resolved to have his way,
 Awaked her with a kiss each day
 And moved her with such cunning art
 She ope'd at last to him her heart,
 And thus his longing so intense
 Repaid with love's best recompense.

CURRENT TOPICS.

In *The Century* magazine for April is a glowing picture in words of Mary the mother of Washington. The story of her life is radiant with domestic beauty, and therein is every American matron crowned and glorified. The mother of Washington was worthy of her son, as the son was worthy of his mother. The fragrance of a life so dutiful will make the social air more wholesome in this land so long as the memory of that life continues in the world. Therefore it is that in my sentimental mood I honor the Virginia court that put sentiment above the law, and forbade the owner of her burial place to sell the grave of Mary Washington. I do not think there is in all the thrifty north a real estate conscience so far gone in mercantile petrification as to give or take an "option" on the dust of Mary Washington. It is not easy to believe the charge that such business-like and enterprising souls flourish in Virginia, although the news from Richmond makes and proves the accusation. It appears by the record that Kirtley and Kolbert, dealers in real estate at Fredericksburg, thought they could buy and sell the national sentiment that hallows the grave of Washington's mother, so they got an "option" on it from one Shepherd, the owner of the lot on which it was. Mr. Shepherd also stimulated the bargain by generously throwing in a monument which some reverent and patriotic citizen of New York had placed upon the grave. The price of the bones within the grave and the monument upon it was \$2,500, and on the payment of that sum by a certain day Kirtley and Kolbert were to get a deed for the venerated lot. Having got their "option," those enterprising speculators looked for a customer to whom they could sell out at a profit, and they found him in Mr. G. H. Huntington of Baltimore who offered them \$20,000 for the grave, probably for the purpose of preserving it from buyers and sellers and from the Goths and Vandals in all coming time. Then they foreclosed their "option," tendered the \$2,500 to Mr. Shepherd and demanded a deed, which he refused to make, perhaps because he had heard of the \$20,000 sale. Then they sued him for a deed in the Circuit Court of Fredericksburg, and that court ruled against them for the purely emotional but very laudable reason that the grave of Washington's mother could not be the subject of a sale. The case is now pending on appeal before the Supreme Court at Richmond, where the judgment of the lower court will most likely be affirmed.

Whatever may be the decision of the Supreme Court at Richmond as to the owner's right to sell the grave of Washington's mother, there can be no doubt that patriotic and pious opinion everywhere will sustain the judgment of the Circuit Court at Fredericksburg declaring the sale of it invalid. Still, it will take some skill in judicial casuistry to affirm the judgment of the Circuit Court on legal grounds. Speaking by the law, if Mr. Shepherd has the right to own the grave, he certainly has the right to transfer that ownership to another, and the fact that he does it for

money can hardly affect his right. Can Virginia by judicial force or otherwise compel him to own that hallowed grave against his will? And if the sale of it be a scandal shocking to the moral sense, let Virginia acquire a title to it on payment of just compensation. Then let her preserve it in honor as an heir-loom in the family of her people for all time.

The Emperor William, taking God into partnership with him whirls the political elements of Germany into a social cyclone which he is not able to control. The irreverence is the emperor's, not mine, for in his speech to the Brandenburg Diet he spoke of the Deity as "our ally at Rossbach and Dennewitz, who will not leave me in the lurch." He went further and advised his hearers to "put their trust in God, and their hereditary ruler." He declared at the same time that God had taken such "infinite pains" to support and sustain the Hohenzollerns that "we cannot suppose he has done this for no purpose." Animated by this feudal sentiment, he tells his minister Caprivi to put the clock of German freedom back. The national and political unity of Germany having been achieved by Bismarck, Caprivi agrees to bring her intellectual genius down to the level of provincial mediocrity. The free spirit of Germany is too big now to be put back into the ancient cage. It will expand with every additional conquest made by the Germans in art, science, philosophy, and statesmanship. The efforts of the emperor to arrest the brain of Germany and imprison it in the cloisters of a church will fail, as the like attempt of King James the Second failed in England more than two hundred years ago. A scheme to deprive the people of education, ironically called the "School Bill" was proposed by Caprivi, the second and smaller chancellor; and this bill put the schoolmaster under the direction and correction of the priest. In order to pass the bill, Caprivi bore aloft into the senate two metaphorical dragons, breathing imaginary fire and smoke. One of these he called Socialism, the other Atheism, and with these effigies he tried to frighten the parliament and the people of Germany. "The School Bill," said Caprivi, "is only intended to counteract Atheism; and Christian denominationalism alone can pull down socialism." It would avail Caprivi nothing to lock up all the German universities to-morrow unless he can also catch and put back within them all the mighty thoughts they have sent out in the centuries gone by. These wander free and invisible over every road in Germany, and they are the inspiration of the German people, not only in the Fatherland, but in the United States and wherever they may be.

It is to Americans a very provoking puzzle that we can hardly ever tell whether affairs apparently most potent, grave, and reverend, are being carried on in earnest or in fun; because having lifted hypocrisy to a place among the fine arts we have added so much to the piquancy of American humor that even when we are sentenced to be hanged we doubt the reality of it, and think that the whole ceremonial is a joke played by the sheriff and the judge. In religion, in politics, and in trade, we laugh at Sincerity as a fool. For instance, I am at this moment enjoying that ironical bit of comedy now being played at Washington, where as the curtain rises we see a Committee of Congress sitting on the Commissioner of Pensions, grave and solemn as five owls trying a mouse by Court Martial. What signify the scandals exposed by this investigation? says the accused. I am not a public officer; I am a party agent, and in that capacity I have done my duty. Here is an innocent question put by the owls to the mouse, "If you found that examiners in the field were using their places to aid the Democratic party, what would you do?" And here is the answer of the mouse, "Call them in. I always give preference in every possible way to Republicans, because this is a Republican Administration. I am in my position because I am a Republican. I never assign men to

the field without knowing their politics. I want Republicans only." Now the humorous hypocrisy of all this trial is that the owls pretend to be shocked at such a candid avowal of depravity, and they blink judicial reprobation at the delinquent in the dock; whereas every owl of them will expect and require their own Commissioner of Pensions to act in the very same way when the Democrats come into power.

M. M. TRUMBULL.

BOOK REVIEWS.

HUMANITY IN ITS ORIGIN AND EARLY GROWTH. By *E. Colbert*, M. A. 392 pages. Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Company. 1892.

This work is the result of long and patient scientific investigation, and there is a good deal of scientific imagination in it also. The author was formerly Superintendent of the Dearborn Observatory, and Professor of Astronomy in the University of Chicago. His opportunities have been great, and he has made good use of them. A practical astronomer he has discarded the revelations of inspired legends for the more divine revelations of the telescope; and he confidently claims that the theologies of the present have sprung from the astrologies of old, and that "the star lore of the remote past forms the root and trunk of the great religious tree of our own day." Further, he shows by abundant evidence that "astrology and magic are the twin parents of ancient worship," and that "to those two sources the Christian world is indebted for much of the material that is incorporated in the creeds of the present generation."

Professor Colbert affirms that all animated nature is the product of an evolutionary process working unceasingly for millions of years; and he condenses the proof of it into a few chapters at the beginning of his book tracing the slow development of man through the various ages, epochs, and periods of geologic time, from the mere animal to the savage, and from him to the semi-civilized, and rather conceited citizen of this overruled nineteenth century. The evolution of the physical man is merely the foundation on which Professor Colbert builds his larger theory of the evolution of "Humanity," the intellectual, moral, and spiritual man.

Much of the evidence which Professor Colbert offers in support of his argument appears to be conclusive, while some of it, though always probable, is of a speculative character; and herein he shows how a scientific imagination may make a learned book entertaining, and stimulate the appetite for knowledge. It may not be literally true that man's habits and principles sprang from accident or special necessity just in the way supposed by Professor Colbert, as for instance, the supposed fortuitous manner in which the remote man came to add a ration of roast meat to his acorn diet, but it is not unlikely; and at all events, Professor Colbert is never so weak in reasons as to call in the aid of miracle to keep an illogical Noah's ark from sinking.

The childish fables which pass for "Sacred History" and "Holy Writ," Professor Colbert covers with comic ridicule. He will hardly condescend to give them serious denial, any more than the stories of Jack and the Beanstalk, St. George and the Dragon, or Aladdin and the Wonderful Lamp. He is content to show their origin, and "there an end." He has a sort of scornful pity for the men who having outthought and outgrown belief in theologic myths and magic give them negative support by silence, as if it was not their business to enlighten fools. "Few scientific investigators," remarks Professor Colbert, "have taken a position of active dissent. Their attitude in the matter is simply that of withholding assent from dogmas they cannot indorse." But in another place he says, "It is difficult to see why a reputedly conscientious man in all else should feel it his duty to wink at a monstrous falsehood for fear that other people should be spoiled by being told the truth."

Professor Colbert says that "part of the material of his work is to be found in the encyclopedias and other books." This is true, and the same thing might be said of any other book built upon a scientific and historical foundation, but the value of Professor Colbert's book consists in this, that it is not merely raw material but the finished article wherein we get in one volume what we could not make for ourselves out of the raw material contained in a hundred encyclopedias. For that reason, and for many others it is in spite of some ingenious guesswork as to the origin of many creeds and dogmas, one of the most useful books of the year.

M. M. T.

NOTES.

Mr. Morris Phillips, editor of the *Home Journal*, New York, has published a little book entitled "Abroad and at Home: Practical Hints for Tourists." It describes London, Paris, and several cities of the United States.

We are in receipt of "King's Handbook of the United States" which is a stately volume full of information concerning the history and conditions of our country. Its text is explained and illustrated by 51 pages of colored maps and 2,639 illustrations of the great features of this country, all made expressly for it. The book is accompanied by good recommendations of high authorities, among whom are the Professors Andrew D. White, W. D. Whitney, Dr. Wm. T. Harris, and many others. (Buffalo: The Matthews-Northrup Co.)

MR. C. S. PEIRCE has resumed his lessons by correspondence in the Art of Reasoning, taught in progressive exercises. A special course in logic has been prepared for correspondents interested in philosophy. Terms, \$30 for twenty-four lessons. Address: Mr. C. S. Peirce, "Avishe," Milford, Pa.

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